



## THE MINDE OF THE FRONT.

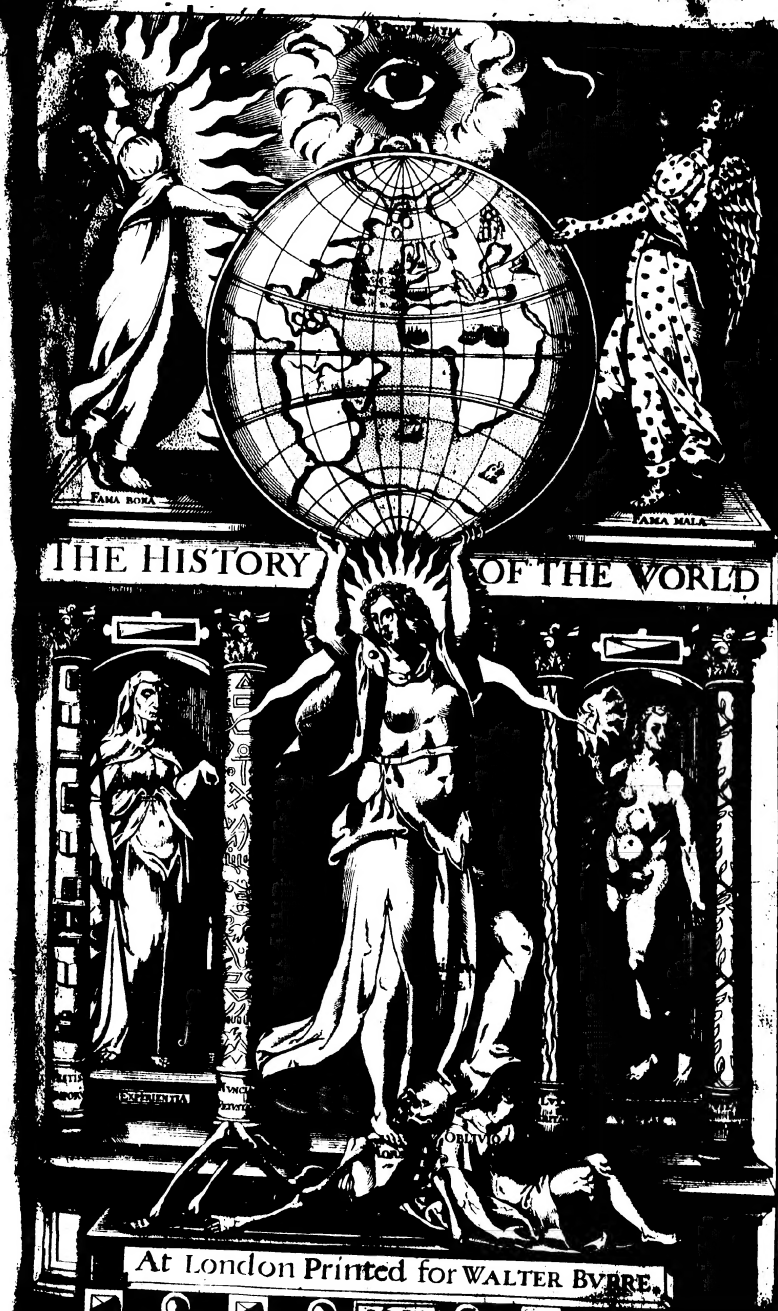
**F**rom Death, and darke Obluion (neere the same)  
The Mistresse of Mans life, graue HISTORIE,  
Raising the VVorld to good, or euill FAME,  
Doth vindicate TRUTHIE.

High PROVIDENCE would so: that nor the Good  
Might be defrauded, nor the Great secur'd,  
But both might know their waies are vnderstood,  
And the reward and punishment assur'd.

This makes, that lighted by the beemie band  
Of TRUTHIE which searcheth the most hidden springs,  
And guided by EXPERIENCE, whose straight Wand,  
Doth mete, whose Line doth sound the depth of things;

Shee cheerefully supporteth what she reares:  
Assisted by no strengths, but are her owne.  
Some note of which each varied Pillar beares,  
By which, as proper Titles, she is knowne,

Times VVitnesse, Herald of Antiquitie,  
The Light of Truth, and Life of Memorie.





# THE HISTORIE OF THE VVORLD.

IN FIVE BOOKES.

- 1 **N**treating of the Beginning and first Ages of the same from the Creation vnto Abraham.
- 2 **O**f the Times from the Birth of Abraham, to the destruction of the Temple of Salomon.
- 3 **F**rom the destruction of Ierusalem, to the time of Philip of Macedon.
- 4 **F**rom the Reigne of Philip of Macedon, to the establishing of that Kingdome, in the Race of Antigonus.
- 5 **F**rom the settled rule of Alexanders successours in the East, vntill the Romans (preuailing ouer all) made Conquest of Asia and Macedon.

By Sir WALTER RALEGH, Knight.



The true and lively portraiture  
of the honourable  
S. Walter  
and learned Knight  
Raleigh.





THE PREFACE.



How unfit and how unworthy a choice I haue made of my selfe, to undertake a worke of this nature: mine owne reason, though exceeding weak, hath sufficiently resolved mee. For had it bene begotten then with my first dawning of day, when the light of common knowledge began to open it selfe to my yonger yeares, and before any wound receiued either from Fortune or Time: I might yet well haue doubted that

the darknesse of Age and Death would haue couered ouer both. I haue long before the performance. For, beginning with the Creation, I haue proceeded with the History of the World: and lastly purposed (some few sallies excepted) to confine my Discourse, with this our renowned Iland of Great Brittain. I confesse that it had better sortd with my disability, the better part of whose times are run out in other traiailes, to haue set together (as I could) the vniointed and scattered framd of our English affaires, than of the Vniuersall: in whom, had there bin no other defect (who am all defect) than the time of the day, it were enough, the day of a tempestuous life, drawne on to the very euening ere I began. But those diuolt, and soule-piercing wounds, which are euer aking while vncured: with the desire to satisfie those few friends, which I haue tryed by the fire of Aduersity, the former enforcing, the latter perswading, haue caused mee to make my thoughts legible, and my selfe the subiect of every opinion, wise or weak.

To the World I present them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither haue others that were, (Fortune changing) sped much better in any age. For Prosperity and Aduersity haue euermore tyed and vntyed vulgar affections. And as we see it in experience, That dogs doe alwaies bark at those they know not, and that it is their nature to accompany one another in those clamours: so it is with the inconsiderate multitude; who, wanting that vertue which we call Honesty in all men, and that speciall gift of GOD which we call Charity in Christian men; condemne without hearing, and wound without offence, giuen: led therevnto by vncertaine

Blame no man (saith Siracides) before thou haue enquired the matter: vnderstand first, and then reforme righteously. Rumor, yes sine reffe, sine iudice, maligne; fallax; Rumor is without witnesse, without iudge, malicious and deceiueable. This vanity of vulgar opinion it was, that gaue Saint Augustine Argument to affirme, That he feared the praise of good men, and detested that of the euill. And herein no man hath giuen a better rule, than this of Seneca: Conscientie satisfaciamus: nihil in famam laboremus, sequatur vel non, dum bene sciamus. Let tis satisfie our owne consciences, and

Demosthenes. 1. 2. 3. Ecclesiastes. v. 9.

Laudari a bonis timet, et amari a malis detestatur. Seneca. de ira. l. 1. c. 2.

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not trouble our selues with fame: bee it neuer so ill, it is to be despised so we defende well.

For my selfe, if I haue in any thing serued my Country, and prized it before my private: the generall acceptation can yeeld me no other profit at this time than dash a little sunshine day to a Sea-man after shipwrack, & the contrary no other harm, than an outrageous tempest after the Port attained. I know that I lost the loue of many for my fidelity towards Elter, whom I must still honour in the dust, though further than the defence of her excellent person, I neuer persecuted any man. Of those that did it, and by what seuerce they did it, He that is the Supream Iudge of all the world, hath taken the accompt: so as for this kinde of suffering, I must say with Seneca, Mala opinio, bene parata, delectat.

As for other men, if there be any that haue made themselves Fathers of that fame, which hath been begotten for them: I can neither enuy at such their purchased glory, nor much lament mine owne mishap in that kind, but content my selfe to say with Virgil, Sic vos non vobis, in many particulars. To labour other satisfaction, were an effect of phrenzy, not of hope: seeing it is not Truth, but Opinion, that can traueile the World without a pass-port. For were it otherwise, and were there not as many interall formes of the minde, as there are externall figures of men; there were then some possibility to perswade by the mouth of one Advocate, euen Equity alone.

But such is the multiplying & extensive vertue of dead Earth, & of that breathing life which God hath cast vpon slime & dust, as that among those that were, of whom we read and heare, & among those that are, whom we see & conuerse with, euery one hath received a severall picture of face, & euery one a diuers picture of minde; euery one a forme apart, euery one a fancy & cogitation differing: there being nothing wherein Nature so much triumpheth as in dissimilitude. From whence it cometh that there is found so great diuersity of opinions, so strong a contrariety of inclinations, so many natural & vnnatural, wise, foolish, manly, & childish affections and passions in mortall men. For it is not the visible fashion and shape of plants, and of reasonable Creatures, that makes the difference of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the forme interall.

And though it hath pleased God to reserue the Art of reading mens thoughts to himselfe: yet, as the fruit tels the name of the Tree, so do the outward works of men (so far as their cogitations are acted) giue vs wherof to ghesse at the rest. Nay, it were not hard to expresse the one by the other, very neere the life: did not craft in many, feare in the most, and the worlds loue in all, teach euery capacity, according to the compasse it hath, to qualifie and maske ouer their inward deformities for a time. Though it be also true, Nemo potest diu personam ferre fictam: cito in naturam suam residunt, quibus veritas non subest. No man can long continue masked in a counterfeit behauiour: the things that are forced for pretences hauing no ground of truth, cannot long dissemble their own natures. Neither can any man (saith Plutarch) so change himselfe, but that his heart may bee sometimes seene at his tongues end.

In this great discord and dissimilitude of reasonable Creatures, if we direct our selues to the Multitude; Omnis honestæ rei malus iudex est vulgus: The common people are cuill Iudges of honest things, and whose Wisedome (saith Ecclesiastes) is to be despised; if to the better sort; euery vnderstanding

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hath a peculiar iudgement, by which it both censurcth other men, & valucth it selfe. And therefore vnto me it will not seeme strange, though I finde these my worthelesse papers torne with Rats: seeing the fleshfull Censurers of all ages haue not spared to teaze the Reuentend Fathers of the Church, with Ambition, the seuerest men to themselves, with Hypocrisie, the greatest louers of Iustice, with Popularity, and those of the truest valour and fortitude, with vaine-glory. But of these natures which lie in wait to finde fault, and to turne good into euill, seeing Salomon complained long since: & that the very age of the world renders it euery day after other more malicious; I must leaue the professors to their easie waies of reprehension, than which there is nothing of more facility.

To me it belongs in the first part of this Preface, following the common & approved custome of those, who haue left the memories of time past to after ages, to giue, as neare as I can, the same right to History which they haue done. Yet seeing therein I should but borrow other mens words, I will not trouble the Reader with the repetition. True it is that among many other benefits for which it hath bin honoured; in this one it triumpheth ouer all humane knowledge, That it hath giuen vs life in our vnderstanding, since the world it selfe had life & beginning, euen to this day: yea, it hath triumphed ouer time, which besides it nothing but eternitie hath triumphed ouer: for it hath carried our knowledge ouer the vast and denouring space of many thousands of yeares, & giuen vs faire & piercing eyes to our minde; that wee plainly behold liuing now (as if we had liued then) that great world, Magni Dei sapiens opus, the wise work (saith Hermes) of a great GOD, as it was then, when but new to it selfe. By it (I say) it is, that we liue in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was gouerned; how it was couered with waters, and againe re-peopled: How Kings and Kingdomes haue flourished and fallen, and for what vertue and piety God made prosperous; and for what vice and deformity he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the least debt which we owe vnto History, that it hath made vs acquainted with our dead Ancestors; and, out of the depth and darknesse of the earth, deliuered vs their memory and fame. In a word, wee may gather out of History a policy no lesse wise than eternall; by the comparison and application of other mens fore-passed miseries with our owne, like errors & ill deseruings. But it is neither of Examples the most liuely instruction; nor the words of the wisest men, nor the terror of future torments, that hath yet so wrought in our blind and stupified mindes, as to make vs remember, That the infinite eye and wisdome of God doth pierce through all our pretences; as to make vs remember, That the iustice of God doth require none other accuser, than our owne consciences: which neither the false beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formality, which (to pacifie the opinions of men) we put on; can in any, or the least kind, couer from his knowledge. And so much did that heathen wisdome confesse, no way as yet qualified by the knowledge of a true God. If any (saith Euripides) hauing in his life committed wickednesse, thinke hee can hide it from the euermourning gods, he thinkes not well.

To repeat GODS iudgements in particular, vpon those of all degrees, which haue plaied with his mercies, would require a volume apart: for the Sea of examples hath no bottome. The markes, set on priuate men, are with their bodies cast into the earth; and their fortunes, written onely in the memories of those that liued with them: so as they who succeed, and haue not seene the fall of others,

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doe not feare their owne fautes: G O D S iudgements vpon the greater & greater haue bene left to posterity: firstly by those happy hands which the Holy Ghost hath guided; and secondly, by their vertue, who haue gathered the acts and ends of men, worthy and remarkable in the world. Nowe you point farre off, and so speake of the conversion of Angells into Devils; for Ambition: Or of the greatest and most glorious Kings, who haue gaunte the grasse of the earth with beasts for pride and ingratitude towards G O D: Or of that wise working of Pharaoh, when he slew the Infantes of Israel, ere they had recovered their Cradles: Or of the policy of Ahab, in covering the murder of Naboth by a tryall of the Elders; according to the Law, with many thousands of the like: what were it other, than to make an hopelesse proofe, that farre-off examples would not be left to the same farre-off respects, as heretofore? For who hath not obserued, what labour, practice, perill, bloodshed, and cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the world haue condergone, exercised, taken on, them, and committed, to make themselves and their issues masters of the world? And yet hath Babylon, Persia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage, Rome, & the rest, no fruit, no flower, grasse, nor leaf, springing vpon the face of the earth, of those seeds: No, their very roots & ruines do hardly remaine. Omnia quæ manu hominum facta sunt, vel manu hominum euertuntur, vel stando & durando deficient: All that the hand of man can make, is eyther ouerturned by the hand of man, or at length by standing and continuing consumed. The reasons of whose ruines, are diuersly giuen by those that ground their opinions on second causes. All Kingdomes & States haue fallen (say the Politicians) by outward & forrainge force, or by inward negligence & dissension, or by a third cause arising from both. Others obserue, That the greatest haue sunk downe vnder their own weight, of which Lutiie hath a touch: eo crevit; vt magnitudine laboret sua: Others, That the diuine providence (which Cratippus objected to Pompey) hath set downe the date and period of euery Estate; before their first foundation and erection. But hereof I will giue my selfe a day ouer to resolve.

For seeing the first bookes of the following story, haue vnderaken the discourse of the first Kings and Kingdomes: and that it is impossible for the short life of a Preface, to trauaile after, and ouertake farre-off Antiquity, and to iudge of it; I will, for the present, examine what profit hath beene gathered by our own Kings, & their Neighbour Princes: who hauing beehd, both in diuine & humane letters, the successe of infidelity, iniustice, and cruelty; haue (notwithstanding) planted after the same patterne.

True it is, that the iudgements of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more strange) the affection of any one man stirred, w<sup>th</sup> a like with examples of like nature: But every one is touched most, with that which most neerely seemeth to touch his owne priuate; Or otherwise best futeeth with his apprehension. But the iudgements of G O D are for euer changeable; neither is hee wearied by the long processe of time, and won to giue his blessing in one age, to that which he hath cursed in another. Wherefore those that are wise, or whose wisdom if it bee not great, yet is true and well grounded, will be able to discerne the bitter fruites of irreligious policy, as well among those examples that are found in ages removed farre from the present, as in those of latter times. And that it may no lesse

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appeare by euident proofe, than by assertion, That ill doing hath, alwaies bene attended with ill successe, I will here, by way of Preface, run ouer some examples, which the worke ensuing hath not reached.

Among our Kings of the Norman race, we haue no sooner passed ouer the euilence of the Norman Conquest, than we encounter with a singular and most remarkable example of Gods iustice, vpon the children of Henry the first. For that King, when both by force, craft and cruelty, he had dispossessed, ouer-reached, and lastly made blinde and destroyed his elder Brother, Robert Duke of Normandy, to make his owne sonnes Lords of this Land: G O D cast them all, Male and Female, Nephewes, and Nieces (Maud excepted) into the bottome of the Sea, with aboue a hundred and fifty others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of the King dearly beloved.

To passe ouer the rest, till we come to Edward the Second, it is certaine, that after the murder of that King, the issue of blood then made, though it had some times of stay and stopping, did againe breake out, and that so often and in such abundance, as all our Princes of the Masculine race (very few excepted) dyed of the same disease. And although the yongue yeares of Edward the Third, made his knowledge of that horrible fact no more than suspitious: yet in that he afterwards caused his owne Vncle the Earle of Kent to die, for no other offence than the desire of his Brothers redemption, whom the Earle as then supposed to be liuing; the King making that to be treason in his Vncle, which was indeede treason in himself, (had his Vncles intelligence been true) this I say made it manifest, that he was not ignorant of what had past, nor greatly desirous to haue had it otherwise, though he caused Mortimer to die for the same.

This cruelty the secret and vnsearchable iudgement of G O D reuenged on the Grand-child of Edward the Third: and so it fell out, euen to the last of that line, that in the second or third descent they were all buried vnder the ruines of those buildings, of which the Mortar had bene tempered with innocent blood. For Richard the Second, who saw, both his Treasurers, his Chancellor, and his Steward, with diuers others of his Counsaillours, some of them slaughtered by the people, others in his absence executed by his enemies; yet hee alwaies tooke himselfe for ouer-wise, to be taught by examples: The Earles of Huntingdon and Kent, Montagu & Spencer, who thought themselves as great Politicians in those daies as others haue done in these: hoping to please the King, and to secure themselves, by the Murder of Gloucester; died soon after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent hands; and farre more shamefully than did that Duke. And as for the King himselfe (who in regard of many deedes, unworthy of his Greatnesse, cannot be excused, as the disauowing himselfe by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons and Patents: ) Hee was in the prime of his youth deposed, and murdered by his Cosen Germane and vassall, Henry of Lancaster, afterwards Henry the Fourth.

This King, whose Title was weake, & his obtaining the Crowne traiterous: who brake faith with the Lords at his landing, protesting to intend onely the recovery of his proper inheritance, brake faith with Richard himselfe; and brake faith with all the Kingdome in Parliament, to whom hee swore that the deposed King should liue. After that he had enioyed this Realme some few yeares, and in that time had bene set vpon on all sides by his Subiects, and neuer free from

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conspiracies & rebellions he saw (of sortes immortall fee & discern any things after the bodies death) his Grand-tilde Henry the sixt, & his Son the Prince, suddenly & without mercy, murdered; the possession of the Crowne (for which hee had caused so much blood to be poured out) transferred from his race, & by the Issues of his enemies worn & enuoyed enemies, whom by his own practice he supposed that he had left no lesse power-lesse, than the succession of the Kingdom questionable, by entailing the same upon his own Issues by Parliament. And out of doubt, humane reason could haue iudged no otherwise, but that these cautious prouisions of the father, seconded by the valour & signall victories of his son Henry the sixt, had buried the hopes of every Competitor, vnder the despaire of all reconquest and recovery. I say, that humane reason might so haue iudged: were not this passage of Calaubon also true; Dies, hora, momentum, euertendis dominationibus sufficit, quæ adamantinis credebantur radicibus esse fundata; A day, an hour, a moment, is enough to ouerturne the things, that seemed to haue beene founded and rooted in Adamant.

Now for Henry the sixt, vpon whom the great storm of his Grand-fathers grievous faults fell, as it formerly had done vpon Richard the Grand-tilde of Edward: although he was generally esteemed for a gentle & innocent Prince, yet as he refused the daughter of Armaignac, of the House of Nauarre, the greatest of the Princes of France, to whom he was affianced (by which match hee might haue defended his inheritance in France) & married the daughter of Aniou, (by which he lost all that he had in France) so in condescending to the unworthy death of his Vncle of Gloucester, the maine and strong Pillar of the house of Lancaster, He drew on himselfe & this kingdom the greatest ioynt-losse & dishonour, that euer it sustained since the Norman conquest. Of whom it may truly be said which a Counsellor of his own spake of Henry the third of France, Quil estoit vne fort geüile Prince; mais son reigne est aduenu en vne fort mauuois temps: That hee was a very gentle Prince; but his reigne happened in a verie vnfortunate season.

It is true that Buckingham & Suffolke were the practisers and contriners of the Dukes death: Buckingham & Suffolke, because the Duke gaue instructions to their authority, which otherwise vnder the Queene had been absolute, the Queene in respect of her personall wound, iuxtaque iniuria formæ, because Gloucester dissuaded her marriage. But the fruit was answerable to the seed; the success to the Counsaile. For after the cutting downe of Gloucester, Yorke grew up so fast, as he dared to dispute his right both by arguments & armes, in which quarrell, Suffolke and Buckingham, with the greatest number of their adherents, were dissolved. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleased God to strike down Yorke: yet his son the Earle of March, following the plaine path which his Father had troden out, despoiled Henry the Father, and Edward the son, both of their lines and Kingdome. And what was the end now of that politike Lady the Queene, other than this, That shee liued to behold the wretched ends of all her partakers: that shee liued to looke on, while her Husband the King & her only son the Prince, were bewen in sunder; while the Crowne was set on his head that did it? Shee liued to see her selfe dispoiled of her Estate, and of her moueables: and lastly, her father, by rendering up to the Crowne of France the Earledome of Prouence and other places, for the payment of fifty thousand crownes for her Ransome, to become

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come a sharke Beggar. And this was the end of that subtilty, which Siracides calleth fine but vnrighteous: for other fruit bath it neuer yeelded, since the world was.

And now it came to Edward the fourths turn (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the plants of Lancaster were rooted vpon one only Earle of Richmond, excepted: whom also he had once bought of the Duke of Brittain, but could not hold him. And yet, was not this of Edward such a Plantation, as could any way promise iust stability. For this Edward the King (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld and allowed the slaughter which Gloucester, Dorset, Hastings, and others, made of Edward the Prince in his owne presence: of which tragical Actors, there was not one that escaped the iudgement of GOD in the same kinde. And He, which (besides the execution of his brother Clarence, for none other offence than he himselfe had formed in his own imagination) instructed Gloucester to kill Henry the sixt, his Predecessour; taught him also by the same Art to kill his owne sons and successors; Edward and Richard. For those Kings which haue sold the blood of others at a low rate, haue but made the market for their owne enemies, to buy of theirs at the same price.

To Edward the Fourth succeeded Richard the Third, the greatest Master in mischief of all that fore-went him: who although, for the necessity of his Tragedy, he had more parts to play, and more to performe in his owne person, than all the rest; yet he so well fitted every affection that plaid with him, as if each of them had but acted his owne interest. For he wrought so cunningly vpon the affections of Hastings and Buckingham, enemies to the Queene and to all her kindred, as he easily allured them to condescend, that Riuers and Grey, the Kings Maternal Vncle and halfe brother, should (for the first) be severed from him: secondly, hee wrought their consent to haue them imprisoned: and lastly (for the avoiding of future inconuenience) to haue their heads severed from their bodies. And hauing now brought those his chiefe instruments to exercise that common precept, which the Deuill hath written on every post, namely, To depresse those whom they had grieved, and to destroy those whom they had deprest; Hee urged that argument so far and so forcibly, as nothing but the death of the yongue king himselfe, & of his brother, could fashion the conclusion. For hee caused it to be hammered into Buckinghams head, That, whensoever the King or his Brother, should haue able yeeres to exercise their power; they would take a most seuerer revenge of that curlesse wrong, offered to their Vncle and Brother, Riuers and Grey.

But this was not his manner of reasoning with Hastings, whose fidelity to his Masters Sommes was without suspect: and yet the Diuell, who neuer dissuades by impossibility, taught him to try him. And so he did. But when he found by Catesby who founded him, that he was not fordable, He first resolved to kill him sitting in counsell: wherein hauing failed with his sword; Hee set the Hangman vpon him, with a weapon of more weight. And because nothing else could moue his appetite, He caused his head to be stricken off, before hee ate his dinner. A greater iudgement of God, than this vpon Hastings I haue neuer obserued in any storie. For the selfe same day that the Earle Riuers, Grey, and others, were (without triall of Law, or offence giuen) by Hastings aduice executed at Pomfret. I say Hastings himselfe in the same day, & (as I take it) in the same houre, in the same law-lesse manner, had his head stricken off in the Tower of London.

But

Seclera sceleribus tuenda.  
Sed de diem.

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But Buckingham lived a while longer; and with an eloquent oration perswaded the Londoners to elect Richard for their king. And having received the Earldome of Hereford for reward, besides the high hope of marrying his daughter to the Kings only sonne; after many grievous vexations of mind, and unfortunate attempts, being in the end betrayed and delivered up by his trustiest servant; Hee had his head severed from his body at Salisbury, without the trouble of any of his Peers. And what successe had Richard himself after all these mischiefs & murders, policies, and counter-policies to Christian religion; after such time as with a most mercilesse hand he had pressed out the breath of his Nephews and Naturall Lords, other than the prosperity of so short a life, as it tooke end ere himselfe could well looke over and discerne it; & the great out-cry of innocent blood, obtained at G. O. D. S hands the effusion of his; who became a spectacle of shame & dishonour, both to his friends and enemies.

This cruell King, Henry the 7. cut off, & was therein (no doubt) the immediate instrument of Gods iustice. A politick Prince he was if ever there were any, who by the engine of his wisdom, beate downe & overturned as many strong oppositions both before & after he wore the Crowne, as ever King of England did: I say by his wisdom, because as he ever left the reins of his affectiōs in the hands of his profit, so he alwaies weighed his undertakings by his abilities, leaving nothing more to hazard than so much as cannot be denied it in all humane actions. He had well observed the proceedings of Loys the 11. whom he followed in all that was royall or royall-like, but he was far more iust, & begun not their processes whom he hated or feared by the execution, as Loys did.

He could never endure any mediation in rewarding his servants, & therein exceeding wise; for whatsoever himselfe gave, he himselfe received back the thanks & the love, knowing it well that the affectiōs of men (purchased by nothing so readily as by benefites) were trains that better became great Kings, than great subiects. On the contrary, in whatsoever he grieved his subiects, he wisely put it off on those, that he found fit ministers for such actions. Howsoever the taking off of Stanlies head, who set the Crown on his, & the death of the yongue Earle of Warwick, son to George D. of Clarence, shews, as the successe also did, that he held somewhat of the errors of his Ancesters; for his possession in the first line ended in his grand-children, as that of Edward the Third and Henry the Fourth had done.

Now for King Henry the eight: if all the pictures and patternes of a mercilesse Prince were lost in the World, they might all againe be painted to the life, out of the story of this King. For how many servants did he advance in haste (but for what vertue no man could suspect) and with the change of his fancy ruined againe; no man knowing for what offence? To how many others of more desert gave he abundant flowers from whence to gather bony, and in the end of Haruest burnt them in the Hue? How many wines did he cut off, & cast off, as his fancy & affection chaged? How many Princes of the blood (whereof some of them for age could hardly crawl towards the blocke) with a world of others of all degrees (of whom our common Chronicles have kept the account) did hee execute? yea, in his very death-bed, and when hee was at the point to have given his account to G. O. D. for the abundance of blood already spilt: He imprisoned the Duke of Norfolk the Father; & executed the Earle of Surrey the son, the one, whose desertings he knew not how to value, having never omitted any thing that concerned his own ho-

nor,

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mour, & the kings service, the other never having committed any thing worthy of his least displeasure: the one exceeding valiant and aduised, the other no lesse valiant than learned, & of excellent hope. But besides the sorrowes which he heaped upon the Fatherlesse & Widowes at home, and besides the ruaine enterprises abroad, wherein it is thought that he consumed more treasure, than all our Victorious Kings did in their severall Conquests: what causelesse and cruell wars did he make upon his own Nephew King Iames the first? What Lawes & Wills did he devise to establish this Kingdome in his owne issues? using his sharpest weapons to cut off, and cutt downe those branches; which sprang from the same root that himselfe did. And in the end (notwithstanding these his so many irreligious prouisions) it pleased God to take away all his owne, without increase; though, for themselves in their severall kindes, all Princes of eminent vertue. For these words of Samuel to Agag King of the Amalikites, haue beene verified upon many others: As thy sword hath made other women childlesse, so shall thy mother be childlesse among other women. And that blood which the same King Henry affirmed, that the cold aire of Scotland had frozen upon the North, God hath diffused by the sunshine of his grace; from whence His Maiesty now living, & long to live, is descended. Of whom I may say it truly; That if all the malice of the world were infused into one eie; yet could it not discerne in his life, even to this day, any one of those spots, by which the consciences of all the forenamed Princes (in effect) haue bin defiled; nor any droppe of that innocent blood on the sword of his iustice, with which the most that fore-went him, haue stained both their hands and fame. And for this Crowne of England; it may truly be auided: That he hath received it euen from the hand of God, and hath staied the time of putting it on, howsoever he were provoked to hasten it: That he neuer tooke reuenge of any man, that sought to put him beside it: That he refused the assistance of Her enemies, that wore it long, with as great glory as euer Princeesse did: That his Maiesty entred not by a breach, nor by blood; but by the Ordinary gate, which his owne right set open, and into which, by a generall love and obedience, He was received. And howsoever His Maiesties preceding title to this Kingdome, was perferred by many Princes (witness the Treaty at Cambray in the yeare, 1559) yet he neuer pleased to dispute it, during the life of that renowned Lady his Predecessor; no, notwithstanding the injury of not being declared Heire, in all the time of Her long raigne.

Neither ought we to forget, or neglect our thankfulness to G. O. D. for the uniting of the Northern parts of Brittain to the South, to wit, of Scotland to England, which though they were separated by small brookes and banks, yet by reason of the long continued warre, and the cruelties exercised upon each other, in the affliction of the Nations, they were infinitely severed. This I say is not the least of Gods blessings; which His Maiesty hath brought with him vnto this Land: No, put all our petty grieuances together, & heap them vp to their height, they will appeare but as a Mole-hill compared with the Mountaine of this concord. And if all the Historians since, then haue acknowledged the uniting of the Red-Rose, and the White, for the greatest happinesse; (Christian Religion excepted) that euer this Kingdome received from G. O. D. certainly the peace betwene the two Lions of gold and gules, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former; for by it, besides the sparing of our british blood, heretofore and during the difference, so often & abundantly shed; the state of England is more assured, the Kingdome more enabled



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inabled to recover her ancient honour and rights, and by it made more inuincible, than by all our former alliances, practices, policies & conquests. It is true that hereof we do not yet finde the effect. But had the Duke of Parma in the year 1588, ioyned the army which he commanded, with that of Spaine, and landed it on the south coast; & had his Maiesty at the same time declared himselfe against vs in the north: it is easie to diuine what had become of the liberty of England, certainly we would then without murmur haue brought this vniion a farre greater praise than it hath since cost vs. It is true, that there was neuer any Comon weale or Kingdome in the world, wherein no man had cause to lament. Kings liue in the world & not about it. They are not infinit to examine euery mans cause, or to relieue euery mans wants, And yet in the latter, (though not by his owne preiudice) His Maiestic hath had more compassion of other mens necessities, than of his own Coffers. Of whom it may be said as of Salomon, Dedit Deus Salomoni latitudinem cordis: Which if other men do not vnderstand with Pineda, to be meant by Liberality, but by Latitudo of knowledge; yet may it be better spoken of His Maiesty, than of anie King that euer England had; who as well in diuine, as humane vnderstanding, hath exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees.

See comment.  
i. gal. 1. K. 4.

I could say much more of the Kings Maiesty, without flatterie: did I not feare the imputation of presumption, & withall suspect, that it might befall these papers of mine, (though the losse were little) as it did the Pictures of Queen Elizabeth, made by vnskilfull and common Painters, which by her owne commandement were knocke in peeces and cast into the fire. For ill Artists, in setting out the beautie of the externall, and weake writers, in describing the vertues of the internall; doe often leaue to posterity, of well formed faces a deformed memory; and of the most Perfect and Princely mindes, a most defective representation. It may suffice, and there needs no other discourse; if the honest Reader but compare the cruell & turbulent passages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbour-Princes (of whom for that purpose I haue inserted this brieue discourse) with His Maiesties temperate, reuengesse, and liberal disposition: I say, that if the honest Reader weigh them iustly, and with an euen hand: and withall but bestow euery deformed child on his true Parent; He shall find, that there is no man that hath so iust cause to complaine, as the King himselfe hath. Now as we haue told the successe of the trumperies and cruelties of our owne Kings, and other great personages: so we finde, that G O D is euery where the same G O D. And as it pleased him to punish the vsurpation, & vnnatural cruelty of Henry the first, & of our third Edward, in their Children for many generations: so dealt He with the sons of Loyes Debonaire, the son of Charles the great, or Charlemaine. For after such time as Debonaire of France, had torne out the eies of Bernard his Nephew, the son of Pepin the eldest sonne of Charlemaine, & heire of the Empire, & then caused him to die in prison, as did our Henry to Robert his eldest brother: there followed nothing but murders vpon murders, poisoning, imprisonments, & ciuill war; till the whole race of that famous Emperour was extinguished. And though Debonaire, after he had rid himselfe of his Nephew by a violent death, & of his bastard brothers by a ciuill death (hauing inclosed them with sure guard, at the daies of their liues, within a Monastery) held himselfe secure from all opposition: Yet God raised vp against him (which he suspected not) his own sons, to vex him, to inuade him, to take him prisoner, & to depose him; his owne sons, with whom (to satisfie their ambition) he

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he had shared his estate, and giuen them Crownes to weare; and Kingdomes to gouerne, during his owne life. Iea his eldest son Lothaire (for he had foure, three by his first wife, & one by his second, to wit, Lothaire, Pepin, Loys, and Charles) made it the cause of his depofition, That he had vsed violence towards his brothers and kinsmen; and that he had suffered his Nephew (whom he might haue deliuered) to be slaine, eo quod, saith the Text, fratribus, & propinquis violentiam intulerit, et nepotem, suum, quem ipse liberare poterat, interfici permisit: Because he used violence to his Brothers and Kinsmen, & suffered his Nephew to be slaine whom he might haue deliuered.

Step. Pasquiere  
Recher. d. 5. c. 11.

Yet did he that which few Kings doe; namely repent him of his cruelty. For, among many other things, which he performed in the Generall Assembly of the States, it follows: Post hæc autem palam se errasse confessus, & imitatus Imperatoris Theodosii exemplum, penitentiam spontaneam suscepit, tam de his, quam quæ in Bernardum proprium nepotem gesserat. After this hee did openly confesse himselfe to haue erred, and following the example of the Emperour Theodosius, hee vnderwent voluntary penance, as well for his other offences, as for that which he had done against Bernard his owne Nephew.

Posq. ibidem.

This he did; and it was praise-worthy. But the blood that is vniuently spilt; is not againe gathered vp from the ground by repentance. These Medicines, ministred to the dead, haue but dead rewards.

This King, as I haue said, had foure Sonnes. To Lothaire his eldest he gaue the Kingdome of Italy; as Charlemaine, his father, had done to Pepin the father of Bernard, who was to succeed him in the Empire. To Pepin the second son he gaue the Kingdome of Aquitaine: to Loys, the Kingdome of Bauier: and to Charles, whom he had by a second wife called Iudith, the remainder of the Kingdome of France. But this second wife, being a Mother-in-law to the rest, perswaded Debonaire to cast his son Pepin out of Aquitaine; therby to greaten Charles, which, after the death of his sonne Pepin, he prosecuted to effect against his Grand-child bearing the same name. In the meane while, being inuaded by his son Loys of Bauier, he dies for griefe.

Debonaire dead, Loys of Bauier, & Charles afterwards called the bald, & their Nephew Pepin of Aquitaine, ioine in league against the Emperour Lothaire their eldest brother. They fight neere to Auxerre the most bloody battaile that euer was stroken in France: in which, the marueilous losse of Nobility, & men of war, gaue courage to the Saracens to inuade Italy; to the Hunnes to fall vpon Almaine; & the Danes to enter vpon Normandy. Charles the bald by treason seizeth vpon his Nephew Pepin, kills him in a Cloyster: Carloman rebels against his Father Charles the bald, the Father burns out the eies of his Son Carloman; Bauier inuades the Emperour Lothaire his brother, Lothaire quits the Empire; Hee is assailed and wounded to the heart by his owne conscience, for his rebellion against his Father, and for his other cruelties, and dies in a Monastery. Charles the bald, the Vile oppresseth his Nephewes the Sonnes of Lothaire, hee vsurpeth the Empire to the preiudice of Loyes of Bauier his elder Brother; Bauiers armies and his Sonne Carloman are beaten, hee dies of griefe, & the Vsurper Charles is poisoned by Zedechias a Iew his Physician; his Son Loys le Beque dies of the same drinke. Beque had Charles the simple and

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and two Bastards, Loys and Carloman; they rebell against their Brother, but the eldest breakes his Neck, the younger is slain by a wild Bore; the son of Bauiero had the same ill destiny, and brake his Neck by a fall out of a Window in sporting with his companions. Charles the grosse becomes Lord of all that the sonnes of Debonaire held in Germanie; where with not contented, he invades Charles the simple: but being forsaken of his Nobility, of his wife, and of his understanding, he dies a distracted beggar. Charles the simple is held in Wardship by Eudes Maior of the Pallace, then by Robert the Brother of Eudes: and lastly, being taken by the Earle of Vermandois, hee is forced to dye in the prison of Peron. Loys the sonne of Charles the simple breakes his Neck in chasing a Wolfe, and of the two sonnes of this Loys, the one dies of poyson, the other dies in the prison of Orleans, after whom Hugh Capet, of another race, and a stranger to the French, makes himselfe King.

These miserable ends had the issues of Debonaire, who after he had once appalled iniustice with authority, his sonnes and successors tooke up the fashion, and wore that Garment so long without other provision, as when the same was torne from their shoulders, every man despised them as miserable & naked beggars. The wretched successs they had, (saith a learned French-man) shewes, que en ceste mort il y a voit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la iustice: that in the death of that Prince, to wit, of Bernard the son of Pepin, the true heire of Charlemaine, men had more meddling than either God, or Iustice had.

But to come neerer home; it is certaine that Francis the first, one of the worst Kings (except for that fact) that euer the French-men had, did neuer enioy himselfe, after he had commended the destruction of the Protestants of Mirandol & Cabrières, to the Parliament of Prouence, which poore people were thereupon burnt and murdered, men, women, and children. It is true that the said King Francis repented himselfe of the fact, and gaue charge to Henry his sonne, to doe iustice vpon the Murderers, threatening his sonne with GODS iudgements, if he neglected it. But this vnreasonable care of his, GOD was not pleased to accept for payment. For after Henry himselfe was slaine in sport by Montgomery, wee all may remember what became of his foure sonnes, Francis, Charles, Henry, and Hercules. Of which although three of them became Kings, and were married to beautifull and vertuous Ladies: yet were they, one after another, cast out of the world, without stock or seed. And notwithstanding their subtilty, and breach of faith, with all their Massacres vpon those of the religion, and great effusion of blood, the Crowne was set on his head, whom they all laboured to dissolue; the Protestants remaine more in number than euer they were, and hold to this day more strong cities than euer they had.

Let vs now see if God be not the same God in Spaine, as in England & France. Towards whom wee will looke no further backe than to Don Pedro of Castile: in respect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of Sicily, our Richard the third, and the great Euan Vasilowick of Moscouia, were but petty ones: this Castilian, of all Christian and Heathen Kings, hauing bene the most mercilesse. For, besides those of his own Bloud and Nobility, which he caused to be slaine in his owne Court & Chamber, as Sancho Ruis, the great Master of Calatraua, Ruis Gonfales, Alphonso Tello, and Don Iohn of Arragon, whom hee cut in peeces and cast into the streets, denying him Christian buriall: I say, besides these, and the slaughter

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of Gomes Manriquez, Diego Peres, Alphonso Gomes, and the great Commander of Castile; He made away the two Infantes of Arragon his Cousin-germans, his brother Don Frederick, Don Iohn de la Cerda, Albuquerques, Nugnes de Guzmá, Coxnell, Cabrita, Tenorio, Mendes de Toledo, Gutierrez his great Treasurers, & all his kindred; & a world of others. Neither did he spare his two youngest brothers, innocent Princes: whom after he had kept in close prison from their Cradles, till one of them had liued sixteen years, and the other foureteen; he murdered them there. Nay, he spared not his Mother, nor his wife the Lady Blanch of Bourbon. Lastly, as he caused the Archbishop of Toledo, & the Dean to be killed of purpose to enioy their treasures: so did he put to death Mahomet Aben Alhamar King of Barbary, with 37. of his Nobility, that came vnto him for succour, with a great summe of money, & vnto (by his fauour) some companies of souldiers to returne withall. Yet, he would needs assist the Flamanian with his owne hand in the execution of the old King, in so much as Pope Viban declared him an enemy both to God and Man. But what was his end? Having bene formerly beaten out of his Kingdome, and re-established by the valour of the English Nation, led by the famous Duke of Lancaster: He was stabbed to death by his younger Brother the Earle of Astramara, who dispossessed all his Children of their inheritance, which, but for the Fathers iniustice and cruelty, had neuer beene in danger of any such thing.

If we can parallel any man with this King, it must be Duke Iohn of Burgoigne, who, after his traiterous murder of the Duke of Orleans, caused the Constable of Armagnac, the Chancellor of France, the Bishops of Cōstance, Bayeux, Eureux, Senlis, Saintes, and other religious and reuerend Church-men, the Earle of gran Pré, Hector of Chartres, and (in effect) all the officers of iustice, of the Chamber of Accompts, Treasury, and Request, (with sixteen hundred others to accompany them) to be suddenly and violently slaine. Hereby, while he hoped to gouerne, and to haue mastered France: He was soone after stricken with an axe in the face, in the presence of the Dauphin; and, without any leisure to repent his misdeeds, presently slaine. These were the Louers of other mens miseries: and misery

Now for the Kings of Spaine, which liued both with Henry the seventh, Henry the eight, Queene Mary, and Queene Elizabeth; Ferdinand of Arragon was the first: and the first that laid the foundation of the present Austrian greatness. For this King did not content himselfe to hold Arragon by the usurpation of his Ancestor, & to fasten therevnto the Kingdome of Castile and Leon, which Isabel his wife held by strong band, and his assistance, from her owne Neece the Daughter of the last Henry: but most cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of right, Hee also cast his owne Neece out of the Kingdome of Nauarre, and, contrary to faith, and the promise that he made to restore it, fortified the best places; and so wasted the rest, as there was no means left for any army to invade it. This King, I say, that betrayed also Ferdinand and Frederick Kings of Naples, Princes of his owne bloud, and by double alliance tyed vnto him; sold them to the French: and with the same Army, sent for their succour vnder Gonfaluo, cast them out; and shared their Kingdome with the French, whom afterwards he most shamefully betrayed.

This wise and politique King, who sold Heauen and his owne Honour, to make his

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his sonne the Prince of Spaine, the greatest Monarch of the world: saw him die in the flower of his yeares, and his wife great with childe; with her vntimely birth, as once & together buried. His eldest daughter married vnto Don Alpho Prince of Portugall, behead her first husband, brake his necke in her presence; and being with childe by her second, died with it. A iust iudgement of God vpon the race of Iohn, father to Alphonso, now wholly extinguished: who had not onely left many disconsolate Mothers in Portugall, by the slaughter of their children; but had formerly slaine with his owne hand, the sonne and onely comfort of his Aunt the Lady Beatrix, Dutchesse of Viseo: The second Daughter of Ferdinand, married to the Arch-Duke Philip, turned foole, and died mad and deprived. His third daughter, bestowed on King Henry the eight, He saw cast off by the King: the mother of many troubles in England; & the mother of a daughter, that in her unhappy zeale shed a world of innocent blood, lost Calice to the French; and died heart-broken without increase. To conclude: all those Kingdomes of Ferdinand haue masters of a new name; and, by a strange family are governed and posselt.

Charles the fift, son to the Arch-Duke Philip, in whose vain enterprises vpon the French, vpon the Alman, & other Princes and States, so many multitudes of Christian souldiers, and renowned Captaines, were consumed: who gaue the while a most perillous entrance to the Turkes, and suffered Rhodes the Key of Christendom, to be taken; was in conclusion chased out of France, and in a sort out of Germany, and left to the French, Mentz, Toul, and Verdun, places belonging to the Empire, stole away from Insburg; and scaled the Alpes by torch-light, pursued by Duke Maurice, hauing hoped to swallow vp all those dominions where-in hee concocted nothing saue his owne disgraces. And hauing, after the slaughter of so many Millions of men, no one foote of ground in cyther: Hee crept into a Cloyster, and made himselfe a Pensioner of an hundred thousand Duckets by the yeare to his sonne Philip, from whom he very slowly received his meane and ordinary maintenance.

His Son againe King Philip the second, not satisfied to hold Holland and Zealand, (wrested by his ancestors from Iaqueline their lawfull Princeesse) & to possesse in peace many other Prouinces of the Netherlands: perswaded by that mischievous Cardinall of Granuile, and other Romish Tyrants; not onely forgot the most remarkable seruices, done to his Father the Emperour, by the Nobilitie of those countries; not onely forgot the Present made him vpon his entry, of forty millions of Florens, called the Nouale aide; nor onely forgot that hee had twice most solemnly iurorne to the Generall States, to maintaine and preferre their ancient rights, priuiledges, and customes, which they had enioyed vnder their thirtie and fife Earles before him; Conditionall Princes of those Prouinces: but beginning first to constraime them, and enthral them by the Spanish Inquisition, and then to impouerish them by many new deuised and intolerable impositions; he lastly, by strong hand and maine force, attempted to make himselfe not onely an absolute Monarch ouer them, like vnto the Kings and Soueraignes of England and France, but Turke-like, to tread vnder his feet all their Nationall and fundamentall Lawes, Priuiledges, and ancient Rights. To effect which, after he had easily obtained from the Pope a Dispensation of his former Oathes (which Dispensation was the true cause of the war & bloodshed since then;) & after he had tried what he could performe, by diuiding of their owne Nobility, vnder the govern-

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ment of his base sister, Margaret of Austria, & the Cardinall Granuile, He employed that most merciles Spaniard Don Ferdinand Aluarez of Toledo, Duke of Alua; followed with a powerfull army of strange Nations: by whom hee first slaughtered that renowned Captaine the Earle of Egmont, Prince of Gaucare: & Philip Montmorency Earle of Horn: made away Montigue, & the Marquis of Bergues, & cut off in those sixe yeares (that Alua gouerned) of Gentlemen & others, eightene thousand & sixe hundred, by the hands of the Hangman besides all his other barbarous murders & massacres. By whose ministry when he could not yet bring his affaires to their wished ends, hauing it in his hope to worke that by subtilty, which he had failed to performe by force: He sent for Gouernour his bastard brother Don Iohn of Auitria; a Prince of great hope, & very gracions to those people. But he, vsing the same Papall aduantage that his predecessors had done, made no scruple to take Oath vpon the Holy Euangelists, to obserue the treaty made with the Generall States; & to discharge the Low Countries of all Spaniards, & other strangers, therein garrisoned: Towards whose Pay & Pasport, the Netherlands strained themselves to make payment of 600. thousand pounds, Which monies receiued, He suddenly surprised the Citadells of Antwerp & Namures: not doubting (being unsuspected by the States) to haue posselt himselfe of all the maistring places of those Prouinces. For what sooner he ouerly pretended, Hee held in secret a contrary counsell with the Secretary Escouedo, Rodius, Barlemont, & others, Ministers of the Spanish tyranny; formerly practised, & now againe intended. But let vs now see the effect & end of this perjury, & of all other the Dukes cruelties. First, for himselfe; after he had murdered so many of the Nobility, executed (as aforesaid) eighteen thousand six hundred in sixe yeares; & most cruelly slaine Man, Woman, and Childe, in Mecklin, Zutphen, Naerden and other places; and after he had consumed six and thirti millions of treasure in sixe yeares: notwithstanding his Spanish want, That he would suffocate the Hollanders in their owne butter-barrells, and milk-tubbes: Hee departed the country no otherwise accompanied, than with the curse & detestation of the whole Nation; leaving his Masters affaires in a tenfold worse estate, than hee found them at his first arriuall. For Don Iohn, whose haughty conceit of himselfe overcame the greatest difficulties; though his iudgement were ouer-weake to manage the least: what wonders did his fearefull breach of faith bring forth other than the King his brothers ieaousie and distrust; with the vntimely death that seized him, euen in the flower of his youth? And for Escouedo his sharpe-witted Secretarie; who in his owne imagination had conquered for his Master both England & the Netherlands, being sent into Spaine vpon some new proiect, Hee was at the first arriuall, & before any access to the King, by certaine Russians appointed by Anthony Peres (though by better warrant than his) rudely murdered in his own lodging. Lastly, if we consider the King of Spaines carriage, his counsaile & successe in this businesse; there is nothing left to the memory of man more remarkable. For he hath paid about an hundred Millions, & the lines of about foure hundred thousand Christians for the losse of all those countries; which, for beauty, gaue place to none; & for reuennue, did equall his West Indies: for the losse of a nation which most willingly obeyed him; & who at this day, after forty yeares waire, are in debt of all his forces become a free Estate, & far more rich and powerfull, than they were, when he first began to impouerish and oppresse them.

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Oh by what plots, by what forswearings, betrayings, oppressions, imprisonments, tortures, poisonings, and vnder what reasons of State, and politique subtilty, haue these forenamed Kings, both strangers, and of our owne Nation; pulled the vengeance of GOD vpon themselves, vpon theirs, and vpon their prudent ministers! and in the end haue brought those things to passe for their enemies, and seene an effect so directly contrary to all their owne counsailes and cruelties, as the one could neuer haue hoped for themselves, and the other neuer haue succeeded; if w<sup>ch</sup> such opposition had euer been made. GOD hath said it and performed it euer: *Perdā sapientiam sapientum, I will destroy the wisdome of the wise.*

But what of all this? and to what end doe we lay before the eyes of the liuing, the fall and fortunes of the dead: seeing the world is the same that it hath bin; or the children of the present time, will still obey their parents? It is in the present time, that all the wits of the world are exercised. To hold the times wee haue, wee hold all things lawfull: and either we hope to hold them for euer; or at least wee hope, that there is nothing after them to be hoped for. For as wee are content to forget our owne experience, and to counterfeite the ignorance of our owne knowledge, in all things that concerne our selues, or perswade our selues, that GOD hath giuen vs letters patents to pursue all our irreligious affections, with a non obstante: so we neither looke behind vs what hath been, nor before vs what shall be. It is true, that the quantity which we haue, is of the body: wee are by it ioyned to the earth: we are compounded of earth; and we inhabite it. The Heauens are high, farre off, and vnsearchable: we haue sense and feeling of corporall things; and of euerall grace, but by reuelation. No maruaile then that our thoughts are also earthy: and it is lesse to be wondred at, that the words of worthlesse men cannot cleanse them: seeing their doctrine and instruction, whose vnderstanding the Holy Ghost vouchsafed to inhabite, haue not performed it. For as the Prophet Esay cryed out long agoe, Lord, who hath beleueed our reports? And out of doubt, as Esay complained then for himselfe and others: so are they lesse beleueed, euery day after other. For although Religion, and the truth thereof, be in euery mans mouth, yea, in the discourse of euery woman, who for the greatest number are but Idols of vanity: what is it other than an vniuersall dissimulation? We profess that we know GOD: but by workes we deny him. For Beatitudo doth not consist in the knowledge of diuine things, but in a diuine life: for the Diuells know them better than men. *Beatitudo non est diuinorum cognitio, sed vita diuina.* And certainly there is nothing more to be admired, and more to bee lamented, than the priuate contention, the passionate dispute, the personall hatred, and the perpetuall war, massacres, and murders, for Religion among Christians: the discourse whereof hath so occupied the World, as it hath well nere driuen the practice thereof out of the World. Who would not soone resolute, that tooke knowledge but of the religious disputations among men, and not of their liues which dispute, that there were no other thing in their desires, than the purchase of Heauen; and that the World it selfe were but vsed as it ought, and as an lme or place, wherein to repose our selues in passing on towards our celestiaall habitation? when on the contrary, besides the discourse and outward profession, the soule hath nothing but hypocrisy. We are all (in effect) become comedians in religion: and while wee act in gesture and voyce, diuine vertues, in all the course of our liues we renounce our Persons, and the parts wee play. For Charity, Iustice, and Truth, haue

Paulus Titus  
Ch. i. c. 10.

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haue but their being in termes, like the Philosophy *Materia prima.*

Neither is it that wisdome, which Salomon desireth to be the Schoole-Mistresse of the knowledge of God; that hath valuation in the world: it is enough that we giue it our good word: but the same which is altogether exercised in the service of the World, as the gathering of riches chiefly, by which we purchase and obtaine honour, with the many respects which attend it. These indeed be the markes, which (when we haue bent our consciences to the highest) we all shoote at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the care is our owne; the care our owne in this life, the perill our owne in the future: and yet when we haue gathered the greatest abundance; we our selues enioy no more thereof, than so much as belongs to our maintenance. For the rest, He that had the greatest wisdome, and the greatest ability that euer man had, hath told vs that this is the use: When goods increase (saith Salomon) they also increase that eate them; and what good cometh to the Owners, but the beholding thereof with their eyes? As for those that deuoure the rest, and follow vs in faire weather: they againe forsake vs in the first tempest of misfortune, and steere away before the Sea and Winde; leaving vs to the malice of our destinies. Of these, among a thousand examples, I will take but one out of Master Danner, and vse his owne words: Whilest the Emperour Charles the first, after the resignation of his Estates, staied at Vloshing for winde, to carry him his last iourney into Spaine; Hee conferred on a time with Seldius, his brother Ferdinands Embassadour, till the deepe of the night. And when Seldius should depart: the Emperour calling for some of his seruants, and no body answering him (for those that attended vpon him, were some gone to their lodgings, and all the rest asleepe) the Emperour tooke vp the candle himselfe, and went before Seldius to light him downe the staires; & so did, notwithstanding all the resistance that Seldius could make. And when He was come to the staires foote, Hee said thus vnto him: Seldius, remember this of Charles the Emperour, when he shall be dead and gone, That Him, whom thou hast knowne in thy time eniured with so many mighty Armies, and Guards of souldiers, thou hast also scene alone, abandoned, and forsaken, yea euen of his owne domestiellieall seruants, &c. I acknowledge this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of GOD, which I will by no meanes goe about to withstand.

But you will say that there are some things else, and of greater regard than the former. The first is the reuerend respect that is held of great men, and the Honour done vnto them by all sorts of people. And it is true indeed: provided, that an inward loue for their iustice and piety, accompany the outward worship giuen to their places and power; without which what is the applause of the Multitude, but as the out-cry of an Heard of Animals, who without the knowledge of any true cause, please themselves with the noyse they make? For seeing it is a thing exceeding rare, to distinguish Vertue and Fortune: the most impious (if prosperous) haue euer been applauded: the most vertuous (if vnprosperous) haue euer been despised. For as Fortunes man rides the Horse, so Fortune herselfe rides the Man. Who, when he is descended and on foote: the Man taken from his Beast, and Fortune from the Man; a base groome beates the one, and a bitter contempt spurnes at the other, with equall liberty.

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*The second, is the greatning of our posterity, and the contemplation of their glory whom we leaue behinde vs. Certainly, of those which conceiue that their soules departed take any comfort therein, it may be truly said of them, which Lactantius spake of certaine Heathen Philosophers, quod sapientes sunt in re stulta. For when our spirits immortall shall be once separate from our mortall bodies, & disposed by GOD: there remaineth in them no other ioy of their posterity which succeed, than there doth of pride in that stone, which sleepeeth in the Wall of a Kings Palace; nor any other sorrow for their pouerty, than there doth of shame in that, which beareth vpon a Beggars cottage. Nesciunt mortui, etiam sancti, quid agunt viui, etiam eorum filij, quia animæ mortuorum rebus viuentium non intersunt: The dead, though holy, know nothing of the liuing, no, not of their owne children: for the soules of those departed, are not conuersant with their affaires that remaine. And if wee doubt of Saint Augustine, wee cannot of Iob; who tells vs, That wee know not if our sonnes shall bee honourable: neither shall wee vnderstand concerning them, whether they shall bee of low degree. Which Ecclesiastes also confirmeth: Man walketh in a shadow, and disquieteth himselfe in vaine: hee heapeth vp riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them. The liuing (saith hee) know that they shall die, but the dead know nothing at all: for who can shew vnto man, what shall be after him vnder the Sun? Hee therefore accompteth it among the rest of worldly vanities, to labour and trauaile in the world, not knowing after death, whether a soole or a wife may should enioy the fruits thereof: which made me (saith he) endeavour euē to abhorre mine owne labour. And what can other men hope, whose blessed or sorrowfull estates after death God hath reserved? mans knowledge lying but in his hope, seeing the Prophet Esay confesseth of the elect, That Abraham is ignorant of vs, and Israel knowes vs not. But heroe if we are assured, that the long and darke night of death, (of whose following day wee shall neuer behold the dawne, till his returne that hath triumphed ouer it) shall couer vs ouer till the world be no more. After which, and when we shall againe receiue Organs glorified and incorruptible, the seats of Angelicall affections: in so great admiration shall the soules of the blessed be exercised, as they cannot admit the mixture of any second or lesse ioy, nor any returne of forgone & mortall affection towards friends, kindred, or children. Of whom whether we shall retain any particular knowledge, or in any sort distinguish them: no man can assure vs; & the wisest men doubt. But on the contrary, if a diuine life retain any of those faculties, which the soule exercised in a mortall body; wee shall not at that time so diuide the ioyes of Heauen, as to cast any part thereof on the memory of their felicities which remaine in the World. No, be their estates greater than euer the World gaue, we shall (by the difference knowne vnto vs) euē detest their consideration. And what soeuer comfort shall remaine of all forepast, the same will consist in the charity, which we exercised liuing: and in that Pietie, Iustice, and firme Faith, for which it pleased the infinite mercy of God to accept of vs, and receiue vs. Shall we therefore value honour and riches at nothing? and neglect them, as vnnessearie & vaine? Certainly no. For that infinite wisdom of God, which hath distinguished his Angells by degrees: which hath giuen greater and lesse light & beauty, to Heauenly bodies: which hath made differences betwene beasts and birds: crea-*

*Lact. de falsis  
sap. 3. 1. 19.*

*S. Aug. de ciuit.  
p. 1. 1. 1.*

*Iob. 1. 1. 1.*

*Psal. 39.*

*Ecclesiastes 1. 1.*

*isa. 63. 16.*

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*ed the Eagle and the Flye, the Cedar and the Shrub; and among stones, giuen the fairest tincture to the Ruby, and the quickest light to the Diamond; hath also ordained Kings, Dukes or Leaders of the people, Magistrates, Iudges, and other degrees among men. And as honour is left to posterity, for a marke and ensigne of the vertue and vnderstanding of their Ancestors: so, seeing Siracides preferreth Death before Beggary: and that titles, without proportionable estates, fall vnder the miserable succour of other mens pity; I accompt it foolishnesse to condemne such a care: Provided, that worldly goods be well gotten, and that we raise not our owne buildings out of other mens ruines. For, as Plato doth first preferre the perfection of bodily health; secondly, the forme and beauty; and thirdly, Diuitias nulla fraude quæritas: so Ieremy cries, Woe vnto them that erect their houses by vnrighteousnesse, and their chambers without equity: and Esay the same, Woe to those that spoile and were not spoiled. And it was out of the true wisdom of Salomon, that he commandeth vs, not to drinke the wine of violence, not to lie in wait for bloud, and not to swallow them vp aliue, whose riches we couet: for such are the wayes (saith hee) of euery one that is greedy of gaine.*

*And if we could afford our selues but so much leisure as to consider, That hee which hath most in the world, hath, in respect of the world, nothing in it: and that he which hath the longest time lent him to liue in it, hath yet no proportion at all therein, setting it either by that which is past, when we were not, or by that time which is to come, in which we shall abide for euer: I say, if both to wit, our proportion in the world, and our time in the world, differ not much from that which is nothing, it is not out of any excellency of vnderstanding, that we so much prize the one, which hath (in effect) no being: and so much neglect the other, which hath no ending: coueting those mortall things of the world, as if our soules were therein immortall, and neglecting those things which are immortall, as if our selues after the world were but mortall.*

*But let euery man value his owne wisdom, as he pleaseth. Let the Rich man thinke all soles, that cannot equall his abundance; the Reuenger esteeme all negligent, that haue not trodden down their opposites; the Politician, all grosse that cannot merchandize their faith: Yet when we once come in sight of the Port of death, to which all windes driue vs, & when by letting fall that fatall Anchor, which can neuer be weighed againe, the Navigation of this life takes end. Then it is, I say, that our own cogitations (those sad & seuer cogitations, formerly beaten from vs by our Health and Felicity) returne againe, and pay vs to the vttermost for all the pleasing passages of our liues past. It is then that we cry out to God for mercy; then, when our selues can no longer exercise cruelty toothers: and it is onely then, that we are stricken through the soule with this terrible sentence, That God will not be mockt. For if according to S. Peter, The righteous scarcely be saued: and that God spared not his Angels: where shall those appeare, who, hauing serued their appetites all their liues, presume to thinke, that the seuer Commandements of the All-powerfull God were giuen but in sport: and that the short breath, which we draw when death presseth vs, if we can but fashion it to the sound of Mercy (without any kind of satisfaction or amends) is sufficient? O quam multi, saith a reuerend Father, cum hac spe ad æternos labores & bella descendunt! I confesse that it is a great comfort to our friends, to haue it said, that we ended well for we all*

*Sirac. 40. 1. 1.*

*Plat. de Reg. 1. 2.  
6. 4. in Gorgias.*

*Ier. 22. 13.*

*Esay 33.*

*Prou. 1. 18. 12.  
Prou. 2. 1. 1.  
8. 9. 2. 5. 9. 8.*

*Gal. 6. 7.  
1. Peter.*

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desire (as Balaam did) to die the death of the righteous. But what shall we call a disesteeming, an appoyning, or (indeed) a mocking of God: if those men doe not appoyse him, disesteeme him, and mocke him, that thinke it enough for God, to aske him forgiuenesse at leisure, with the remainder and last drawing of a malicious breath? For what doe they otherwise, that die this kinde of wel-dying, but say vnto God as followeth: We beseech thee, O God, that all the falshoods, forswearings, and treacheries of our liues past, may be pleasing vnto thee; that thou wilt for our sakes (that haue had no leisure to doe any thing for thine) change thy nature (though impossible) and forget to be a iust God; that thou wilt loue iniures and oppressions, call ambition wisdome, and charity foolishnesse. For I shall preiudice my sonne (which I am resolu'd not to doe) if I make restitution; and confesse my selfe to haue been vnjust, (which I am too proud to do) if I deliuer the oppressed. Certainely, these wise worldlings haue either found out a new God, or made One: and in all likelihood such a Leaden One, as Lewis the eleuenth ware in his Cappe; which when he had caused any that be feared, or hated, to be killed, he would take it from his head and kisse it: beseeching it to pardon him this one euill act more, and it should be the last, which (as at other times) he did, when by the practice of a Cardinall and a falsified Sacrament, he caused the Earle of Armagnac to be stabbed to death; mockeries indeed fit to be vsed towards a Leaden, but not towards the euertlasting God. But of this composition are all deuout louers of the World, that they feare all that is durelesse and ridiculous: they feare the plots and practises of their opposites and their very whisperings: they feare the opinions of men which beate but vpon shadowes: they flatter and forsake the prosperous and vnprosperous, be they friends or Kings: yea they diue vnder water like Duckes, at euery pebble stone, that's but throwne towards them by a powerfull hand: and on the contrary, they shew an obdurate and Giantlike valour, against the terrible iudgements of the Al-powerfull God: yea they shew themselves gods against God, and slaves towards men; towards men whose bodies and consciences are alike rotten.

Now for the rest: If we truly examine the difference of both conditions, to wit, of the rich and mighty, whom we call fortunate, and of the poore & oppressed, whom we account wretches: we shall find the happinesse of the one, and the miserable estate of the other, so tied by God to the very instant, and both so subiect to interchange (witness the sudden downefall of the greatest Princes, and the speedy vprising of the meanest persons) as the one hath nothing so certaine, whereof to boast; nor the other so vncertaine, whereof to bewaile it selfe. For there is no man so assured of his honour, of his riches, health, or life; but that he may be deprived of eyther or all, the very next houre or day to come. Quid vespere vehar, incertum est, What the euening will bring with it, is vncertaine. And yet ye cannot tell (saith S. Iames) what shall be to morrow. To day he is set vp, and to morrow he shall not be found: for hee is turned into dust, and his purpose perislieth. And although the aire which compasseth aduersity, be very obscure: yet therein we better discern the God, than in that shining light which enuironeth worldly glory; through which, for the cleernesse thereof, there is no vanity which escapeth our sight. And let aduersity seem what it will, to happy men ridiculous, who make themselves merry at other mens misfortunes; and to those vnder the crosse, grievous: yet this is true, That for all that is past, to the very instant, the portions remaining are equall to either. For be it that wee

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haue liued many yeares, and (according to Salomon) in them all wee haue reioyced, or beere that we haue measured the same length of dayes, and therein haue euermore sorrowed: yet looking backe from our present being, wee finde both the one and the other, to wit, the ioy and the woe, sayled one of sight; and death, which doth pursue vs & hold vs in chace, from our infancy, hath gathered it. Quicquid erat is retro est, mors tenet: What soeuer of our age is past, death holds it. So as who soeuer hee bee, no whom Fortune hath beene a seruant, and the Time a friend, let him but take the account of his memory (for wee haue no other keeper of our pleasures past) and truly examine what it hath reserved by, other of beauty and youth, or fore-gone delights; what it hath saved, that it might last of his dearest affections, or of whatener else the amorous Spring time gaue his thoughts of contentment, then vnvaluable; and hee shall finde that all the we which his elder yeares haue, can draw no other vapour out of these dissolutions; than heauy secret, and sad sighes. He shall finde nothing remaining, but those furrowes, which grow vpon after our fast-springing youth; ouertake it, when it is at a stand; and ouer-top it vterly, when it begins to wither: in so much as looking back from the very instant time, & from our now being, the poore, diseased, & vntu creature, hath as little sense of all his former miseries and paines, as hee, that is most blest in common opinion, hath of his fore-passed pleasures and delights. For what soeuer is cast behinde vs, is iust nothing: and what is to come, deceitfull hope hath it: Omnia quæ euentura sunt, in incerto latent. Onely those few blacke Swannes I must except: who hauing had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their owne price; doe, by retaining the comfortable memory of a well & sted life, behold death without dread, and the graue without feare; and embrace both, as necessary guides to endlesse glory.

For my selfe, this is my consolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the sorrowes of this life are but of two sorts: whereof the one hath respect to GOD; the other, to the World. In the first we complaine to GOD against our selues, for our offences against him; and confesse, Et tu iustus es in omnibus quæ venterunt super nos, And thou O Lord art iust in all that hath befallen vs. In the second wee complaine, to our selues against GOD: as if hee had done vs wrong, either in not giuing vs worldly goods and honours, answering our appetites: or for taking them againe from vs hauing had them; forgetting that humble & iust acknowledgment of lob, the Lord hath giuen, & the Lord hath taken. To the first of which Saint Paul hath promised blessednesse; to the second, death: And out of doubt he is either a foole, or vngratefull to GOD, or both, that doth not acknowledge, how much soeuer his estate be, that the same is yet far greater, than that which God oweth him: or doth not acknowledge, how sharpe soeuer his afflictions be, that the same are yet far lesse, than those which are due vnto him. And if an Heathen wise man call the aduersities of the world but tributa viuendi, the tributes of liuing: a wise Christian man ought to know them, & beare them; but as the tributes of offending. He ought to beare them manlike, & resolutely, & not as those whining souldiers do, qui gementes sequuntur imperatorem.

For seeing God, who is the Author of all our tragedies, hath written out for vs, & appointed vs all the parts we are to play: and hath not, in their distribution, been partiall to the most mighty Princes of the world; That gaue vnto Darius the part of the greatest Emperour, and the part of the most miserable beggar,

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a beggar begging water of an Enemy, to quench the great drought of death; That appointed Baiazet to play the Grand Signior of the Turks in the morning, & in the same day, the Fooles of Tamerlane (both which parts Valerian had also played, being taken by Sapores:) that made Bellisarius play the most victorious Captaine, & lastly the part of a blinde beggar, of which examples many thousands may be produced: why should other men, who are but as the least wormes, complain of wrongs? Certainly there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous world, than to resolve, That the change of fortune on the great Theater, is but as the change of garments on the lesse. For when on the one and the other, every man wears but his own skin; the Players are all alike. Now if any man out of weaknes prize the passages of this world otherwise (for saith Petrarch, Magni ingenii est reuocare mentem a sensibus) it is by reason of that unhappy fantasie of ours, which forgeth in the braines of Man all the miseries (the corporall excepted) whereunto he is subiect. Therein it is, that Misfortune & Adversity work all that they worke. For seeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, whatsoeuer Fortune or Force takes from any one: it were a foolish madnesse in the shipwracke of worldly things, where all sinks but the Sorrow, to saue it. That were, as Seneca saith, Fortunæ succumbere, quod tristius est omni fato, To fall vnder Fortune, of all other the most miserable destinie.

But it is now time to sound a retrait; and to desire to be excused of this long pursuit: and withall, that the good intent, which hath moued mee to draw the picture of time past (which we call History) in so large a Table, may also be accepted in place of a better reason.

The examples of diuine providence, every where found (the first diuine Histories being nothing else but a continuation of such examples) haue perswaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things; to wit, Creation. For though these two glorious actions of the Almighty be so neere, and (as it were) linked together, that the one necessarily implieth the other: (Creation inferring Providence (for what father forsaketh the child that he hath begotten?) and Providence presupposing Creation: Yet many of those that haue seemed to excell in worldly wisdom, haue gone about to disioyne this coherence; the Epicure denying both Creation and Providence, but granting that the world had a Beginning; the Aristotelian granting Providence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.

Now although this doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time (for by faith we vnderstand, that the world was made by the word of God) be too weighty a worke for Aristotles rotten ground to beare vpon, vpon which he hath (notwithstanding) founded the Defences and Fortresses of all his Verball Doctrine: Yet that the necessity of infinite power, and the worlds beginning, and the impossibility of the contrary euen in the iudgement of Naturall reason, wherein he beleueed, had not better informed him, it is greatly to be maruailed at. And it is no lesse strange, that those men which are desirous of knowledge (seeing Aristotle hath failed in this maine point; and taught little other than termes in the rest) haue so retrenched their mindes from the following and overtaking of truth, and so absolutely subiected themselves to the law of those Philosophicall principles; as all contrary kinde of teaching, in the search of causes, they haue condemned either for phantasticall, or curious. But doth it follow, that the positions of Heathen Philosophers, are vndoubted grounds and principles

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indeed; because so called? Or that idle diction, doth make them to be such? Certainly no. But this is true, That where naturall reason hath built any thing so strong against itselfe, as the same reason can hardly assaile it, much lesse better it daunces the same weneary question of Nature, and finite power, may be approved for a fundamentall law of humane knowledge. For saith Charron in his booke of *Charron de*  
*Sageste.* *Wisdoma.* Tout proposition humaine a autant d'autorite quel'autre, si la raison n'en fait la difference; Every humane proposition hath equall authority, it reason make not the difference, the rest being but the fables of principles. Whereof how shall the vpright and vnpartiall iudgement of man, giue a sentence, where opposition and examination are not admitted to giue in euidence? And to this purpose it was well said of Lactantius, Sapientiam tibi adimunt, qui sine ulla iudicio inuenta maiorum probant, & ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur. They neglect their owne wisdom, who without any iudgement approve the inuocation of those that fore-went them; & suffer themselves after the manner of Beasts, to be led by them. By the aduantage of which (such and dulness, ignorance is now become so powerfull a Tyrant: as it hath set true Philosophy, Physick, and Diuinity in a Pillory; and written over the first, Contra negantem Principia; ouer the second; Virtus specifica; and ouer the third, Ecclesia Romana.

But for my selfe, I shall neuer be perswaded, that God hath shut vp all light of Learning within the lanthorne of Aristotles braines: or that it was euer said vnto him, as vnto Eldras, Accendam in Corde tuo. Lucernam intellectus: that God hath giuen inuention but to the Heathen; and that they onely inuaded Nature, and found the strength and bottom thereof; the same Nature hauing consumed all her store, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That these and these be the causes of these and these effects; Time hath taught vs; and not reason: and so hath experience without Art. The Cheefe-wife knoweth it as well as the Philosopher, that soure Rennet doth coagulate her milke into a curd. But if wee aske a reason of this cause, why the sowrenesse doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I thinke that there is nothing to be found in vulgar Philosophy, to satisfie this and many other like vulgar questions. But man to couer his ignorance in the least things, who cannot giue a true reason for the Grasse vnder his feet, why it should be greene rather than red, or of any other colour; that could neuer yet discover the way and reason of Natures working, in those which are farre lesse noble creatures than himselfe, who is farre more Noble than the Heauens themselves: Man (saith Salomon) that can hardly discern the things that are vpon the Earth, and with great labour finde out the things that are before vs; that hath so short a time in the world, as he no sooner begins to learne, than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledge, in his vnderstanding, nothing truly; that is ignorant of the Essence of his owne soule, and which the wisest of the Naturalists (if Aristotle be he) could neuer so much as define, but by the Action & Effect, telling vs what it works (which all men know as well as he) but not what it is, which neither he, nor any else, doth know, but GOD that created it; (For though I were perfect, yet I know not my soule, saith Iob.) Man, I say, that is but an Idiot in the next cause of his owne life, and in the cause of all actions of his life: will (notwithstanding) examine the Art of GOD in creating the World; of GOD, who (saith Iob) is so excellent as wee know him not, *Iob 41.*  
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and examine the beginning of the worke, which had end before: Mankind had a beginning of being. He will vifible Gods power to make a world, without matter to make it of. He will rather giue the moethes of the Aire for a caufe, caft the work on necessity or chance; bestow the honour thereof on Nature; make two powers, the one to be the Author of the Matter, the other of the Forme; and lastly, for want of a worke-man, haue it Eternalls which latter opinion Aristotle to make himselfe the Author of a new Doctrine, brought into the World: and his Sectatours haue maintained it; parati ac coniuuati, quos sequuntur, Philosophorum animis iniunctis opinionibus tueri. For Hermes, who liued at once with, or soone after Moses, Zoroaster, Musæus, Orpheus, Linus, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Melissus, Pherecydes, Thales, Cleanthes, Pythagoras, Plato, and many others (whose opinions are exquisitely gathered by Streuchius Eugubinus) found in the necessity of inuincible reason, One eternall and infinite Being, to be the Parent of the vniuersall. Horum omnium sententia quamuis sit incerta, eodem tamen spectat, vt Prouidentiam vnā esse contentiant: siue enim Natura, siue Æther, siue Ratio, siue mens, siue fatalis necessitas, siue diuina Lex, idem esse quod a nobis dicitur Deus: All these men opinions (saith Laetantius) though vnertain, come to this; That they agree vpon one Prouidence, whether the same be Nature, or light, or Reason, or vnderstanding, or destinie, or diuine ordinance, that it is the same which we call GOD. Certainly, as all the Riūers in the world, though they haue diuers risings, and diuers runnings; though they sometimes hide themselves for a while vnder ground, & seeme to be lost in Sea-like Lakes, doe at last finde, & fall into the great Ocean: so after all the searches that humane capacitie hath, & after all Philosophicall contemplation and curiosity; in the necessity of this infinite power, all the reason of man ends and dissolues it selfe.

Lat. 5.

Euseb. de prep.  
Evang. l. 9. c. 8.

As for others, and first touching those which conceiue the matter of the World to haue beene eternall, and that God did not create the World, ex nihilo, but ex materia præexistente: the Supposition is so weak, as is hardly worth the answering. For (saith Eusebius) Mihi videntur qui hoc dicunt, fortunam quoque Deo annectere, They seeme vnto me, which affirme this, to giue part of the work to God, & part to Fortune: inasmuch as if God had not found this first matter by chance, He had neither beene Author, nor Father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the Vniuersall. For were the Matter or Chaos eternall: it then followes, That either this supposed Matter did fit it selfe to God, or God accommodate himselfe to the matter. For the first, it is impossible, that things without sense could proportion themselves to the Work-mans will. For the second, it were horrible to conceiue of God, That as an Artificer he applied himselfe, according to the proportion of matter which he lighted vpon.

But let it be supposed, That this matter hath bin made by any Power, not Omnipotent, and infinitely wise: I would gladly learne how it came to passe, that the same was proportionable to his intention, that was Omnipotent & infinitely wise: & no more, nor no lesse, than serued to receive the forme of the Vniuersall. For had it wanted any thing of what was sufficient, then must it be granted, That God created out of nothing so much of new matter, as serued to finish the work of the World: Or had there bin more of this matter, than sufficed, then God did dissolue & annihilate what soeuer remained and was superfluous. And this must every reasonable

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sonable soule confesse; That it is the same worke of God alone, to create any thing out of nothing, And by the same art and power, and by none other, can those things, or any part of that eternall matter, be againe changed into Nothing; by which those things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.

Again, to say that this matter was the cause of it selfe; this, of all others, were the greatest idiotisme. For, if it were the cause of it selfe at any time; then there was also a time when it selfe was not: at which time of not being, it is easie enough to conceiue, that it could neither procure it selfe, nor anything else. For to be, and not to be, at once, is impossible. Nihil autem seipsum præcedit, neq; seipsum componit corpus: There is nothing that doth precede it selfe, neither doe bodies compound themselves.

For the rest, Those that saie this matter to be eternall, must of necessity confesse, that Infinite cannot bee separate from Eternity. And then had infinite matter left no place for infinite forme, but that the first matter was finite, the forme which it receiued proues it. For conclusion of this part, who soeuer will make choice, rather to beleue in eternall deformity, or in eternall dead matter, than in eternall light and eternall life: let eternall death be his reward. For it is a madness of that kind, as wanteth tearmes to expresse it. For what reason of men (whom the curse of presumption hath not stupified) hath doubted, That infinite power (of which we can comprehend but a kind of shadow, quia comprehensio est intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant) hath any thing wanting in it selfe, either for matter or form; yea for as many worlds (if such had beene Gods will) as the Sea hath sands? For where the power is without limitation, the work hath no other limitation, than the workmans will. Yea Reason it self findes it more easie for infinite power, to deliuer from it selfe a finite world, without the helpe of matter prepared; than for a finite man; a foole and dust, to change the forme of matter made to his hands. They are Dionysius his words, Deus in vna existentia omnia præhabet: and againe, Esse omnium est ipsa Diuinitas, omne quod vides, & quod non vides; to wit, causaliter, or in better tearmes, non tanquam forma, sed tanquam causa vniuersalis. Neither hath the world vniuersall closed vp all of GOD: For the most part of his workes (saith Siracides) are hid. Neither can the depth of his wisdom bee opened, by the glorious worke of the world: which neuer brought to knowledge, all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded, and made finite. And hereof it comes; That wee seldome entitle GOD the all-creating, or the all-willing; but the Almighty, that is, infinitely able.

Cap. 16. v. 21.

But now for those, who from that ground, That out of nothing nothing is made, inferre the Worlds eternity; and yet not so saluage therein, as those are, which giue an eternall being to dead matter: It is true, if the word (nothing) be taken in the affirmative, and the making, imposed vpon Naturall Agents and finite power; That out of nothing, nothing is made. But seeing their great Doctor Aristotle himselfe confesse, quod omnes antiqui decreuerant quasi quoddam regum principium, ipsumque infinitum, That all the Ancient decree a kind of beginning, and the same to be infinite: and a little after, more largely and plainly, Principium eius est nullum, sed ipsum omnium cernitur esse principium, ac omnia completi ac regere: it is strange that this Philosopher, with his followers, should rather make choice out of falsehood, to conclude falsly; than out of truth, to resolve truly. For if we compare the world vniuersall, & all the

Stene. Eug. l. 3.  
c. 9. ex Arist.  
Phys. l. 20.

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immeasurable Orbes of Heauen, and those marueilous bodies of the Sun, Moone, and Stars, with ipsum Infinitum: it may truly be said of them all, which himself affirms of his imaginary Materia prima, That they are neither quid, quale, nor quantum; and therefore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite (qui destruit omnem proportionē) is no wonder in Gods power. And therefore Anaximander, Melissus, & Empedocles, call the world vniuersall, but particulam Vniuersitatis and infinitatis, a parcell of that which is the vniuersality and the infinity it self; & Plato, but a shadow of God. But the other, to proue the worlds eternity, vrgeth this Maxime, That, A sufficient & effectual cause being granted, an anliuerable effect therof is also granted: inferring that God being for euer a sufficient & effectual cause of the world, the effect of the cause should also haue bin for euer, to wit, the world vniuersall. But what a strange mockery is this in so great a Master, to confesse a sufficient & effectual cause of the world, (to wit, an almighty God) in his Antecedent; & the same God to be a God restrained in his conclusion; to make God free in power, & bound in wil; able to effect, vnable to determine; able to make all things, and yet vnable to make choice of the time when? For this were impiously to resolue of God, as of natural necessity; which hath neither choice, nor will, nor vnderstanding; which cannot but worke matter being present: as fire, to burne things combustible. Again he thus disputeth, That euery Agent which can work, and doth not work: if it afterward worke, it is either thereto moued by it self, or by somewhat else: and so it passeth from power to Act. But God (saith he) is immouable, and is neither moued by himselfe, nor by any other: but being alwaies the same, doth alwaies worke. Whence he concludeth, If the world were caused by God, that he was for euer the cause thereof: and therefore eternall. The answer to this is verie easie, For that Gods performing in due time that, which he euer determined at length to performe, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather constancy in him. For the same action of his will, which made the world for euer, did also with-hold the effect to the time ordained. To this answer, in it selfe sufficient: others adde further, that the Patterne or Image of the World may be said to be eternall: which the Platonicks call, spiritualem mundum; and doe in this sort distinguish the Idæa and Creation in time. Spiritualis ille mundus, mundi huius exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vita æquali esse Architecto, fuit semper cum illo, eritque semper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod secundum opus est Dei, decedit iam ab opifice ex parte vna, quia non fuit semper: retinet alteram, quia sit semper futurus: That representatiue, or the intentionall world (say they) the sampler of this visible world, the first worke of GOD, was equally ancient with the Architect; for it was for euer with him, and euer shall bee. This materiall world, the second worke or creature of GOD, doth differ from the worker in this, That it was not from euerlasting, and in this it doth agree, that it shall be for euer to come. The first point, That it was not for euer, all Christians confesse: The other they vnderstand no otherwise, than that after the consumation of this world, there shalbe a new Heauen and a new Earth, without any new creation of matter. But of these things we need not here stand to argue: though such opinions be not unworthy the propounding, in this consideration, of an eternall and vchangeable cause, producing a changeable and temporall effect. Touching which point Proclus the Platonist disputeth, That

Mar. Ficini, de  
vniuersali, lib. i. c. 1.  
lib. 1. c. 1.

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That the compounded essence of the World (and because compounded, therefore dissoluble) is continued, & knit to the Divine Being, by an individual & inseparable power, flowing from Divine unity; & that the Worlds naturall appetite of God sheweth, that the same proceedeth from a good and vnderstanding diuine; and that this vertue, by which the World is continued & knit together, must be infinite, that it may infinitely and euerlastingly continue and preserve the same. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World (saith he) is not capable of, but receiveth it from the diuine infinite according to the temporall Nature it hath, successively every moment by little & little: even as the whole Materiall World is not altogether: but the abolished parts are departed by small degrees, and the parts yet to come, do by the same small degrees succeed, as the shadow of a tree in a River seemeth to haue continued the same a long time in the water, but it is perpetually renewed, in the continually ebbing and flowing thereof.

But to returne to them, which denying that euer the World had any beginning, withall deny that euer it shall haue any end, & to this purpose affirme, That it was neuer heard, neuer read, neuer seene, no not by any reason perceived, that the Heauens haue euer suffered corruption; or that they appeare any way the older by continuance; or in any sort otherwise than they were; which had they been subiect to finall corruption, some change would haue been discerned in so long a time. To this it is answered, That the little change as yet perceived, doth rather proue their newnesse, and that they haue not continued so long; than that they wil continue for euer as they are. And if coniecturall arguments may receiue answer by coniectures: it then seemeth that some alteration may be found. For either Aristotle, Plinie, Strabo, Beda, Aquinas, and others, were grossely mistaken: or else those parts of the world, lying within the burnt Zone, were not in elder times habitable, by reason of the Suns heate, neither were the Seas, vnder the Equinoctiall, navigable. But wee know by experience, that those Regions, so situate, are filled with people, and exceeding temperate; and the Sea, ouer which we Nauigate, passable enough. We read also many Histories of deluges: and how that in the time of Phaeton, diuers places in the world were burnt vup, by the Sunnes violent heate.

Arist. Met. 2.  
Philo. 1. c. 8.  
Strabo l. 3.  
Beda de ratione  
tem. 1. c. 3.  
Thomp. 1. c. 3.  
10. 1. 1. 2.

But in a Word, this obseruation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certain, That stone-walls, of matter moldring and friable, haue stood two, or three thousand yeares: that many things haue beene digged vup out of the earth, of that depth, as supposed to haue beene buried by the generall floud; without any alteration either of substance or figure: yea it is beleued, and it is very probable, that the gold which is daily found in Mines, and Rockes, vnder ground, was created together with the Earth.

And if bodies elementary, and compounded, the eldest times haue not inuaded and corrupted: what great alteration should wee looke for in Celestiall and quinessentiall bodies? And yet we haue reason to thinke, that the Sunne, by whose help all Creatures are generate, doth not in these latter Ages assist Nature, as heretofore. We haue neither Giants, such as the eldest world had: nor mighty men, such as the elder world had; but all things in generall are reputed of lesse vertue which from the Heauens receiue vertue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface, would permit a larger discourse, we might easily fetch store of proue; as that this world shall at length haue end, as that once it had beginning.

And I see no good answer that can bee made to this obiection: If the World

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were eternall; why not all things in the World Eternall? If there were no first, no cause, no Father, no Creator, no incomprehensible wisdom, but that every Nature had beene alike eternall; and Man more rationall than every other Nature: Why had not the eternall reason of Man, provided for his eternall being in the World? For if all were equal, why not equal conditions to all? Why should heavenly bodies live for ever; and the bodies of Men rot and die?

Again, who was it that appointed the Earth to keepe the center, and gave Order that it should hang in the Aire: that the Sunne should trauaile betwene the Tropicks, and neuer exceed those bounds, nor faile to performe that Progresse once in euery yeare: the Moone to line by borrowed light: the first Stars (according to common opinion) to bee fastned like Nails in the Cart-wheele; and the Planets to wander at their pleasure? Or if none of these had power ouer other: was it out of Charity and Love, that the Sunne by his perpetuall trauaile within those two Circles, hath visited, giuen light vnto, and relieved all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turnes and times? Out of doubt, if the Sunne haue of his owne accord kept this course in all eternitie: He may iustly bee called eternall Charity, and everlasting Love. The same may be said of all the Stars: who being all of them most large and cleare fountaines of vertue and operation, may also bee called eternall vertues: the Earth may be called eternall patience; the Moone, an eternall borrower and beggar; and Man of all other the most miserable eternally mortall. And what were this, but to beleene againe in the old Play of the gods? Yea in more gods by Millions, than euer Heliodus dreamt of. But in steed of this mad folly, we see it well enough with our feeble & mortall eyes: and the eyes of our reason discern it better; That the Sun, Moone, Stars, & the Earth, are limited, bounded, and constrained: themselves they haue not constrained, nor could. Omne determinatum causam habet aliquam efficientem, quæ illud determinauerit, Euery thing bounded hath some efficient cause, by which it is bounded.

Now for Nature; As by the ambiguity of this name, the schoole of Aristotle hath both commended many errors vnto vs, and sought also thereby to obscure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, shining in the Creation, and in the gouerning of the World: so if the best definition be taken out of the second of Aristotles phisicks, or primo de Cælo, or out of the first of his Metaphisicks; I say that the best is but nominall, and seruing onely to difference the beginning of Naturall motion from Artificiall: which yet the Academicks open better, when they call it A Seminary strength, infused into matter by the Soule of the World: who giue the first place to Prouidence, the second to Fate, and but the third to Nature. Prouidentia (by which they vnderstand GOD) dux & caput; Fatum, medium ex prouidentia prodians; Natura postremum. But be it what he will, or be it any of these (God excepted) or participating of all: yet that it hath choice or vnderstanding (both which are necessarily in the cause of all things) no man hath a vowed. For this is vnanswerable of Lactantius, Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut scientiam, He onely can be said to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledge in the doing it.

But the will and science of Nature, are in these words truly exprest by Ficinus: Potest vbiq; Natura, vel per diuersa media, vel ex diuersis materiis, diuersa facere: sublata vero mediis materiisq; diuersitate, vel vnicū, vel simplicium

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limum operatur, neque potest quando adest materia non operari; It is the power of Nature by diuersity of means, or out of diuersity of matter, to produce diuers things: but taking away the diuersity of means, and the diuersity of matter, it then workes but one or the like worke; neither can it be any worke, matter being present. Now if Nature made choice of diuersity of matter, to worke all these variable workes of Heauen and Earth, it had then both vnderstanding and will; it had counsaile to beginne, reason to dispose; vertue and knowledge to finish, and power to gouerne: without which all things had been but one and the same: all of the matter of Heauen; or all of the matter of Earth. And if we graunt Nature this will, and this vnderstanding, this counsaile, reason, and power; Cui Natura potius quam Deus nominetur? Why should we then call such a cause rather Nature, than God? God of whom all men haue notion, and giue the first and highest place to Diuine power: Omnes homines notionem deorum habent, omnesq; summum locum diuino cuidam numini assignant. And this I say in short; that it is a true effect of true reason in man (were there no authority more binding than reason) to acknowledge and adore the first and most sublime power. Vera Philosophia, est ascensus ab his quæ fluunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vere sunt, & semper eadem: True Philosophy is an ascending from the things which flow, and arise, and fall, to the things that are for ever the same.

For the rest; I do also account it not the meanest, but an impiety monstrous, to confound God and Nature: be it but in tearmes. For it is God, that only disposeth of all things according to his own will, & maketh of one Earth, Vessels of honor & dishonor. It is Nature that can dispose of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is God that comandeth all: It is Nature that is obedient to all. It is God, that doth good vnto all, knowing and louing the good he doth: It is Nature, that secondarily doth also good, but is neither knoweth nor loueth the good it doth. It is God, that hath all things in himself: Nature, nothing in it self. It is God, which is the Father, and hath begotten all things: It is Nature, which is begotten by all things, in which it liueth and laboureth; for by it selfe it existeth not. For shall we say, that it is out of affection to the Earth, that heauie things fall towards it? Shall we call it Reason, which doth conduct euery Riuer into the salt Sea? Shall we tearme it knowledge in fire, that makes it to consume combustible matters? If it be Affection, Reason, and Knowledge in these, by the same Affection, Reason, and Knowledge it is, that Nature worketh. And therefore seeing all things worke as they do, (call it by Forme, or Nature, or by what you please) yet because they worke by an impulsion, which they cannot resist; or by a faculty, infused by the supreme power: we are neither to wonder at, nor to worship, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature wherein it worketh. But herein lies the wonder: and to him is the worship due, who hath created such a Nature in things, & such a faculty, as neither knowing it selfe, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the vertue and power which it hath; do yet worke all things to their last and uttermost perfection. And therefore euery reasonable man, taking to himselfe for a ground that which is granted by all Antiquity, and by all men truly learned that euer the world had; wit; That there is a power infinite, and eternall (which also necessity) doth prouide vnto vs, without the helpe of Faith, and Reason; without the force of Authority) all things do as easily follow which haue bin deliuered by diuine letters, as the

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waters of a running riuer do successiuely passe each other frō the first fountaines.

This much I say it is, that Reason it selfe hath taught vs: and this is the beginning of knowledge. Sapientia præcedit, Religio sequitur: quia prius est Deum scire, consequens colere; Sapience goes before, Religion follows: because it is first to know God, and then to worship him. This Sapience Plato calleth absoluti boni scientiam, The science of the absolute good: and another Scientiam rerum primarum, sempiternarum, perpetuarum. For Faith (saith Isidore) is not extorted by violence; but by reason and examples perswaded: fides nequaquam vi extorquetur, sed ratione & exemplis suadetur. I confesse it, That to enquire further, as of the essence of God, of his power, of his Art, & by what meane He created the world: Or of his secret iudgement, & the causes is not an effect of Reason: Sed cum ratione infaniam, but they grow mad with reason, that inquire after it: For as it is no shame nor dishonour (saith a French Author) de faire arret au bureau on nasceu surpasser, For a man to rest himself there, where he finds it impossible to passe on further: so whatsoeuer is beyond, and out of the reach of true reason; it acknowledgeth it to be so, as vnderstanding it self not to be infinite, but according to the Name and Nature it hath, to be a Teacher, that best knowes the end of his own Art. For seeing both Reason & Necessity teach vs (Reason, which is pars diuini spiritus in corpus humanum meriti) that the world was made by a power infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teach vs: and seeing the same Reason and Necessity make vs know, that the same infinite power is euery where in the world; and yet how euery where, it cannot informe vs: our beleue hereof is not weakened, but greatly strengthened, by our ignorance, because it is the same Reason that tels vs, That such a Nature cannot be said to be God, that can be in all conceived by man.

I haue been already ouer-long, to make any large discourse either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine owne excuse: especially in the excuse of this or that passage; seeing the whole is exceeding weak and defective. Among the grossest, the vsutable diuision of the bookes, I could not know how to excuse, had I not bene directed to enlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the first part finished. All men know that there is no great Art in the diuiding euently of those things, which are subiect to number and measure. For the rest, it sutes well enough with a great many Bookes of this Age, which speake too much, and yet say little. Ipse nobis furto subducimur. We are stolen away from our selues, setting a high price on all that is our owne. But hereof, though a late good Writer make complaint, yet shall it not lay hold on mee, because I beleue as hee doth; that who so thinks himselfe the wisest man, is but a poore and miserable ignorant. Those that are the best men of war, against all the vanities and fooleries of the World, do alwaies keepe the strongest guards against themselves, to defend them from themselves, from selfe loue, selfe estimation, and selfe opinion.

Generally concerning the order of the worke, I haue onely taken counsaile from the Argument. For of the Assyrians, which after the down-fall of Babel take vp the first part, and were the first great Kings of the World, there came little to the view of posterity: some few enterprises, greater in fame than faith, of Ninus and Semiramis excepted.

It was the story of the Hebrewes, of all before the Olimpiads, that ouercame the consuming disease of time; and preserved it selfe, from the very cradle and beginning

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ginning to this day: and yet not so entire, but that the large discourses thereof (to which in many Scriptures we are referred) are no where found. The Fragments of other Stories, with the actions of those Kings and Princes which shot up here & there in the same time, I am driuen to relate by way of digression: of which wee may say with Virgil:

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto;

They appeare here and there floating in the great gulfes of time.

To the same first Ages doe belong the report of many Inuentions therein found, and from them deriued to vs; though most of the Authors Names haue perished in so long a Navigation. For those Ages had their Lawes; they had diuersity of Government; they had Kingly rule; Nobility, Policy in war; Navigation, and all, or the most of needfull Trades. To speak therefore of these (seeing in a generall History we should haue left a great deale of Nakednesse, by their omission) it cannot properly be called a digression. True it is, that I haue made also many others; which if they shall be laid to my charge, I must cast the fault into the great heape of humane error. For seeing we digresse in all the waies of our lines: yea, seeing the life of man is nothing else but digression; I may the better be excused, in writing their lines & actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Lawes of History, and of the Kindes.

The same hath been taught by many, but by no man better, and with greater breuity, than by that excellent learned Gentleman Sir Francis Bacon. Christian Lawes are also taught vs by the Prophets and Apostles; and euery day preacht vnto vs. But wee still make large digressions: yea, the teachers themselves doe not (in all) keepe the path which they point out to others.

For the rest, after such time as the Persians had wrested the Empire from the Chaldeans, and had raised a great Monarchy, producing Actions of more importance than were elsewhere to be found: it was agreeable to the Order of Story, to attend this Empire; whilst it so flourished, that the affaires of the nations adioyning had reference thereunto. The like obseruance was to be vsed towards the fortunes of Greece, when they againe began to get ground vpon the Persians, as also towards the affairs of Rome, when the Romans grew more mighty than the Greeks.

As for the Medes, the Macedonians, the Sicilians, the Carthaginians, and other Nations who resisted the beginnings of the former Empires, and afterwards became but parts of their composition and enlargement: it seemed best to remember what was known of them from their severall beginnings, in such times and places as they in their flourishing estates opposed those Monarchies, which in the end swallowed them vp. And herein I haue followed the best Geographers: who seldome giue names to those small brookes, whereof many, ioyned together, make great Ri- uers; till such time as they become vnited, and run in maine streame to the Ocean Sea. If the Praise be weak, & the Style not euery where like it self; the first shews their legitimation and true Parent; the second will excuse it self vpon the Variety of Matter. For Virgil, who wrote his Eclogues, gracili auena, vsed stronger pipes, when he sounded the wars of Æneas. It may also be laid to my charge, that I vse diuers Hebrew words in my first booke, and elsewhere: in which language others may thinke, and I my selfe acknowledge it, that I am altogether ignorant: but it is true, that some of them I find in Montanus, others in latine Character in S. Senensis, and of the rest I haue borrowed the interpretation of some of my friends. But say I had bin beholding to neither, yet were it not to be wondered at, hauing had

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a leuen yeares leasure, to attaine the knowledge of that, or of any other tongue; Howsoever, I know that it will be said by many, That I might haue been more pleasing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine owne times, hauing been permitted to draw water as neare the Well-head as another. To this I answer, that whosoever in writing a moderne History, shall follow truth too neare the beeles, it may haply strike out his teeth. There is no Mistresse or Guide, that hath led her followers and seruants into greater miseries. He that goes after her too far off, loseth her sight, and loseth himself; and he that walkes after her at a middle distance, I know not whether I should call that kinde of course, Temper or Basenesse. It is true, that I neuer trauided after mens opinions, when I might haue made the best use of them: and I haue now too few dayes remaining, to imitate those, that either out of extreame ambition, or extreame cowardise, or both, do yet (when death hath them on his shoulders) flatter the world, between the bed and the graue. It is enough for me (being in that state I am) to write of the eldest times: wherein also why may it not be said, that in speaking of the past, I point at the present, and taxe the vices of those that are yet living, in their persons that are long since dead, and haue it laid to my charge? But this I cannot helpe, though innocent. And certainly if there be any, that finding themselves spotted like the Tigers of old time, shall find fault with mee for painting them ouer anew, they shall therem accuse themselves insly, & me falsly.

For I protest before the Maiesty of God, That I malice no man vnder the Sunne. Impossible I know it is to please all: seeing few or none are so pleased with themselves, or so assured of themselves, by reason of their subiection to their priuate passions, but that they seem diuers persons in one & the same day. Seneca hath said it, and so do I: Vnus mihi pro populo erat: and to the same effect Epicurus, Hoc ego not multis sed tibi, or (as it hath since lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the resolution of an ancient Philosopher, Satis est vnus, Satis est nullus. For it was for the seruice of that inestimable Prince Henry, the successe hope, and one of the greatest of the Christian World, that I vnderooke this Worke. It pleased him to peruse some part thereof, and to pardon what was amisse: It is now left to the world without a Master: from which all that is presented, hath received both blows and thanks. Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus est omnis iudicii, in quo sis secundum plures datur. But these discourses are idle. I know that as the charitable will iudge charitably, so against those, qui gloriantur in malicia, my present aduersity hath disarmed me. I am on the Ground already, & therefore haue not far to fall: and for rising againe, as in the Natural priuation there is no recession to habit, so it is seldom seene in the priuation politike. I do therefore forbear to stile my Readers Gentle, Courteous, and Friendly, thereby to beg their good opinions, or to promise a second and third volume (which I also intend) if the first receiue grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done may be thought enough, and too much: and it is certaine, let us claw the Reader with neuer so many courteous phrases, yet shall we neuermore be thought fooles, but write foolishly. For conclusion, all the hope I haue lies in this, That I haue already sought neuer vngentle and incourteous Readers of my Loue towards them, and well deserving of them, than neuer I shall doe againe. For had it been otherwise, I should hardly haue had this leasure, to haue made my selfe a foole in print.

THE

## CHAP. I. §. I.



# THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE BEGINNING, AND  
first Ages of the same, from the Creation,

VNTO ABRAHAM.

## THE FIRST BOOKE.

### CHAP. I.

Of the Creation, and Preservation of the World.

#### §. I.

That the innisible God is seene in his Creatures.



God, whom the wisest men acknowledge to be a Power vnsellable, and Vertue infinite, a Light by abundant claritie inuisible; an Vnderstanding, which it selfe can onely comprehend, an Essence eternall and spirituall, of absolute purenesse and simplicitie; was, and is pleased to make himselfe knowne by the worke of the World: in the wonderfull magnitude whereof, (all which Hee imbraceth, filleth, and sustayneth) we behold the Image of that glorie, which cannot be measured, and withall that one, and yet vniuersall Nature, which cannot be defined. In the glorious Lights of Heauen, we perceiue a shadow of his diuine Countenance; in his mercifull prouision for all that liue, his manifold goodnesse: and lastly, in creating and making existent the World vniuersall, by the absolute Arte of his owne Word, his Power and Almightyesse; which Power, Light, Vertue, Wisdome, and Goodnesse, being all but attributes of one simple Essence, and one God, we in all admire, and in part discern per speculum creaturarum, that is, in the disposition, order, and varietie of Celestiall and Terrestriall bodies: Terrestriall, in their strange and manifold diuersities; Celestiall, in their beautie and magnitude; which in their continuall and contrary motions, are neither repugnant, intermixt, nor confounded. By these potent effects, we approach to the knowledge of the Omnipotent cause, and by these motions, their Almighty Moner.

In these more then wonderfull works, God (saith Hugo) speaketh vnto man, and it is true, that these be those discourses of God, whose effects, all that liue, witnesse in themselves; the sensible, in their sensible natures; the reasonable, in their reasonable foules: for according to S. GREGORY, Omnis homo eo ipso quod rationalis conditus est, ex ipsa ratione, illum qui se condidit, Deum esse colligere debet: Euery man, in that he is reasonable, out of the same reason may know, that he which made him, is God. This God all men behold (saith Iob), which is according to the Fathers, Dominationem illius conspiciere in creaturis, To discern him in his prouidence by his Creatures. That God hath bene otherwise seene, to wit, with corporall eyes, exceedeth the small proportion of my vnderstand-

Hugo super Ecclisistam 8. Greg. in Moral. Herm. ad fil. Talis. Vnde vero ingenitus, & non apparet in manifestis, per omnia apparet. & in omni. Apparens ipsius generatus est, vnde apparet in quibus generatur.



ding, grounded on these places of S. John, and S. Paul, *Ic haue not heard his voice at any time, neither haue yee scene his shape.* And againe, *Whom neuer man saw, nor can see.* And this, I am sure, agreeth with the nature of Gods simplicitie, of which S. Augustine, *ipsa enim natura, vel substantia, vel quolibet aliquo nomine appellandum est, id ipsum quod Deus est, corporaliter uideri non potest;* That nature, or that substance, or by whatsoever name that is to be called which is God, whatsoever that be, the same cannot be corporally perceived. And of this opinion were Origen, Cyril, Chrysostome, Gregory Nazianzenus, Hierome, Augustine, Gregory the great, Eusebius, Alcuinus, Dionysius Areopagita, Aquinas, and all others of authority. But by his owne Word, and by this visible World, is God perceived of men, which is also the vnderstood language of the Almighty, vouchsafed to all his Creatures, whose Hieroglyphicall Characters, are the vnumbrd Starres, the Sunne and Moone, written on these large Volumes of the Firmament: written also on the Earth and the Seas, by the letters of all those liuing Creatures, and Plants, which inhabit and reside therein. Therefore said that learned Cysanus, *Atundus vniversus nihil aliud est, quam Deum explicatus;* The World vniuersall, is nothing else but God exprest. And the inuisible things of God (saith S. Paul) are scene by creation of the World, being considered in his Creatures. Of all which, there was no other cause preceding, then his owne Will, no other matter then his owne Power, no other workman then his owne Word, no other consideration then his owne infinite Goodnesse. The example and paterne of these his Creatures, as he beheld the same in all eternitie in the abundance of his owne loue, so was it at length in the most wise order, by his vnchanged Will moued, by his high Wisedome disposed, and by his almighty Power perfected, and made visible. And therefore (saith *Mirandula*) we ought to loue God, *Ex fide, & ex effectibus,* (that is) both perswaded by his Word, and by the effects of the Worlds creation: *Neq; enim qui causa caret, ex causa & origine sciri, cognoscique potest, sed vel ex verbum, que facta sunt, quæ sunt & gubernantur observatione & collatione, vel ex ipsius Dei verbo:* For he of whom there is no higher cause, cannot be knowne by any knowledge of cause or beginning, (saith *Mentanus*) but either by the obseruing and conferring of things, which he hath, or doth create and gouerne, or else by the Word of God himselfe.

## §. II.

*That the wisest of the Heathen, whose authoritie is not to be despised, haue acknowledged the world to haue beene created by God.*

His worke and creation of the World, did most of the ancient and learned Philosophers acknowledge, though by diuers termes, and in a different manner exprest, I meane all those who are entitied by S. AUGUSTINE, *summi Philosophi*, Philosophers of highest iudgement and vnderstanding. *Mercurius Trismegistus* calleth God, *Principium vniuersorum;* The original of the vniuersall: to whom hee giueth also the attributes of *Mens, Natura, Actus, Necessitas, Finis, & Renovatio.* And wherein hee truly, with S. Paul, calleth vpon God all power; confessing also, that the world was made by Gods almighty Word, and not by hands: *Verbo, non manibus fabricatus est mundus.* Zoroaster (whom *Heraclitus* followed in opinion) tooke the word *Fire*, to expresse God by (as in *Deuteronomy*), and in Saint Paul it is vsed) *Omnia ex vno igne genita sunt;* All things (saith he) are caused, or produced out of one fire.

So did *Orpheus* plainly teach, that the world had beginning in time, from the Will of the most High God; whose remarkable words are thus conuerted: *Cum abscondisset omnia Iupiter summus, deinde in lumen gratum emisit, ex sacro corde operans cogitata & mirabilia:* Of which I conceiue this sense; *When great Iupiter had hidden all things in himselfe, working out of the loue of his sacred heart, he sent thence, or brought forth into gratefull light, the admirable works which he had fore-thought.*

*Pindarus* the Poet, and one of the wisest, acknowledged also one God, the most High, to be the Father and Creator of all things; *Plus Deus, Pater, Creator summus.* *PLATO* calleth God the cause and original, the nature and reason of the vniuersall; *Totius rerum natura, causa, & origo Deus.* But hereof more at large hereafter.

Now, although the curiositie of some men haue found it superfluous, to remember the opinions of Philosophers, in matters of Diuinitie: (it being true, that the Scripture hath

hath not want of any forraine testimony) yet as the *Fathers*, with others excellently learned, are my examples herein; so Saint Paul himselfe did not despise, but thought it lawful, and profitable, to remember whatsoever hee found agreeable to the Word of God, among the Heathen, that he might thereby take from them all escape, by way of ignorance, God rendering vengeance to them that know him not: as in his Epistle to *Titus*, he citeth *Epimenides* against the *Cretians*, and to the *Corinthians*, *Menander*, and in the fuenteenth of the *Acts*, *Aratus, &c.* for Truth (saith S. *Ambrose*) by whomsoever vttered, is of the holy Ghost; *Veritas à quocunq; dicatur, à Spiritu sancto est:* and lastly, let those kind of men learne this rule; *Que sacris seruiunt, profana non sunt;* Nothing is prophane that serueth to the vse of holy things.

## §. III.

*Of the meaning of In Principio, Genes 1. 1.*

His visible World of which *Moses* writeth, God created in the beginning, or first of all: in which (saith *Tertullian*) things began to be. This word *Beginning* (in which the *Hebrewes* seeke some hidden myserie, and which in the *Ioues Argumentum* is conuerted by the word *Sapientia*) cannot be referred to succession of time, nor to order, as some men haue conceiued, both which are subsequent: but only to Creation then. For before that Beginning, there was neither primary matter to be informed, nor forme to informe, nor any being, but the Eternall. Nature was not, nor the next Parent of Time begotten, Time properly and naturally taken; for if God had but disposed of Matter already in being, then as the word *Beginning* could not be referred to all things, so must it follow, that the institution of Matter proceeded from a greater Power, then that of God. And by what name shall we then call such an One (saith *Lactantius*) as exceedeth God in potency: for it is an act of more excellency to make, then to dispose of things made? whereupon it may be concluded, that Matter could not be before this Beginning: except we faine a double Creation, or allow of two Powers, and both infinite, the impossibilitie whereof I earnestly defence. *Nam impossibile plura esse infinita: quoniam alterum esset in altero finitum;* There cannot bee more infinites then one; for one of them would limit the other.

## §. IIII.

*Of the meaning of the words Heauen and Earth: Genesis 2. 1.*

He vniuersall matter of the world (which *Moses* comprehendeth vnder the names of *Heauen and Earth*) is by diuers diuersly vnderstood: for there are three that conceiue, that by those words, was meant the first matter, as the *Peripatetikes* vnderstand it, to which, S. Augustine and *Isidore* seeme to adhere. *Fecisti mundum* (saith S. Augustine) *de materia informi, quam fecisti de nulla re, pene nullam rem:* (that is) *I thou hast made the world of a matter without forme; which matter thou madest of nothing, and being made, it was little other then nothing.*

But this potentiall and imaginarie *materia prima*, cannot exist without forme. *Peter Lombard*, the Schoole-men, *Beda*, *Tyrannus*, *Comestor*, *Tostatus* and others, affirme, that it pleased God first of all to create the Emphyrean Heauen: which at the succeeding instant (saith *Beda* and *Strabo*) he filled with Angels. This Emphyrean Heauen *Stenochius Engubinus* calleth *Diuine claritie*, and vncreated: an error, for which he is sharply charged by *Petrus*, though (as I conceiue) he rather styled in the subsequent, when he made it to be a place, and the seat of Angels, and iust Soules, then in the former affirmation: for of the first, That God liueth in eternall Light, it is written; *My soule, praise thou the Lord, that coreth himselfe with light:* and in the Reuelation; *And the Citie hath no neede of Sunne, neither of the Moone to shine in it: for the glory of God did light it.* And herein also *Iohn Mercer* vpon *Genesis*, differeth not in opinion from *Engubinus*: for as by Heauen created in the beginning, was not meant the inuisible or supercelestiall; so in his judgement, because it was in all Eternitie, the glorious seat of God himselfe, it was not necessary to be created; *Quem mundum supercilestem meo iudicio creati* (saith *Mercer*) *non erat necessesse.*

But as *Moses* forbare to speake of Angels, and of things inuisible, and incorporate, for

the weaknesse of their capacities, whom he then cared to informe of those things, which were more manifest, (to wit) that God did not only by a strong hand deliuer them from the bondage of *Egypt*, according to his promise made to their forefathers: but also that he created, and was the sole cause of this aspectable, and perceivable Vniuersall; so on the other side I dare not thinke, that any supercelestiall Heauen, or whatsoever else (nor himselfe) was incareate & eternal: and as for the place of God before the world created, the finite wisdom of mortall men hath no perception of it, neither can it limit the seate of infinite power, no more then infinite power it selfe can be limited: for his place is in himselfe, whom no magnitude else can contain: *How great is the house of God* (saith *Baruch*) *how large is the place of his possession: it is great, and hath no end, it is high and unmeasurable.* 10

But leauing multiplicitie of opinion, it is more probable & allowed, that by the words *Heauen and Earth*, was meant the solid matter and substance, aswell of all the Heauens, and Orbes superall, as of the Globe of the Earth and Waters, which couered it ouer, (to wit) that very matter of all things, *materia, Chaos, possibilis, sine posse fieri*. Which matter (saith *Caluin*) was so called, *quod totius mundi semen fuerit, Because it was the seed of the Vniuersall*: an opinion of ancient Philosophers long before.

¶ V.

That the substance of the waters, as mixt in the body of the earth, is by *Moses* understood in the word *Earth*: and that the Earth, by the attributes of enformed and voided, is described as the *Chaos* of the ancient Heauen.

**M**oses first nameth Heauen and Earth (putting waters but in the third place) as comprehending waters in the word *Earth*; but afterwards hee nameth them apart, when God by his Spirit began to distinguish the confused Masse, (and as *Basil* saith) *preparare naturam aque ad secunditatem vitalem; to prepare the nature of water to a vitall fruitfulness.*

For vnder the word *Heauen*, was the matter of all heauenly bodies, and natures exprest: and by the name of *Earth and Waters*, all was meant, whatsoever is vnder the Moone, and subiect to alteration. Corrupt feedes bring forth corrupt plants; to which the pure heauens are not subiect, though subiect to perishing. *They shall perish* (saith *Danid*) *and the heauens shall vanish away like smoke*, saith *Ezay*. Neither were the waters the matter of Earth: for it is written, *Let the waters vnder the heauens be gathered into one place, and let the drie land appeare*: which proueth that the drie land was mixt and couered with the waters, and not yet distinguished; but no way, that the waters were the matter or feede of the Earth, much lesse of the Vniuersall. *In initio Domine terram fundasti, Thou O Lord, in the beginning hast founded the Earth*: and againe, *The Earth was couered with the Deepe* (meaning with waters) *as with a garment*, saith *Danid*. And if by naturall arguments it may be proued, that water by condensation may become earth, the same reason teacheth vs also, that earth rarified may become water: water, aire: aire, fire; and so on the contrarie. *Deus ignis substantiam per aerem in aquam conuertit, God turneth the substance of* 40 *fire, by aire, into water*. For the Heauens and the Earth remained in the same state, in which they were created, as touching their substance, though there was afterwards added multiplicitie of perfection, in respect of beautie and ornament. *Calum vero & terra in statu creationis remanserunt, quantum ad substantiam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis postmodum superaddita est.* And the word which the Hebrewes call *Maim*, is not to be understood according to the Latine translation simply, and as specifically water; but the same more properly signifieth liquor. For (according to *Montanus*) *Est autem Maim liquor geminus, & hoc nomen propter verborum penuriam, Latina lingua plurali numero a quas scit. For Maim (saith he) is a double liquor*, (that is, of diuers natures) and this name 50 *or word the Latines wanting a voice to expresse it, call it in the Plurall, Aquas, Waters.*

This Masse, or indigested matter, or *Chaos* created in the beginning, was without forme, that is, without the proper forme, which it afterwards acquired, when the Spirit of God had separated the Earth, and digested it from the waters: *And the earth was void*: that is, not producing any creatures, or adorned with any plants, fruits, or flowers. But after the Spirit of God had moued vpon the waters, and wrought this indigested matter into that forme, which it now retaineth, then did the earth bud forth the herbe, which seed 11 *seed* *the fruitfull tree according to his kind, and God saw that it was good*; which

attribute

attribute was not giuen to the Earth, while it was confused; nor to the Heauens, before they had motion, and adornement. *God saw that it was good*; that is, made perfect: for perfection is that, to which nothing is wanting. *Et perfecti Dei perfecta sunt opera, The works of the perfect God, are perfect.*

From this lump of imperfect Matter had the ancient Poets their inuention of *Demonogorgon*: *Hesiodus* and *Anaxagoras* the knowledge of that *Chaos*, of which *Ouid*:

*Ante Mare, & Terras, & (quod tegit omnia) Calum,  
Pnus erat toto nature vultus in orbem,  
Quem dixere Chaos, rudis indigestaq; moles.*

*Ouid. m. Met. l. 1.*

10 Before the Sea and Land was made, and Heauen, that all doth hide,  
In all the World one onely face of Nature did abide:  
Which *Chaos* hight, a huge rude heape.

¶ VI.

How it is to be understood that the Spirit of God moued vpon the Waters, and that this is not to be searched curiously.

**A**fter the Creation of Heauen and Earth, then void and without forme, the Spirit of God moued vpon the Waters. The *Sacramy Interpreters* vse the word *superferebatur*, moued vpon or ouer: *incubabat, or fovebat* (saith *Hierome*) out of *Basil*; and *Basil* out of a Syrian Doctor; *Equidem non meam tibi, sed viri cuiusdam Syri sententiam recensebo* (saith *Basil*): which words *incubare* or *fovere* importing warmth, hatching, or quickning, haue a speciall likenesse. *Verbum translatum est ab animalibus pullitibus sine incubantibus, quantum spirituali, & plane inenarrabili, non autem corporali modo; The word is taken of birds hatching their young, not corporally, but in a spiritual and unexpresible manner.*

Some of the Hebrewes conuert it to this effect, *Spiritus Dei volabat; The Spirit of God did flutter*: the Chaldean Paraphrast in this sense, *Ventus a conspectu Dei sufflabat*: or as other vnderstand the Chaldean, *Flabat, pellebat, remouebat*: The wind from the face of God did blow vnder, driue, or remoue, or did blow vpon, according to the 147. *Psalm*, 19. *He caused his wind to blow, and the waters increafe, but there was yet no wind nor exhalation.* *Arias Montanus* in these words, *Et Spiritus Elohim Merachefet, id est, efficaciter hostians, conuolens, ac agitans super facies gemini liquoris; The Spirit of God effectually and often mo- 30 uing, keeping warm, and cherishing, quickning and stirring vpon the face of this double liquor.* For he maketh foure originals, wherof three are agents, and the last passive and materiall, to wit, *Causa*, which is the diuine goodnesse: *Terrenum*, which is, *flat, fluere*, *let it be, or it shall be.* *Quare vox verbo Dei prima preluia fuit: Which voice* (saith he) *was the first that was uttered by the word of God.* The third, *Spiritus Elohim*, the Spirit of God, *id est, via quadam diuina, agilis ac presens, per omnia pertingens, omnia complens, that is, A*

*certaine diuine power, or strength every where, a line and extending, and stretching through* 40 *all, filling and finishing all things.* The fourth he calleth *Maim*, *id est, materies ad omnem rem conficiendam habilis; Matter apt to become every thing.* For my selfe I am resolu'd (Cion *Deus sit superrationale omni ratione, Seeing God is in all reason about reason*) that al- though the effects which follow his wonderfull wayes of working, may in a measure be perceived by mans vnderstanding, yet the manner & first operation of his diuine power, cannot be conceived by any mind, or spirit, compass'd with a mortall body. *Animals homo que Dei sunt non percipit: For my thoughts* (saith the Lord in *Esaie*) *are not your* 50 *thoughts, neither are your wayes my wayes.* And as the world hath not knowne God himselfe: so are his wayes (according to *S. Pavi*) *past finding out.* O righteous Father, the world hath not knowne thee, saith *Christ*. And therefore, whether that motion, vitalitie

and operation, were by incubation or how else, the manner is onely knowne to God, *Quomodo in omnibus sit rebus vel per essentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus noster non nocet capiti; For, how God* (saith *S. Augustine*, speaking of his Ubiquitie) *is in all things, either by* 10 *essence, presence, or power, our vnderstanding cannot comprehend.* *Nihil inter Deum hominem, distat, si consilia, & dispositiones illius magnitudo eterne, cognitio assueuerit huma- mana.* There would be no difference betwene God and Man, if mans vnderstanding could con- ceive the counsels and disposing of that eternall Maiestie; and therefore to bee over-curious in searching how the all-powerfull Word of God wrought in the Creation of the

World, or his all-piercing and operative Spirit distinguishing, gaue forme to the Matter

of the Vniuersall, is a labour and search like vnto his, who not contented with a knowne and safeoord, will presume to passe over the greatest Riuer in all parts, where he is ignorant of their depths: for so doth the one lose his life, and the other his vnderstanding. We behold the Sunne, and enioy his light, as long as we looke towards it, but tenderly, and circumspectly: we warme our selues safely, while we stand neare the fire; but if we seeke to out-face the one, to enter into the other, we forthwith become blind or burnt.

But to eschew curiositie: this is true, that the English word (*moued*) is most proper and significant: for of motion proceedeth all production, and all whatsoever is effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeed be truly called, *Principium motus*, and with *MIRANDULA*, *Vis causæ efficientis*; *The force of the efficient cause*, *S. Augustine* sometimes taketh for the holy Ghost; sometime for a wind or breath, *Sub nomine Spiritus*, under the name of a Spirit, which is sometimes so taken: or for *virtualis creatura*, For a created virtuality: *Terrential* and *Theodore* call it also a breath or wind: *Mercurius* nameth it, *Spiritum tenuem intelligibilem*, A pure or thin intelligible Spirit: *ANAXAGORAS*, *Mentem*: *TOSTATUS*, *Voluntatem & mentem Dei*; *The will and minde of God*; which *mens*, *Plato* in *Timæo*, maketh *Animam mundi*, *The soule of the world*. and in his first Booke de Republica, he calleth it *The law of Heauen*; in his Epistles, *The Leader of things to come*, and the presence of things past. But as *Cyprian* wrote of the Incarnation of Christ our Saviour, *Atens deficit, vox flet, & non nica tantum, sed etiam Angelorum*; *My minde sayeth, my voice is silent, and not mine only, but euen the voice of Angels*: so may all men else say in the vnderstanding, and vterance of the wayes and works of the Creation; for to him (*saith Nazianzenus*) there is not one substance by which he is, and another, by which he can, *Sed substantiale illi est, quicquid eius est, & quicquid est*; *Whatsoeuer attribute of him there is, and whatsoeuer he is, it is the very same substance that himselfe is*.

But the Spirit of God which moued vpon the waters, cannot be taken for a breath or wind, nor for any other creature, separate from the infinite actiue power of God, which then formed and distinguished, and which now sustayneth, and giueth continuance to the Vniuersall. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all the world; and the same is it which *maintaineth all things*, saith *SALOMON*. *If thou send forth thy Spirit* (saith *DAVID*) *they are created*: And *GREGORY*, *Deus suo presentiali esse, dat omnibus rebus esse, ita quod, si se rebus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihilum delincerent vniuersa*; *God giueth being to all things, by being present with all things, so as if he should withdraw himselfe from them, then as of nothing the world was made, it would againe fall away and vanish into nothing*. And this working of Gods Spirit in all things, *Virgil* hath exprest excellently:

*Principio Cælum ac Terras, camposq; liquentes,  
Lucentemq; globum Luna, Titanamq; aëtra,  
Spiritus intus alit: totamq; infusa per artus,  
Atens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.*

The Heauen, the Earth, and all the liquid Mayne,  
The Moones bright Globe, and Staures Titanian,  
A Spirit within maintaynes: and their whole masse,  
A Mind, which through each part infus'd doth passe,  
Fashions, and works, and wholly doth transpirece  
All this great Body of the Vniuersall.

And this was the same Spirit, which moued in the Vniuersall, and thereby both distinguished and adorned it. *His Spirit hath garnished the Heauens*, saith *Iob*. So then the Spirit of God moued vpon the waters, and created in them their spiritualitie, and naturall motion; motion brought forth heate; and heate rarification, and subtilitie of parts. By this Spirit (which gaue heate and motion, and thereby, operation, to euery nature, so that it moued vpon the waters, which were in one indigested lump, and Chaos, disposed to all formes alike) was begotten Aire: an element superior, as lighter then the waters, through whose vast, open, subtile, diaphanicke, or transparent body, the light afterwards created might easily transpirece: Light, for the excellency thereof, being the first creature which God called good, whose creation immediately followed. This Spirit *Chrysostome* calleth a vitall Operation, *Aquis à Deo instam, ex qua aqua non solum moti-  
nem, sed & vim procreandi animalia habuerint*. He calleth it, *A vitall Operation giuen by God vnto the waters, whereby the waters had not only motion, but also power to procreate or bring forth liuing Creatures*.

¶ VII.

¶ VII.

*Of the light created, as the materiall substance of the Sunne: and of the nature of it, and diffinitie of knowledge of it: and of the excellency and vse of it: and of motion, and heate annexed vnto it.*

**T**Heſe waters were afterwards congregated, and called the Sea: and this Light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and vniued, and called the Sunne, the Organ, and instrument of created light. For this first and diſperſed light did not (as I conceiue) diſtinguiſh the night from the day, but with a reference to the Sunnes creation, and the vniuing of the diſperſed light therein. This is proued by theſe words, *Let there be lights in the Firmament, to ſeparate the day from the night*: which lights in the firmament of Heauen were alſo made for ſignes, and for ſeaſons, and for dayes, and for yeares, implying a motion inſtantly to follow, by which, dayes and yeares are diſtinguiſhed; after which ſucceeded Time, or together with which, that Time (which was the meaſure of motion) began. For that ſpace of the firſt three dayes which preceded the Sunnes creation, or formall perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to be meaſured, and the day named in the ſixt Verſe, was but ſuch a ſpace, as afterwards by the Sunnes motion made a ciuill or naturall day. And as Waters were the matter of Aire, of the firmament, and of the lower and vpper waters; and of the Seas, and Creatures therein: Earth, the matter of Beaſts, Plants, Minerals, and Mans body: ſo may Light (for expreſſion ſake) be called the Chaos, or materiall ſubſtance of the Sunne, & other lights of heauen: Howbeit, neither the Sunne, nor any thing ſenſible, is that Light it ſelfe, *Quæ cauſa eſt lucidorum*, Which is the cauſe that things are liſhtſome (though it make it ſelfe & all things elſe viſible) but a body moſt illightned, which illuminateth the Moone, by whom the neighbouring Region (which the Greeks call *Æther*, the place of the ſuppoſed Element of fire) is affected and qualiſied, and by it all bodies liuing in this our aire. For this light *Auicenna* calleth *vehiculum & ſomentum omnium celeftium virtutum, & impreſſionum*: *The conducer, and preſeruer or nouriſher of all celeftiall vertues and impreſſions*, nothing deſcending of heauenly influences, but by the medium, or meanes of light. *Ariſtote* calleth light, a qualiſie, inherent, or cleauing to a Diaphanous body, *Lumen eſt qualiſas inherens Diaphano*: but this may be better aouched of the heate, which it tranſporteth and bringeth with it, or conducerth: which heate (ſay the Platonicks) *Abeant lumine reſides in ſubiecto*, The light being departed, doth reſide in the ſubiect, as warmth in the aire, though the ſame be deprived of light. This light *Plotinus* and all the *Academikes* make incorporall, and ſo doth *MONTANVS*, *Cui nec duritia reſiſtit, nec ſpatium*; Which neither hardneſſe reſiſteth, nor ſpace leaueth.

*Ariſtote* findeth corporallitie in the beames of light; but it is but by way of repetition of other mens opinions, ſaith *Picolominus*, *Democritus*, *Leucippus*, and *Epicurus*, *Die de ſci.* giue materialitie to light it ſelfe, but improperly: for it paſſeth at an inſtant, from the Heauen to the Earth, nor is it reſiſted by any hardneſſe, becauſe it pierceth through the ſolid body of glaſſe, or other Criſtalline matter; and whereas it is withſtood by vncleane, and vnpure earthy ſubſtances, leſſe hard, and more caſie to inuade then the former, the ſame is, *Quod obſtaculum natuſ a terre natuſ atq; ſordidum, non capit candidum luminis puriſſimū*; becauſe an obſtacle, by nature earthy and ſoule, doth not receiue the pure cleaſneſſe of light: alluding to that moſt diuine Light, which onely ſhineth on choſe minds, which are purged from all worldly droſſe, and humane vncleaneſſe.

But of this created light, there is no agreement in opinion; neither doe I maruaile it, for it cannot be found either in the Fathers, Philoſophers, or Schoole-men, or other ancient or later Writers, that any of them vnderſtood either it or themſelues therein: all men (to caſt off ignorance) haue diſputed hereof, but there is no man that hath beene taught thereby. *Thomas Aquinas* (not inferior to any in wit) as hee hath ſhewed little ſtrength of argument in refuting the opinions of *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Lombard*, *Tyrannus*, and others: ſo is his owne iudgement herein, as weak as any mans; and moſt of the Schoole-men were rather curious in the nature of termes, and more ſubtile in diſtinguiſhing vpon the parts of doctine already laid downe, then diſcouers of any thing hidden, either in Philoſophie or Diuinitie: of whom it may be truly ſaid, *Nihil ſapientie odiſſius acuminis*. Nothing is more odiſus to true wiſedome, then too acute ſharpeſſe. Neither hath the length of time, and the ſearch of many learned men, (which the ſame time hath brought

brought forth and denoued) resolved vs, whether this light be substantiall, corporall, or incorporeall: Corporall they say it cannot bee, because then it could neither pierce the aire, nor those hard, solid, and Diaphanous bodies, which it doth, and yet every day we see the aire lightened: incorporeall it cannot bee, because it sometime affecteth the sight of the eye with offence, and therefore by most of the Fathers so esteemed: others say, (as *Patricius*) that it cannot be matter, because no forme so excellent as it selfe to informe it: neither can it be any accident, which is not separable without the destruction of the subject: for light being taken from the Sunne, the Sunne is no more the Sunne in existence. Secondly, if light were proceeding from matter and forme, then either, or both must be one of these, lucide or bright, darke or opaque, Diaphanous or transparent; but darknesse cannot be parent of light; and things Diaphanous (being neither light, nor darknesse, but capable of either) cannot be the cause of either, and therefore must the matter, or forme, or both, be lucide and shining. Lucide and shining obtrayse their substance of the light; and therefore, if we define this being of light from a former, then would the progresse goe on infinitely, and a gunit nature; and therefore he concludeth, that light in the Sunne hath his being primarily, and immediately of it selfe, and is therefore the Sunnes forme, and the forme of all lucide and shining bodies: but what is taught hereby, let others iudge.

But in my vnderstanding, *Lumen*, (which may be Englished by the word *Shine*) is an intentional Species of that, which may be Englished by Light, and so, this shining which proceedeth from the Sunne, or other lights of Heauen, or from any other light, is an Image, or intentionall Species thereof, and an intentionall Species may be vnderstood by the example of a red, or Greene colour, occasioned by the shining of the Sun through red or Greene glasse: for then we perceive the same colour cast vpon any thing opposite; which rednesse or other colour, we call the *intentionall Species* of the colour in that glasse. And againe, as this light, touching his simple nature, is no way yet vnderstood: so it is disputed, whether this light first created, bee the same which the Sunne inboldeth and callesth forth, or whether it had continuance any longer then till the Sunnes creation.

But by the most wise and vnchanged order, which God obserued in the worke of the World, I gather, that the Light in the first day created, was the substance of the Sunne: for *Cicero* repeateth twice the many parts of the vniuersall; first, as they were created in matter; secondly, as they were adorned with forme: first, naming the Heauens, the Earth, the Waters, all confused; and afterward, the Waters congregated, the Earth made drie Land, and the Heauen distinguished from both, and beautified. And therefore the Earth, as it was earth, before it was vniuersal, and before it was called *Arida*, or drie Land; and the Waters were waters, before they were congregated, and called the Sea, though neither of them perfect, or enriched with their vniuersall formes: so the Sunne, although it had not his forme perfect, his circle, be true, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the substance thereof in the first day (vnder the name of Light) created; and this Light formerly dispersed, was in the same fourth day vniuersal, and set in the Firmament of Heauen: for to Light created in the first day, God gaue no proper place or fixation; and therefore the effects named by *Anticipation*, (which was, to separate day from night) were perfectly performed, after this Light was congregated, and had obtained life and motion. Neither did the wisdome of God finde cause why it should moue (by which motion, dayes and nights are distinguished) till then: because there was not yet any Creature produced, to which, by mouing, the Sunne might giue light, heate, and operation.

But after the Earth (distinguished from Waters) began to bud forth the bud of the herbe, &c. God caused the Sunne to moue, and (by interchange of time) to visite euery part of the inferior world; by his heate to stirre vp the fire of generation, and to giue aduice to the seeds of all natures: For, as a King, which commandeth some poorly building to be erected, doth accommodate the same to that vse and end, to which it was ordained; so it pleased God (saith *Properius*) to conuene the Light to be; which by his all-powerfull Word he approued, and approuing it, disposed thereof, to the vse and comfort of his future Creatures.

But in that it pleased God to adde of *Tonn*, *By what way is the light parted, and where is the way, where light dwelleth*: we thereby know, that the nature thereof filleth not vnderstanding; and therefore let it suffice, that by Gods grace we enjoy the effects

fects thereof. For this light is of the treasure of God (saith *Esdras*.) And those which inhabit the Heauens, doe onely know the Essence thereof. *Nihil ignotum in celo, nihil notum in terra: Nothing unknowne in Heauen, nothing perfectly knowen on earth.* *Res vera sunt in immundo inuisibili, in mundo visibili umbra rerum: Things themselves are in the inuisible world, in the world visible, but their shadows.* Surely, if this Light be not spirituall, yet it approacheth nearest vnto spiritualitie; and if it haue any corporallitie, then of all other the most subtile and pure; for howsoeuer, it is of all things scene, the most beautifull, and of the swiftest motion, of all other the most necessary and beneficiall. For it ministreth to men, and other creatures, all celestiall influences; it dissipateth those sad thoughts and sorrowes, which the darknesse both begetteth and maintayneth; it discovereth vnto vs the glorious works of God, and carryeth vp with an Angelicall swiftnesse, our eyes vnto Heauen, that by the sight thereof, our minds being informed of his visible mirailes, may continually trauaile to surmount these percieued Heauens, and to finde out their omnipotent Cause and Creator. *Cognitio non quiescit in rebus creatis; Our knowledge doth not quiet it selfe in things created. Et ipsa lux facit, ut cetera mundi membra digna sint laudibus, cum suam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet; It is the Light (saith Saint Ambrose) that maketh the other parts of the world so worthy of praise, seeing that it selfe communicateth its goodnesse and beauty vnto all: of which Ouid out of Orpheus:*

*Ille ego sum, qui longum metior annum,  
Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia mundus,  
Atundi oculus.*

Ouid. Met. lib. 1.

The World discernes it selfe, while I the World behold,  
By me the longest yeares, and other times are told,  
I the worlds eye.

Lastly, if we may behold in any creature, any one sparke of that eternall fire, or any far-off dawning of Gods glorious brightnesse, the same in the beautie, motion, and vertue of this Light, may be perceiued. Therefore was God called *Lux ipsa*, and the Light, by *Hermes* named *Lux sancta*, and *Christ* our Sauour said to be *that Light*, which lighteth euery man that cometh into the world. Yet in respect of Gods incomprehensible sublimitie, and puritie, this is also true, that God is neither a minde, nor a Spirit of the nature of other spirits; nor a light, such as can be discerned. *Deus profecto non mens est, at verò ut sit mens causa est; nec spiritus, sed causa qua spiritus extat, nec lumen, sed causa qua lumen existit.* (saith *Hermes* in *Poemandro*) certainly is not a minde, but the cause that the minde hath his being; nor spirit, but the cause by which euery spirit is; nor light, but the cause by which the light existeth.

So then the *Masse* and *Chaos* being first created, void, darke, and imformed, was by the operative Spirit of God, pierced and quickned, and the Waters hauing now receiued Spirit and motion, resolved their thinner parts into Aire, which God lightened: the Earth also by being conuulsed, and mixt with waters (participating the same diuine vertue) brought forth the bud of the herbe that feedeth feede, &c. and for a meane and organ, by which this operative vertue might be continued, God appointed the Light to be vniuersal, and gaue it also motion and heate, which heate caused a continuance of those severall species, which the Earth (being made fruitful by the Spirit) produced, and with motion begate the time and times succeeding.

## ¶ VIII.

Of the Firmament, and of the waters above the Firmament: and whether there be any Crystalline Heauen, or any Primum mobile.

After that the Spirit of God had moued vpon the waters, and light was created, God said, *Let there be a Firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters*: that is, those waters which by rarification and euaporation were ascended, and those of the Earth and Sea.

But these waters separate above this extension, which the Latine Translation calleth *firmamentum*, or *expansionem* (for so *Varabius*, *Pagninus*, and *Ianus* turne it) are not the Crystalline Heauens, created in the imaginations of men; which opinion *Nasilius Magnus* calleth a childish supposition, making in the same place many learned arguments against

against this fancy. For the waters about the Firmament, are the waters in the Aire above vs, where the Aire is more solid and condense, which God separated from the neather waters by a Firmament, that is, by an extended distance and vast space: the words *Raquia*, which *Montanus* writeth *Rakigh*, and *Shanajim*, being indifferently taken for the Heauen and for Aire, and more properly for the Aire and *Aether*, then for the Hea- uens, as the best Hebricians vnderstand them, *Quo suprema ac tenuia ab infimis crassia di- ducta, interseclata, distant*, for that whereby the supreme and thin bodies were placed in distance, being secured and cut off from low and grosse matters: and the waters about the Firmament, exprest in the word *Mayim*, are in that tongue taken properly for the waters about the Aire, or in the vppermost Region of the same.

And that the word Heauen is vsed for the Aire, the Scriptures euerywhere witnesse, as in the blessings; of *Ioseph*, and in the 104. Psalme. \* *By these Springs shall the fowle of the Heauen dwell*; and \* *upon Sedim and Gomorrah it rayned brimstone and fire out of the Hea- uen*; and in *Isaies* blessing to *Iacob*, *God giue thee therefore of the dew of Heauen*; and in *Deuteronomie* the 11. *But the land whither you goe to possesse it, is a land, that drinketh wa- ter of the rayne of Heauen*; and in *Ion*, *Who hath ingendered the frosts of Heauen*; and in *S. MATTHEW*, *Behold the Fowles of Heauen*, *for they sow not*. So as in all the Scriptures of the old Testament throughout is the word Heauen very often vsed for aire, and taken also hyperbolically for any great height, as, *Let vs build vs a Tower, whose top may reach to Heauen*, &c. And in this very place *Basil* auoucheth, that this appellation of Heauen for the Firmament, is but by way of similitude: his owne words be these; *Et vocauit Deus firmamentum celum. Nec appellatio alij quidem proprie accommodatur, huic autem nunc ad similitudinem*; And God called the firmament Heauen: This appellation (saith *Basil*) is properly applied to another (that is, to the Starry Heauen) but to this, (that is, to the Fir- mament diuiding the waters) it is imposed by similitude: and if there were no other proofe, that by the Firmament was meant the Ayre, and not the Heauen, the words of *Moses* in the eighth Verse, conferred with the same word Firmament in the twenti- eth Verse, makes it manifest: for in the eighth Verse it is written, that God called the Firmament, which diuided waters from waters, Heauen; and in the 20. Verse he cal- leth the Firmament of Heauen, Ayre, in these words: *And let the Fowle flye upon the earth in the open firmament of Heauen*. And what vse there should be of this ycie, or cri- stalline, or waterie Heauen, I conceiue not, except it be to moderate and temper the heat, which the *Primum mobile* would otherwise gather and increase: though in verie truth, in stead of this helpe, it would adde an vnmeasurable greatnesse of circle, where- by the swiftnesse of that first Moueable would exceede all possibilitie of beliefe. *Sed nemo tenetur ad impossibilia; but no man ought to be held to impossibilities*; and saith it selfe (which surmounteth the height of all humane reason) hath for a forcible Condueter, the Word of Truth, which also may be called *lumen omnis rationis & intellectus; the light of all reason and understanding*. Now that this supposed first Moueable, turneth it selfe so many hundred thousand miles in an instant (seeing the Scriptures teach it not) let those that can beleue mens imaginations, apprehend it, for I cannot. But of these many Heauens, let the Reader that desireth satisfaction, search *Oronius*, and of this waterie Heauen, *Basilus Atagnus* in his *Hexameron*. fol. 40. 41. &c. and *Atatib. Bern- aldae*, his second Booke, and sixt Chapter. For my selfe, I am perswaded, that the waters, called, The waters about the Heauens, are but the cloudes and waters ingendered in the vppermost Ayre.

## §. I X.

A conclusion repeating the summe of the workes in the Creation, which are reduced to three heads: The creation of matter, The forming of it, The finishing of it.

**T**O conclude, it may be gathered out of the first Chapter of *Genesis*, that this was the order of the most wise God in the beginning, and when there was no other nature, or being, but Gods incomprehensible eternitie. First, hee created the matter of all things: and in the first three dayes he distinguished and gaue to euery na- ture his proper forme; the forme of leuitie to that which ascended, to that which de- cended, the forme of grauitie: for he separated light from darkenesse, diuided waters from waters, and gathered the waters vnder the Firmament into one place. In the last three

three daies, God adorned, beautified, and replenished the World: he set in the Firma- ment of Heauen, the Sunne, Moone, and Starres; filled the Earth with Beasts, the Aire with Fowle, and the Sea with Fish, giuing to all that haue life, a power generatiue, thereby to continue their Species and kindes; to Creatures vegetatiue and growing, their feedes in themselves; for he created all things, that they might haue their being: and the generations of the world are preserved.

## §. X.

That Nature is no Principium per se; nor forme the giner of being: and of our ignorance, how second causes should haue any proportion with their effects.

**A**ND for this working power, which we call Nature, the beginning of motion and rest, according to *Aristotle*, the same is nothing else, but the strength and facultie, which God hath infused into euerie creature, hauing no other sense-voluntie, then a Clocke, after it is wound vp by a mans hand, hath. These there- fore that attribute vnto this facultie, any first or sole power, haue therein no other vnderstanding, then such a one hath, who looking into the Sterne of a Ship, and finding it guided by the Helme and Rudder, doth ascribe some absolute vertue to the peece of wood, without all consideration of the hand that guides it, or of the iudgement, which also directeth and commandeth that hand; forgetting in this and in all else, that by the vertue of the first act, all Agents worke whatsoever they worke: *Virtute primi actus agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt*: for as the minde of man seeth by the Organ of the eye, heareth by the eares, and maketh choyce by the will: and therefore we attribute sight to the eye, and hearing to the eares, &c. and yet it is the minde onely, that giueth ability, life, and motion to all these his instruments and Organs; so God worketh by Angels, by the Sunne, by the Starres, by Nature, or infused properties, and by men, as by seuerall Organs, seuerall effects; all second causes whatsoever, being but instru- ments, conduits, and pipes, which carrie and disperse what they haue receyued from the head and fountaine of the Vniuersall. For as it is Gods infinite power, and euerie- where-prefence (compassing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giueth to the Sunne power to draw vp vapours, to vapours to be made cloudes, cloudes to containe raine, and raine to fall: so all second and instrumentall causes, together with Nature it selfe, without that operative facultie which God gaue them, would become altoge- ther silent, vertuelesse, and dead: of which excellentie *ORPHEVS*; *Perse virescunt om- nia, All things by thee spring forth in youthfull Greene*. I enforce not these things, there- by to annihilate those variable vertues which God hath giuen to his creatures, animate and inanimate, to heauenly and earthly bodies, &c. for all his workes in their vertues prayse him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or they in or with each o- ther, which the Heathen Philosophers, and those that follow them, haue taken on

themselves to teach: I say, there is not any one among them, nor any one among vs, that could euer yet conceiue it, or expresse it, euer enrich his owne vnderstanding with any certaine truth, or euer edifie others (not foolish by selfe-flatterie) therein. For (saith *Lactantius*, speaking of the wisdom of the Philosophers) *Si facultas inuenienda verita- tis huius studio subiaceret, aliquando esset inuenta; cum vero tot temporibus, tot ingenij in eius inquisitione contritis, non sit comprehensa, apparet nullam ibi esse sapientiam; If in this studie (saith he) were meanes to find out the truth, it had ere this beene found out: but seeing it is not yet comprehended, after that so much time, and so many wits haue bene worne out in the inquirie of it, it appeareth, that there is no wisdom there to be had. Nam si de vnae prae- ficiat scientia haberetur, omnium rerum scientia necessario haberetur: If the precise know- ledge of any one thing were to be had, it should necessarily follow, that the knowledge of all things were to be had. And as the Philosophers were ignorant in Nature, and the wayes of her working: so were they more curious, then knowing, in their first matter and Physi- cal forme. For if their first matter had any being, it were not then the first matter: for, as it is the first matter, it hath only a power of being, which it altogether leaueth, when it doth subsist. And seeing it is neither a substance perfect, nor a substance inchoate, or in the way of perfection, how any other substance should thence take confection, it hath not bene taught, neyther are these formes (saith a learned Author) any thing, si ea ex exprimat potentia, que nihil est. Againe, how this first matter should be sub-*

Natura enim re-  
mota praeiden-  
tia & potestate  
diuina, prae-  
fata est, Lat. de  
Sapientia, l. 3. cap. 23.

Cyprian. de mm-  
te, lib. 3.

reclum

*rationis formam, and passive, which is understood to precede the forme, it is hard to conceive: for to make forme which is the cause, to be sublequent to the thing caused (to wit, to the first matter) is contrarie to all reason, diuine and humane: onely it may be said, that originally there is no other difference betwene matter and forme, then betwene heate and fire, of which the one cannot subsist without the other, but in a kinde of rationall consideration. Leaving therefore these Riddles to their Louers, who by certaine scholasticall distinctions wrest and peruert the truth of all things, and by which Aristotle hath laboured to proue a false eternitie of the World, I thinke it farre safer to assime with Saint AUGUSTINE, That all species and kinds are from God, from whom, whatsoever is naturall proceedeth, of what kinde or estimation soeuer, from whence are the seeds of all formes, and the formes of all seedes and their motions; A quo est omnis species, a quo est quicquid naturaliter est, cuiuscumque generis est, cuiuscumque estimationis est, a quo sunt semina formarum, forme seminum, motus seminum atque formarum. And thus much Averrois is forced to confesse. For all formes (saith hee) are in primo motore, which is also the opinion of Aristotle in the twelfth of his Metaph. and of Albertus vpon Dionysius.*

## §. XI.

of Fate; and that the Starres haue great influence: and that their operations may diuersly be preuened or furthered.

**N**D, as of Nature, such is the dispute and contention concerning Fate or Destinie, of which the opinions of those learned men that haue written thereof, may be safely receiued, had they not thereunto annexed and fastened an inevitable necessitie, and made it more generall, and vniuersally powerfull then it is, by giuing it Dominion ouer the minde of man, and ouer his will; of which Ouid and Lucretius:

*Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet.  
Scelus regna dabunt, captiui Fata triumphos.  
Gainst Fate no counsell can preuaile.  
Kingdomes to Slaues by Destinie,  
To Captiues triumphs giuen be.*

An error of the Chaldeans, and after them of the Stoicks, the Pharisees, Priscillianists, the Bardisamites, and others, as Basil, Augustine, and Thomas haue obserued: but that Fate is an obedience of second causes to the first, was well conceiued of Hermes, and Apuleius the Platonist. Plotinus out of the Astronomers calleth it a disposition from the acts of celestiaall Orbes, vnchangeably working in inferior bodies, the same being also true enough, in respect of all those things, which a rationall minde doth not order nor direct. Ptolonie, Seneca, Democritus, Epicurus, Chrysippus, Empedocles, and the Stoicks, some of them more largely, others more strictly, ascribe to Fate a binding and ineuitable necessitie; and that it is the same which is spoken and determined by God (quod deus quocumque nostrum fatum est Deus) and the definite lot of all liuing. And certainly it cannot be doubted, but the Starres are instruments of farre greater vse, then to giue an obscure light, and for men to gaze on after Sunne-set: it being manifest, that the diuersitie of seasons, the Winters, and Summers, more hote and colde, are not so vncertained by the Sunne and Moone alone, who alway keepe one and the same course, but that the Starres haue also their working therein.

And if we cannot denie, but that God hath giuen vertues to Springs and Fountaines, to colde earth, to plants and stones, Minerals, and to the excrementall parts of the basest liuing creatures, why should we robbe the beautifull Starres of their working powers? for seeing they are many in number, and of eminent beautie and magnitude, wee may not thinke, that in the treasure of his wisdome, who is infinite, there can be wanting (euen for euery Starre) a peculiar vertue and operation; as euery herbe, plant, fruit, and flower adorning the face of the Earth, hath the like. For as these were not created to beautifie the earth alone, and to couer & shadow her dustie face, but otherwise for the vse of man and beast, to feed them and cure them; so were not those vncountable glorious bodies set in the Firmament, to no other end, then to adorne it, but for instruments, and Organs of his diuine providence, so farre as it hath pleased his iust will

to determine. Origen vpon this place of Genesis, Let there be lights in the Firmament, &c. Gen. 1. 5. affirmeth, that the Starres are not causes (meaning per chance binding causes) but are as open Bookes, wherein are contained and fet downe all things whatsoever to come; and not to be read by the eyes of humane wisdome: which latter part I beleue well, and this saying of Syracus withall: That there are hid yet greater things then these be, and we haue seene but a few of his workes. And though, for the capacite of men, wee know somewhat, yet in the true and vitermost vertues of herbes and plants, which our selues sow and set, and which grow vnder our feet, wee are in effect ignorant; much more in the powers and working of celestiaall bodies. for hardly (saith SALOMON) can we discern the things that are vpon the Earth, and with great labour finde we out those things that are before vs: who can then inuigilate the things that are in Heauen? Multum est de rebus celestibus aliquid cognoscere: It is much to know a litle of heavenly things. But in this question of Fate, the middle course is to be followed, that as with the Heathen wee doe not binde God to his creatures, in this supposed necessitie of destinie, so on the contrarie, wee doe not robbe those beautifull creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of these second causes depoyled God of his prerogatiue, or had God himselfe constrained the minde and will of man to impious acts by any celestiaall enforcements, then sure the impious excuse of some were iustificable; of whom Saint AUGUSTINE; Impia peruersitate in malis factis rectissime reprehendendis ingerunt accusandum potius auctore syderum, quam commissorem scelerum. Where we reprehend them of euill deeds, they againe with wicked peruersnesse urge, that rather the Author and Creatour of the Starres, then the doer of the euill is to be accused.

But that the Starres and other celestiaall bodies incline the will by mediation of the sensitiue appetite, which is also stirred by the constitution and complexion, it cannot be doubted. Corpora caelestia (saith DAMASCENE) constituent in nobis habitus, complexiones, & dispositiones, The heavenly bodies (saith hee) make in vs habits, complexions, and dispositions: for the bodie (though Galen inforce it further) hath vndoubtedly a kinde of drawing after it the affections of the minde, especially bodies strong in humour, and weake in vertues; for those of cholericke complexion are subiect to anger, and the furious effects thereof; by which they suffer themselves to be transported, where the minde hath not reason to remember, that passions ought to be her Vassals, not her Masters. And that they wholly direct the reasonlesse mind I am resolu'd: For of all those which were created mortall, as birds, beasts, and the like, are left to their naturall appetites, ouer all which, celestiaall bodies (as instruments and Executioners of Gods providence) haue absolute dominion. What we should iudge of men, who litle differ from beasts, I cannot tell: for as hee that contendeth against those enforcements, may easily master or resist them: so whosoever shall neglect the remedies by vertue and pietie prepared, putteth himselfe altogether vnder the power of his sensuall appetite; Vincitur fatum si resistas, vincit si contempseris: Fate will be overcome, if thou resist it, if thou neglect, it conquereth.

But that either the Starres or the Sunne haue any power ouer the mindes of men immediately, it is absurd to thinke, other then as aforesaid, as the same by the bodies remper may be effected. Lumen solum ad generationem sensibilibus corporum confert, & ad vitam ipsam mouet, & nutrit, & auget, & perficit: The light of the Sunne (saith Saint AUGUSTINE) helpeth the generation of sensible bodies, moueth them to life, and nourisheth, augmenteth, and perfecteth them: yet still as a Minister, not as a Master: Bonus quidem est Sol, in ministerio, non imperio; The Sunne is good to serue, not to sway (saith S. Ambrose.) And Saint AUGUSTINE: Deus regit inferiora corpora per superiora; God ruleth the bodies below by those above, but hee auoucheth not, that superiour bodies haue rule ouer so mens mindes, which are incorporeall.

But howsoeuer we are by the Starres inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in Nature and Art, that encounter the same, and weaken their operation: and Aristotle himselfe confesseth, that the Heauens doe not alwaies worke their effects in inferior bodies, no more then the signes of raine and winde doe alwaies come to passe. And it is diuers times seene, that paternall vertue and vice hath his counter-working to these inclinations. Est in tuenens patrum virtus; in the young offspring the Fathers vertues, and so the contrarie, patrum vitia: and herein also there is often found an encrease; the Sonnes of vertuous men, by an ill constellation become inclinable to vice, and of vicious men, to vertue.



*Egregia est soboles, scelerato nata parente.*

A worthe sonne is borne of a wicked father.

But there is nothing (after Gods reserved power) that so much setteth this art of influence out of square and rule, as education doth: for there are none in the World so wickedly inclined, but that a religious instruction and bringing vp may fashion anew and reforme them; nor any so well disposed, whom (the reines being let loose) the continuall fellowship and familiaritie, and the examples of dissolute men may not corrupt and deforme. Vessels will euer retain a fauour of their first liquor: it being equally difficult eyther to cleanse the minde once corrupted, or to extinguish the sweet fauour of vertue first receyued, when the minde was yet tender, open, and easily seasoned; but where a fauourable constellation (allowing that the Starres incline the will) and a vertuous education doe happily arriue, or the contrarie in both, thereby it is that men are found so exceeding vertuous or vicious, Heaven and Earth (as it were) running together, and agreeing in one: for as the seedes of vertue may by the art and husbandrie of Christian counsaile produce better and more beautiful fruit, then the strength of selfe-nature and kind could haue ycelled them; so the plants apt to grow wilde, and to change themselves into weedes, by being set in a soyle sutable, and like themselves, are made more vsuauourie and filled with payson. It was therefore truly affirmed, *Sapientia adiuvabit opus astrorum, quemadmodum agricola terre naturam; A wife man assisteth the worke of the Starres, as the Husbandman helpeth the nature of the soyle.* And Ptolomie himselfe confelleth thus much, *Sapientia, & omnia sapientia medici dominabuntur astris, A wiseman, and the ominous art of a wife Physician shall prevvaile against the Starres.* Lastly, we ought all to know, that God created the Starres, as he did the rest of the Viuierfall, whose influences may be called his reserved and vnwritten Lawes. But let vs consider how they bind: euen as the Lawes of men doe; for although the Kings and Princes of the World haue by their Lawes decreed, that a Thiefe and a Murderer shall suffer death; and though their Ordinances are daily by Iudges and Magistrats (the Starres of Kings) executed accordingly, yet these Lawes doe not deprive Kings of their naturall or religious compassion, or binde them without prerogative, to such a seuer execution, as that there should be nothing left of libertie to iudgement, power, or conscience: the Law in his owne nature, being no other then a deafe Tyrant. But seeing that it is otherwise, and that Princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) doe sometimes for causes to themselves knowhe, and by mediation, pardon offences both against others and themselves, it were then impious to take that power and libertie from God himselfe, which his Substitutes enioy; God being mercie, goodnesse, and charitie it selfe. Otherwise that example of Prayer by our Sauour taught; *And lei vs not be led into temptation, but deliuer vs from euill*, had bene no other but an expence of words and time; but that God (which onely knoweth the operation of his owne creatures truly) hath assured vs, that there is no inclination or temptation so forcible, which our humble Prayers and desires may not make frustrate, and breake asunder: for were it (as the *Sticks* conceiue) that Fate or Destinie, though depending vpon eternall power, yet being once ordered and disposed, had such a connexion and immutable dependencie, that God himselfe should in a kind haue shut vp himselfe therein: *How miserable then were the condition of men* (saith S. AUGUSTINE) *left altogether without hope!* And if this strength of the Starres were so transferr'd, as that God had quitted vnto them all dominion ouer his creatures; be hee Pagan or Christian that so beleecueeth, the onely true God of the one, and the imaginarie gods of the other would thereby be deposed of all worship, reuerence, or respect.

And certainly, God which hath promised vs the reward of well-doing, which Christ himselfe claimed at the hands of the Father, (*thou hast finished the worke which thou gauest mee to doe*;) and the same God, who hath threatned vnto vs the sorrow and torment of offences; could not contrary to his mercifull nature be so vnjust, as to bind vs incuriably to the Destinies or influences of the Starres, or subiect our soules to any imposed necessity. But it was well said of *Plotinus*, that the Starres were significant, but not efficient, giuing them yet something lesse then their due: and therefore as I do not consent with them, who would make those glorious creatures of God vertlesse: so I thinke that wee derogate from his eternall and absolute power and providence, to ascribe to them

them the same dominion ouer our immortall soules, which they haue ouer all bodily substances, and perishable natures: for the soules of men, louing and fearing God, receiue influence from that diuine light it selfe, whereof the Sunnes claritie, and that of the Starres is by *Plato* called but a shadow. *Lumen est umbra Dei, & Deus est lumen luminis; Light is the shadow of Gods brightnesse, who is the light of light*: But to end this question, because this Destinie, together with Prouidence, Prescience, and Predetermination are often confounded, I thinke it not impertinent to touch the difference in a word or two, for every man hath not obserued it, though all learned men haue.

Plat. pol. 6.  
Eicim. in 1. 7. pol.

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## §. XII.

## Of Prescience.

**P**rescience, or fore-knowledge (which the Greekes call *Prognosis*, the Latines *Præcognitio*, or *prescientia*) considered in order and nature (if we may speake of God after the manner of men) goeth before Prouidence: for God fore-knew all things, before he had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and Prescience is no other then an infallible fore-knowledge. For whatsoever our selues fore-know, except the same be to succcede accordingly, it cannot be true that we fore-know it. But this Prescience of God (as it is Prescience onely) is not the cause of any thing futerly succeding: neyther doth Gods foreknowledge impose any necessitie, or binde. For in that we fore-know that the Sunne will rise, and set; that all men borne in the World shall dye againe; that after Winter, the Spring shall come; after the Spring Summer and Haruest, and that according to the seuerall seedes that we sow, we shall reape seuerall sorts of graine, yet is not our fore-knowledge the cause of this, or any of these: neyther doth the knowledge in vs binde or constraîne the Sunne to rise and set, or men to dye; for the causes (as men perswade themselves) are otherwise manifest and knowne to all. *The eye of man* (saith *BERTIUS*) *beholdeth those things subiect to sense, as they are; the eye seeth that such a beast is an horse, it seeth men, trees, and houses, &c. but our seeing of them (as they are) is not the cause of their so being, for such they be in their owne nature*. And againe out of the same Authour; *Diuina prouidentia rebus generat, ydis non imponit necessitatem, quia si omnia euenirent ex necessitate, premia bonorum, & pena malorum periret; Diuine Prouidence (saith he) imposeth no necessity vpon things that are to exist, for if all came to passe of necessity, there should neither be reward of good, nor punishment of euil*.

Boetius de con.  
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## §. XIII.

## Of Prouidence.

**N**ow Prouidence (which the Greekes call *Proneia*) is an intellectuall knowledge, both fore-seeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not onely behold all past, all present, and all to come, but is the cause of their so being, which Prescience (simply taken) is not: and therefore Prouidence by the Philosophers (saith S. Augustine) is diuided into Memorie, Knowledge, and Care: Memorie of the past, Knowledge of the present, and Care of the future: and wee our selues account such a man for prouident, as, remembring things past, and obseruing things present, can by iudgement, and comparing the one with the other, provide for the future, and times succeding. That such a thing there is as Prouidence, the Scriptures euery-where teach vs, *Moses* in many places, the Prophets in their Predictions: Christ himselfe and his Apostles assure vs hercof; and, besides the Scriptures, *Hermes, Orpheus, Euripides, Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus*, and (in effect) all learned men acknowledge the Prouidence of God: yea the *Turkes* themselves are so confident therein, as they refuse not to accompany and visit each other, in the most pestilent diseases, nor shun any perill whatsoever, though death therein doe manifestly present it selfe.

The places of Scripture prouoing prouidence, are so many, both in generall and particular, as I shall need to repeat but a few of them in this place. *Sing vnto God* (saith *DAVID*) *which conereth the Heauens with cloudes, and prepareth raine for the earth, and maketh the grasse to grow vpon the Mountaines, which giueth to beasts their food, and feedeth the yong Rauen that cries: All these was vpon thee, that thou mayest giue them food in due season. And thou shalt drinke of the Riuer Cheareth* (saith God to *ELIAB*) *and I haue*

Pl. 147. 8.

Pl. 104. 27.  
145. 15.

1. Pet. 5. 3.  
1. Pet. 5. 4.  
1. Pet. 5. 5.  
1. Pet. 5. 6.

1. Pet. 5. 7.

1. Pet. 5. 8.

1. Pet. 5. 9.  
1. Pet. 5. 10.  
1. Pet. 5. 11.

commanded the Ravens to feed thee there. Behold, the Fowles of the Ayre, they sow not, nor reape, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them: Againe, Are not two Sparrowes sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father: yea all the haire of your head are numbered: And S. PETER, Cast all your care on him, for he careth for you: And his iudgements are written, saith DAVID.

God therefore, who is euerie-where present, who filleth the Heauens and the Earth, whose eyes are upon the righteous, and his countenance against them that doe euill, was therefore by Orpheus called, *oculus infinitus*, an infinite eye, beholding all things, and cannot therefore be esteemed as an idle looker on, as if he had transferred his power to any other: for it is contrary to his owne Word: *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo: I will not give my glorie to another*. No man commandeth in the Kings presence, but by the Kings direction; but God is euerie-where present, and King of Kings. The example of Gods vniuersall Prouidence is scene in his creatures. The Father prouideth for his children: beasts and birds and all liuing for their young ones. If prouidence bee found in second Fathers, much more in the first and Vniuersall: and if there be a naturall louing care in men, and beasts, much more in God, who hath formed this nature, and whose Diuine loue was the beginning, and is the bond of the Vniuersall: *Amor diuinus rerum omnium est principium, & vinculum vniuersi* (saith PLATO.) *Amor Dei est nodus perpetuus, mundi copula, partiumq; eius immobile sustentaculum, ac vniuersae machine fundamentum*; The loue of God is the perpetuall knot, and linke or chayne of the world, and the immoueable pillar of euery part thereof, and the Basis and foundation of the vniuersall. God therefore who could only be the cause of all, can only prouide for all, and sustaine all; so as to absolute power; to euerie-where presence; to perfect goodnesse; to pure and diuine loue; this attribute transcendent habily of Prouidence is only proper and belonging.

#### §. XIV.

##### Of Preadefination.

Rom. 8. 9.

1. Cor. 13. 11.  
1. Cor. 13. 12.  
1. Cor. 13. 13.  
1. Cor. 13. 14.  
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1. Cor. 13. 77.  
1. Cor. 13. 78.  
1. Cor. 13. 79.  
1. Cor. 13. 80.

Now for Preadefination; we can difference it no otherwise, from Prouidence and Preadescence, then in this, that Preadescence only fore-seeth: Prouidence fore-seeth & careth for, and hath respect to all creatures, euen from the brightest Angels of Heauen, to the vnworthiest Woimes of the Earth, and Preadefination (as it is vsed specially by Diuines) is onely of men, and yet not of all to men belonging, but of their saluation properly, in the common vse of Diuines, or perdition, as some haue vsed it. Yet Peter Lombard, Thomas, Bernensis Theologus, and others, take the word Preadefination more strictly, and for a preparation to felicitie: diuers of the Fathers take it more largely sometimes: among whom S. Augustine speaking of two Cities, and two Societies, vseth these words, *Quarum est vna, quae praedestinata est in aeternum regnare cum Deo, altera aeternum supplicium subire cum Diabolo*; Whereof one is it, which is predestinated to reigne for euer with God, but the other is to vndergoe euerslasting torments with the Deuill: for according to Nonius Marcellus, *deistinare est preparare*; and of the same opinion are many Protestant writers, as Calvin, Beza, Buchanan, Dancus, and such like: and as for the manifold questions hereof arising, I leave them to the Diuines; and why it hath pleased God to create some vessels of honour, and some of dishonour, I will answer with Gregorie, who saith, *Qui in factis Dei rationem non videt, infirmitatem suam considerans, cur non videt, rationem videt*; He that seeth no reason in the actions of God, by consideration of his owne infirmity perceyueeth the reason of his blindness. And againe with S. AVASTINE, *Occulta esse causa potest, inuisa esse non potest*; Hidden the cause of his Preadefination may be, vniust it cannot be.

#### §. XV.

Of Fortune: and of the reason of some things that seeme to be by fortune, and against Reason and Prouidence.

Attily, seeing Destinie or Necessitie is subsequence to Gods prouidence, and seeing that the Starres haue no other dominion, then is before spoken, and that Nature is nothing, but as Plato calleth it, *Dei aretem, vel artificiosum Dei organum*; The art, or artificiall Organ of God: and CYSANVS, *Diuini praecepti instrumentum*;

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The art, or artificiall Organ of God: and CYSANVS, *Diuini praecepti instrumentum*; The instrument of the diuine precept: we may then with better reason reiect that kinde of Idolatrie, or God of fooles, called Fortune, or Chance: a Goddiesse, the most reuerenced, and the most reuiled of all other, but not ancient; for Homer maketh her the Daughter of Oceanus, as Pausanias witnesseth in his *Assepiacks*. The Greekes call her *tyche*, signifying a relatiue being, or betiding, so as before Homers time this great Ladie was scarce heard of; and Hesiodus, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all these counterfiet gods, hath not a word of Fortune: yet afterward she grew to great and omnipotent, as from Kings and Kingdomes, to Beggars and Cottages, she ordered all things, refitting the wisdom of the wisest, by making the Possessor thereof miserable: valuing the folly of the most foolish by making their successe prosperous, inasmuch as the actions of men were said to be but the sports of Fortune, and the variable accidents happening in mens liues, but her pastimes: of which \*PALLADIVS, *Vita hominum ludus fortune est*; The life of man is the play of Fortune: and because it often falleth out, that enterprizes guided by ill counsells haue equal successe to those by the best iudgement conducted, therefore had Fortune the same external figure with Sapience: wherof Athenaeus:

*Longissimè à Sapientia Fors distat,  
Sed multa periculis tamen similitudo.*

From Wisedome Fortune differs farre,  
And yet in workes most like they are.

But I will forbear to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly vnderstood) is nothing else but a power imaginarie, to which the successe of humane actions and endenours were for their varietie ascribed; for when a manifest cause could not be giuen, then was it attributed to fortune, as if there were no cause of those things, of which most men are ignorant, contrary to this true ground of PLATO: *Nihil est ortum sub sole*, cuius causa legitimam non precesserit. Nothing euer came to passe vnder the Sonne, of which there was not a iust preceding cause. But Aquinas hath herein answered in one distinction, whatsoever may be objected; for many things there are (saith he) which happen, *in ipsa intentione inferioris, sed non praeter intentionem superioris*, (to wit, the ordinance of God); and therefore (saith MELANCTON) *Quod Fortis fortunam, nos Deum appellamus*, Whom the Poets call Fortune, we know to be God; and that this is true, the Scripture in many places teacheth vs, as in the Law of Murder. *He that smiteth a man, and he die, shall die the death; and if a man hath not laid waite, but God hath offered him into his hands, then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee*. Now, where the Scripture hath these words, *God hath offered him into his hands*, we say, if he hurt him by Chance: and in Deuteronomie the nineteenth, where the slipping of an Axe from the helue, whereby another is slaine, was the worke of God himselfe, we in our phrase attribute this accident to Chance or Fortune: and in the Proverbs the sixteenth, *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord*: so as that which seemeth most casual and subiect to Fortune, is yet disposed by the ordinance of God; as all things else; and hereof the wisest sort, and the best learned of the Philosophers were not ignorant, as Cicero witnesseth for them, gathering the opinion of Aristotle and his Sectators, with those of Plato, and the Academicks to this effect, That the same power which they called *animam mundi*; The soule of the World, was no other then that incomprehensible wisdom, which we expresse by the name of God, governing euery being as well in heauen as in earth; to which wisdom and power they sometime gaue the title of Necessitie or Fate, because it bindeth by ineuitable ordinance: sometime, the stile of Fortune, because of many effects there appeare vnto vs no certain causes. To this effect speaketh S. Augustine in his questions vpon Genesis the first Booke: the same hath Seneca in his fourth of Benefices; which was also the doctrine of the Stoicks, of which Sect he was: For whatsoever (saith he) thou callest God, be it Nature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one and the same, differenced by diuers termes, according as we vse, and exercise his power diuersly.

But it may be objected, that if Fortune and Chance were not sometimes the causes of good and euill in men, but an idle voice, whereby we expresse successe, how comes it then, that so many worthie and wise men depend vpon so many vnworthy and enuie-headed fooles; that riches and honor are giuen to externall men, and without ker-

nell: and so many learned, and valiant men weare out their liues in poore and dejected estates. In a word, there is no other inferior, or apparent cause, beside the partialitie of mans affection, but the falshoning and not falshoning of our selues according to the nature of the time wherein we liue: for whosoeuer is most able, and best sufficient to discourse, and hath withall an honest and open heart and louing truth; if Princes, or those that gouerne, endure no other discourte then their owne flatteries, then I say such an one, whose vertue and courage forbiddeth him to be base and a dissembler, shall euermore hang vnder the wheele; which kinde of deseruing well and receiving ill, we all waies fully charge Fortune withall. For whosoeuer shall tell any great Man or Magistrate, that he is not iust; the Generall of an Armie, that he is not valiant, and great Ladies that they are not faire; shall neuer be made a Counsellor, a Captaine, or a Courtier. Neither is it sufficient to be wife with a wife Prince, valiant with a valiant, and iust with him that is iust, for such a one hath no estate in his prosperitie; but he must also change with the successor, if he be of contrarie qualities; faile with the tyde of the time, and alter forme and condition, as the Estate or the Estates Master changeth: Otherwise how were it possible, that the most base men, and separate from all imitable qualities, could so often attaine to honour and riches, but by such an obseruant slauish course? These men hauing nothing else to value themselves by, but a counterfeit kinde of wondering at other men, and by making them beleeue that all their vices are virtues, and all their dustie actions crySTALLINE, haue yet in all ages prospered equally with the most vertuous, if not exceeded them. For according to MENANDER, *Omnis insipiens arrogantia & plausibus capitur*; *Euerie foole is wonne with his owne pride, and others flattering applause*: so as whosoeuer will liue altogether out of himselfe, and studie other mens humours, and obseue them, shall neuer be vnfortunate; and on the contrarie; that man which prizeth truth and vertue (except the season wherein he liueth be of all these, and of all sorts of goodnesse fruitfull) shall neuer prosper by the possession or profession thereof. It is also a token of a worldly wise man, not to warre or contend in vaine against the nature of times wherein he liueth: for such a one is often the authour of his owne miserie; but best it were to follow the aduice, which the Pope gaue the Bishops of that age, out of *Ouid*, while the Arian Heretic raged:

*Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori.*

While furie gallops on the way,  
Let no man furies gallop stay.

And if *Cicero* (then whom that world begat nota man of more reputed iudgement) had followed the counsaile of his brother *QUINTUS*, *Potuisset* (saith *PETRARCH*) *in lectulo suo mori, potuisset integro cadauere sepeliri*; *He might then haue dyed the death of nature, and bene with an vn torne and vndisseuered bodie buried*; for as *Petrarch* in the same place noteth: *Quid stultius quam desperantem (praesertim de effectu) litibus perpetuis implicari*; *What more foolish then for him that despaires, especially of the effect, to be intangled with endlesse contentions*? Whosoeuer therefore will set before him *MACHIAVELLS* two markes to shoote at (to wit) riches, and glorie, must set on and take off a back of yron to a weak wooden Bow, that it may fit both the strong and the feeble: for as he, that first deuicd to adde sayles to rowing vessels, did eyther so proportion them, as being fastened aloft, and towards the head of his Mast, he might abide all windes and stormes, or else he sometime or other perished by his owne inuention: so that man which prizeth vertue for it selfe, and cannot endure to hoise and strike his sayles, as the diuers natures of calmes and stormes require, must cut his sayles and his cloth, of meane length and bredth, and content himselfe with a slow and sure navigation, (to wit) a meane and free estate. But of this dispute of Fortune, and the rest, or of whosoeuer Lords or Gods, imaginarie powers, or causes, the wit (or rather foolishnesse) of man hath found out: let vs resolute with *S. Paul*, who hath taught vs, that there is *but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him*; and *one Lord, Iesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him*; there are diuersities of operations, but God is the same which worketh all in all.

*Ouid. rem. lib. 1.*

*1. cor. 8. 6. & 12. 5. & 13. 1.*

## CHAP. II.

## Of mans estate in his first Creation, and of Gods rest.

## §. I.

Of the Image of God, according to which man was first created.

**I**n the creation of all other creatures being finished, the heauens adorned, and the earth replenished, God said, *Let vs make man in our owne Image, according to our likeness*. *Gen. 1. 26.*

Man is the last and most admirable of Gods workes to vs knowne, *ingenium miraculum homo, Man is the greatest wonder* (saith *PLATO* out of *MERCURIUS*) *Nature ardentissima artificium, The artificial worke of the most ardent of fire-like nature* (as saith *Zoroaster*) though the fame be meant, not for any excellencie external, but in respect of his internal forme, both in the nature, qualities, and other attributes thereof: in nature, because it hath an essence immortall, and spiritual; in qualities, because the fame was by God created holy and righteous in truth; in other attributes, because Man was made Lord of the world, and of the creatures therein.

*Tyfic. Afl. 1. & de volunt. Dei. Plat. leg. 1. 1.*

*Sanctius his animal mentisq; capacius alie*  
*Deerat adhuc: & quod dominari in cetera posset,*  
*Natus homo est.*

*Sanctum, quia*  
*pari potius im-*  
*mortalis; an-*  
*mal, quia in*  
*mortalis.*  
*In locum Ouid.*  
*Met. 1. 1. 76.*

More holy then the rest, and vnderstanding more,  
A liuing creature wants, to rule all made before:  
So man began to be.

Of this Image and similitude of God, there is much dispute among the Fathers, Schoole-men, and late Writers: Some of the Fathers conceiue, that man was made after the Image of God, in respect chiefly of Empire and Dominion, as *S. Chrysostome*, *Ambrose*, and some others: which *S. Ambrose* denieth to the woman in these words, *Et sic Deus vnus, ab eo foret homo vnus, & quomodo ex Deo vno omnia, ita ex vno homine omne genus esset super faciem totius terre: Vnus igitur vnus fecit, qui unitatis eius haberet imaginem; T hat as God is one, one man might be made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewise of one man the whole kinde should be vpon the face of the whole earth: Therefore he being one, made one, that should haue the Image of his vnitie*. But whereas it is gathered out of the following words of the same Verse, that man was after the Image of God in respect of rule and power, it is written *Dominamini* in the plural number, and let them rule ouer the fish in the Sea, &c. and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceiue, that man is said to be after the image of God in respect of his immortall soule onely, because as God is inuisible, so the soule of man is inuisible; as God is immortall and incorpall, so is the soule of man immortall and incorpall; and as there is but one God which governeth the world, so but one soule which governeth the bodie of man; and as God is wholly in euery part of the world, so is the soule of man wholly in euery part of the bodie: *Animus est tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte; The soule is wholly in the whole bodie, and wholly in euery part thereof*, according to *Aristotle*; though *Chalcidius*, and other learned men denie that doctrine; which that it is otherwise then potentially true, all the *Aristotelians* in the world shall neuer proue. These and the like arguments doe the *Iezus* make (saith *T. Orlatus*) and these resemblances, betweene the infinite God, and the finite Man.

The Schoole-men resemble the Minde or Soule of Man to God, in this respect especially; because that as in the Minde there are three distinct powers, or faculties (to wit) *Memorie*, *Vnderstanding*, and *Will*; and yet all these, being of reall differences, are but one minde: so in God there are three distinct persons, the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost, and yet but one God. They also make the Image and Similitude diuers; and againe, they distinguish betweene *imaginem Dei*, and *ad imaginem Dei*, and speme into small threds, with subtile distinctions, many times the plainenesse and sinceritie of the Scriptures: their wits being like that strong water, that eateth thorow and dissolueth the purest gold. *Victorinus* also maketh the Image of God to be substantiall, but not the

the similitude: *sed in substantia nomen qualitatis declaratum*; A word declaring *qualitie in the substance*. Out of which word; and that which followeth; it is infer'd, that as the image and similitude doe greatly differ: so the finfull soule doth not therefore leave to be the image of God, but it hath not his similitude, except it be holy and righteous. S. Augustine also against *Adrianus* the *Manichee* affirmeth, that by sinne, the perfection of this image is lost in man, and in his Retractions maintaineth the same opinion, and also affirmeth that the Similitude is more largely taken, then the Image.

But howsoever the Schoole-men and others distinguish, or whatsoever the Fathers conceiue, sure I am that S. Paul maketh the same sense of the image, which *Victorinus* doth of the similitude, who saith: *As we haue borne the image of the earthly, so shall we* 10 *bear the image of the heavenly*; and it cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, that the words image and similitude were vsed but in one sense, and in this place the better to expresse each other; whatsoever *Lombard* hath said to the contrary. For God knowes, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himselfe in the Scriptures, which neither *Moses*, the *Prophets*, or *Apostles*, euer conceiued. Now as S. Paul vseth the word (image) for both: so S. James vseth the word (similitude) for both in these words: *I herewith blesse we God euen the Father, and therewith curse we Men, which are* 15 *made after the similitude of God*: Howsoever therefore S. Augustine seemeth, out of a kind of elegance in writing, to make some difference, as where he writeth, *Consequenter imaginem in eternitate, similitudinem in moribus imitari*; We confesse that this image is found in eternitie, but his similitude in manners; that is, in the spirituall dispositions and qualities of the minde; yet thus he elsewhere speaketh plainly: *Quasi vero possit esse imago* 20 *aliqua in qua similitudo non sit: si enim cum similibus non est, prout dubio nec imago est*; As if (saith he) there could be any image, where the similitude is not: no, out of doubt, where there is no likeness, there is no image. The verie words of the Text make this most manifest, as, *Let vs make man in our image, according to our likeness*: which is, Let vs make man in our image, that he may be like vs; and in the next Verse following, God himselfe maketh it plaine, for there he vseth the word (image) onely, as thus: *God created the man in his image, in the image of God created he him*. And to take away all dispute or ambiguity, in the first Verse of the fifth Chapter, the word (similitude) is vsed againe by it selfe, as, *In the day that God created A man, in the likeness of God made he him*. 30 And this similitude S. Paul Colos. the third, calleth the image. Put on (saith he) the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him, that created him. And in *Syrracides* it is written, *He made them according to his image*. Now if we may beleue S. Paul before *Peter Lombard* and other Schoole-men, then it is as manifest as wordes can make it, that the image and similitude is but the same, for S. Paul vseth both the wordes directly in one sense. For they turned the glorie of the incorruptible God, to the similitude of the image of a corruptible man.

*Zanchius* laboureth to proue, that man was formed after the image of God, both in bodie and minde: *Nulla pars in homine que non fuerit huiusce imaginis participes*, No part in a man (saith he) which was not participating Gods image: for God said, *Let vs* 40 *make man according to our owne image*. But the soule alone is not man, but the *lystotafis* or whole man compounded of bodie and soule. The bodie of man (saith he) is the image of the world, and called therefore *Microcosmus*; but the Idea and exemplar of the world was first in God, so that man, according to his bodie must needs be the image of God. Against which opinion of this learned man, his owne objection seemeth to me sufficient, where he allegeth, that it may be said, that *Astotes* spake by the figure *Synecdoche*, as when a man is called a mortall man, yet is not the whole man mortall, but the bodie onely: so when God said, Let vs make man after our image, he meant the soule of man, and not the bodie of earth and dust: *Male dictus qui deitatem ad hominis lineamenta refert* (saith S. AUGUSTINE), *Cursed is he that referreth the Deitie of God to the lineaments of mans bodie*. *Deus enim non est humane forme participes, neque corpus huma-* 50 *nus diuine* (saith *PHILO*), *God is not partaker of humane forme, nor humane body of the forme diuine*. The Hebrew word for image, is *Tselem*, which signifieth a shadow or obscure resemblance: *In imagine pertransit homo*; Man passeth away in a shadow: Let vs then know and consider, that God, who is eternall and infinite, hath not any bodily thape or compolition, for it is both against his Nature and his Word; an error of the *Anthropomorphite*, against the verie essence and Maiestie of God.

Surely

Surely *Cicero*, who was but a *Heathen*, had yet a more diuine vnderstanding then these grosse Heretikes: *Ad similitudinem Dei proprius accedat: bat humana virtus, quam figura*; I be vertue which is in man (saith he) came neerer the similitude of God, then the figure. For God is a spirituall substance, inuisible, and most simple; God is a iust God: God is Mercifull: God is Charitie it selfe, and (in a word) Goodnesse it selfe, and none else simply good. And thus much it hath pleased God himselfe to teach vs, and to make vs know of himselfe. What then can be the shadow of such a substance, the image of such a nature, or wherein can man be said to resemble his vnexcogitable power and perfectnesse? certainly, not in dominion alone: for the Deuill is said to be the Prince of this 10 World, and the Kingdome of Christ was not thereof, who was the true and perfect image of his Father; neither, because man hath an immortall soule, and therein the faculties of Memory, Vnderstanding, and Will, for the Deuils are also immortall, and participate those faculties, being called *Demonies*, because *scientes* of Knowledge, and subtilitie; neither because we are reasonable creatures, by which we are distinguished from beasts: for who haue rebelled against God? who haue made Gods of the vilest beasts, of Serpents, of Cats, of Owles, yea, euen of shamefull parts, of lusts and pleasures, but reasonable men? Yet doe I not condemne the opinion of S. *Chrysostome* and *Ambrose*, as touching dominion, but that, in respect thereof, man was in some sort after the image of God, if we take Dominion, such as it ought to be, that is, accompanied with Iustice and Pietie: for God did not onely make man a Ruler and Governour ouer the Fishes of the Sea, the Fowles of Heauen (or of the aire) and ouer the Beasts of the Field; but God gaue vnto man a dominion ouer men, he appointed Kings to gouerne them, and Iudges, to iudge them in equitie. Neither doe I exclude Reason, as it is the abilitie of Vnderstanding. For I doe not conceiue, that *Trenus* did therefore call man, the image of God, because he was animal rationally onely; but that he vnderstood it better, with *SYBILLA*: *Imago mea est homo, rectam rationem habens*: Man, that is endued with right reason, is said to resemble God, (that is) by right reason to know and confesse God his Creatour, and the same God to serue, loue, and obey: and therefore said Saint 30 *Augustine* (who hercin came neerer the Truth) *Fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & similitudinem suam in mente*, God made man, in respect of the intellect, after his owne image and similitude; and *REYNERIVS*; *Homo, quod habet mentem factus est ad imaginem Dei*, Man was made after the image of God, in minde, or in that he had a minde.

## §. II.

Of the intellectuall minde of man, in which there is much of the Image of God: and that this Image is much deformed by Sinne.

**I**N Vt Mens is not taken here for *anima physica*, according to *Aristotle*, which is 40 *forma, vel natura hominis*: The forme or nature of man; but this facultie or gift of God, called *Mens*, is taken for *prima vis animi*, the principall strength of the minde, or soule, cuius actus est *perpetua veritatis contemplatio*; whose act, exercise, or office, is the perpetuall contemplation of truths; and therefore it is also called *intellectus diuinus*, *intellectus contemplatiuus*, & *anima contemplatiua*, A diuine vnderstanding, and 50 *intellectus* or minde contemplatiue. Est autem mens nostra (saith *CYRANVS*) *vis comprehendendi, & totum virtuale ex omnibus comprehendendi virtutibus compositum*: Our intellectuall minde (saith he) is a power of comprehending, euen the whole, that is in this kinde powerfull, compounded of all the powers of comprehension: vnto which *Mercurius* attributeth so much (if this meaning accompany his words) that hee esteemeth it to be the very essence of God (which was also the error of the *Manichees*, and others) and no otherwise separate from God (saith he) then the light from the Sunne: for this *Mens* or vnderstanding (saith *MERCURIUS*) est *Deus in hominibus*: Is God in men, or rather (and 34. f. which I take to be his meaning) is the image of God in man. For as the Sunne is not of the same essence or nature with the diuine light, but a body illightened, and an illumination created; so is this *Mens* or vnderstanding in men, not of the essence of Gods infinite vnderstanding, but a power and facultie of our foules the purity; or the *lumen animæ rationalis*, by the true and eternall light illightened. And this *Mens* others call *animam animæ*, The soule of the soule, or with S. *Augustine*, the eye of the soule, or receptacle of Sapience and diuine knowledge, *que amor & sapientie tanquam ducit sequitur*, Which followeth

after

after the loue of sapience as her guide (saith Philo) between which and reason, between which and the mind, called *anima*, between which & that power which the Latines call *animus*, there is this difference. Reason is that facultie by which we iudge and discourse; *Anima*, by which we liue. Hereof it is said, *Anima corpus animat, id est, viuificat; or the soule is that which doth animate the body, that is, giue it life*: for death is the separation of body and soule; and the same strength (saith Philo) which God the great Director hath in the VVorld, the same hath this *Anima*, or mind, or soule in man. *Animus* is that, by which we will and make election; and to this Basil agreeeth, which calleth this *Mens*, or diuine vnderstanding, *perficacem animæ partem, the perceiving part of the mind*, or the light by which the Soule discerneth: *dormientium mens, non anima, sopit, & in furiosis mens extinguitur, anima manet, In mens that sleepe it is this (mens) or vnderstanding, and not the mind or soule, which resteth, during which time it is but habitual in wisemen, & in mad men this (mens) is extinguished, and not the soule*: for mad men doe liue, though distracted.

Therefore this word being often vsed for the Soule giuing life, is attributed abusiuely to mad men, when we say that they are of a distracted minde, in stead of a broken vnderstanding, which word (minde) we vse also for opinion, as, I am of this minde, or that mind: and sometimes for mens conditions or vertues, as, he is of an honest minde, or a man of a iust minde: sometimes for affection, as, I do this for my mindes sake; and Aristotle sometimes vseth this word (*Mens*) for the phantasie, which is the strength of the imagination: sometimes for the knowledge of principles, which we haue without discourse: oftentimes for Spirits, Angels and Intelligences: but as it is vsed in the proper signification, including both the vnderstanding agent and possible, it is described to bee a pure, simple, substantiall act, not depending vpon matter, but hauing relation to that which is intelligible, as to his first object: or more at large thus; a part or particle of the Soule, whereby it doth vnderstand, not depending vpon matter, nor needing any organ, free from passion coming from without, and apt to bee diseuered, as, eternall from that which is mortall. Hereof excellently MERCURIUS: *Anima est imago mentis, mens imago Dei, Deus menti præsit, mens anima, anima corpori, The Soule* (meaning that which giueh life) *is the Image of this vnderstanding, or Mens, and this (Mens) or vnderstanding is the Image of God. God is President or Ruler ouer this vnderstanding, this vnderstanding ouer the Soule, and this Soule ouer the bodie*. This diuision and distinction out of the Platonikes and Peripatetikes, I leaue to the Reader to iudge of. That, *Mens humana* hath no need of any organ, *Marcellus Ficinus* in his ninth Booke of the Soules immortallitie laboureth to proue. *Zanchinus* doth not differ from *Ficinus* in words, for (saith he) *Ad facultatem intelligentem exercendam non eget Mens organo, tanquam medio, per quod intelligat, quamquam eget obiecto in quod intueatur, & ex quo intellectum concipiat: hoc autem obiectum sunt phantasmata, seu rerum à sensibus perceptarum simulachra ad phantasiam prolata: To exercise the facultie of vnderstanding, the mind of man* (saith he) *needeth no instrument, as a meane, by which it may vnderstand: but it needeth an object, whercon to looke, and whence to conceive the act of vnderstanding. This object are the phantasies, or the resemblances of things received from the sense & carryed to the phantasie*. In effect his conclusion seemeth to carry a contrary sense, when he maketh the Phantasie, in representing the object to the vnderstanding, to be a corporall *Organum*; neither can it be vnderstood to be an *Organum* of any things, but of the vnderstanding. And he addeth that the resemblance of things in mans imaginatio, are to his vnderstanding & mind, as colours are to the sight: whence it so followeth, that the imagination or phantasie it self is to the facultie of vnderstanding, as the eye is to the faculty of seeing; & as this is an *organum*, so that. Of this question, How the minde in all her actions maketh vse of the bodie, & hath communion with the body, I referre the Reader to a most graue & learned Discourse in the last Reply of M. D. *Bislon*, late Bishop of Winchester, vnto *Henry Jacob*. Howsoeuer the Truth be determined, we must conclude, that it is neither in respect of reason alone, by which we discourse, nor in respect of the minde it self by which we liue, nor in respect of our soules simply, by which we are immortall, that wee are made after the Image of God. But most safely may we resemble our selues to God in *mente*, and in respect of that pure facultie which is neuer separate from the contemplation and loue of God. Yet this is not all. For Saint *Bernard* maketh a true difference between the nature and faculties of the Minde or Soule, and between the infusion of qualities, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which

Lib. 9. cap. 5.  
Zanch. de opor.  
Dei. part. 3. lib. 1.  
cap. 1.

Pag. 185. & sequenti.  
Ad imaginem  
Dei creatum  
illum, id est, sapientiam, virtutem,  
ac bonitatem com-  
pitem, qui sibi  
initium Crea-  
turæ agnoscit  
suum, et inimita-  
ri, et in se ingens,  
per se auctori-  
tatem, sibi concessam  
ratione studere.  
R. xam.

being added to the nature, essence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to bee after the Image of God, whose words are these: *Non propter eam image Dei est, quia in memini, videmus, scilicet intelligit & diligit* (which also was the opinion of Saint *Augustine*) *sed quia potest meminisse, intelligere ac diligere eum a quo facta est*, (that is) *The minde* (or *anima*) *was not therefore the Image of God, because it remembereth, understandeth, and loveth it self, but because it can remember, vnderstand, and loue God, who created it.* And *the Image* may be deformed and made vnprofitable; heare *Basil*: *Homo ad imaginem & similitudinem Dei factus est, peccatum vero imaginis huius pulchritudinem deformavit: & inutilem reddidit, dum animam corruptis concupiscentiæ affectibus immergit.* *Man was made after the Image and similitude of God, but sinne hath deformed the beautee of this Image, and made it vnprofitable by drawing our minds into corrupt concupiscentie.*

It is not therefore (as aforesaid) by reason of Immortallitie, nor in Reason, nor in Dominion, nor in any one of these by it self, nor in all these ioyned, by any of which, or by all which we resemble, or may be called the shadow of God, though by reason and vnderstanding, with the other faculties of the Soule, wee keepe capable of this print; but chiefly, in respect of the habit of Original righteousnesse, most perfectly infused by God into the minde and Soule of man in his first Creation: For it is not by nature, nor by her liberalitie, that we were printed with the seale of Gods Image (though Reason may be said to be of her gift, which is ioyned to the soule as a part of the Essentiall Constitution of our proper *Species*) but from the bountifull grace of the Lord of all goodnesse, who breathed life into Earth, and contriued within the Trunke of Dust and Clay, the inimitable habilitie of his owne Pietie, and Righteousnesse.

So long therefore (for that resemblance which Dominion hath) doe those that are powerful retaine the Image of God, as according to his Commandements they exercise the Office or Magistracie to which they are called, and sincerely walke in the wayes of God, which in the Scriptures is called, *walking with God*; and all other men so long retayne this Image, as they feare, loue and serue God truly, that is, for the loue of God alone, and doe not bruite and deface his Seale by the weight of manifold and voluntary offences, and obdurate finnes. For the vnjust minde cannot be after the Image of God, seeing God is Iustice it selfe; The bloud-thirstie hath it not; for God is Chastitie, and Mercie it selfe: Falshood, cunning practice, and ambition, are properties of Sathan, and therefore cannot dwell in one soule, together with God; and to be blott, there is no likelihood betweene pure light and blacke darknesse, betweene beautee & deformity, or betweene righteousnesse and reprobation. And though Nature, according to common vnderstanding, haue made vs capable by the power of reason, and apt enough to receive this Image of Gods goodnesse which the sensuall soules of beasts cannot perceiue; yet were that aptitude naturall more inclinable to follow and imbrace the false and durelesse pleasures of this Stage-play World, then to become the shadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanhippe of Gods Wife, dome, and the liberalitie of his Mercy, formed eyes to our soules, as to our bodies, which, piercing through ihe impurity of our flesh, behold the highest Heavens, and thence bring Knowledge and Object to the Minde and Soule, to contemplate the euer-during Glorie, and termelesse joy, prepared for those, which retaine the Image and similitude of their Creator, preserving vndefiled and vnrent the garment of the new man, which, after the Image of God, is created in Righteousnes and Holinesse, as saith *S. Paul*. Now, whereas it is thought by some of the Fathers, as by Saint *Augustine*, with whom Saint *Ambrose* ioyneth, that, by sinne, the perfection of the Image is lost, and not the Image it selfe; both opinions by this distinction may be well reconciled (to wit) that the Image of God, in man, may be taken two wayes; for either it is considered, according to naturall gifts, and consisteth therein: namely to haue a reasonable and vnderstanding nature, &c. and in this sense, the Image of God is more lost by sinne; then the very reasonable or vnderstanding nature, &c. is lost, (or sinne doth not abolish and take away these naturall gifts): or, the Image of God is considered, according to supernaturall gifts, namely, of Diuine Grace and frequently Glorie, which is indeed the perfection and accomplishment of the naturall Image; and this manner of similitude and Image of God is wholly blotted out and destroyed by sinne.

Gen. 5. 22

2. Cor. 3. 9.

2. Cor. 3. 9.

S. Ambros.

## ¶ III.

Of our base and fraile bodies: and that the care thereof should yeeld to the immortall Soule.

Arianus Montale  
nat. f. 158.

**T**HE external man God formed out of the dust of the Earth, or according to the signification of the word, *Adam* of *Adamash*, of red Earth, or, *ex limo terra*, out of the slime of the Earth, or a mixed matter of Earth and Water. *Non ex qualibet humo, sed ex ghaphar adamash (id est) ex pinguisima & mollissima: Not that God made an Image or Statue of Clay, but out of Clay, Earth or dust God formed and made flesh, blood, and bone, with all parts of man.*

Gen. 18. 27.  
Job 4. 2. 7.

That man was formed of Earth and Dust, did *Abram* acknowledge, when in humble feare he called vnto God, to saue *Sedome*: *Let not my Lord now be angry, if I speake, I, that am but dust and ashes: And in these Houses of Clay, whose foundation is in the dust, doe our soules inabitate*, according to *Job*. And though our owne eyes doe euery where behold the sudden and resistlesse assaults of Death, and Nature assureth vs by neuer-failing Experience, and Reason by insillible demonstration, that our times vpon the Earth haue neither certaintie nor durabilitie, that our Bodies are but the Anduiles of paine and diseases, and our Minds the Huiues of vnumbrable cares, sorrowes and passions: and that (when we are most glorified) we are but those painted posits, against which Enuie and Fortune direct their darts; yet such is the true unhappinesse of our condition, and the darke ignorance which couereth the eyes of our vnderstanding, that wee only prize, to pamper, and exalt this Vassall and Slaue of death, and forget altogether (or only remember at our cast-away Ioyfullure) the imprisoned immortall Soule, which can neither dye with the Reprobate, nor perish with the mortall parts of virtuous men: seeing Gods Iustice in the one, and his goodnesse in the other is exercised for euermore, as the euer-living subiects of his reward and punishment. But when is it that wee examine this great account? Neuer while we haue one vanitie left vs to spend: we plead for Titles, till our breath faile vs; digge for Riches whiles our strength enableth vs; exercise malice, while we can reuenge; and then, when Time hath beaten from vs both youth, pleasure, and health, and that Nature it selfe hateth the house of old age, we remember with *Job*, that we must goe the way from whence we shall not returne, and that our bed is made ready for vs in the darke; And then I say, looking ouer-late into the bottome of our conscience (which Pleasure and Ambition had locked vp from vs all our liues,) we behold therein the fearefull Images of our actions past, and withall this terrible Inscription: *That God will bring euery worke into iudgement, that man hath done vnder the Sunne.*

Job 10. 11. 17. 13

Eccle. 13. 14.

But what examples haue cuer moued vs? what perswasions reformed vs? or what threatnings made vs afraid? we behold other mens Tragedies plaied before vs, we heare what is promoued and threatned: but the Worlds bright glorie hath put out the eyes of our minds; and these betraying lights, (with which wee only see) doe neither looke vp towards themselfe ioyes, nor downe towards endlesse sorrowes, till wee neither know, nor can looke for any thing else, at the Worlds hands. Of which excellently *Alarimus Rector*:

*Nil hostes, nil dira fames, nil deniq; morbi  
Egerunt, suumq; qui nunc sumus, usq; pericula  
Tentasti, nihilo meliores reddimur vquam,  
Sub vitij nullo culpamq; sine manentes.*

Diseases, Famine, Enemies, in vs no change haue wrought,  
What erst we were, we are; still in the same share caught:  
No time can our corrupted manners mend,  
In Vice we dwell, in Sinne that hath no end.

But let vs not flatter our immortall Soules herein: for to neglect God all our liues, and know that wee neglect him, to offend God voluntarily, and know that wee offend him, casting our hopes on the Peace, which wee trust to make at parting, is no other then a rebellious presumption, and (that which is the worst of all) euen a contemptuous laughing to scorne, and deriding of God, his Lawes and Precepts. *Fratri sperant, qui sic de misericordia Dei sibi blandimur; They hope in vaine, such BEARNARD, which in this sort flatter themselves with Gods mercie.*

¶ IV.

Bern. in Pf.  
Qui in habitat

## S. IIII.

Of the Spirit of Life, which God breathed into man in his Creation.

**I**N this frame and carcase God breathed the breath of life; and the man was a liuing Soule: (that is) God gaue a body of Earth and of corruptible matter, a Soule spiritual and incorruptible; not that God had any such bodily instruments as men vse, but God breathed the Spirit of Life and Immortalitie into man, as wee breatheth his grace daily into such as loue and feare him. *The Spirit of God (saith E. L. I. H. V. in I. O. B.) hath made mee, and the breath of the Almighty hath giuen me Life: In qua sententia (saith RABANVS) vitanda est paupertas sensus carnalis, ne forte putemus Deum, vel manibus corporeis de limo formasse corpus hominis, vel faucibus aut labijs suis inspirasse in faciem formati, ut viuere possit & spiraculum vita habere: Nam & Prophetam ait, Manu tua fecerunt me, &c. Tropica hac locutione magis quam propria, (id est) iuxta consuetudinem, quasolent homines operari, loquutus est: Im quibus sententia (saith hee) the beggarinesse of carnall sense is to bee avoided, lest perhaps we should thinke, either that God with bodily hands made mans body of slime, or breathed with iawes or lips upon his face being formed; that he might live, and haue the Spirit of Life: for the Prophet also when he saith; Thy hand haue made mee, speake thus Tropically, rather than properly (that is) according to the custome which men vse in working. Quantum est periculi his, qui Scripturam sensu corporeo legunt? In what danger are they that reade the Scriptures in a carnall sense? By this breath was infused into man both life and soule; and therefore this (Soule) the Philosophers call *Animam*, que vivificat corpus, & animas, which doth animate, and giue life to the body. The inspiration of the Almighty giueth vnderstanding, saith I. O. B.; and this spirit, which God breathed into man, which is the reasonable soule of man, returneth againe to God that gaue it, as the body returneth vnto the Earth, out of which it was taken, according to Ecclesiastes: *And dust shall returne to the Earth, out of which it was taken, and the spirit shall returne to God that gaue it.* Neither is this word (Spirit) usually otherwise taken in the Scriptures, than for the soule; as when Stephen cried vnto God: *Domine, suscipe spiritum meum; Lord Iesus receiue my spirit:* and in S. I. O. B. *And Iesus bowed his head, and gaue vp the Ghost,* or Spirit; (which was) that his life and soule left his body dead. And that the immortall soule of man differeth from the foules of beasts, the manner of creation maketh it manifest: for it is written, *Let the waters bring forth in abundance euery creeping thing, and let the Earth bring forth the liuing thing, according to his kinde, the beast of the Earth, &c.* But of Man it is written, *Let vs make man in our owne Image, &c.* and further, that the Lord breathed in his face the breath of life. Wherefore, as from the Water and Earth were those creatures brought forth, and thence received life: so shall they againe be dissolved into the same first matter, whence they were taken: but the life of breath cuerlasting, which God breathed into man, shall according to Ecclesiastes, *returne againe to God that gaue it.**

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S. V.

That man is (as it were) a little world: with a digression touching our mortality.

**M**AN, thus compounded and formed by God, vvas an abstract or modell, or briefe Storie of the Vniuersall: in whom God concluded the Creation, and vvorke of the World, and vvhom hee made the last and most excellent of his Creatures, being internally endued vwith a diuine vnderstanding, by which hee might contemplate and serue his Creatour, after whose image hee vvas formed, and endued with the powers and faculties of Reason and other abilities, that thereby also he might gouerne and rule the World, and all other Gods creatures therein. And vvhence God created three sorts of liuing natures, (to wit) Angelicall, Rationall, and Brutall; giuing to Angels an intellectuall, and to Beasts a sensuall nature, hee vouchsafed vnto Man, both the intellectuall of Angels, the sensitiue of Beasts, and the proper rationall belonging vnto man: and therefore (saith GREGORY NAZIANZEN,) *Homo est vtriusq; naturae vinculum, Man is the bond and chaine which tyeth together both natures:* and because in the little frame of mans body there is a representation of the Vniuersall, and (by allusion) a kinde of participation of all the parts there, therefore was man called *Microcosmos*, or the little World. *Deus igitur hominem factum, velut alterum quendam mundum,*

mundum,

C

Ari. Phys. 1. 2.  
Gen. 1. 17.  
Gen. 1. 26.  
Eph. 1.  
Gen. 1. 26.  
Eph. 1.  
Gen. 1. 26.  
Eph. 1.



*dum, in breui magnum, atq; exiguo totum, in terris statuit; God therefore placed in the Earth the man whom he had made, as it were another world, the great and large world in the small and a little world: for out of the Earth and Dust was formed the flesh of man, and therefore heauie and lumpish: the bones of his body we may compare to the hard Rockes and Stones, and therefore strong and durable; of which OVID:*

Ouid. Met. l. 1.

*Indegenus durum sumus, experientisq; laborum,  
Et documenta damus qua simul origine nati:*

From thence our kind hard-hearted is, enduring paine and care,  
Approoqing, that our bodies of a stone nature are.

His blood, which disperseth it selfe by the branches of veines through all the body, may be resembled to those waters, which are carried by Brookes and Riueres vnder all the Earth; his breath to the Aire, his naturall heate to the inclosed warmth which the Earth hath in it selfe, which stirred vp by the heate of the Sunne, assisteth Nature in the speedier procreation of those varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth. Our radicall moisture, Oyle, or Balsamum (whereon the naturall heate feedeth and is maintained) is resembled to the fat and fertilitie of the Earth; the haire of mans bodie, which addorne or ouer-shadowes it, to the grasse, which couereth the vpper face and skin of the Earth; our generative power, to Nature, which produceth all things; our determinations, to the light, wandering & vntable clouds, carried euery where with vncertaine winds; our eyes, to the light of the Sun and Moone; and the beautie of our youth, to the flowers of the Spring, which, either in a very short time, or with the Sunnes heat, fly vp, and wither away, or the fierce puffs of winde blow them from the stalkes; the thoughts of our mind, to the motion of Angels; and our pure vnderstanding (formerly called *Mens*, and that which alwayes looketh vpwards) to those intellectuall natures, which are alwayes present with God; and lastly our immortall soules (while they are righteous) are by God himselfe beautified with the title of his owne image and similitude. And although, in respect of God, there is no man iust, or good, or righteous: for in *Angeli deprehenſa est ſtultitia*, Behold, hee found folly in his Angels (*ſaith Job*) yet with such a kind of difference, as there is betweene the substance and the shadow, there may be found a goodnesse in man: which God being pleased to accept, hath therefore called man, the image and similitude of his owne righteouſnesse. In this also is the little World of man compared, and made more like the vniuerſall (man being the measure of all things; *ſic ut mensura omnium rerum*, *ſaith Aristotle and Pythagoras*) that the foure Complexions resemble the foure Elements, and the ſeuē Ages of man the ſeuē Planets: Whereof our Infancie is compared to the *Moone*, in which wee ſeeme onely to liue and grow, as Plants; the ſecond Age to *Mercurie*, wherein wee are taught and instructed; our third Age to *Venus*, the dayes of Loue, Deſire, and Vanitie, the fourth to the *Sunne*, the ſtrong, flourishing, and beautifull age of mans life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which wee ſeek honouſ and victorie, and in which our thoughts trauiell to ambitious ends; the ſixth Age is aſcribed to *Iupiter*, in which wee beginne to take account of our times, iudge of our felues, and grow to the perfection of our vnderſtanding; the laſt and ſeuēth to *Saturne*, wherein our dayes are ſad and ouer-caſt, and in which we find by deſaite and lamentable experience, & by the loſſe which can neuer be repaired, that of all our vaine paſſions and affections paſt, the ſorrow onely abideth: Our attendants are ſickneſſes, and variable infirmities, and by how much the more wee are accompanied with plentie, by ſo much the more greedily is our end deſired, whom when Time hath made vniſoable to others, we become a burthen to our felues: being of no other vſe, than to hold the riches we haue, from our Succellors. In this time it is, when (as aforeſaid) we, for the moſt part, and neuer before, prepare for our eternall habitation, which we paſſe on vnto, with many ſighes, grones, and ſad thoughts, and in the end, by the workmanſhip of death, finiſh the ſorrowfull buſineſſe of a wretched life, towards which we are alwayes aualet both ſleeping and waking: neither haue thoſe beloued companions of honouſ & riches any power at all, to hold vs any one day, by the glorious promiſe of entertainments; but by what crooked path ſoever we walk, the ſame leadeth on directly to the houſe of death, whose doores lye open at all houres, and to all perſons. For this tyde of mans life, after it once turneth and declineth, euery runneth with a perpetuall Ebbe and falling Sarcane, but neuer ſloweth againe: our Leaſe once fallen, ſpringeth no more,

neither

neither doth the Sunne or the Summer adorne vs againe, with the garments of new Leaues and Flowers.

*Redditur arboribus flores reſurrexerunt omnes,  
Ergo non homini, quod fuit ante, redit.*

To which I giue this ſenſe.

The Plants and Trees made poore and old  
By Winter enuious,  
The Spring-time bounteous  
Couers againe from ſhame and cold:  
But neuer Man repayr'd againe  
His youth and beautie loſt,  
Though Art, and care, and coſt,  
Doe promiſe Natures helpe in vaine;

And of which,

CATVLLVS, EPIGRAM. 53.

Sales occidere &amp; redere poſſunt:

The Sunne may ſet and riſe:

But we contrariwiſe

*Nobis cum ſemel occidit breuis lux,  
Nex eſt perpetua vna dormienda.  
Sleepe after our ſhort light  
One euerlaſting night.*

For if there were any bayting place, or reſt, in the courſe or race of mans life, then according to the doctrine of the *Academicks*, the ſame might alſo perpetually be maintained; but as there is a continuance of motion in naturall liuing things, and as the ſap and iuyce, wherein the life of Plants is preſerued, doth euermore aſcend or deſcend: ſo is it with the life of man, which is alwayes either increaſing towards ripeneſſe and perfection, or declining and decreaſing towards rottenneſſe and diſſolution.

## ¶ VI.

Of the free power, which man had in his firſt Creation, to diſpoſe of himſelfe.

THEſe be the miſeries which our firſt Parents brought on all Mankinde, vnto whom God in his creation gave a free and vnconſtrained will, and on whom he beſtowed the liberall choiſe of all things, with one onely prohibition, to try his gratitude and obedience. God ſet before him, a mortall and immortall Life, a nature celeftiall and terrene, and (indeed) God gaue man to himſelfe, to bee his owne Guide, his owne Workeman, and his owne Painter, that hee might frame or deſcribe vnto himſelfe what hee pleaſed, and make eleſtion of his owne forme: God made man in the beginning (*ſaith SIRA CIDES*) and left him in the hands of his own counſaile. Such was the liberalitie of God, and mans felicitie: whereas beaſts, and all other creatures reaſonleſſe, brought with them into the World (*ſaith Lucilius*) and that even when they firſt fell from the bodies of their Dams, the nature, which they could not change; and the ſupernall Spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or ſooner after, of that condition, in which they remaine in perpetuall eternitie. But (as aforeſaid) God gaue vnto man all kind of Seeds & Grafts of life (to wit) the vegetatiue life of Plants, the ſenſuall of Beaſts, the rationall of Man, and the intellectuall of Angels, whereof which ſoever he tooke pleaſure to plant and cultiue, the ſame ſhould ſurely grow in him, and bring forth fruit, agreeable to his owne choiſe and plantation. This freedom of the firſt man *Adam*, and our firſt Father, was enigmatically deſcribed by *Aſclepius* *Alphienſis* (*ſaith Mirandula*) in the perſon and fable of *Proteus*, who was ſaid, as often as he pleaſed, to change his ſhape. To the ſame end were all thoſe celebrated *Metamorphoſes* among the Pythagorians, and ancient Poets, wherein it was ſaied, that men were transformed into diuers ſhapes of beaſts, thereby to ſhew the change of mens conditions, from Reaſon to Brutallitie, from Vertue to Vice, from Meekneſſe to Crueltie, and from Iuſtice to Oppreſſion. For by the liuely Image of other creatures did thoſe *Ancients* repreſent the variable paſſions and affections of mortall men; as by Serpents were ſignified Deceiters, by Lyons, Oppreſſors, and cruell men; by Swine, Men giuen over to luſt and ſenſualitie; by Wolves, rauening, and greedy Men; which alſo *S. Matthew* reſembleth to falſe prophets, which come to you in ſheepes clothing, but inwardly they are rauening Wolves: by the Images of Stones and ſtocks, fooliſh and ignorant Men; by Vipers, vngenerall Men: of which *S. Iohn BAPTIST*, O ye generation

G

¶ VII.



Bedlin Gen.  
1. et comest. L.  
cap. 3.  
Mosei Bar.  
de Par.

Rabanus, were both sicke of this vanitie, with Origen, and Philo: so was our venerable Beda, and Pet. Comestor, and Moses Barcephus the Syrian, translated by Masius. But as Hopkins saies of Philo Iudeus, that hee wooed, *Quo malogenio assatus; By what euill Angell hee was bloune up into this error*: so can I not but greatly maruaile at the learned men, who so grossely & blindly wandred; seeing Moses, and after him the Prophets, do so plainly describe this place, by the Region in which it was planted, by the kingdomes and prouinces bordering it, by the Riuer which watered it, and by the points of the Compasse vpon which it lay, in respect of Iudæa, or Canaan.

Nouimus also, vpon Beda, *De natura rerum*, beleueeth that all the earth was taken for Paradise, and not any one place. For the whole earth (saith he) hath the same beauty adscribed to Paradise. He addeth, that the Ocean was that fountaine, from whence the foure Riuer, Pison, Gehon, Tigris, and Euphrates, had their beginning: for he could not thinke it possible, that these Riuer of Ganges, Nilus, Tigris, and Euphrates, (whereof the one ranne through India, the other through Egypt, and the other through Mesopotamia and Armenia) could rise out of one fountaine, were it not out of the Fountaine of the Ocean.

## S. III.

That there was a true locall Paradise Eastward, in the Countrey of Eden.

Gen. cap. 3.

TO the first therefore, that such a place there was vpon the earth, the wordes of Moses make it manifest, where it is written, *And the Lord God planted a garden Eastward in Eden, and there hee put the man whom hee had made*. And howloer the vulgar translation, called Hieromes translation, hath conuerted this place thus, *Plantauit autem Dominus Deus Paradisum voluptatis à principio; The Lord God planted a Paradise of pleasure from the beginning*, putting the word (pleasure) for Eden, and (from the beginning) for Eastward: it is manifest, that in this place Eden is the proper name of a Region. For what sense hath this translation (saith our Hopkins, in his Treatise of Paradise) that hee planted a garden in pleasure, or that a Riuer went out of pleasure to water the garden? But the twenty Interpreters call it *Paradisum Edenis, the Paradise of Eden*, and so doth the Chaldean Paraphrast truly take it for the proper name of a place, and for a Nourme appellatiue; which Region, in respect of the fertilitye of the soyle, of the many beautifull Riuer, and goodly Woods, and that the trees (as in the Indies) doe alwaies keepe their leaues, was called Eden, which signifieth in the Hebrew, pleasantness, or delicacie, as the Spaniards call the Countrey, opposite to the Isle of Cuba, Florida: and this is the mistaking, which may end the dispute, as touching the double sense of the word, that as Florida was a Countrey, so called for the flourishing beauty thereof, so was Eden a Region called pleasure, or delicacie, for its pleasure, or delicacy: and as Florida signifieth flourishing, so Eden signifieth pleasure: & yet both are the proper names of Countreys; for Eden being the proper name of a Region (called pleasure in the Hebrew) and Paradise being the choice seate of all that Region, Paradise was truly the Garden of Eden, and truly the Garden of pleasure.

Now, for Eastward, to translate it, from the beginning, it is also contrary to the translation of the Seuenty; to the ancient Greeke Fathers, as Basil, Chrysostome, Theodoret, Gregorie, and to the Rabines, as Ramban, Rabbi Salomon, R. Abraham, and Chimehi; and of the Latines, Severinus, Damasceus, &c. who plainly take Eden for the proper name of a Region, and set the word (Eastward) for *ab initio*: for Damasceus owne wordes are these, *Paradisus est locus Dei manibus in Eden ad Orientem mirabiliter confusus; Paradise is a place maruailously planted by the hands of God, in Eden, toward the East*.

And after all these Fathers, Guilhelmus Parisiensis, a great learned man, and Sixtus Senensis, of later times, doe both vnderstand these wordes of Eden, and of the East, contrary to the vulgar translation; Parisiensis, as indifferent to both, and Sixtus Senensis, directly against the vulgar: of which there are their owne wordes: *After this I will begin to speake of Paradise terrestriall, which God planted from the beginning, or Eastward, &c. Post hoc incipiam loqui de Paradiso terrestri, quem plantasse Deum ab initio vel ad Orientem, &c.* And then Senensis; *Moses enim clarissime prodit, Paradisum à Deo confutum in regione terra Orientalis, quæ dicitur Heden: Heden autem esse proprium nomen apparet ex quo sequitur capite Gen. ubi legitur CHAM habitasse ad Orientalem plagam Heden; For Moses* (saith

(saith he) doth shew most cleerely, that Paradise was planted of God in a Region of the East Countrey, which is called Heden: but that Heden is a proper name, it appeareth by the fourth Chapter of Genesis, where we reade, that CHAM dwelt on the East border of Heden. PERRINVS endeouoreth to qualifie this translation: for this particel (saith he) *ab initio*, is referred to all the time of the creation, and not to the very first day; alleging this place of Christ, that although the Deuill was said to be a man-slayer from the beginning, yet that was meant but after the sixth day. But surely, as I thinke (referring my selfe to better iudgement) the Deuill was from the instant of his fall a man-slayer in disposition, though he had not whereon to practise till mans creation. And for conclusion, S. Hierome (if that bee his translation) aduileth himselfe better in the end of the third Chapter of Genesis, conuerting the word (Eden) by (ante) and not (à principio) as, *God did set a Cherubin before the Garden of Eden; Collocauit Deus ante Paradisum voluptatis Cherubin; and Pererius himselfe acknowledgeth, that this is the true sense of this place, precisely taken, according to the Hebrew. Posuit à parte Orientali horti Heden, Cherubin: Hec sit on the East-side of the Garden of Heden, Cherubin*. BECANVS affirmeth, that the Hebrew word (Be) signifieth (with) as well as (in) and so the Text beareth this sense; That God planted a Garden with pleasure (that is to say) full of pleasure. But BECANVS followeth this construction, onely to the end, to finde Paradise vpon the Riuer of Acesines: for there he hath heard of the Indian Fig-tree in great abundance, which hee supposeth to be the tree of Knowledge of good and euill, and would therefore draw Paradise to the Fig-tree: which conceit of his I will answer hereafter.

Now, because Paradise was seated by Moses toward the East, thence came the custome of praying towards the East, and not by imitation of the Chaldaeans: and therefore all our Churches are built East and West, as to the point where the Sun riseth in March, which is directly ouer Paradise (saith Damasceus): affirming, that wee alwaies pray towards the East, as looking towards Paradise, whence wee were cast out; and yet the Temple of Salomon had their Priests and Sacrifices, which turned themselves in their seruice and diuine ceremonies, alwaies towards the West, thereby to auoide the superstition of the Egyptians and Chaldaeans.

But because East and West are but in respect of places; (for although Paradise were East from Iudæa, yet it was West from Persia) and the seruing of God is euery where in the world, the matter is not great which way we turne our faces, so our hearts stand right, other than this, that we who dwell West from Paradise, and pray turning our selues towards the East, may remember thereby to beseech God, that as by Adams fall we haue lost the Paradise on earth; so by Christs death and passion wee may be made partakers of the Paradise celestially, & the Kingdom of heauen. To conclude, I conceiue, that there was no other mysteric in adding the word (East) to Eden by Moses, than to shew, that the Region of Eden, in which Paradise vvas, lay Eastward from Iudæa and Canaan: for the Scriptures alwaies called the people of those Nations, the Sonnes of the East, vvhich inhabited Arabia, Mesopotamia, Chaldaea, and Persia: of which Ouid:

*Eurus ad Kurotam, Nabataeque regna recessit,  
Persidaque radijs tuga subdita matutini.*

The East winde with Aurora hath abiding  
Among th' Arabians, and the Persian Hills,  
Whom Phoebus first salutes at his vp-rising.

And if it bee obiected, that Hiermy the Prophet threatening the destruction of Hierusalem, doth often make mention of Northerne Nations, it is to bee noted, that the North is there named, in respect of those nations that followed Nabuchodonosor, and of vvhom the greatest part of his Army was compounded; not that Babylon it selfe stood North from Hierusalem, though inclining from the East towards the North.

Now to the difference of this Translation, Peter Comestor giueth best satisfaction: for he vseth the word, *From the beginning, that is, from the first part of the World, (à principio) id est*, (saith hee) *à prima orbis parte*; and afterward hee affirmeth, that *à principio*, and *ad Orientem*, haue the same signification, *From the beginning & Eastward it is all one, à principio idem est quod ad Orientem*.

But to returne to the prooffe of this place, and that this Story of Mankind was not Allegoricall, it followeth in the Text of the 2. Chap. & 9. Verse, in these wordes: *For out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every Tree pleasant to the sight, and good for meate, &c.* so as first it appeared that God created Adam elsewhere, as in the World at large, and then put him into the Garden: and the end why, is exprest: *that he might dress it and keepe*

Ier. 18.

Ier. 10.  
Ezech. 17. 3.

kepe it; *Paradise* being a Garden or Orchard filled with Plants, and Trees, of the most excellent kinds, pleasant to behold, and (withall) good for meate: which proueth that *Paradise* was a terrestrial Garden, garnished with Fruits, delighting both the eye and taste. And to make it more plaine, and to take away all opinion of Allegoricall construction, he affirmeth that it was watered and beautified with a Riuer; expressing also the Region, out of which this Riuer sprang, which he calleth *Heden*; and that *Heden* is also a Countrey neere vnto *Charan* in Mesopotamia, *Ezechiel* witnesseth.

But to all these Cabalists, which draw the Truth and Storie of the Scriptures into Allegories, *Epiphanius* answereth in these wordes: *Si Paradisus non est sensibilis, non est etiam fons, si non est fons, non est flumen, si non est flumen, non sunt quatuor principia, non Pison, non Gehon, non Tigris, nec Euphrates, non est ficus, non solia, non comeditur. E. V. A. de arbore, non est A. D. A. M., non sunt homines, sed veritas iam fabula est, & omnia ad Allegorias reuocantur: If Paradise bee not sensible, then there was no fountaine, and then no riuer, if no riuer, then no such foure heads or branches, and then not any such riuer as Pison, or Gehon, Tigris, or Euphrates, no such fig-tree, or fruit, or leaves, E. V. then did not eat of the fruit, neither was there any A. D. A. M., or any man, the truth was but a fable, and all things esteemed are called backe into Allegories. Wordes to the same effect hath S. Hierome vpon *Daniel*: *Contestant eorum deliramenta, qui umbras & imagines in veritate figunt, ipsi conantur euertere veritatem, ut Paradisum & flumina, & arbores pene Allegoriae legibus se debere subire: Let the doctrine of them bee silent, who following shadows and images in the Truth, endeavour to subvert the Truth it selfe, and thinke that they ought to bring Paradise, and the Riuer, and the Trees vnder the Rules of Allegorie.**

Ezech. 31. 9.

Gen. 13. 10.

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the Storie is the place made more manifest. For, God gaue *Adam* free libertie to eat of euery Tree of the Garden, (the Tree of knowledge excepted) which Trees *Moses* in the ninth verse saith that they were good to eat, meaning the fruit which they bare. Besides, God left all beasts to *Adam* to be named, which hee had formerly made; and these beasts were neither in the third Heauen, nor neere the Circle of the Moone, nor beasts in imagination: for if all these things were Enigmati call or Mytically, the same might also be said of the creation of all things. And *Ezechiel*, speaking of the glory of the Assyrian Kings, vseth this speech: *All the Trees of Eden, which were in the Garden of God, enuied him*; which proueth both *Eden*, and *Paradise* therein seated, to be terrestrial: for the Prophets made no imaginary comparisons. But *Moses* wrote plainly, and in a simple stile, fit for the capacities of ignorant men, and hee was more large and precise in the description of *Paradise*, than in any other place of Scripture; of purpose to take away all scruple from the incredulitie of future ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of Prophecie) to be apt to fabulous inuentions, and that if hee had not described both the Region and the Riuer, and how it stood from Canaan, many of the vnbelieuing Israelites and others after them, would haue misconstrued this Storie of Mankind. And is it likely, there would haue been so often mention made of *Paradise* in the Scriptures, if the same had beene an *Empia*? For we finde that the Valley, wherein *Sadame* and *Gomorrah* stood, (sometimes called Pentapolis, of the five principall Cities therein) was before the destruction (which their vniuersall fine purchased) compared to the *Paradise* of the Lord, and like to the Land of Egypt toward Zoar: In like manner was Israel resembled to the *Paradise* of *God*, before the Babylonians wasted it: which proueth plainly, that *Paradise* it selfe exceeded in beauty and fertility, and that these places had but a resemblance thereof: being compared to a faine and soyle of farre exceeding excellency.

Besides, whence had *Homere* his inuention of *Alcinous* Gardens, as *Insim Martyr* noteth, but out of *Moses* his description of *Paradise*? *Gen. 2.* and whence are their praises of the Elizian fields, but out of the storie of *Paradise*? to which also appertaine those 30 Verses of the Golden Age in *Ouid*:

Ouid. Metam. 1.

*Ver erat æternum, placidique repensibus ævis  
Mullebant Zephyri matos sine semine flores.*

The ioyfull Spring did euer last, | Sweete flowers by his gentle blast,  
And Zephyrus did breede | Without the helpe of seed.

And it is manifest, that *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Pindarus*, *Hesiodus*, and *Homere*, and after him, *Ouid*, one out of another, and all these together with *Pysagoras* and *Plato*, and their Sects

Sectatours, did greatly enrich their inuentions, by venting the stolne Treasures of Diuine Letters, altered by prophane additions, and disguised by poeti call conuersions, as if they had bin conceived out of their owne speculations and contemplations.

But besides all these testimonies, if we find what Region *Heden* or *Eden* was; if wee proue the Riuer that ran out of it, and that the same afterwards was diuided into foure branches; together with the Kingdomes of *Ham* and *Cush*, and that all these are Eastward from *Canaan*, or the Deserts of the *Amorites*, where *Moses* wrote: I then conueniently conclude the Allegoricall sense of the Scripture; for as well in this there were many figures of Christ, as in all the old Testament throughout: the Storie being directly true notwithstanding. And to this purpose (saith Saint *Augustine*) *Tres sunt de Paradiso generales sententia: una est eorum, qui tantummodo corporaliter Paradisum intelligunt volunt: alia eorum, qui spiritualiter tantum (id est) Ecclesiam: tertia eorum, qui utroque modo Paradisum accipiunt*; (that is) There are three opinions of *Paradise*: the one of those men, which will haue it altogether corporall: a second of those, which conceiue it altogether spiritual, and to be a figure of the Church: the third of those which take it in both senses; which third opinion S. *Augustine* approbeth, and of which *Suidas* giueth this allowable iudgement: *Quemadmodum homo sensibilis, & intelligibilis simul conditus erat: sic & huius sanctissimum nomen, sensibile simul & intelligibile, & dupli specie est pradium*, (that is) As man was created at one time both sensible and intelligible: so was this holy Crone or Garden to be taken both wayes, and endued with a double forme.

Aug. de Citat.  
De Civ. Dei.  
Suidas in vocab.  
Paradisum.

## §. IV.

Why it should be needfull to interpret diligently of the place of *Paradise*.

But it may be objected, that it is needlesse, and a kind of curiositie to enquire so diligently after this place of *Paradise*, and that the knowledge thereof is of little or no vse. To which I answer, that there is nothing written in the Scripture, but for our instruction; and if the truth of the Storie be necessarie, then by the place proued, the same is also made more apparent. For if wee should conceiue that *Paradise* were not on the Earth, but lifted vp as high as the Moone, or that it were beyond the Ocean, and in no part of the knowne World, from whence *Adam* was said to wade through the Sea, & thence to haue come into *Indes* (out of doubt) there would be few men in the World, that would giue any credit vnto it. For what could seeme more ridiculous than the report of such a place: and besides, what maketh this seat of *Paradise* so much disputed and doubted of, but the conceit that *Pisbon* should be *Ganges*, which waileth the East *India*, and *Gehon*, *Nilus*, which enricheth *Egypt*, and these two Riuer, so farre distant, as (except all the World were *Paradise*) these streames can no way be comprized therein.

Secondly, if the birth and workes, and death of our Saviour, were said to haue beene in some such Countrey, of which no man euer heard tell, and that his Miracles had bin performed in the Ayre, or no place certainly knowne: I assure my selfe, that the Christian Religion would haue taken but a slender roote in the mindes of men: for times and places are approved witnesses of worldly actions.

Thirdly, if we should rely, or giue place to the iudgement of some Writers vpon this place of *Paradise* (though otherwise for their doctrine in general, they are worthy of honour & reuerence) say that there is no fable among the *Grecians* or *Egyptians* more ridiculous; for who would beleue that there were a piece of the World so fit by it selfe & separated as to hang in the Ayre vnder the circle of the Moone, or who so dolefull to conceiue that from thence the foure riuer, of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, should fall downe, and run vnder all the Ocean, and rise againe in this our habitable world, in those places where they are now found? Which if any man thinke, that I enforce, or sayne to the worst, these are *Pisbon* and *Gehon* own words. *Est autem locus amenissimus, longaterra & multatraditum vestra habitabilis Zona scilicet: 3300 leuaturus usque ad lunam per globum æthereum. Et (that is) It is a most pleasant place, bordered from vnder the habitable Zone by a long strip of land & Sea, elevated so, that it may reach to the globe of the Moone.*

And *Mose* receiue vpon this place written in this manner: *Deus hoc quod videris volumus, & Paradisum multo sublimius positum esse iudicabis: de hinc enim videris terra, & cetera.*

Bar. conuer.  
Ier. 31. 12.

ut illinc per precipitum delabantur flumj tanto cum impetu, quantum verbiis exprimere non possunt, coimpetu impulsu pressu, sub Oceano uado rapinuntur, unde rursus profusius ebulant, in hoc a nobis cultu orbe: which haue this sense: Furthermore (saith he) *uegie this for an answer, that Paradise is set in a Region farre raised above this part which we inhabit; whereby it comes to passe, that from thence these Rivers fall downe with such a headlong violence, as words cannot expresse; and with that force so impulsed and prest, they are carried vnder the deepe Ocean, and doe againe rise and boyle up in this our habitable world: and to this he addeth the opinion of Ephram, which is this, Ephram dicit Paradisum ambire terram, atq; ultra Oceanum a possum esse, ut totam terrarum orbem ab omni circumdet regione, non aliter atq; Luna vbi Lunam cingit, (which is) That Paradise doth compass or embrace the whole Earth, and is so set beyond the Ocean Sea, as it enuironeth the whole Orbe of the Earth on euery side, as the Orbe of the Moone doth embrace the Moone. To the end therefore that these ridiculous expositions and opinions doe not bring question vnto Truth it selfe, or make the same subiect to doubts or disputes, it is necessarie to discover the true place of Paradise, which God in his wisdom appointed in the very Nauell of this our World, and (as Melancthon saies) in parte terra meliore, in the best part thereof, that from thence, as from a Centre, the Vniuersall might be filled with people and planted, and by knowing this place, we shall the better iudge of the beginning of Nations, & of the worlds inhabitation: for neere vnto this did the Sons of Noah also disperse themselves after the flood, into all other remote regions & countries. And if it be a generous desire in men, to know from whence their owne forefathers haue come, and out of what regions and Nations, it cannot be displeasing to vnderstand the place of our first Ancestor, from whence all the streames and branches of Mankind haue followed & bin deduced. If then it doe appeare by the former, that such a place there was as Paradise, and that the knowledge of this place cannot be vnprofitable, it followeth in order to examine severall opinions before remembred, by the Truth it selfe, & to see how they agree with the sense of the Scripture, and with common reason, and afterward to proue directly, and to delineate the Region in which God first planted this delightfull Garden.*

S. V.

That the Flood hath not utterly defaced the markes of Paradise, nor caused Hills in the Earth.

Gm. 1. 10.

**A**nd first, whereas it is supposed by *Aug. Chrysostomus*, that the Flood hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in such sort, as no man can finde any marke or memorie thereof: (of which opinion there were others also, ascribing to the Flood the cause of those high Mountaines, which are found on all the Earth ouer, with many other strange effects) for mine owne opinion, I thinke neither the one nor the other to be true. For although I cannot deny, but that the face of Paradise was after the Flood withered, and growne old, in respect of the first beauty: (for both the ages of men, and the nature of all things Time hath changed) yet if there had beene no signe of any such place, or if the soile and scate had not remained, then would not *Moses*, who wrote of Paradise about 850. yeeres after the Flood, haue described it so particularly, and the Prophets long after *Moses* would not haue made so often mention thereof. And though the verie Garden it selfe were not then to be found, but that the Flood, and other accidents of time made it one common field and pasture with the Land of *Eden*, yet the place is still the same, and the Rivers still remaine the same Rivers. By two of which (neuer doubted of) to wit, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, we are sure to finde in what latitude Paradise lay, & learning out one of these Rivers, which afterward doth diuide it selfe into foure branches, wee are sure that the partition is at the very border of the Garden it selfe. For it is written, that out of *Eden* went a River to water the Garden, and from thence it was diuided and became into foure heads. Now whether the word in the Latine Trar (Latin) *Inde* from thence, be referred to *Eden* it selfe, or to Paradise, yet the diuision & branching of those rivers must be in the North or South side of the very Garden (if the rivers run as they doe, North & South) and therefore these rivers yet remaining, & *Eden* manifestly known, there could be no such defacing by the flood, as is supposed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood, that the place could be so altered as future ages know it not, so is there no probability,

that

that either these Rivers were turned out of their courses, or new Rivers created by the Flood which were not (or that the Flood (as above said) by a violent motion; when it began to decrease, was the cause of high Hills or deep Vallies, from whose descent of waters could there be in a Spherical ball round bottom, wherein the water is not high nor low: seeing that all violent force of waters is equalled by the strength of the winds by descent from a higher to a lower, or by the ebbe or flow of the Sea. But that there was anie winde (whereby the Seas are mooued) it appeareth not, rather the contrarie is probable: for it is written, *Therefore God made a wind to passe vpon the Earth, and the waters ceased*. So as it appeareth notwithstanding, that the waters failed, there was no winde at all, but that God afterward, out of his goodness, caused the wind to blow, to drye vp the abundant slime and mudd of the Earth, and make the Land more firme, and to cleanse the Ayre of thicke vapours, and vnto which some misse: and this we know by experience, that all downe-right raines doe euermore disseuer the violence of outrageous windes, and beat downe, and leuell the swelling and mountainous billow of the Sea: for anie ebbs and flows there could be none, when the waters were equal and of one height ouer all the face of the Earth, and which there were no Indraughts, Bayes, or Gulfs to receiue a Flood, or any descent, or violent falling of waters in the round forme of the Earth and Waters, as aforesaid: and therefore it seemeth most agreeable to reason, that the waters rather stood in a quiet calme, than that they moued with any raging or ouer-bearing violence. And for a more direct proofe, that the Flood made, no such destroying alteration, *Ioseph* auoweth that one of those pillars erected by *Seth*, the third from *Adam*, was to be seene in his dayes; which pillars were set vp about 1426. years before the Flood, counting *Seth* to be an hundred years old at the creation of them; and *Ioseph* himselfe to haue liued some forty or fifty yeeres after *Christ*: of whom although there be no cause to beleecie all that hee wrote, yet that which hee auouched of his owne time, cannot (without great derogation) bee called in question. And therefore it may be possible, that some foundation or mine thereof might then be seene. Now that such pillars were raised by *Seth*, all Antiquitie hath auoyed. It is also written in *Ieremias* (to whom although I giue little credite, yet I cannot condemne him in all) that the Citie of *Enoch*, built by *Cain* about the mountaines of *Libanus*, was not defaced by length of time: yea the ruines thereof *Annius* (who commented vpon that inuented fragment) saith, were to be seene in his dayes, who liued in the reigne of *Herodius* and *Isabella* of Castile. And if these his words be not true, then was he exceeding impudent: for, speaking of this citie of *Enoch*, he concludeth in this sort: *Cuius maxima & ingentis molu fundamenta visunt ut & uicatur ab incolis regionis, Cuius a Cain, & post mercatores, & peregrini referunt: The foundation of which huge Masse is now to be seene, and the place is called by the people of that Region, the Citie of Cain, as both our Strangers and merchants report*. It is also auowed by *Pomponius Mela* (to whom I giue more credite in these things) that the citie of *Ioppa* was built before the Flood, ouer which *Cepha* was King: whose name, with his brother *Phineus*, together with the grounds and principles of their Religion, was found grauen vpon certaine altars of stone. And it is not impossible, that the ruines of this other citie, called *Enoch* by *Annius*, might be seene, though founded in the first Age: but it could not be of the first citie of the world, built by *Cain*, the place rather than the time denying it.

Gm. 4. 17.

And to proue directly that the Flood was not the cause of mountaines, but that there were mountaines from the creation, it is written, that the waters of the Flood ouerspread by fifteen Cubits the highest Mountaines. And *Masius Damascanus* (speaking of the Flood, writeth in this manner: *Est supra Minyadum excessus manus in Armenia (qui Baris appellatur) in quo consensientes multos sermo est diluuij tempore liberatos. And vpon Minyada there is an high Mountaine in Armenia (called Baris) vnto which it is said that many fled in the time of the Deluge, and that they saued themselves thereon*. Now although it is contrarie to Gods Word, that any more were saued than eight persons, (which *Masius* doth not auouch, but by report) yet it is a testimonie, that such Mountaines were before the Flood, which were afterwards, and euer since, known by the same names; & on which Mountaines it is generally receiued that the Arke rested; but vniuersally, as I shall proue, hereafter. And againe it appeareth, that the Mount *Sian* (though by another name) was knowne before the Flood; on which the *Thalmodists* report, that many Giants saued themselves also; but, as *Annius* saith, without all authoritie cyther diuine or humane.

Lastly,



Lastly, it appeareth that the Flood did not so turne upside-downe the face of the Earth, as thereby it was made past knowledge; when the waters were decreased, by this that *when Noah first out the Don the second time, he returned with an Olive-leaf in her mouth*, which shee had pluckt, and which (until the Trees were discovered) shee found not: for otherwise she might have found them floating on the water; a manifest proofe, that the Trees were not torne vp by the routes, nor swamme vpon the waters, for it is written: *saluum Olives, raptum non ascriptum, a leafe pluckt*, (which is) to take from a Tree, or to tear off. By this it is apparant, (there being nothing written to the contrary) that the Flood made no such alteration, as was supposed, but that the place of Paradise might be seene to succeeding Ages, especially vnto Moses, by whom it pleased God to teach the truth of the Worlds Creation, and vnto the Prophets which succeeded him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this Discouery.

## S. VI.

That Paradise was not the whole Earth, as some haue thought: making the Ocean to bee the fountaine of those foure Riues.

This conceit of *Aug. Chrysostomus* being answered, who onely giueth his opinion for reason, I will in a few wordes examine that of the Manichees, of *Noionmagus*, *Vadianus*, *Goropius*, *Becanus*, and all those that vnderstood, that by Paradise was meant the whole Earth. But in this I shall not trouble the Reader with many wordes, because by those places of Scripture formerly remembered, this Vniuersalitie will appeare altogether improper. The places which *Vadianus* alleageth, *Bring forth fruit and multiply, fill the Earth and subdue it, rule over every Creature*, &c. with this of the *Acts*, and hath made of one bloud all Mankind, to dwell on all the face of the Earth, doe no way proue such a generalitie: for the World was made for man, of which hee vvvas Lord and Gouernor, and all things therein were ordained of God for his vse. Now although all men vvvere of one and the same fountaine of bloud originally; and *Adams* posteritie inhabited in proceesse of time ouer all the face of the earth, yet it disproueth in nothing the particular Garden, assigned to *Adam*, to dresse and culture, in which hee liued in so blessed an estate before his transgression. For if there had bene no other choyce, but that *Adam* had bin left to the Vniuersall; *Moses* vvould not then haue said, *Eastward in Eden*, seeing the World hath nor East nor West, but respectiue. And to what end had the Angell of God bene set to keepe the East-side, and entrance into Paradise after *Adams* expulsion, if the Vniuersall had bene Paradise? for then must *Adam* haue bene chased also out of the World. For if All the earth vvvere Paradise, that place can receiue no better construction than this, That *Adam* vvvas driuen out of the World into the World, and out of Paradise into Paradise, except vvee should belecue vvith *Metrodorus*, that there vvwere infinite Worlds. Which to deny, he thinks all one, as to affirme, That in so large a field, as the Vniuersall, there should grow but one Thistle. *NOIOMAGVS* vpon *Beda*, seemeth to be led by this, that it vvvas vnpossible for those three Riues, *Ganges*, *Nilus*, and *Euphrates* (which vwater three portions of the World so far distant) to rise out of one Fountaine, except the Ocean bee taken for the Well, and the World for the Garden.

And it is true, that those foure Riues, being so vnderstood, there could bee no coniecture more probable, but it shall plainly appeare, that *Pison* was fallily taken for *Ganges*, and *Gehon* fallily for *Nilus*, although *Ganges* be a Riuer by *Haulah* in *India*, & *Nilus* run through *Ethiopia*. The *Seuentie* vvrite *Chus* for *Ethiopia*, and thereby the errors of the Manichees, and the mistakings of *Noionmagus*, *Goropius*, & *Vadianus*, vvith others, are made manifest. Yet was their coniecture faire more probable, than that of *Ephrem*, *Cyriacus*, and *Athanasius*: That Paradise vvvas seated far beyond the Ocean Sea, and that *Adam* vvaded through it, and at last came toward the Country in vvvhich hee was created, and vvvas buried at *Mount Caluery* in *Hierusalem*. And certainly, though all those of the first Age vvvere of great stature, and so continued many yeeres after the Flood, yet *Adams* shin-bones must haue contained a thousand fadome, and much more, if hee had foorded the Ocean; but this opinion is so ridiculous, as it needs no argument to disproue it.

## S. VII.

## S. VII.

Of their opinions which make Paradise as high as the Moone: and of others, which make it higher than the middle Region of the Ayre.

Hardly, whereas *Beda* saith, and as the Schoolemen affirme, Paradise to bee a place, altogether remoued from the knowledge of men (*locus à cognitione hominum remotissimus*) and *Barcephas* conceiued, that Paradise was situate in the East, but intreated about the Ocean, and all the Earth, and neere the Othe of the Moone (which opinion, though the Schoolemen charge *Beda* vvithall, yet *Petrus* layes it off from *Beda* vpon *Strabus*, and his Master *Rabanus*); and whereas *Rupertus*, in his Geographie of Paradise, doth not much differ from the rest, but findes it seated next or neerest heauen; It may seeme, that all these borrowed this doctrine out of *Plato*, and *Plato* out of *Socrates*: but neither of them (I conceiue) well vnderstood, who (vndoubtedly) tooke this place for Heauen it selfe, into which the Soules of the blessed vvwere carried after death.

True it is, that these Philosophers durst not for feare of the *Acropagites* (in this and many other diuine apprehensions) set downe what they beleueed in plaine termes, especially *Plato*: though *Socrates* in the end suffered death, for acknowledging one onely powerfull God; and therefore did the *Duill* himselfe doe him that right, as by an Oracle, to pronounce him the wisest man. *Iustine Martyr* affirmeth, that *Plato* had read the Scriptures; and *St. Augustine* gaue this iudgement of him, as his opinion, that (few things changed) hee might be counted a Christian. And it seemeth to mee, that both *Tertullian* and *Eusebius* conceiue, that *Socrates*, by that place aforesaid, meant the celestiall Paradise, and not this of Eden. *Solinus*, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightfull and healthfull, vpon the top of *Mount Atho* (called *Acrothous*) which being aboue all Clouds of Raine, or other Intenouenience, the people (by reason of their so many yeeres) are called *Macrobii* (that is) *Long-lived*. A further Argument is vsed, for proofe of the height of this place, because therein was *Enoch* preserved from the violence of the Flood, as approved by *Isidore*, and *Peter Lombard*; in which place also *Tertullian* conceiued; that the blessed Soules vvwere preferred into the last iudgement; which *Trenens* and *Iustine Martyr* also beleueed. But this opinion was of all *Catholique Diuines* reprobued, and in the *Florentine* Councell damned; of which *Saint Augustine* more modestly gaue this iudgement: *Sicut certum est, ENOCH & ELIAS nunquam mori: ita vbi nunc sunt: an in Paradiso an alibi, incertum est*; (that is) As it is certaine that *ENOCH* and *ELIAS* doe now liue: so where they liue, in Paradise or elsewhere, it is vncertaine. But *Barcephas* giues a third cause, though of all other the weakest. For (saith he) it was necessary that Paradise should be set at such a distance and height, because the foure Riues (had they not fallen so precipitate) could not haue had sufficient force to haue thrust themselves vnder the great Ocean, and afterward haue forced their passage through the earth, and haue risen againe in the farre distant Regions of *India*, *Egypt*, and *Armenia*.

These strange fancies and dreames haue bene answered by diuers learned men long since, and lately by *Hopkins*, and *Petrus*, writing vpon this subiect; of whose arguments I will repeat these few: for to vvelong discourse against those things, which are both against Scripture and Reason, might rightly bee iudged a vanity in the Answerer, nor much inferior to that of the Inuenter.

It is first therefore alledged, that such a place cannot be commodious to liue in: for being so neere the Moone, it had bene too neere the Sunne, and other heavenly bodies. Secondly, because it must haue bene too ioynt a Neighbour to the Element of Fire. Thirdly, because the Ayre in that Region is so violently moued, and carried about vvith such swiftnesse, as nothing in that place can consist or haue abiding. Fourthly, because the place betwene the Earth and the Moone (according to *Platonic* and *Astragani*) is seuenteen times the Diameter of the Earth, which makes in a grosse account about one hundred and twenty thousand miles. Hereupon it must follow, that Paradise being raised to this height, must haue the compasse of the whole earth for a base and foundation: but had it bin so raised, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eyes of men: seeing it would deprive vs of the Sunnes light, all the fore-part



Cicero Summ.  
Scip.

of the day, being seated in the East, as they suppose. Now, to fortifie the former opinions, *Tollatus* addeth this, that those people which dwell neere those fals of waters, are deafe from their infancy, like those which dwell neere the *Catadupa*, or ouer-fals of Nilus. But this I hold as fained. For I haue seen in the Indies, far greater water-falls, than those of Nilus, and yet the people dwelling neere them are not deafe at all. *Tollatus* (the better to strengthen himselfe) citeth *Basil* and *Ambrase* together: to which *Petrus*, *Sedagobus* apud *Basilium* & *Ambraseum* in cornu scriptu, que nunc extant, nusquam me legere memini; but I do not remember (saith he) that I neuer read those things, either in *BASILE* or *AMBRASE*.

1. Cor. 15. 55.

1. Pet. 3. 10.

Gen. 7. 19.

Exod. 14. 11.

But for the bodies of *Enoch* & *Elias*, God hath disposed of them according to his wisdom. Their taking up might be into the celestiall *Paradise*, for ought we know. For although flesh and blood, subiect to corruption, cannot inherit the Kingdome of heaven, and the seed must rot in the ground before it grow, yet we shall not all die (saith *S. Paul*) but all shall be changed: which change, in *Enoch* & *Elias*, was easie to him that is Almighty. But for the rest, the Scriptures are manifest, that by the Flood all perished on the earth, (saying eight persons and therefore in the terrestriall *Paradise* they could not be.

For *Tollatus* his owne opinion, who soared not altogether so high as the rest, but beleued that *Paradise* was raised about the middle Region of the Aire, and twenty cubits about all Mountaines, that the Flood did not therefore reach it: (which *Scotus* and other later Schoole-men also beleued; for, say they, there were no sinners in *Paradise*, and therefore no cause to ouerwhelme it;) this is also contrary to the expresse letter of the Scripture: which directly, and without admitting of any distinction, teacheth vs, that the waters ouer-flowed all the mountaines under heauen. And were it otherwise, then might we allwile giue credit to *Masius*, *Damasenus*, & the Thalmudists, who affirme, that there were of the Giants that saued themselves on the Mountaine *Baris*, and on *Sion*. But to helpe this, *Scotus*, being (as the rest of the Schoolemen are) full of distinctions, saith; That the waters stood at *Paradise*, as they did in the Red Sea, and at *Jordan*; and as the Flood was not naturall, so was *Paradise* laued by miracle. And *Thomas Aquinas* qualifieth this high conceit with this supposition, That it was not beleued, that *Paradise* was so seated, as *Beda* and others seeme to affirme in words, but by *Hyperbole* and comparatively for the delicacie and beautie so resembled. But this I dare auow of all those Schoole-men, that though they were exceeding witty, yet they better teach all their Followers to shift, than to resolve by their distinctions. Wherefore not to stay long in answering this opinion of *Tollatus*, I confesse that it is written, that the Mountains of *Olympus*, *Atho*, and *Atlas*, ouer-reach and surmount all windes and clouds, and that (notwithstanding) there is found on the heads of the Hills both springs and fruits; and the Pagan Priests, sacrificing on these mountaine tops, do not find the ashes (remaining of their sacrifices) blowne thence, nor thence waite off by raines, when they returne: yet experience hath resolved vs, that these reports are fabulous, and *Pliny* himselfe (who was not sparing in the report of wonders) auoweth the contrary. But were it granted, yet the height of these Mountaines is far vnder the supposed place of *Paradise*; and on these selfe Hills the ayre is so thin (saith *S. Augustine*, whom herein I mistrust) that it is not sufficient to beare vp the body of a bird, hauing therein no feeling of her wings, or any sensible resistance of ayre to mount her selfe by.

## §. VIII.

Of their opinion that seate *Paradise* vnder the *Aequinoctiall*: and of the pleasant habitation vnder those Climates.



Those which come neerer vnto Reason, finde *Paradise* vnder the *Aequinoctiall* line, as *Tertullian*, *Bonauenture*, and *Durandus* iudging, that thereunder might be found most pleasure, and the greatest fertility of soile: but against it *Thomas Aquinas* obiecteth the distemperate heat, which he supposeth to be in all places so directly vnder the Sunne; but this is (*non causa pro causa*) for although *Paradise* could not bee vnder the Line, because *Eden* is farre from it, in which *Paradise* was; & because there is no part of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, or *Ganges* vnder it, (*Ganges* being one of the foure riuers, as they suppose) yet this conceit of distemper, (being but an old opinion) is found to be very vntrue, though for the coniecture not to bee condemned, considering the age when those Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas

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it appeared, that euerie Countrie, as it lay by degrees neerer the Tropick, and so toward the *Aequinoctiall*, did so much the more excede in heat: It was therefore a reasonable coniecture, that those Countries which were situated directly vnder it, were of a distemper vninhabitable: but it seemeth that *Tertullian* conceiued better, and so did *Auicenne*, for they both thought them habitable enough; and though (perchance) in those daies it might be thought a fantastical opinion (as all are which goe against the vulgar) yet we now find, that if there be any place vpon the earth of that nature, beautie, and delight that *Paradise* had, the same must be found within that supposed vninhabitable burnt Zone, or within the Tropicks, and neere to the line it selfe. For hercof experience hath informed Reason, and Time hath made those things apparant, which were hidden and could not by any contemplation be discouered. Indeed it hath so pleased God to prouide for all liuing creatures, wherewith he hath filled the world, that such inconueniences which we contemplate a fure off, are found by trial and the witness of mens traualles, to be so qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vaine, or as a fruitlesse lump to fashion out the rest. For God himselfe (saith *Isa. 45. 18*) that formed the earth and made it, he hath prepared it, he created it not in vaine, he formed it to be inhabited. Now we finde that these hottest Regions of the world, seated vnder the *Aequinoctiall* line, or neere it, are so refreshed with a daily gale of Easternly winde (which the *Spaniards* call the *Brize*) that doth euermore blow strongest in the heate of the day, as the downe-right beames of the Sun cannot so much master it, that there is any inconuenience or distemperate heat found thereby. Secondly, the nights are so cold, fresh, and equall, by reason of the entire interposition of the earth, as (for those places which my selfe haue seen, neere the Line & vnder it) I know no other part of the world of better, or equall temper: Only there are some tracts, which by accident of high Mountaines are barr'd from this ayre and fresh wind, and some few sandie parts without trees, which are not therefore so well inhabited as the rest; and such deficiency of soiles we finde also in all other parts of the world. But (for the greatest part) those Regions haue so many goodly Riuers, Fountaines, and little Brookes, abundance of high Cedars, and other stately trees casting shade, to many sorts of delicate fruits, euier bearing, and at all times beautified with blossome and fruit both Greene and ripe, as it may of all other parts be best compared to the *Paradise* of *Eden*: the boughes and branches are neuer vncliothed and left naked, their sap creepeth not vnder ground into the roote, fearing the injury of the frost: neither doth *Pomona* at any time despise her withered Husband *Vernumnus*, in his winter quarters and old age. Therefore are these Countries called *Terra vitiosa*, *Viciou Countries*: for Nature being liberrall to all without labour, necessitie imposing no industrie or trauell, idleness bringeth forth no other fruits than vaine thoughts, and licentious pleasures. So that to conclude this part, *Tertullian* and those of his opinion were not deceived in the nature of the place: but *Aquinas*, who misliked this opinion, and followed a worse. And (to say the truth) all the Schoolemen were grosse in this particular.

## §. IX.

Of the change of the names of places: and that besides that *Eden* in *Calefrya*, there is a Country in *Babylon*, once of this name, as is proued out of *Esa. 37.* and *Eze. 27.*

These opinions answered, and the region of *Eden* not found in any of those imaginary vvorlds, nor vnder *Torrida Zona*; it followeth that now vve discouer and find out the seat thereof, for in it vvas *Paradise* by God planted. The difficultie of vvhich search resteth chiefly in this, That as all Nations haue often changed names vvith their Masters; so are most of these places, by *Moses* remembered; forgotten by those names of all Historians and Geographers, as vvell ancient as moderne.

Besides, vve find that the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes* and *Persians* (*Cyrus* onely and a few other excepted) sought to extinguish the *Hebrewes*. The *Grecians* hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the *Romans* despised once to remember them in any of their Stories. And as those three Monarchies succeeded each other: so did they transforme the names of all those principall Places and Cities in the East: and after them, the *Turke* hath sought (vvhat he could) to extinguish in all things, the ancient memorie of those people; vvith which he hath subiected and intrahled.

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Now beſides thoſe notable marks, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, the better to find the way which leadeth to the Country of *Eden*, we are to take for guides theſe two conſiderations (to wit) That it lay Eaſtward from *Canaan* and *India*; and that it was of all other the moſt beautifull and fertile. Firſt then in reſpect of ſituation, the next Country to *India* Eaſtward was *Arabia Petraea*; but in this Region was *Mofes* himſelfe when he wrote: and the next vnto it Eaſtward alſo was *Arabia the Defarte*, both which in reſpect of the infertility could not bee *Eden*, neither haue any of the *Arabians* any ſuch Riuers, as are expreſt to run out of it: So as it followeth of neceſſitie, that *Eden* muſt be Eaſtward, and beyond both *Arabia Petraea*, and *Deſerta*. But becauſe *Eden* is by *Mofes* named by it ſelfe, and by the fertility, & the riuers only deſcribed, we muſt ſeek it in other Scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour Nations better deſcribed. In the Prophet *Iſay* I find it coupled and accompanied with other adjacent Countries, in theſe words, ſpoken in the perſon of *Senacherib* by *RABA KEE*: *Haue the gods of the Nations deliuered them, which my Fathers haue deſtroyed, as GOSAN, and HARAN, & R ESEPH, and the children of EDEN, which were at Telassar?* and in *Ezekiel*, where he prophetieth againſt the Tyrants: *They of Haran, and Caneel, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Aſbur, and Chilmad, were thy merchants, &c.*

1/a, 37.2.12.

(49.27.2 (f.2)

$$C_{20,1} = C_{0,1}$$

St. 400.

E5661-27.5.2.2

$$1 \leq j \leq n$$

But to auoid confusion, wee must vnderstand that there were two *Edens*, one of which the Prophet *Amos* remembereth, where he diuideth *Syria* into three Prouinces, where-of, the first he maketh *Syria Dimasene*, or *Decapoliitan*: the second part is that Valley called *Auenis*, otherwise *Conuallis*, or the tract of *Chamath*, where *Affyria* is ioyned to *Arabia* the *Defart*, & where *Ptolemie* placeth the City of *Aueria*: & the third is knowne by the name of *Damus Edenis*, or *Calefrya*, otherwise *Vallis eaus*, or the hollow Valley, because the mountaines of *Lilanus* and *Antilibanus*, take all the length of it on both sides, and border it: for *Colein* in *Greece* is *Canaan Latine*. But this is not that *Eden*, which wee seeke: neither doth this Prouince lye East from *Canaan*, but North, and so ioyneth vnto it, as it could not be vnknowne to the *Hebrewes*. Yet, because there is a little Citie therein called *Paradise*, the *Iewes* beleueed this *Calefrya* to be the same which *Moses* describeth. For the same cause doth *Hopkins* in his Treatise of *Paradise* reprehend *Beroaldus*, in that he confoundeth this *Eden*, with the other *Eden* of *Paradise*; though, to giue *Beroaldus* his right, I conceiue that he led the way to *Hopkins*, and to all other later Writers, sauing, That hee sayled in distinguishing these two Regions, both called *Eden*: and that he altogether mis-vnderstood two of the foure Riueris (to wit *Pisfon* and *Gebon*, as shall appeare hereafter. Now to finde out *Eden*, which (as *Moses* teacheth vs) lay Eastward from the *Defarts*, where he wrote, after he had passed the Red Sea; wee must consider where those other Countries are found, which the Prophet *Isay* and *Ezechiel* ioyneth with it. For (saith *ESAYAH*) *Golan*, *Itanan*, and *Rephah*, and the children of *Eden*, which were at *Telaifar*. Also *Ezechiel* ioyneth *Itanan* with *Eden*, who, together with those of *Sheba*, *Asbur*, and *Chilmad*, were the Merchants that traded with the Citie of *Tyre*, which was then (saith *EZECHIEL*) the Mart of the 40 people for many Isles. And it hath euer bene the custome, that the *Persians* conueyed their Merchandise to *Babylon*, and to those Citie vpon *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, and from thence transported them into *Syria*, now *Soria*, and to the Port of the *Mediterrane* Sea: as in ancient times to the Citie of *Tyre*, afterward to *Tripoly*, and now to *Aleppo*, from whence they imbarque them at the Port of *Alexandretta*, in the Bay of *Ysicus*, now *Liazzo*. *Ezechiel* in the description of the magnificence of *Tyre*, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the Nations of the East, as the onely Mart-towne of that part of the world, reciteth both the people, with whom they had commerce, and also what commodities euerie Countie yielded: and hauing counted the seuerall People and Countiees, he addeth the particular trade, which each of them exercised: They were thy merchants (saith the Prophet) in all sorts of stings, in ornaments of blue silke, and of braided workes, fine linnen, corall, and pearle: and afterwards speaking of the Merchants of *Sheba* and *Raamah*, and what kinds they traded, he hath these words: The merchants of *Sheba* & *Raamah* were thy merchants, they occupied in thy Faues, with the chief of all Spices, and with all precious bones and gold. Now these be indeed the riches which *Persia* and *Arabia Felix* yeeld: & because *Sheba* & *Raamah* are those parts of *Arabia*, which border the Sea, called the *Persian Gulfe*, therefore did those Nations both vent such Spice, sweet Gummes, and Pearles, as their owne Countiees yeelded,

and (withall) having trade with their Neighbourhoods of India, had from them also sorts of spices, and plenty of gold. The better to conuey these commodities to that great Mart of Tyre, the Shebans or Arabians entred by the mouth of Tigris; and from the Citie of Terredon (built or enlarged by *Nebuchodonozor*, now called *Balsora*) thence sent vp all these rich merchandises by boat to Babylon, from whence by the body of Euphrates, as farre as it bended Westward, and afterward by a branch thereof, which reacheth within three daies iourney of Aleppo, and then ouer Land they past to Tyre, as they did afterward to Tripoly, (formerly Hieropolis) and thence to Alexandria; as aforesaid. Now the Merchants of Canneh, which *Ezechiel* ioyneth with Eden, inhabited farre vp the Riuer, and receiued this trade from Arabia and India, besides those proper commodities which themselves had, and which they receiued out of Persia, which bordered them. *S. Hierome* vnderstandeth by Canneth, Seleucia, which is seated vpon Euphrates, where it breaketh into foure heads, and which tooke that name from *Seleucus*, who made thereof a magnificent City. *Hierofolymitanus* thinks it to be Ctesiphon; but Ctesiphon is seated downe low vpon Tigris, and Canneh cannot be on that side, I mean on the East-side of Tigris; for then were it out of the Valley of Shinar. *Plinie* placeth the *Schenita* vpon Euphrates, where the same beginneth to be foordable, which is toward the border of Syria, after it leaueth to bee the bound of Arabia the Desart, and where the Riuer of Euphrates reflecteth from the Desart of Palmirena: for these people of Canneh (afterward *Schenita*) inhabited both borders of Euphrates, stretching themselves from their owne Citie of Canneh in Shinar Westward along the banks of Euphrates, as far as the City of Thapfacus, where *Ptolemy* appointed the Foords of Euphrates: which also agreeth with the description of the *Schenita* by *Strabo*, whose words are these: *Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleuciam & Babyloniam cunctibus iter est per Schenitae*; The Merchants which traueis from Syria to Seleucia and Babylon, take their way by the *Schenites*. Therefore those which take Canneh for Charran, doe much mistake it. For Charran, to which *Abraham* came from Vr in Chaldea (called by God) standeth also in Mesopotamia; not vpon Euphrates it selfe, but vpon the Riuer of Chaboras, which falleth into Euphrates: and the Merchants of Charran are distinctly named with those of Canneh in *Ezechiel* (as) *They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Assur, and Chilmad, merely by merchants*. Wherefore Charran, which is sometime called Charte; & Haran, & Aran; is but the same Charran of Mesopotamia; & when it is written Haran, then it is taken for the Region of Mesopotamia; or *Aran fluminis*, the Greek word (Mesopotamia) importing; a country betweene riuers: for *Mes* in Greeke, is *Medius* in Latine; and *Potamus*, *fluminis*; and when it is written Haran or Aran, it is then taken for the City it selfe, to which *Abraham* came from Vr (as aforesaid.) For *Strabo* in the description of Arabia, giueth that tract of land from the borders of Caeld Syria, to the edge of Mesopotamia, to the *Schenita*, who also inhabited on both sides of Euphrates; & were in after ages accounted of these Arabians which inhabited *Batanea*, & the North part of the Desarts, stretching themselves toward the inhabited foliude of Palmirena, which lyeth between Syria, and Arabia the Desart. So as these of Canneh lay in the very highway from Babylon to Tyre, & were neighbours (indifferent) to Charran and to Eden: and therefore they are by the Prophet *Ezekiel* coupled together, *They of Haran, and Canneh, & Eden, &c.* But *S. Hierome* made a good interpretation of Canneh, or Chalae, by Seleucia for Seleucia was anciently called Chalanne (witnesseth *Apollonius*) and *Isidorus* *Adarius* calleth it in his Commentaries vpon *Genesis*; the same by time and mixture of languages being changed from Chalae or Canneh, to Chalanne; of which name there are two other cities, standing in Triangles with Seleucia, & almost the next vnto it; (as) Theibe-canne, & Mann-canne, the one a little to the West of Seleucia; & the other opposite vnto it, where these riuers of Tigris and Euphrates are ready to ioine. Therefore, which of these the ancient Canne was, being all three within the bound of the valley Shinar it is vncertaine: but it is a note as well of the importance of the place, as of the certaine seate thereof, that so many other cities did retaine a part of the name in so many ages after. Neither is it vnlkely, that these additions of Theibe and Mann to the word Canne, were but to make difference betweene the East and the West, or the greater and the lesse Canne, or between Canne the old and the new: which additions to distinguish cities by, are ordinary in all the Regions of the World.

Now of the other city joyned with Eden, as Haran or Charran, *St. Hierome* on the *Ind. 11*  
*D 3* *Indice*

*Ind. 1.* Judges speaketh thereof in these words: *Cumq; reuertentur, perueniunt ad Charan, qua est in medio itinere contra Ninuam, undecimo die: When they returned, they came to Charan, (which is the mid-way against Ninue) the eleventh day.*

*AR. 7. 1.* This city is by the Martyr Stephen named Charan (speaking to the high Priest: *The Men, Brethren, and Fathers, hearken: The God of glory appeared to our Father ABRAHAM, while he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charan.* But the seat of this city is not doubted of: for it is not onely remembred in many Scriptures, but, withall, exceeding famous for the death and overthrow of *Cressus* the Romane, who for his vnstatable greediness was called *Gurgis auaritia*: *The gulf of auarice*. Whereof *Lucan*:

*Luc. 4. 1. 105.* *Affricis Latio machinauit sanguine Carra,*  
With Roman bloud th' Assyrian Carre he deff'd.

*Gen. 10. 10.* But this city Canne or Chalne is made manifest by *Moses* himself, where it is written of *NIMROD*: *And the beginning of his Kingdomes was Babel, & Erach, & Acad, & Chalne, in the land of Shinar, where Moses sheweth the first composition of the Babylonian Empire, and what cities and people were subiect vnto Nimrod,* all which lay in the said Valley of Shinar, or nere it, and this Valley of Shinar is that Tract afterwards called Babylonia and Chaldaea, into which also Eden stretcheth it selfe. *Chaldaea, Babylonia, Sinaar, idem sunt* (saith *COMESTOR*). *Three names of one Country*: which Region of Babylonia took name of the Towre Babel; & the Towre, of the confusion of tongues. And that Shinar was Babylonia, it is proved in the eleventh chapter of *Genesis*, in these words: *And as they went from the East, they found a Plaine in the Land of Shinar, and there they abode: in which Playne Babylon was built* (as aforesaid.)

*Verfa.* Now Shinar being Babylonia, & Canneh, in the first beginning of *Nimrods* greatnes, and before he had subdued any strange, or far-off Nations, being one part of his Dominion, and also named by *Moses* to be in Shinar, it proueth, that Canneh ioyneeth to Babylonia; which also *Ezechiel* coupleth with Eden, and (further) affirmeth, that those of Eden were also the Merchants which traded with the Tyrians: and *Esay* in the threats of *Senacherib* against Ierusalem (with other Nations that *Senacherib* vaunted, that his Fathers had destroyed) nameth the children of Eden which were at Tellaifar. But before I conclude where Eden it selfe lyeth, it is necessary to describe, those other Countreys, which *Ezechiel* ioyneeth therewith in the places before remembred, as, those of Sheba and Raamah. It is written in *Genesis* the tenth: *Morauer the sonnes of Ham, were Cush, &c. and the sonnes of Cush were Seba, and Haviian, and Sabtah, and Raamah, &c. And the sonnes of Raamah were Sheba, &c. and anon after, Cush begat Nimrod: so as Sheba was the grand-child of Cush, and Nimrod the sonne of Cush, whose elder brother was Seba, though some there are that conceiue, to the contrary, that Nimrod was the elder in valour and understanding, though not in time and precedence of birth: who inhabited that part of Shinar, where Babel was built, afterwards Babylonia. His mother Raamah or Ragmah tooke that part adioyning to Shinar, toward the Sea side and Persian gulf (called afterward Raamah and Sheba, by the Father and his Sonne, which possessed it.) For (saith *EZECHIEL*) *the merchants of Raamah and Sheba were they merchants who occupied in all Faires with the chiefe of all spices, and all precious stones, and all* (saith *Seba*) *was that Tract of Country, which parteth Arabia Deserta from Arabia Felix, and which ioyneeth to the Sea where Tigris and Euphrates fall on, and render themselves to the Ocean: This part, and the adjoining Country, Strabo calleth Catabria, where the best Myrrhe and Frankincense is gathered, which people haue an interchange of trade with Indians, lying on the East side of the Persian gulf. By this it appeareth who were the Shebans, spoken of by *Ezechiel*, and knd to haue bene the Merchants of Tyre, for gold, spices, and precious stones; of which they had not onely plenty of their owne, but were also furnished from that part of India (called *Elana*, according to *Strabo*) for exchange of their Aromaticques, and other proper commodities.**

*Verfa.* For, as *Strabo* reporteth out of *ERATOSTHENES*: *In Persia ore insula est, in qua multae pretiosae unionum gemmae: in alijs, clari & perlucidi lapilli.* *ERATOSTHENES* (saith *Strabo*) affirmeth, that in the beginning of the Persian gulf, there is an Island, in which there are many precious pearles bred: and in other, very cleare and shining stones. Now the difference betweene *Seba*, the sonne of Raamah, and *Seba*, the sonne of Cush, is in this, That *Seba* is written with the Hebrew (*Samech*) and *Sheba* with (*Sehin*;) but

but whatsoeuer the difference may bee in the Hebrew Oniography, their Countries and Habitations are diuers. For *Sheba* is that which bordereth the Persian Sea, & *Saba* (whence the Queen of Saba) neighboured the Red Sea, and so the place of the 72. *Psalms*, expounded *Reges Arabum & Saba*, hath in the Hebrew this sense: *Reges Sheba & Saba*.

The Shebans, *Ezechiel* nameth together with the Edenites, because they inhabited vpon the Out-let of the same Riuer, vpon which the Edenites were seated: and so those of Sheba, towards the Sea-coast, and vpon it, part vnto the Countrey, by Tigris and Euphrates, being ioyned in one maine streame, and so through the Region of Eden, which Tigris boundeth, thereby the better to conuey their merchandise toward Tyre. And as the cities of Charan, and Canneh, border Eden on the West and Northwest: so doth Shebit on the South, and Chilmad on the North-east: Chilmad being a Region of the higher Media, as appeareth in the Chaldean Paraphrast, which Countrey by the Geographers is called *Gommitena*, (L) placed by exchange for (R) which change the Hebrews alfo often vse.

Thus much of those Countries which border Eden, and who altogether traded with the Tyrians: of which, the chiefe were the Edenites, inhabiting Tellaifar: for these *Senacherib* vaunted, that his Fathers had destroyed; and this place of Tellaifar lay most conuenient; both to receiue the Trade from Sheba and Arabia, and also to conuey it ouer into Syriam and to Tyrus. Now to make these things the more plaine, wee must remember, that before the death of *Senacherib*, many pates of the Babylonian Empire fell from his obedience, and after his death these Monarchies were vtterly disioyned.

For it appeareth both in *Esay* the 37. and in the second of *Kings*, by the threats of *Rabshakeh*, the vvhile the Army of Assyria lay before Ierusalem, that the Cities of *Golan*, *Haran*, *Reseph*, and the Edenites at Tellaifar, had resited the Assyrians, though by them (in a sort) mastered and recovered. *Haec the gods of the Nations deliuered them, whom my Fathers haue destroyed, in Golan, and Haran, and Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were in Tellaifar.* But it appeared manifestly after *Senacherib*'s death, that these Nations formerly contending, were then freed from the others subiection: for *Efar-Haddon* held Assyria, and *Meredach* Chaldaea, Babylonia. And after that the Army of *Senacherib* was commanded by *Rabshakeh* which lay before Ierusalem (*Ezechiel* then reigning) while *Senacherib* was in Egypt, was by the Angell of God destroyed; the King of Babel (sent to *Ezechiel*, both to congratulate the recovery of his health, and his victory obtained ouer the Assyrians. After which overthrow, *Senacherib* himselfe was slaine by his owne sonnes in the Temple of his Idols, *Efar-Haddon* succeeding him in Assyria. To the Babylonian Ambassadors sent by *Meredach*, *Ezechiel* shewed all his treasures, as well proper as consecrate, which ministered the kings of Babylon afterward to vndertake their conquest and subiection. So as, the suspicion of warre encreasing betweene Babylon and Assyria, the Edenites which inhabited the borders of Shinar towards the North, and towards Assyria, were employed to beate off the incursions of the Assyrians; and their Garrison-place was at Tellaifar: and the very word *Tellaifar* saith *Strabo*, signifying as much, as a bulwarke against the Assyrians. This place *Hieronymus* takes for *Reseph*, others for *Seleucia*; but this Tellaifar is the same, which *Amir* in the History of *Indian* (whom he followed in the enterprize of Persia) calleth *Thulcha* in stead of *Tellur*, who describeth the exceeding strength thereof in his 2. Booke: it is seated in an Island of Euphrates vpon a reepe and vnassailable Rocke, who much as the Emperour *Julian* durst not attempt it; and therefore it was a conuenient place for a Garrison against the Assyrians, being also a passage out of Mesopotamia into Babylonia, and in which the Edenites of the Countrey adioyning were seated, and the same. This place *Strabo* calleth *Terridata*; hauing *Reseph* (which he calleth *Reseph*) on the left hand, & Canneh (which he calleth *Thelbe-canne*) on the right hand, not farre from whence is also found the City of *Maan* canne vpon Tigris, and all these seated together, as *Esay* and *Ezechiel* haue sorted them. But the vnderstanding of these places is the more difficult, because Assyria (which the Chaldeans call *Aturia*) and Mesopotamia, were so often confounded: the one taken for the other by interchange of Dominion. Assyria & Mesopotamia in Babylonian home transients (saith *Niderus*) Assyria and Mesopotamia took the name of Babylonia. Lastly, it appeareth by those adiacent Regions by the Prophets named, in what part of the World Eden is seated,

1537. 12.

2 Kings. 19. 37.

20. 12.

Esay. 39. 1.

Esay. 37. 38.

Esay. 39.

Isa. 20. 4.

Cesari. Asia.

feared, as by *Charan* or *Heran* in Mesopotamia: also by *Cannuch* and *Reseph*, according to the opinion of *Vasabius*, who in these words translateth this place: *Plantauerat autem Iehouah Deus hortum in Eden, ab Oriente, The Lord God planted a Garden in Eden, Eastward*: that is (saith hee in his Annotations) *Iusserat nasci arbores in Eden, Regione Orientali, in finibus Arabiae & Mesopotamia, He commanded Trees to grow in Eden, an Eastern Region in the borders of Arabia and Mesopotamia.*

## S. X.

Of diuers other testimonies of the Land of Eden, and that this is the Eden of Paradise.

And for a more particular pointing out of this Eden, it seemes by the two Epistles of the Nestorian Christians, that inhabit Mesopotamia; which Epistles in the year 1552. they sent to the Pope about the confirming of their Patriarch, & *Andreas Masius* hath published them, translated out of Syriac into Latine. By these Epistles (I say) it seemes wee may haue some farther light for the prooue of that, which we haue said about the Region of Eden in those parts. For in them both there is mention of the Island of Eden in the River Tigris, or at least, Tigris in both these Epistles is called the River of Eden. This Island, as *Masius*, in his Preface to these Epistles saith, is commonly called *Gozaria* (as it were, the Island, by an eminency.) It hath (saith hee) ten miles in circuit, and was sometimes walled round about, which name of the Island Eden may (doubtlesse) remaine to this day; though in the rest of the Region so called, this name be swallowed vp, with the name of those flourishing Kingdomes of Mesopotamia, Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldaea. This Island of Eden hath vpon the River, and not farre beyond it, the City of *Hafan-Cepha*, otherwise *Fertis Petra*: below it, it hath *Mosaf* or *Mosel*, from which (as in that which followeth it shall appeare out of *Masius*) it is not about twelue miles distant. Neither is it to trouble vs, that *Mosaf* or *Mosel*, by *Marius Niger* is remembered among the Cities higher vp Tigris, in these words. *Iuxta autem Tigrim, Cinitates sunt Durbeta prope Taurum montem, qua nunc Mosel dicuntur, magna sunt, &c.* (that is) *By Tigris are these Cities, Durbeta neere vnto mount Taurus (which is now called Mosel) which is a great one, &c.* This opinion of *Niger*, displacing *Mosel*, and making it to be *Durbeta* (I say) needs not here to trouble vs: seeing for this matter, the testimony of *Masius*, informed by the Christians that dwell there (the Seat of whose Patriarch it is) ought to be of credit, auowing that this *Mosaf* (or *Mozal*) is in the Confinnes of Mesopotamia & Assyria, seated vpon Tigris, & in the neighbour-hood of Nineue; and that it is the famous *Selencia Parthorum*. The Nestorian Christians in their former Epistle, call it *Attur* in these words: *Ex omnibus Cinitatibus & pagis quae sunt circum Cinitatem Mosel (hoc est) Attur in vicinia Nineue; Of all the Cities and Townes which are about the Citie of Mosel (that is) Attur in the neighbour-hood of Nineue.* As also *Niger* acknowledgeth *Ctesiphon*, a City thereabout to be called *Assur*, (which is the same as *Attur*, after the Dialect of those Nations, which change *S* into *T*.) Neither is it much that he should mistake *Ctesiphon*, (which is not far off *Selencia* for *Selencia*, to be *Assur*. By this then we may come somewhat neere the end of our purpose. For the Ile of Eden, which lieth in the brest of Tigris, is but twelue miles from *Mosaf*, and that ancient City, which *Ptolomy* and *Tacitus* call *Ninus*, and the Scriptures *Nineue*; *Philestratus*, and *Simcon Sethi*, *Mosula*, and *Iohn Lean*, *Mosaf*, others *Mosse*, (though it bee not the same with *Mosaf*) is set but a little higher vpon the same River of Tigris, neere *Mosaf*: so that we are like to find this Ile of Eden heereabout. For the same, *Andreas Masius*, which placeth it about *Mosaf*, makes it to be below *Hafan-Cepha*, which is vpon the same River of Tigris.

The onely difficulty is this, that some perhaps may thinke, that the words of the Nestorians in both their Epistles, speake not of any Ile in Tigris, called the Ile of Eden, but of an Ile in Tigris, a River of Eden. But this sense of their words in my opinion seemeth the more vnprobable. And yet if this were the meaning here, we haue a testimony from the Learned of those parts, that not onely Euphrates, but also Tigris was a River of Eden, and that the name of Eden in those parts is not yet quite worne out, though the Region hath bin subiect to the same change, that all other Kingdomes of the world haue bene, and hath by conquest, and corruption of other Languages, receiued new and differing names. For the South part of Eden, which stretcheth ouer Euphrates, was

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after the flood called *Sbinar*, and then of the Tower of *Babel*, *Babylonia*, and the North part of *Eden* is that Tract of *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, and *Armenia*, which embraceth both the banks of *Tigris* betweene Mount *Taurus*, and *Selencia*. And of this Region of *Eden* that ancient *Ethicus* maketh mention, (not that latter *Ethicus*, Disciple of *Gallinius*, otherwise by *Plutarch* and *Athenus* called *Istiri*, who liued in Egypt in the Reigne of *Philadelphus*, but another of a farre higher and remote time) the same being made Latine out of the Greeke by Saint *Hierome*. And though by corruption of the ancient Copie it be written in *Ethicus*, *Adonis* for *Edenis*, yet *Adonis* being a River of *Phoenicia*, cannot be vnderstood to be the Region named by *Ethicus*. For *Ethicus* makes it a Countrey, and not a Riuer, and ioyneth it with *Mesopotamia* and *Asiopia*, calling the Land of *Chus Aethiopia*, after the Vulgar, and Septuagint, And lastly, the Riuer which watereth the Regions, (saith *Ethicus*) falleth into the Gulfe of *Persia*: which Riuer he called *Armodius*, for *Tigris*; *Tigris* being but a name imposed for the swiftnes thereof. And out of *Armenia* both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* haue their originall: for out of *Eden* came a Riuer, or Riuer, to water the Garden; both which Riuer (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, come out of *Armenia*, and both of them traueise *Mesopotamia*, Regions first all knowne by the name of *Eden* for their beautie and fertility. And it is very probable, that *Eden* contained also some part of *Armenia*; and the excellent fertility thereof in diuers places, is not vnworthy the name of *Eden*. For in some part thereof (saith *Strabo*) the leaues are alway green, & therefore therein a perpetual Spring. Also *STEPHANVS de urbibus*, mentioneth the Citie of *Adana* vpon *Euphrates*; and the name of *Eden* was in vse in *Amos* time, though he speake not of *Eden* in the East, but of *Eden* in *Calestria*. But to the end I may not burden the Readers patience with too long a Discourse, it may suffice to know, that *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (once ioyned together, and afterward separate) are two of those foure heads, into which these Riuer which are said to water the Garden of Paradise, were diuided: whose courses being knowne, *Eden*, (out of which they are said to come) cannot be vnknowne. Now that *Hiddekel* and *Perath* were *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, it is agreed by all: for the Scenic and all others conuert *Perath* by *Euphrates*: & *Hiddekel* *Tigris* omnes exponunt: & all men vnderstand *Hiddekel* by *Tigris* (saith *Vasabius*.) And because that which I haue said of the Ile of *Eden*, shall not be subiect to the censure of selfe-inuention, I haue heere-vnder set downe the words out of the two generall Epistles of the Nestorians, as *MASIVS* (ad verbum) hath conuerted them into Latine. The occasion of those Letters and Supplications to the Pope, were, that the Nestorian Christians, which inhabit *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Persia*, *Babylonia*, & haue to this day (at least in Queen *Maries* time they had) fifteene Churches in one Citie called *Selencia Parthorum*, or *Mosel* vpon the Riuer of *Tigris*; hating no sufficient authority to choose themselves a Patriarch (which cannot bee done without foure or three Metropolitane Bishop at least) sent to the Bishop of *Rome*, in the year of Christ 1552. (as afore-said) a Petition to obtaine allowance vnto such an Election as themselves had made: hauing three hundred yeare before that vpon the like defect, sent one *Marius* thither to be confirmed; and in this negotiation they made knowne to the Bishop of *Rome* the state of the Christian Church in those parts: for vpon the death of their Patriarch (vho of a couctous desire to enrich himselfe had forborne to institute Metropolitane Bishops, vhen the places fell void) they all assembled themselves together to consult of the Church-gouernment. And because all the Patriarchs for an hundred yeares had bene of one House and Family to the preiudice of the Church; and that there yet remained one Bishop of the same Stocke and Kindred, vho aspired to the same dignitie vvhich his Predecessors had held, the rest of the Professors refused to allow him. Vpon vvhich occasion, and for the choice of a Gouvernour more sufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches assembled themselves. The vvords of the generall Epistle to the Pope are these about the middle of the said Epistle: *Verum nos non acceptamus neq. proclamamus ipsam, sed subiti conuenimus ex omnibus locis Orientalibus, & ex omnibus Cinitatibus & pagis quae sunt circum Cinitatem Mosel (hoc est) Attur in vicinia Nineue, ex Babylonia, ex Charra, ex Arbella, ex Insula quae est in medio Tigri, fluminis Eden, ex Tauris Persiae, ex Nisibi, &c.* which is: But we did neither accept of this man, neither pronounced him: but suddenly we assembled our selues out of all parts of the East, and out of all the Cities and Villages which are about *Mosel* (or *Attur*) neighbouring *Nineue*, & out of *Babylon*, *Carra*, *Arbella*, and out of the Island which lieth in the middle of *Tigris*,

gri,

gris, a River of Eden, or rather, out of the Ile of Eden, which lyeth in the River Tigris. And in a second Epistle at the same time sent, they vse these vvords: *Nosq; supersunt apud nos Metropolitae, quorum est ordinare Catholicos, sed soli pauci Episcopi, Episcopus Arbela, Episcopus Salmasi, Episcopus Adurbeigan; et vestigio conuenimus in Insulam, quae est, intra Tigris flumen, Eden, secundumq; compendium inter nos, &c.* (vvhich is) Neither are there remaining among vs any Metropolitan Bishops, to whom it belongs to ordaine a Patriarch, but onely a few Bishops, as the Bishop of Arbela, the Bishop of Salmasius, and the Bishop of Adurbeigan: but so, we assembled speedily in the Island Eden, which is in Tigris, and agreed betwene our selues, &c.

Now this Island of Eden Masius describeth with other places; which being well conceived, the Nestorian Epistles, and the state of the Church may be in those parts (saith he) the better vnderstood. And after he hath distinguished the foure sorts of Christians in those parts of the World, and in the South part of Africa, which hee calleth Nestorians, Iacobites, Maronites, and Cophites, he goeth on in these vvords: *Max audita illius uorte, concurrisse aiebant ammentario in illam quam modo dixi Tigris Insulam, quae duodecim circiter passuum milibus supra Adolai posita, decem fere millia passuum suo ambitu continet, muris undiq; cincta, & pauci alijs quam Christianis hominibus habitata:* which is, *Now hearing of the death of the Patriarch,* (as those that came to Rome reported) *they ran tumultuously together into that Island of Tigris or Eden before spoken of, which Island is situated about twelue miles above Mosel, containing very neere ten miles in compass, and euery where incircled with a wall, inhabited by a few other men than Christians.* And afterward he maketh a recapitulation of the Christian Churches; among the rest hee addeth the Ile of Eden by the name of *Geserta, Insula Tigris: sive Geserta.* Furthermore, describing the Citie of *Hofan-copia*, or *Fortis Petra*, he placeth it *supra praedictam Tigris Insulam rapti aspera impossitam: Above the aforesaid Island of Tigris, being seated on a steepe Roche.* Of this Island of *Geserta*, Andrew Thevet maketh mention in his tenth Booke of his generall Cosmographie in these vvords: *Geserta ou Gesire est au milieu de la Riuiera du Tigre, & pense que cest une terrade plus fertile de toute l'Asie, Geserta ou Gesire est in the middle of Tigris, the Soyle the most fertile of all Asia.*

By this we see that the ancient name of Eden liueth, and of that Eden which lieth Eastward from Arabia Petrea, and the Desert where Moses wrote, and that Eden which bordereth Charran according to Ezechiel, and that Eden which is seated according to the assertion of the said Prophet, and ioyned with those Nations of *Reseph, Canneh, and Charran*, and the rest which traded with the *Tyrians*, and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of *Affryia* and *Babylonia*, where the *Edenites* in *Thelassar* were garisoned to resist the *Affryians*, whose displantation *Senscherib* vaunted of (as aboue written;) and lastly, the same Eden, which embraceth *Tigris*, and looketh on *Euphrates*, two of the knowne Riuers of those foure, which are by all men ascribed to Paradise.

## §. XI.

Of the difficultie in the Text, which seemeth to make the foure Riuers to rise from one streame.

**B**UT may be objected, that it is written in the Text, *That a Riuier went out of Eden*, and not Riuers, in the plurall; which scruple *Matthew Beroaldus* hath thus answered in his Chronologie: The Latine Translation, saith hee, hath these vvords: *Et fluius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradisum, qui inde diuidebatur in quatuor capita: Quae uerba melius consentient cum rei narratione, & eiusdem explicatione, si ita reddantur. Et fluius erat egrediens ex Edene, (hoc est) fluius procedebat ex Edene regione ad irrigandum paradysum; & inde diuidebatur, Et erat in quatuor capita: which is, And a Riuier went out of the place of pleasure to water Paradise, and thence was diuided into foure heads: Which vvords (saith *Beroaldus*) doe better agree with the narration and explication of the place, if they be thus translated: And a Riuier was going forth of Eden (this is) Riuers went forth, and ran out of the Region of Eden to water the Orchard; and from thence it was diuided, and they became foure heads. The *Tigurine* differs from the Vulgar or Latine; for it conuerts it thus: *Et fluius egrediebatur de delicijs; And a Riuier went out of pleasure*, in stead of *Eden*; and the Latine addeth the word *locus*, or place, *Et fluius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis; And a Riuier went out of the place**

of pleasure: and so the word (place) may rightly be referred to Eden, which was (of all other) a Region most delightfull and fertile; and so also the word (*inde*) and thence was diuided, hath reference to the Countrey of Eden, and not to the Garden it selfe.

And for the word (*Riuier*) for Riuers, it is vsuall among the Hebrewes: for it is written: *Let the Earth forth the bud of the Herbe that seedeth Seede, the fruitfull Tree, &c.* Here the Hebrew vseth the Singular for the Plurall, *Herbe and Tree, for Herbs and Trees*; and againe, *We eate of the fruit of the Tree, in stead of (Trees:)* And thirdly, *The man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of God; In medio ligni Paradisi; In the middle of the Tree of the Garden, for (Trees:)* And of this opinion is *David Kimchi*, and *Vatablus*, who vpon this place of *Genesis* say, that the Hebrewes doe often put the Singular for the Plurall, as *illud*, for *unumquodq; illorum*, and hee giueth an instance in this question it selfe, as, *A Riuier* (for Riuers) went out of Eden.

And this answer out of diuers of the Learned, may, not without good reason, bee giuen to the obiection, That *Moses* speaketh but of one Riuier, from which the heads should diuide themselves. Howbeit I deny not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reason, wee may expound the foure heads, to bee foure notable passages into famous Countreies. And so we may take the word (*Riuier*) Verse the tenth for one Riuier (to wit) *Euphrates*, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this Riuier, (after he is past the place, where we suppose Paradise to haue bin, diuides it selfe, and ere long yeeldeth foure notable passages into seuerall Countreies, though not all the way downe streame, (for this is no where in the Text) where it is noted, that following the Riuier downward, there is conueyance into the Countreies named in the Text, though part of the way; one of the Countreies (to wit, to *Affryia*) were vp *Tigris*.

To this end the Text speaking of *Hiddekel*, as it riseth from the Riuier of Eden, doth not say it compasseth or walketh the whole Region of *Affryia*, (as it had vsed this phrase of *Pison* and *Gehon*) but that it runneth toward *Affryia*. The first branch *Pison*, is *Nahar-malcha*, (by interpretation) *Basilus*, or *flumen regium*, which runneth into *Tigris* vnder *Apamia*; whence ariseth the name of *Pasi-tigris*, (as it were) *Pisa-tigris*. This leadeth to the Land of *Hauila* or *Susiana*. The second branch *Gehon*, is that which *30* in Historians is *Nahar-jares* or *Narragars* for *Nabar-ragas*: both which names signifie *flumen derivatum* (a Riuier deriued,) also *Acracanus*, quasi *Rangus*, by reason of the froggie Fennes which it maketh: this *Gehon* leadeth to the first seate of *Chus*; about the borders of *Chaldaea* and *Arabia*, and it is lost at length in the Lakes of *Chaldaea*. The third branch *Hiddekel*, may be expounded the vpper streame of *Pison*, or *Basilus*, which runneth into *Hiddekel*, properly so called (that is, into *Tigris*) aboue *Seleucia*, where it sheweth a passage vp *Tigris* into *Affryia*: where, because at length it is called *Hiddekel* or *Tigris*, hauing before no knowne proper name, the Text in this place calleth it *Hiddekel* from the beginning. The fourth *Perath*, or *Euphrates*, so called *per excellentiam*, being the body of the Riuier *Euphrates*, which runneth through *Babylon* and *40* *Oris*. But, bee it a Riuier or Riuers, that come out of Eden, seeing that *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are noted in the Text, there can bee no doubt, but that Paradise was not farre from these Riuers: for that *Perath* in *Moses* is *Euphrates*, there can be no question; and (indeede) as plaine it is that *Hiddekel* is *Tigris*. For *Hiddekel* goeth (saith *Moses*) Eastward towards *Affur* as we find, that *Tigris* is the Riuier of *Affryia* proprie dicta, whose chiefe City was *Nineue*, as in *Genesis* the tenth it is written: That out of that Land (to wit) *Babylonia*, *Nimrod* went into *Affur*, and builded *Nineue*, which was the chiefe City of *Affryia*.

And as for the kind of speech here vsed in the Text, speaking of foure heads; though the heads of Riuers be (properly) their Fountaines, yet here are they to be vnderstood, to be spoken of the beginning of their diuision from the first streame. *Caput aqua* (saith *VELTIANVS*) illud est, unde aqua nascitur, sive fonte nascatur, sive ex flumine, vel ex lacu, prima initia, &c. If the beginning of the water bee out of a Fountaine, then is the Fountaine taken for the head: if out of a Lake, then the Lake; and if from a maine Riuier any branch be separate and diuided, then where that branch doth first bound it selfe with new banks, there is that part of the Riuier, where the branch forsaileth the maine streame, called the head of the Riuier.



## S. XII.

Of the strange fertilitie and happinesse of the Babylonian Soile, as it is certaine  
that Eden was such.

Herod. lib. 2.

**E**T may also bee demanded, whether this Region of Eden, by vs described, bee of such fertilitie and beautie, as Eden the seat of Paradise was: which if it be denied, then must we also consider, that there was no part of the Earth, that retained that fertilitie and pleasure, that it had before the curse: neither can we ascribe the same fruitfulness to any part of the Earth, nor the same vertue to any plant thereon growing, that they had before the flood; and therefore this Region of Eden may be now no such flourishing Countrey, as it was when it was first created in his perfection. Yet this I finde written of it: First, in *Herodotus*, who was an eye-witnesse, and speaketh of the very place it selfe; for the Ile of Eden is but twelue miles or thereabout from Nineue, and so from Mosal. *Ex Euphrate exiens in Tigrim, alterum flumen, iuxta quod Vrbis Ninus sita erat. Hac regio, omnium quas nos vidimus, optima est, &c. where Euphrates runneth out into Tigris, not farre from the place where Ninus is seated. This Region, of all that we haue seene, is most excellent; and hce addeth afterward: Cerevis autem fructu procreando adeo ferax est, ut nunquam non sero ducenta reddat, &c. (that is) It is so fruitfull in bringing forth Corne, that it yeeldeth two hundred fold: The leaves of Wheat and Barley being almost foure fingers broad. As for the height of Atillet and Sesame, they are euen in length like unto Trees, which although I know to be true, yet I forbear to speake hereof, well knowing, that those things which are reported of this fruitfulness, will seeme very incredible to those, which neuer were in the Countrey of Babylon. They haue commonly in all the Countrey Palme Trees growing of their owne accord, the most of them bearing fruit, out of which they make both Meates, and Wine, and Honey, ordering them as the Figge Trees. Thus saith Herodotus.*

To this Palme-tree so much admired in the East India, *Strabo* and *Niger* adde a fourth excellency, which is, that it yeeldeth bread; *Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & acetum conficiunt. Of which these people make Bread, wine, Honey, and Vineger.* But *Antonius* the Eremita findeth a fift commodity, not inferior to any of those foure, which is, that from this selfe-same Tree there is drawne a kinde of fine Flake, of which people make their garments; and with which in East India they prepare the cordage for their ships. And that this is true, *Abrahamus* in the life of *Antonius* the Eremita, confesseth, saying: *Quia hce recensuit a Germanis made thereof from the Eremita himselfe, which he brought with him out of alia Region.* So therefore those Trees, which the East Indies so highly esteeme and so much admire (as in deede the Earth yeeldeth no Plant comparable to this) those Trees (I say) are in this vpper Babylon, or Region of Eden, as common as any Trees of the Field. *Sunt etiam (saith STRABO) passim per omnem Regionem Palmae sua sponte nascentes; There are of Palmes ouer all the whole Region, growing of their owne accord.* Of this place *Quintus Curtius* maketh this report: *Emilius a partibus Arabiae odorum fertilitate nobilibus regis campis interit inter Tigrim & Euphratem, iacens tam ubere & pingui solo, ut a passu repellit pecora dicantur, no satietas perimit;* (that is) As you trauaile on the selfe hand of Arabia (famous for plenty of sweete Odours) there lyeth a Champaine Countrey placed betwene Tigris and Euphrates, and so fruitfull and fat a soile, that they are said to driue their Castell from pasture, lest they should perishe by society. But in anno fegetes babylonij fecant; The Babylonians cut their Corne with a sickle (saith *Niger*.) And as Countreys generally are more fruitfull to the Southward, than in the Northerne parts: so we may iudge the excellency of this lye that report which *Strabo* maketh of the South part of America, which is the North border of *Inden*, or part thereof. His words be these in the Latine: *Tota enim hac regio fragilibus & arboribus abundat manufactis, itemq. semper virentibus; This Region aboundeth with pleasant fruits, and Trees alwayes greene: which witnesseth a perpetual Spring, not found elsewhere but in the Indies only, by reason of the Sunnes neighbourhood, the life & stinner vp of Nature in a perpetual activity. In briefe, so great is the fertility of the ground, that the people are constrained twice to mow downe their Corne fields, and a third time to cut them vp with Sheepe: which husbandry the Spaniards wanting in the Valley of Mexico, in the first forty yeares, could not make our kind of Wheat beare seed, but it grew vp as high as the Trees, and was fruitlesse. Besides, those fields are altogether without weeds* (saith

(saith *Pliny*) who addeth this singularity to that soyle, That the second yeare the verie stubble (or rather falling downe of the seedes againe) yeeldeth them a harvest of corne without any further labour: his words are these, *Perstatim tanta sunt, ut sequenti anno sponte restitubis fiat seges.*

## S. XIII.

Of the River Pison, and the land of Hauilah.

**A**FTER the discouerie of Eden, and the testimonies of the fertilitie thereof, it resteth to proue that *Pison* and *Gehon* are branches of *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. For, that the knowledge and certaintie of these two Riuer should trouble so many wise men, it is strange to me, seeing necessitie it selfe (*Tigris* and *Euphrates* being knowne) findeth them out: for *Euphrates*, or *Tigris*, or both, be that Riuer or Riuer of Eden, which water Paradise; which riuer or riuer *Moses* witnesseth afterward diuided into foure heads, whereof the one is called *Pison*, the other *Gehon* &c. Could there be a stranger fancie in the world, than when we find both these (namely) *Tigris* and *Euphrates* in *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia*; to seeke the other two in *India* and *Egypt*, making the one *Ganges*, and the other *Nilus*? Two riuer as farre distant as any of fame knowne or discouered in the world: the Scriptures making it so plain, that these riuer were diuided into foure branches, and with the Scriptures, Nature, Reason, and Experience bearing witnesse. There is no error, which hath not some slipperie and bad foundation, or some appearance of probability, resembling truth, which when men (who studie to bee singular) finde out, (straining reason according to their fancies) they then publish to the world matter of contention & angling; not doubting but in the variable deformitie of mens minds, to find some partakers or iectators, the better by their helpe to nurse and cherishe such weake babes, as their owne intentions haue begotten.

But this mistaking (and first for the Riuer of *Pison*) seemeth to haue growne out of the not-distinguishing of that Region in *India*, called *Hauilah*, from *Hauilah* which adioyneth to *Babylonia*, afterward knowne by the name of *Susiana*. For *Hauilah* vpon *Tigris* tooke name from *Hauilah* the sonne of *Cash*; and *Hauilah* in *India*, from *Hauilah* the sonne of *Iocan*; the one remembered by *Moses* in the description of Paradise, the other where *Moses* setteth downe the generations of *Nah*, and his sonnes after the Flood. For the sonnes of *Cash* were *Seba*, *Hauilah*, *Sabtah*, and *Raamah*, and the sonnes of *Iocan* were *Ophir*, and *Hauilah* &c. of which latter (to wit) of *Ophir* and *Hauilah* the sonnes of *Iocan*, that *Iland* of *Ophir*, (whence *Salomon* had gold) and *Hauilah* adioyning, had their names. Now because *Ganges* is a great and a famous riuer of the East India, and *Hauilah* a Countrey of the same, and is situated vpon *Ganges*, hence it came that *Ganges* was taken for *Pison*, which riuer is said by *Moses* to water the land of *Hauilah*. Or perhaps it was supposed that those foure riuer named by *Moses*, must of necessitie be foure of the greatest in the world; whence (supposing that *Ganges* was the next great and famous riuer after *Tigris* and *Euphrates*) they chose out this riuer to make one of the foure. And yet certainly there is another riuer, whom in these respects they should rather haue chosen than *Ganges*: for the riuer *Indus* on this side *India*, for beauty, for neerenesse, & for ability, giueth no way place to *Ganges*, but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reasonable man conceiue, that *Ganges* can be one of the foure heads, seeing *Indus* commeth betwene it and *Tigris*? and betwene *Tigris* and *Indus* is all that large Empire of *Persia*, consisting of many Kingdomes. And againe, farther towards the East, and beyond *Indus*, are all those ample Dominions of *Inda* in the *Ganges*, which lie betwene those two proud Riuer of *Indus* and *Ganges*, now called the Kingdome of *Mogor*. So as if *Indus* be not accounted for any of the foure, because it is removed from *Tigris* by all the breadth of *Persia*, then how much lesse *Ganges*; which falleth into the Ocean, little lesse than fortie degrees to the Eastward of *Indus*? Surely, who soeuer readeth the *Storie of Alexander*, shall finde, that there is no Riuer in *Asia*, that can exceede *Indus*. For *Hydaspi* was of that breadth and depth, as *Alexander* thereon in great Gallies transported himselfe, and the greatest part of his armie; and in saying downe that branch of *Indus*, found it so large and deepe, and by reason thereof so great a billow, as it endangered his whole Fleet; which was ready to bee swallowed vp therein: *Hydaspi* (as aforesaid) being but one of many branches of *Indus*, comparable to it, and as great



great as it, having besides this, the Rivers of *Coas*, of *Suafus*, *Acufines*, *Adris* (otherwife *Throtis*, *Hipalis*, and *Zaradus*, all which make but one *Indus*, & by it are swallowed vp with all their Children and companions, which being all incorporated and made one stream; it crosseth athwart *Asia*, and then at *Cambai* visiteth the Ocean Sea.

Gen. 2. 15.

But because *Pifon*, which compasseth *Hauilah*, as also *Gehon*, which watereth *Cush*, must some-where be ioyned with the rest in one bodie; or at least be found to proceede out of the same Countrie of *Eden*, out of which the other two heads doe proceede; out of doubt they cannot eyther the one or the other, be *Ganges*, or *Nilus*: for *Nilus* riseth in the vttermoſt of the South, and runneth Northward, into the *Mediterran Sea*; and the River *Ganges* riseth out of the Mountaine *Taurus*, or (as others will haue it) *Caucasus*, which diuides the Northerne *Seythia* from *India*, and runneth from North to South into the *Indian Ocean*. And as for *Perath* and *Hiddekel* (that is, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*) the one of them is begotten in *Armenia*, neere *Georgiana* or *Iberia*, the others not farre off in the same *Armenia*, by the *Georgian* Mountaines; so as *Ganges*, who onely traualleth in her owne *India*, and *Nilus* through *Ethiopia* and *Egypt*, neuer saw the land of *Eden*, or ioyned themselves in one channell, either with themselves, or with either of the other; and therefore could not at any time from thence be separated, or diuided into foure heads or branches, according to *Moses*.

Gen. 2. 11.

Therefore the River *Pifon*, which enricheth *Hauilah*, is the same which by ioyning it selfe with *Tigris*, was therefore called *Pis-tigris*, or *Piso-tigris*, of *Pison* and *Tigris*, which River watereth that *Hauilah*, which *Hauilah* the Sonne of *Cush* gaue name vnto, and not *Hauilah* of *India*, so called of *Hauilah* the Sonne of *Iofan*, who inhabited with his brother *Ophir* in the East. And this *Hauilah* of the *Cushites* had also Gold, *Idellium*, and the Onyx stone. This *Idellium* is a Tree, of the bignesse of an Olive, whereof *Arabia* hath great plenty, which yeeldeth a certaine Gum sweet to singe to, but bitter in taste, called also *Idellium*. The Hebrewes take the Load-stone for *Idellium*. *Beza* addeth, that *Bela* in Hebrew signifieth Pearle: so doth *Engubius*; and *Hierome* calls it *Oleaster*: be it what it will, a tree bearing Gum or Pearle: *Hauilah* or *Susiana* hath plenty of both. Now this Countrie of *Susiana* or *Hauilah* stretcheth it selfe toward the North as farre as the Altars of *Hercules*, and from thence embraceth all the Tract of Land Southward, as farre as the *Persian Gulfe*, on the East side thereof: from which East side had the *Shebans* (which traded with the Citie of *Tyre* according to *Ezekiel*) their great plenty of gold; which *Strabo* also witnesseth, as was shewed before.

Strabo. Hist. lib. 16.

The Greekes had a conceit, that *Pifon* was *Danubius*: the *Rabbins* take it for *Nilus*. *Aben-Ezra* (saith *Hopkins* out of *Rabbi Saadia*, translateth *Pifon* into *Nilus*: But *Nilus* findeth the same impossibility, that *Ganges* doth: and *Danubius* hath the Sea of *Helleſpont* and all *Asia* the lesse, betwene it and *Tigris*. Now *Pifon*, which runneth through *Hauilah* or *Susiana*, doth to this day retaine some signe of this name; for where it and *Tigris* embraceth each other vnder the Citie of *Apamia*, there doe they agree of a ioyned and compounded name, and are called *Piso-tigris*. And it is strange vnto me, that from so great antiquitie there should be found remaining any resembling sound of the first name: for *Babylon* it selfe, which dwelleth so neere these Rivers, is by some writers knowing by the name of *Baudas*, as by *Potholus*, by *Cassiodorus*, of *Balduch*: by *Varro*, of *Bagdad*; and of *Baugbedor*, by *Andrew Thence*; and yet all those that haue lately seene it, call it *Bagdas*. To this River of *Pifon*, *Strabo* indecde with many others giue the name of *Basilus* or *Regius*; and *Gehon* they terme *Mahar-fares* and *Marfus*, and *Mahar-fares*. So is *Euphrates*, neere the Spring and Fountaine, by *Strabo* and *Plinia* called *Pisicrates*: by *Iunius*, *Eucherperath*, out of the Hebrew (that is) *Perath*. The profusion, or coming forth of *Euphrates*: where it breaketh through the Mountaine *Taurus* it takes the name of *Omyre*. *Plutarch* calls it *Medus* and *Zaradus*; the Hebrewes *Perath*, (saith *Ar. Montanus*): *Pagninus*, *Perath*: *Iosephus*, *Phorah*; *Hufchus*, *Zozinus*; *Amnianus*, *Chalymentis*; *Gi. Stilanus*, and *Columinus* terme it, *Cabar*: which *Ezekiel* calleth *Chebar*; but this is but a branch of *Euphrates*. The *Affrians* know it by the name of *Armalchar*, or *Naher Malcha*: but now commonly it is called *Frath*.

Poth. Cosmog. 2. l. 1. c. 11.

Asia lib. 16.

1. l. 1. c. 11.

The same confusion of names hath *Tigris*, as *Diglico*, and *Diglatia*, *Selax*, and *Solax*: of the Hebrewes it was called *Hiddekel*: now of the inhabitants *Tegil*.

But *Mercer* vpon *Genesis* conceiveth rightly of these Rivers: for *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (saith he) stream into foure branches, two of which keepe their ancient names, and the other

other two are called *Pifon* and *Gehon*. The reason, why these two rivers ioyned in one (below *Apamia*) lose their names, and are called *Pis-tigris*, and the memorie of *Euphrates* extinguished, is, because the best part of *Euphrates* running through the channell of *Gehon*, sinketh into the Lakes of *Chaldæa* not farre from *Vr*, the Citie of *Abraham*, and fall not intirely into the *Persian Sea*, as *Tigris* accompanied with *Pifon*, doth.

This error that *Pifon* was *Ganges*, was first broched by *Iosephus*, (whose fields, though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weeds, and other men (who take his authoritie to be sufficient in matter of description, whereupon depended no other important consequence) were not curious in the examination thereof. For *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, and *Hierome*, take this for current; whereof it followed, that as *Pifon* was transported into the East India, to find out *Hauilah*: so was *Gehon* drawne into Africa, to compass *Ethiopia*. But if *Hauilah*, whereof *Moses* speaketh in the description of *Paradise*, be found to be a Region, adioyning to *Babylon* on the one side, and *Cush* (which is falsly interpreted *Ethiopia*) fastened to it on the other side, we shall not need then to worke wonders (that is) to impose vpon men the transportation of rivers, from one end of the world to the other, which (among other vses) were made to transport men. Now it was in the Valley of *Shinar*, where *Cush* the sonne of *Ham* first fate downe with his sonnes *Shebani*, *Hauilah*, *Sabrah*, *Ramath*, *Nimrod*, &c. and of *Hauilah*, the sonne of *Cush*, did that Region take name, which *Pifon* compasseth; and the land (called *Cush*) which *Gehon* watereth, tooke name of *Cush* himselfe. For as the sonnes of *Iofan*, *Ophir* and *Hauilah*, seated themselves as neere together as they could in *India*, so did the sons of *Cush* in *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, where *Nimrod* built *Babel*: for *Hauilah* or *Chauilah* was first *Chusea* of *Cush*; then *Chusa*, *Susa*, and *Susiana*.

From this *Hauilah* vnto the Defarts of *Sur*, did the *Israelites* and *Amalekites* possesse all the interiacent Countries: for *Saul* (saith the *Amalekites* from *Hauilah* to *Sur*: which *Sur*, the *Chaldæan* Paraphrast conuerteth *Hagra*, and *Hagra* bordereth the red Sea. But this was not meant from *Sur* vpon the Red Sea, to *Hauilah* in the East India; for *Saul* was no such traualler or Conquerour, and therefore *Hauilah* must be found neerer home, where the sonnes of *Ismael* inhabited, and which countrie *Saul* waſted; for *Amalec* and the *Amalekites* posselt that necke of Countrie, betwene the *Persian Sea*, and the Red Sea; *Hauilah* being the extreme of the one towards the East, and *Sur* of the other, towards *Egypt* and the West, leauing that great body of *Arabia felix* towards the South, and they spread themselves with the *Midianites* and *Edumæans*, from the East part, or backside of the Holie Land, to the banks of *Euphrates*, comprising the best part of *Arabia Petrea* and *Deserta*.

## S. XIII.

Of the River *Gehon* and the Land of *Cush*, and of the ill translating of the *Ethiopia* for *Cush*. CHAP. 2. 1. 16.

Now, as *Hauilah* in the East India drew *Pifon* so farre out of his way thither, so I say did *Cush* (being by the Seuentie translated *Ethiopia*) force *Gehon* into *Africa*. For *Cush* being taken for *Ethiopia* by the Greekes, whom the Latines followed, *Gehon* consequently was esteemed for *Nilus*. But *Ethiopia* is, as much as blacke or burnt faces, whose proper Countries called *Thebaides*, lyeth to the Southward of all *Egypt*. And although there be many other Regions of *Ethiopia*, and farre South in *Africa*, yet those of *Thebaides* are those so often remembered in the Egyptian stories, and out of which Nation they had many times their Kings of *Egypt*: all which *Ethiopia* is very neere, or else directly vnder the Equinoctial line, which is very far from that land inhabited by the *Chusites*, who are neither black of colour, nor in any fort-neighbouring *Torrida Zona*. But this translation of the Septuagint, *Pererim* doth qualifie in this manner: There are (saith he) two *Ethiopia*s, the East, and the West: and this diuision he findeth in *Strabo*, out of *Homer*. Now because there is no colour to make *Chus* *Ethiopia* in *Africa*, *Pererim* will make *Chus* and the land of the *Chusites* (which is *Arabia Petrea*, and a part of *Arabia* the Happy, with the Region of *Madian*) to be the East *Ethiopia*.

Now if it be granted, that *Chus* and the land of the *Chusites*, be that tract from *Sur* to *Hauilah*, according to the Scriptures: *Habitanis ISRAEL ab Hauilah usque ad Sur, que respicit ad Egyptum* Gen. 15. 18.

*Aegyptum introcuntibus Assyrios, Ismael dwells from Hauilah unto Sur, that is, towards Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria. The same sufficeth to prove that Gehon cannot bee Nilus, but a River which watereth Cush, and not Aethiopia. But this place of Scripture, Habitavit Ismael, &c. hath this sense: Ismael dwelt from Hauilah, which is the way of Assyria, or the Countrey bordering Assyria; and Sur, which lyeth toward Egypt, which is as much to say, as, The issues of Ismael (whereof there were twelve Princes,) whom God had promised to make a great people, inhabited all those Regions between the border of Egypt and Assyria. And that they were (according to the Word of God) so increased and multiplyed, it well appeared, when Zerah the Chusite, which others call Tharabtha, brought an Armie of ten hundred thousand against Asa King of Iuda. Which Armie came not out of Aethiopia beyond Egypt; for that had beene a strange progresse for such a multitude, as ten hundred thousand, having so mightie a King as the King of Egypt, betweene Palestina and Aethiopia. But these were the Chusites, Amalekites, Madianites, Ismaelites, and Arabians. For it is written, that after Asa (strengthened by God) had defeated this world of an Armie, he in following his victorie tooke some of the Cities of King Zerah round about, as Gerar. Now that Gerar is a Citie of the Aethiopians, it cannot be suspected: for these bee the wordes of the Scripture disproofing it: And ABRAHAM departed thence toward the South Countrey, and dwelt betweene Cadeth and Sur, and sojourned in Gerar: Now Sur is that part, vpon which Moses and the Israelites first set their feet: after they passed the Red Sea, where the Amalekites in Rephidim set on them, supposing that they had bene wearie, and vnable to resist. Againe, in the storie of Isaac it is written: wherefore ISAAC went to ABIMELECH, and the Philistines unto Gerar: and I am sure ABIMELECH and the Philistines were no Aethiopians. And lastly, Moses himselfe, where hee describeth the bounds of Canaan, hath these wordes: Then the border of the Canaanites was from Sydon, as thou comest to Gerar: for Sydon was the frontier of Canaan towards the North, and Gerar by Gazah towards the South. But indeed, howsoever Pererius doth with an honest excuse false his translation of Chus for Aethiopia, yet it appeareth plainly, that the Septuagint and Iosephus did altogether misunderstand this place. And first, for Homers East and West Aethiopia, they are both found elsewhere: For Plinie in his fift Booke and eighth Chapter, citeth Homer for an Authour of the two Aethiopia's. But the East Aethiopia is that which compasseth Nilus to the South of Egypt, and is the South border thereof; now a part of the Empire of the Abyssines, vnder Perser Iohn; And the West Aethiopia is that, which ioyneth it selfe with the River Niger, which we call Senega & Gambra: for thereabouts are these Aethiopians called Perorsi, Daratites, with diuers other names, which Plinie numbred. But all these are in Affrica, and beyond the Desarts thereof, saith Plinie out of Homer, Agrippa, and Iuba; which Regions indeede I meane that of Niger, and that of Perser Iohn, and the Troglodytes ) lye due East and West. But as for Cush and the Region of the Ismaelites, &c. they are extended directly North from that Aethiopia, which is beyond Egypt. Now, that Iosephus was exceeding grosse herein, it appeareth by that fiction, which hee hath of Moses when hee besieged Pharaon, in the waies against the Aethiopians: for in that (to make Chus, Aethiopia) hee transporteth Madian by miracle ouer the Red Sea, and beyond all Egypt, and stretcheth Aethiopia, as shall bee shewed more at large in the Chapter of the Worlds Placation: Againe, that Gehon was improperly translated Nilus, Pererius confesseth, and layeth it rather to the corruption of the Greeke Copie, than otherwise. And whereas the Septuagint haue conuerted this place of the Prophet Hieremie: And what hast thou, man, to doe in the way of Egypt, to drinke the water of Nilus? Quid tibi vis in via Egypti, ut bibas aquam Gihon? in this faith Pererius, professeth Hebrew idiom est vix Gehon, sed Sichor, que significat nigram & turbidum. Truly (saith Pererius) the word Gihon in this place, is not found in the Hebrew, but Sichor, which significeth blacke and troubled water.*

Furthermore, this is a manifest and vnsufferable argument, that Chus was ill taken for Aethiopia. Moses married the daughter of Ietbra, Prince and Priest of Madian, whom both the Greeke and Latine call a Madianite, and not Aethiopiass, as (with Iosephus) the Geneva conuers it, though it helpe it a little with a marginall note. Now it is without dispute, that Ziporah was of the Countrey of Madian, which is that part of Arabia

Arabia Petraea, bordering the Red Sea, for it is written in the second of Exodus, that MOSES fled from PHARAO into the Land of Madian, and sat downe by a well, &c. and againe in the third of Exodus, when MOSES kept the sheepe of JETHRO his father in law, Priest of Madian, &c. Indeepe, these foure nations are euery where mixt in the Scriptures, because they dwell confusely together (to wit) the Madianites, the Ismaelites, the Amalekites, and the Chusites, which were all in one generall word, Arabians, and in the Scriptures sometimes called by one of these names, and sometimes by another; as in Gen. 37. v. 25. 27. & 28. that Ioseph was sold to the Ismaelites; and in the same Chapter, v. 36 it is written, that the Madianites sold Ioseph to Putiphar, Pharaoh's Steward. The Geneuans, in a marginall note (to auoid this confounding of the Nations) say, that Moses wrote according to their opinion, who tooke the Madianites and Ismaelites to be all one. But Moses wrote not after any mans opinion; he wrote the truth, and these were all Arabians: & so in this very place it appeareth by their merchandise, which they brought with them; when they bought Ioseph: for their Camels were laden with Spicery, and Balm, and Myrrhe, which are the trades of Arabia felix: from whence chiefly, and from the East India, all the World is serued with Myrrhe and Frankincense; and their spices they receiued from the East side of the Arabian Gulfe, as aforesaid. And in the 39 Chap. it is said: That Putiphar bought Ioseph of the Ismaelites, which the Chaldean paraphrast in the same place calleth Arabians. Now, to make this the more manifest, it is written in the sixth of Iudges, That when Israel had sowne, then came vp the Madianites, and the Amalekites, and they of the East, and came vpon them: they of the East, were Arabians of the Desert; so as where before in the buying of Ioseph, the Madianites and the Ismaelites were confused, here the Madianites & Amalekites are made one nation. For in the prosecution of the Story of Gedeon, the Madianites only are named, as comprehending both Nations, and in the eighth Chapter, v. 24. these Nations are all called Ismaelites, and neither Madianites nor Amalekites. As when Gedeon desired, that euery man would giue him the golden eare-rings, which they had taken after the victory against Zebah and Zalmunna, Kings of Arabia, amounting to 1700. shickles of gold, it is written: For they had golden eare-rings, because they were Ismaelites. And these Ismaelites were a great and valiant Nation, and euer in action of warre. Manus eius contra omnes, & manus omnium contra eum; Ihu band (saith God of ISMAEL) shal be against all men, and euery mans hand against him. Of these Ismaelites came the Mahometan Arabians, though some Writers thinke Mahomet to be of the Schenite. And these Ismaelites, which inhabit chiefly in Cedar, and the Desarts of Sur and Pharan (saith Iosephus) vse poyson vpon their Arrowes, as the Indians doe. Towards the South-east are the Madianites, and Chusites: and beyond them, towards the Desarts of Arabia, the Amalekites; and all are one Nation, and all Arabians.

Lastly, the ill translation of Aethiopia for Chus, is among other places, made most apparant, in the second of Chronicles, in these wordes: So the Lord stirred up against Iehoram, the spirit of the Philistines, and the Arabians, which confine the Aethiopians; so Hierom reads it: the Geneva translation hath it, which were besides the Aethiopians. Now how far it is off betweene the Philistines, & the Negro's or the Aethiopians, euery man that looketh in a Map may iudge. For the Philistines and Arabians doe mixe and ioine with the Land of the Chusites, and are distant from Aethiopia about two and thirtie, or three and thirtie degrees, and therefore not their next neighbours, but all Egypt, and the Desarts of Sur and Pharan, are betweene them. So as this place of the second of Chronicles, should haue beene translated in these wordes: So the Lord stirred up against Iehoram, the spirits of the Philistines, and the Arabians, which confine and border vpon the Chusites, who indeed are their next neighbours. Nulla superest dubitatio quin Aethiopia in Sacris literis sit Arabia propinqua; There remaineth no doubt (saith Steuchius) but Aethiopia in the Scriptures, is taken for that Countrey, which ioyneth to Arabia.

Now, may we thinke, is it probable, or possible, that Moses could be ignorant of Nilus? No, he knew it, no liuing man so well, and therefore would neuer haue named Gehon, for Nilus, or Nilus, for Gehon. Surely, if Moses had meant Nilus, when hee named Gehon, he would haue called the River (into which he was cast vpon Reeds, and preserved by God, working compassion in the Daughter of Pharaon) a River of Egypt, where in he was borne & bred, & wrought so many miracles. Besides, the River of Nilus is often named in the Scriptures, but neuer by the name of Gehon. And if Moses had told the

Phin. 5. c. 1.  
C. 13. v. 3.  
C. 13. v. 18.

Israelites, that Nilus had bene a River of Paradise they might iustly have thought, that he had derided them: for they had liued there all dayes of their liues, and found no such Paradise at all, nor nay memory, or speech thereof; except wee shall beleuee the Paradise of Hesperides, where (saith *Plinie*) there was nothing found in his time, but wilde Oliues in stead of golden Apples. But Nilus is twice called *Sichor*, once in *Ezay*, & once in the Prophet *Ieremie*; and yet in those places it is not said to be a River of Aethiopia, but of Egypt. For in a word, the Israelites had neuer any communion or affaires with the Aethiopians, nor any intelligence, or trade, beyond Egypt, to the South; but the enemies which they had on the South, and East parts, were these Nations of the Chusites, Philistines, Ismaelites, Amalekites and Madianites: who being often gouerned by many little Kings, or *Regals*, were distinguished in names, according to the Fathers and heads of those Nations; but in one generall name were all *Arabians*. On the North side of Canaan, they were afflicted with the Coelefyrians, with the Magogians, Tubalines, and others their adherents; and thirdly within themselves, the Nations, which remained of the ancient Canaanites, held the strongest Cities vpon the Sea-coast (as) Tyre, Sidon, Acon, Gaza, and many others: yea, Ierusalem it selfe was held from Israel (from the dayes of *Moses*, euen vnto the time of *Dauid*) by the Iebusites.

That which now remaineth of most difficultie, is, that it doth not appeare, that any part of Gehon watereth that part of Arabia the stony, which the Chusites inhabited in the times of the Kings of Israel: and in this *Desart* it was that *Matt. Beroaldus* lost himselfe in seeking out Paradise: for he was driuen (to my vnderstanding) to create two Rivers, and call them Gehon, and Pison, to the end that the one might water Chus, and the other Hauilah; for I find none such in *rerum natura*, as he hath described: by which Rivers, he also includeth within Paradise, euen Arabia the Desert.

And as he well proueth that Pison was not Ganges, nor Gehon, Nilus, so where to find them else, where it seemeth he knew not. Certainly this River of Gehon, which he maketh to fall into the Mediterran at Gaza, and whose Springs he findeth farre East in Arabia, is but imaginary: for the Current by Gaza is but a small streame, rising betwene it and the Red Sea, whose head from Gaza it selfe is little more than twentie English miles, as shall appeare hereafter. But questionlesse, hence it comes that many were mistaken. They all considered of the habitations of the Chusites, as they were planted when the state of Israel stood, and when it flourished, being then their neere Neighbours, and neuer looked backe to the first seates and plantation of Chus. For after the Flood, Chus and his Children neuer rested, till they found the Valley of Shinar, in which, and neere which himselfe, with his sonnes, first inhabited. *Hanilab* tooke the River-side of Tigris chiefly on the East, which after his owne name he called *Hanilab*, (now *Susiana*): *Raamah*, and *Sheba* farther downe the River, in the entrance of Arabia felix. *Nimrod* seated himselfe in the best of the Valley, where he built Babel, whereof that Region had afterwards the name of Babylonia. Chus himselfe and his brother *Mizraim* first kept vpon Gehon, which falleth into the Lakes of Chaldaea, and in proceesse of time, and as their people increased, they drew themselves more Westerly towards the Red or Arabian Sea: from whence *Mizraim* past ouer into Egypt, in which Tract the Chusites remained for many yeeres after. Now because there could be no such River found in Arabia the stonie, which they might entitle Gehon, they translated Chus, Aethiopia, and Gehon, Nilus. And if wee doe examine this mistaking by example, wee shall the better perceiue it as it was. For let vs suppose, that *Brute*, or whosoever else that first peopled this Island, had arriued vpon the River of Thames, and called the Island after his name *Britannia*, it might bee said that Thames or Tems was a River that watered *Britannia*: and when afterwards in proceesse of time, the same *Brute* had also discovered and conquered Scotland, which he also intituled by the same name of *Britannia*, after ages might conclude that Scotland, was no part thereof, because the River of Tems is not found therein. Or let vs suppose that *Europa*, the Daughter of the King of *Tyre* in *Phoenicia*, gaue the name to Europe, according to *Herodotus*; and that the first discoverers thereof arriued in the mouth of the River in Thrace, which then watered as much of Europe, as he first discovered, shall wee in like sort resolute that France, Spaine, and Italie, &c. are no parts of Europe, because that River is not found in them, or any of them: in like manner was it said by *Moses* in his description of Gehon, that it watered the whole Land of Chus; but not the whole Land which

which the Chusites should or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabite, seeing in after-ages they became Lords of many Nations, and they might (perchance) haue bene Masters in time, (as the Saracens, which came of them, were) of a great part of the world. For, though the Babylonian Empire, which tooke beginning in *Nimrod* the sonne of Chus, consisted at the first but of foure Cities, (to wit) *Babel*, *Erech*, *Acad*, and *Chalnee*; yet we find, that his Successours within a few yeeres after, commanded all the whole World in effect: & the fame of Babel consumed the memorie of Chusea. For of this Tower of Confusion did all that Land take the name of Babylonia: and the greatnesse of that Empire, founded by *Nimrod* a younger sonne, obscured the name and nation of his father Chus in those parts, vntill they crept farther off, and in places not yet entituled, and farther from the Babylonian Empire, where the Chusites retained their names, which also they fastned to the Soile and Territorie by themselves afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not thinke, that Chus or any of his, could in haste creepe through those desert Regions, which the length of 130. yeeres after the Flood had (as it were) fortified with Thickets, and permitted euery Bush and Bryar, Reede and Tree, to ioyne themselves (as it were) into one maine body and Forrest. For if we looke with iudgement and reason into the Worlds plantation, we shall find, that euery Family feared themselves as neare together as possible they could, and though necessitie enforced them, after they grew full of people, to spread themselves, and creepe out of Shinar or Babylonia, yet did they it with this aduice, as that they might at all times, resort and succour one another by River, the fields being then (without all doubt) impassable. So *Nimrod*, who out of wit and strength vsurped dominion ouer the rest, sate downe in the very confluence of all those Rivers, which watered Paradise: for thither it was to which the greatest troupes of *Noahs* children repayed; and from the same place whence Mankind had his beginning, from thence had they againe their increase. The first Father of Men *Adam*, had therein his former habitation, The second Father of Mankind *Noah*, began from thence his dispersion.

Now as *Nimrod* the youngest, yet strongest, made his choice of Babel (as aforesaid) which both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* cleaned and enriched; so did *Hanilab* place himselfe vpon *Tisph-Tigris*: *Raamah* and his sonne *Sheba* further downe vpon the same River, on the Sea-coast of Arabia: Chus himselfe vpon Gehon, the fairest branch of *Euphrates*. And when they began to spread themselves farther off, yet they alwayes fastened themselves to the Rivers sides: for *Niniae*, *Charran*, *Reseph*, *Canneh*, &c. in *Chaldaea*, and the other first-peopled Cities, were all founded vpon these nauigable Rivers, or their branches, by which the one might giue succour and assistance to the other; as is already often remembred.

## S. XV.

A conclusion by way of repetition of something spoken of before.

But now to conclude this dispute, it appeareth to me by the testimonies of the Scriptures, that Paradise was a place created by God, and a part of this our Earth and habitable World, seated in the lower part of the Region of Eden, afterward called *Aram fluuiorum*, or *Mesopotamia*, which taketh into it also a portion of *Shinar* and *Armenia*: this Region standing in the most excellent temper of all other, (to wit) 35. degrees from the *Aequinoctiall* and 55. from the North-pole: in which climate the most excellent Wines, Fruits, Oyle, Graine of all sorts are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing that better proueth the excellency of this said soile and temper, than the abundant growing of the Palme-trees, without the care and labour of man. Not wherein flourish the Earth, Nature, and the Sunne can most vaunt, that they have excelled, yet shall this Plant be the greatest wonder of all their workes: this Tree alone giueth vnto man whatsoeuer his life beggeth at Natures hand. And though it may bee said, that these Trees are found both in the East and West Indies, which Countries are also blessed with a perpetual Spring and Summer; yet, lay downe by those pleasures and benefits the fearefull and dangerous Thunders and Lightnings, the horrible and frequent Earthquakes, the dangerous diseases, the multitude of venomous Beasts and Wormes, with other inconueniencies: & then there will be found no comparison betwene the one and the other.

What

What other excellencies this Garden of Paradise had, before God (for mans ingratitude and crueltie) cursed the Earth, we cannot iudge; but I may safely thinke, that by how much *Adam* exceeded all liuing men in perfection, by being the immediate workmanship of God, by so much did that chosen and particular Garden exceede all parts of the Vniuersall World, in which God had planted (that is) made to grow the Trees of Life, of Knowledge; Plants onely proper, and becomming the Paradise, and Garden of so great a Lord.


The summe of all this is, That whereas the eyes of men in this Scripture haue beene dimme-sighted (some of them finding Paradise beyond our knowne World: some, about the middle Region of the Ayre: some, eleuated neere the Moone: others, as 10 farre South as the Line, or as farre North as the Pole, &c.) I hope that the reader will be sufficiently satisfied, that these were but like Castles in the Aire, and in mens fancies, vainely imagined. For it was Eastward in Eden (saith *Moses*) Eastward, in respect of Iudæa, that God planted this Garden; which Eden wee find in the Prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in some part) remaineth to this day. A riuer went out of Eden to water this Garden, and from thence diuided it selfe into foure branches; and we find that both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* swimming through Eden, doe ioine in one, and afterward taking wayes apart, doe water *Chus* and *Hauilah*, according to *Moses*, the true seats of *Chus* and his Sonnes then being in the Valley of Shinar, in which *Nimrod* built Babel. That *Pisnon* was *Ganges*, the Scripture, Reason, and experience teach the 20 contrary: for that which was neuer ioined, cannot be diuided; *Ganges*, which inhabiteth India, cannot be a branch of the riuers of Eden; That *Gehon* was *Nilus*, the same distance maketh the same impossibilitie; and this riuer is a greater stranger to *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, than *Ganges* is: for although there are betwene *Tigris* and *Ganges* about foure thousand miles, yet they both rise in the same quarter of the World; but *Nilus* is begotten in the Mountaines of the Moone, almost as farre off as the Cape of good hope, and falleth into the Mediterran Sea: and *Euphrates* distilleth out of the Mountaines of Armenia, and falleth into the Gulfe of *Persia*: the one riseth in the South, and trauaileth North: the other riseth in the North, and runneth South, threescore and three degrees the one from the other. In this leafe following, I haue added a *Chorographical* de- 30 scription of this terrestriall Paradise, that the Reader may thereby the better conceiue the preceding Discourse; and this is the reward I looke for, that my labour may but receiue an allowance suspended, vntil such time as this description of mine be reproued by a better.

## CHAP. III.

## Of the two chiefe Trees in the Garden of Paradise.

## S. I.

That the tree of Life was a materiall tree: and in what sense it is to be taken, that man by his eating the forbidden fruit, is made subiect to death.

 Or eating the forbidden fruit of the tree of Knowledge was *Adam* driuen out of Paradise, *in exilium visa temporalis*, into the banishment of temporall life, saith *Beda*. That these Trees of Life and Knowledge were materiall Trees (though Figures of the Law and of the Gospell) it is not doubted by the most religious and learned Writers: although the wits of men, which are so volatile, as nothing can fixe them, and so slipperie, as nothing can fasten them, haue in this also 30 deliuered to the World, an imaginarie doctrine.

The Tree of Life (say the *Hebrewes*) hath a plurall construction, and is to be vnderstood, *Lignum uitæ*, The Tree of liues, because the fruit thereof had a propertie, to preserue both the growing, sensitiue, and rationall life of man; and not onely (but for *Adams* transgression) had prolonged his owne dayes, but also given a durefull continuance to all posteritie; and that, so long, as a body compounded of Elements could last.

And although it is hard to thinke, that flesh and bloud could be immortall, but that it must once perish and rot, by the vnchanged Law of God imposed on his creatures, Man



Man (notwithstanding) should haue enioyned thereby a long, healthfull, and vngriued life: after which, according to the opinion of most Diuines, he should haue bene translated, as *Enoch* was. And as before the Flood, the dayes of men had the long measure of eight hundred or nine hundred yeeres; and soone after the flood, of two hundred yeeres and vpwards, euen to five hundred: so if *Adam* had not disobeyed Gods first and easie Commandement, the liues of men on Earth might haue continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longest times of the first age, as many learned men haue conceiued. *Chrysostome*, *Rupertus*, *Tostatus*, and others were of belcefe, that (but for *Adams* fall and transgression) *Adam* and his Posteritie had bene immortall. But such is the infinite Wisdom of God, as he foresaw that the earth could not haue contained Many kind, or else, that millions of soules must haue bene vngenerated, and haue had no being, if the first number, wherewith the Earth was replenished, had abode thereon for euer: and therefore that of *Chrysostome* must bee vnderstood of immortalitie of bodies; which should haue bene translated and glorified.

But of what kind or *Species* this Tree of Life was, no man hath taken on him to teach: in which respect many haue conceiued, that the same was not materiall, but a meere *Allegorie*, taking their strength out of *Salomon*, where Wisdom is compared to the Tree of Life, and from other places, where also *Christ* is called the Tree of Life; and out of the *Apocalypsis*, I will giue to him that ouer cometh, to eat of the Tree of Life, which is in the Paradise of God. But to this place Saint *Augustines* answer may suffice, (which is) That the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a terrestriall Paradise, so there was a celestiaall. For although *Agar* and *Sara* were Figures of the Old, and New Testament, yet to thinke that they were not Women, and the Maide and Wife of *Abraham*, were meere foolishnesse. And so in this place the sense of the Scripture is manifest. For God brought out of the earth euery Tree faire to be sight, and sweete to taste; the Tree also of Life in the midst of the Garden: which sheweth, that among the trees, which the Earth by Gods commandement produced, the tree of Life was one, and that the fruit thereof was also to be eaten. The report of this Tree was also brought to the ancient Poets: for as from the indigested matter or *Chaos*, *Hesiodus*, *Homer*, *Ouid*, and others, so from the indigested matter of the created World, so from the Garden of Paradise they tooke the Plat-forme of the Orchard of *Aleionus*, and another of the *Hesperides*: and from the Tree of Life, their *Nectar* and *Ambrosia*; for *Nectar*, according to *Suidas*, signifieth making young, and *Ambrosia*, immortalitie; and therefore said to be the meate and drinke of the gods.

## §. II.

Of *Becanus* his opinion, that the Tree of knowledge was *Ficus Indica*.

Now for the Tree of Knowledge of good and euill, some men haue presumed farther, especially *Goropius Becanus*, who giueth himselfe the honour to haue found out the kind of this Tree, which none of the Writers of former times could euer ghesse at, whereat *Goropius* much maruaileth. But as hee had an inuentive braine, so there neuer liued any man, that beleued better thereof, and of himselfe. Surely, howsoeuer his opinion may be valued, yet he ysurpeth the praise due to others; at least if the inuention be at that price at which he setteth it. For *Moses Bar-Cephas* fastened on this coniecture about sixe hundred yeeres before *Becanus* was borne: and *Bar-Cephas* himselfe referreth the inuention to an antiquitie more remote, citing for his Author *Philaxenus Maburgensis*, and others, whose very words *Goropius* voucheth, both concerning the Tree, and the reasons wherewith he would induce other men to that beliefe. For *Moses Bar-Cephas* in his Treatise of Paradise (the first Part and fol. 48.) saith, That the Tree of Knowledge was *Ficus Indica*; The Indian Fig-Tree, of which the greatest plentie (saith *Becanus*) are found vpon the banks of *Aceflines*, one of the Ri- uers which falleth into *Indus*, where *Alexander* built his Fleet of Gallies, in or neere the Kingdom of *Porus*.

This Tree beareth a fruit of the bignesse of a great Peaze, or (as *Plinie* reporteth) somewhat bigger, and that it is a tree, so *temper ferens*, alwayes planting it selfe; that it spreadeth it selfe so farre abroad, as that a troope of horsemen may hide themselves vnder it. *Strabo* saith, that it hath branches bending downwards, & leaues no lesse than a shield.

*Aristobolus*



*Aristobolus* affirmeth, that fittie Horsemen may shadow themselves vnder one of these Trees. *Oneserius* sayeth this number to foure hundred. This tree (saith *Theophrastus*) exceedeth all other in bignesse, which also *Plinie* & *Oneserius* confirme: to the trunk of which, these Authors giue such a magnitude, as I shame to repeat. But it may bee, they all speake by an ill-vnderstood report. For this Indian Fig-tree is not so rare a plant, as *Becanus* conceiue, who because hee found it no where else, would needs draw the Garden of Paradise to the Tree, and set it by the riuier *Aceffines*. But many parts of the world haue them, and I my selfe haue seene twentie thousand of them in one Valley, not farre from *Paria* in America. They grow in moist grounds, and in this manner: After they are first shot vp some twentie or thirtie foot in length (some more, some lesse, according to the soile) they spread a very large top, hauing no bough nor twigge in the trunk or stemme: for from the vtmost end of the head branches there issue out a gummy iuyce, which hangeth downward like a cord or sinew, and within a few moneths reacheth the ground; which it no sooner toucheth but it taketh roote, and then being filled both from the top boughes, and from his owne proper roote, this cord maketh it selfe a Tree exceeding hastily. From the vtmost boughes of these young Trees there fall againe the like cords, which in one year and lesse (in that World of a perpetuall Spring) become also trees of the bignesse of the neather part of a Lance, and as straight as art or nature can make any thing, casting such a shade, and making such a kind of Groue, as no other Tree in the world can doe. Now, one of these Trees considered with all his young ones, may (indeed) shrowd foure hundred or foure thousand Horsemen, if they please; for they couer whole Vallies of ground where these Trees grow neare the Sea-banke, as they doe by thousands in the inner parts of *Trinidad*. The cordes which fall downe ouer the bankes into the Sea, shooting alway downward to finde roote vnder water, are in those Seas of the Indies, where *Oysters* breede, intangled in their beds, so as by pulling vp one of these cordes out of the Sea, I haue seene hie hundred *Oysters* hanging in a heape thereon; wherof the report came, that *Oysters* grew on Trees in India. But that they beare any such huge leaues, or any such delicate fruit, I could neuer finde, and yet I haue trauielled a dozen miles together vnder them: but to returne to *Goropius Becanus*. This Tree (saith he) was good for meate and pleasing to the sight, as the Tree of knowledge of good and euill is described to be.

Secondly, this Tree hauing so huge a trunk (as the former Authors report, and *Becanus* beleue) it was in this Tree that *Adam* and *Eue* hid themselves from the presence of God; for no other tree (saith he) could containe them. But first it is certaine, that this Tree hath no extraordinary magnitude, as touching the trunk or stemme, for among ten thousand of them it is hard to finde any one bigger than the rest, and these are all but of a meane size. Secondly, the words of *Moses* translated, *in medio ligni*, are by all the Interpreters vnderstood in the plural number (that is) in the midst of the Trees. But his third argument (or rather the argument of *Moses Bar-Cephas*, word for word) is, 40 That when *Adam* and *Eue* found themselves naked, they made them breeches of Fig-leaues; which proueth (indeed) that either the tree it selfe was a Fig-tree, or that a Fig-tree grew neare it: because *Adam* being posselt with shame, did not run vp and downe the Garden to seeke out leaues to couer him, but found them in the place it selfe; and these leaues of all other were most commodious by reason of their largenesse; which *Plinie* auoweth in these words: *Latitudo foliorum pelta effigiem Amazonia habet*; The breadth of the leaues hath the shape of an Amazonian shield: which also *Theophrast* confirmeth; the forme of which Targets *Virgil* toucheth:

*Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis*  
PENTHESILAE furens.

The Amazons with Crescent-formed shield  
PENTHESILAE leads into the field.

Here *Becanus* desireth to be beleued, or rather threatneth vs all that reade him, to giue credit to his borrowed discouerie, vnder this confident (or rather cholerike) speech: *Qui eris tam impudenter oblitus, si has a nobis de ficu has ex antiqui scriptoribus cum MOSIS narratione compares, ut audeas dicere aliam arborum inueniri posse, quam illa magis quadrat in hoc, quam illa impudenter oblitus, si he compares these things which*

we haue reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient writers deliuered, with the narration of *MOSES*, as to dare to auow, that any other Tree can bee found, which doth more properly answer, or agree therewith? But for my selfe, because I neither find this Tree, sowing in body, in largenesse of leaues, nor in fruit to this report, I rather incline to the opinion of *Philo*: That the Earth neuer brought forth any of these trees neither before nor after; but I leaue euery man to his owne beliefe, for the matter is of no great weight as touching his kinde: onely thereby, and by the easie Commandement by God giuen to *Adam*, to forbear to feede thereon, it pleased God to make triall of his obedience: *Prohibita, non propter aliud, quam ad commendandum pure ac simpliciter Obedientiam bonam; Being forbidden, not for any other respect, than thereby to commend the goodness of pure and simple Obedience.*

## §. III.

OF *BECANUS* his not unwitty allegorizing of the story of his *Ficus Indica*.

**B**EIN in this I must doe *Becanus* right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this Tree, allowing his supposition of the Tree it selfe to bee true. The effects wherof, because his discourses are exceeding ample, I haue gathered in these few words. As this Tree (saith he) so did Man grow straight and vpright towards God, 20 vntill such time as he had transgressed and broken the Commandement of his Creator; and then like vnto the boughes of this tree, he began to bend downward, and stooped toward the earth, which all the rest of *Adams* posteritie after him haue done, rooting themselves therein, and fastning themselves to this corrupt world. The exceeding vmbagioulnesse of this tree, he compareth to the darke & shadowed life of man, through which the Sunne of iustice being not able to pierce, we haue all remained in the shadow of death, till it pleased *Christ* to climbe the tree of the Crosse for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruit which it beareth, and which is hard to find among so many large leaues, may be compared (saith he) to the little vertue, and vnperceiued knowledge among so large vanities; which obscure and shadow it ouer. And as this 30 fruit is exceeding sweet, and delicate to the taste and palate: so are the delights and pleasures of the world most pleasing, while they dure. But as all those things which are most mellifluous, are soonest changed into choles and bitterness: so are our vanities and pleasures converted into the bitterest sorrowes and repentances. That the leaues are so exceeding large, the fruit (for such leaues) exceeding little, in this, by comparison we behold (saith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their solicitude, their outward shewes, and publike ostentation, their apparant pride and large vanities; and if we seeke for the fruit, which ought to bee their vertuous and pious actions, we find it of the bignesse of the smallest peazze, glorie to all the world apparant, goodnesse, to all the world inuisible. And furthermore, as the leaues, body, and 40 boughs of this Tree, by so much exceede all other Plants, as the greatest men of power and worldly abilitie surpass the meane: so is the little fruit of such men, and such trees, vnto fitting and becoming the vnworthiest shrub, and humblest Briar, or the poorest and basest Man, than such a flourishing statelynesse, and magnitude. Lastly, whereas *Adam*, after hee had disobeyed God, and beheld his owne nakednesse and shame, sought for leaues to couer himselfe withall, this may serue to put vs in minde of his and our finnes, as often as we put on our garments, to couer and adorne our rotten and inuirtal bodies: to pamper and maintaine which, wee vse so many vncharitable and cruell practices in this world.

## §. III.

Of the name of the tree of knowledge of good and euill: with some other notes touching the storie of *Adams* sinne.

**N**OW, as touching the sense of this tree of knowledge of good and euill, and what operation the fruit thereof had, and as touching the properties of the Tree it selfe, *M. A. R. G. P. H. A. N.* an ancient Syrian Doctor (translated by *M. A. R. G. P. H. A. N.*) giueth this iudgement: That the fruit of this Tree had no such vertue or qualitie,

as that by the tasting thereof, there was any such knowledge created in Adam, as if hee had beene ignorant before; but as *Iunius* also noteth: *Arbor scientiae boni & mali (id est) experientia boni & mali ab euentu*; The Tree of knowledge of good and euill (that is) the experience of good and euill by the euent. For thus much we may conceiue, that Adam being made (according to the Hebrew phrase) by the workmanship of Gods owne hand, in greater perfection than euer anie man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created Plant, out of whose seed, all men liuing, haue growne vp; and hauing receiued immortallitie from the breath or spirit of God, hee could not (for these respects) be ignorant, that the disobeying of Gods commandement was the fearefullest euill, and the obliuation of his precepts the happiest good. But as men in perfect health do (notwithstanding) conceiue, that sicknesse is grieuous, and yet in no such degree of torment, as by the suffering & experience in themselves they afterwards witnesse: so was it with Adam, who could not be ignorant of the punishments, due to neglect and disobedience; and yet felt by the prooffe thereof in himselfe, another terror than he had fore-thought, or could imagine. For looking into the glasse of his owne guiltie foule, he beheld therein the horror of Gods iudgements, so as he then knew, he feelingly knew, and had triall of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchased euill, which could not be exprest. He then saw himselfe naked both in bodie and mind; that is, debarred of Gods grace and former felicitie: and therefore was this tree called the tree of knowledge, and not because the fruit thereof had anie such operation, by anie selfe qualitie or effect: for the same phrase is vsed in many places of the Scriptures, and names are giuen to Signes and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In such sort, as this tree was called the tree of knowledge, because of the euent, as is aforesaid: so was the Well of contention therefore called *Esek*, and the Well of hatred *Sinath*, because the Heardsmen of *Isaac* and *Gerar* contended for them; and the heape of Stones called the heape of witnessse, betweene *Jacob* and *Laban*; not that the stones bare witnessse, but for a memorie of the covenant. So *Jacob* called the house of God *Bethel*; and *Hagar*, the Well in the Desert, *Uentus*, & *Uidentis*.

Numer. 21.  
Gen. 26. 10. 11.

Cap. 11. 48.  
Cap. 2. 19.  
Cap. 10. 14.

But Adam being both betrayed and mastered by his affections, ambitious of a farther knowledge than he had perceived in himselfe, and looking but slightly (as all his illues doe) into the miseries and sorrowes incident, and greatly affecting the supposed glory which he might obtaine by tasting the fruit forbidden, he was transported and blowne forward, by the gentle winde of pleasing persuasions, vnawares; his progression being strengthened by the subtille arguments of Sathan, who laboured to poison mankind in the verie root, which he moistned with the liquor of the same ambition, by which himselfe perished for euer.

Barthol. 2. 1.

But what meanes did the Diuell find out, or what instruments did his owne subtilty present him, as fittest and aptest to worke this mischiefe by? euen the vnquiet vanity of the woman; so as by Adams harkning to the voyce of his wife, contrarie to the expresse commandement of the liuing God, Mankind by that her incantation became the subiect of labour, sorrow, and death: the woman being giuen to man for a comfortor and companion, but not for a counsellor. *But because thou hast obeyed the voyce of thy wife &c.* (said God himselfe) *Cursed is the earth for thy sake in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all thy life.* It is also to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted, euen by the most vgly and vnworthy of all beasts, into whom the Diuell entred, and perswaded.

Gen. 3. 17.

Secondly, what was the motiue of her disobedience? euen a desire to know what was most vnfitting her knowledge; an affection which hath euer since remained in all the posteritie of her sexe. Thirdly, what was it that moued the man to yeeld to her persuasions: euen the same cause which hath moued all men since to the like consent, namely, an unwillingnesse to grieve her and make her sad, lest she should pine and be ouercome with sorrow. But if Adam in the state of perfection, and Salomon the sonne of David, Gods chosen seruant, and himselfe a man endued with the greatest wisdom, did both of them disobey their Creator, by the perswasion and for the loue they bare to a woman, it is not so wonderfull as lamentable, that other men in succeeding ages haue beene allured to so many inconuenient and wicked practices, by the persuasions of their wives, or other beloued darlings, who couer ouer and shadow many malicious purposes with a counterfeit passion of dissimulate sorrow and vnquietnesse.

CHAP.

## CHAP. V.

Of diuers memorable things betweene the Fall of ADAM, and the Flood of NOAH.

## §. I.

Of the cause and the reuenge of CAINS sinne: and of his going out from God.

**H**is same Pride and Ambition which began in Angels, and afterward possesse Adam, Cain also inherited: for Cain (enuious of the acceptation of his Brothers Prayer and Sacrifice) slew him, making himselfe the first Manslayer, and his Brother the first Martyr: the reuenge of which vnnatural Murder, although it pleased God to mitigate, when Cain cryed out that his punishment was greater than he could beate. For the same offence chiefly (where with the Sonnes of Adam, as it were, urged and prouoked God) hee destroyed all Mankind, but Noah and his Family: for it is written, *The Earth also was corrupt before God* of which in the same place *Moses* giueth a reason, for saith he, *The Earth was filled with cruelty*; and anon after, God himselfe made the cause knowne vnto Noah, saying; *An end of all flesh is come before me, for the Earth is filled with cruelty thorough them, and behold, I will destroy them with the Earth, or from the Earth.* Neither was this cruelty meant to haue bene in taking away the liues of men onely, but in all sorts of Iniustice and Oppression. After this Murder of ABEL, CAIN went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwells in the Land of Nod, towards the East-side of Eden: in which words, The going out of Cain from the presence of the Lord, is not to be vnderstood after the litterall sense; God being wholly in all parts of the World: *Totus in celo est, totus in terra, non alterius temporibus, sed vtriusque simul*; God (saith S. AUGUSTINE) is wholly in Heauen, and wholly in Earth, not by exchanged times, but all at once; And that this is true, DAVID witnesseth: *If I be in Heauen thou art there; in Hell, thou art there also*, But what is meant thereby? *Exiit a facie Dei* (saith CHRYSOSTOME) CAIN went out from the presence of the Lord (that is) he was left of God, disfaunred and bereaued of his protection.

Gen. 6. 11. 13.

Gen. 4. 16.

Aug. de Citit.  
lib. 1. c. 12. 19.  
Ipsi. 39. 80.

Chrysostom.  
Gen. 11. 2.

## §. II.

Of CAINS dwelling in the Land of Nod: and of his City Enosh.

**H**is word Nod or Naid, S. Hierome and many others vnderstand to signifie wandering or incertaine habitation: vexation or agitation, saith *Iunius*; but the Seventy, conuert it otherwise, and take Nod for the proper name of a Countrey, and so doth *Iosephus*. But it seemeth to me, that Cain was rather a Vagabond or Wanderer in his cogitations, than any thing else, and that his thoughts and conscience had no quiet or rest, in regard of the Murder committed, iustly fearing (by his owne words) the like violence: *And whosoever findeth me* (saith CAIN) *shall slay me*. Now that Nod or Naid was a Region wherein Cain inhabited, appeareth by the word (*dwelling*) for dwelling signifieth an abiding; and wee call those people Wanders and Vagabonds that haue no dwelling place. And to make this dwelling & abiding more manifest, *Moses* teacheth what part of the Earth this his habitation was, which he affirmeth towards the East-side of Eden. Secondly, it is said by *Moses*, that after Cain departed from the presence or fauour of God, he built a City, and called it by the name of his first-borne, *Enosh*; which sheweth that he feared to wander, and rather sought to fortifie himselfe against reuenge. *Cyrillus* saith, that Cain and Abel were figures of: Christ, and of the Iewes; and that as Cain after that he had slaine Abel vniuilly, had thenceforth no certaine abiding in the World: so the Iewes after they had crucified the Sonnes of God, became Runnegates; and it is true, that the Iewes had neuer since any certaine Estate, Common-weale, or Prince of their own vpon the Earth. Now this Land of Nod, *Iunius* taketh to be in Arabia Deserta, a Region of Nomades; but Arabia the Desert is not Eastward, or on the East part of Eden, neither are these Nomades any particular People or Nation. For all these, in what part of the World soeuer, which in old time liued by Pastorage, and fed (as

Hier. ad Rich.

Ioseph. 1. c. 5.

Gen. 4. 14.

Gen. 4. 16.

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WE

we call it in Ireland) vpon white meate, without tilling of the ground, are called by the  
Greekes, *Nomades*, and by the Latines *Pastores vagi*; as the Northren Tartarians, the Ge-  
tulians, and Numidians in Africa, the ancient Britains, and the Northern Irish; yea,  
such were the Inhabitants of Italy it selfe, till such time as *Italus* (who gaue them that  
name) taught them the Husbandry of tillage, vsed at this day. But the Region Eastward  
from Eden is that part of Assyria, called by *Ptolomy* Calena, which also might be de-  
riued of Carena, the country of *Cain*. And that *Cain* inhabited in those parts, it may be ga-  
thered by the first possession of his Father *Adam*; for thus it is writen, *Genes. 3. There-  
fore the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the Earth whence he was ta-  
ken*; and in the Verse following: *Thou hast cast out man, &c. and at the East side of the  
Garden of Eden hee set the Cherubims*: which sheweth, that the entrie into Paradise was  
from the East, by which entrance *Adam* was cast out, and therefore inhabiting on that  
side of Paradise which was Eastward, according to the Text. *Cain* also in the same Re-  
gion sought his dwelling place. Now, if the word *Nod* or *Naid* doe signifie *progeny*, that  
is, a fugitiue, we can giue no longer time to this vncertaine habitation of *Cain*, than till he  
builde the City of Enoch, the first of the World, which hee inclosed either, for his owne  
defence, or (as *Iosephus* writeth) to oppresse others thereby. So as for mine own opinion,  
I am resolu'd with the *Septuagint*, that *Nod* was the proper name of a Region; and for  
the word (*Vagabond*) which *Cain* vseth of himselfe, it seemeth by the periclope of the  
same Verse, that (*Vagabond*) is therein vnderstood for such an one as trauaileth in feare  
of reuengement: for *whosoever findeth me* (saith *Cain*) *shall slay me*; or else (*Vagabond*)  
is taken for a man without protection, and cast out from the fauour of God.

And because these Henochians, so called of the City of Enoch, were the first society  
& ciuill assembly of all other; it is likely that the name of these people (either for cruelty,  
strength, or other actions) liued in the memory of *Noah* and his Sonnes; so that after  
the Flood (as there were of all sorts of natures, some vertuously, some impiously dispo-  
sed, and euery actiue minde setting before it whom to follow or imitate) those people,  
which delighted in cruelty and oppression, tooke on them their names whose natures  
they most liked and allowed; of whom these Henochians were not the least. Perchance  
the place it selfe where Enoch stood before the Flood, and whereof the Monuments  
might remain (as the Pillars or the foundation of Toppe did) gaue occasion to the Plan-  
ters of that place to call themselves by the same name: for of those Henochians there  
were many Nations in the borders of Pontus, & Colchis in Iberia, Segdiana, & Bactria;  
of the same name many Mountaines, as those which are otherwise called *Coraxici*. And  
seeing that it is hard to find out the truth of these things, which the most aged Time  
hath couered ouer or defaced; we may (according to the counsell of *Plato*) exceedingly  
reioyce, and therewith satisfie our selues, if of so great and almost worn-out Antiquity, if  
of the eldest peoples names & nations, there remain any print or foot-steps to Posterity.

In \* *Pliny*, \* *Mela*, *Strabo*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Lucan*, \* *Stephanus*, we finde those *He-  
nochii* described, though diuersly written; as in *Pliny*, sometimes *Hemiochi*, in *Mela* *Enio-  
chi*, in *Flaccus* *Hemiochi*, in *Lucan* *Eniochi*, all which inhabit vpon the Sea Euxinus, but ye  
none of these are on the East-side of Eden, or (according to *Moses* words) Eastward from  
Eden. For *Moses*, in all places where he describeth any Region, was so exceeding pre-  
cise, as sometime he vseth the word East or South without borrowing or addition, at o-  
ther times with a borrowing, as Eastward or Southward, or towards the East or South.  
In the place of *Genesis* the eleuenth, hee writeth the word (East) simply and directly.  
And as they went from the East, they found a Plaine in the Land of Shinar; but in this of  
*Cain* he addeth the word (towards) as, in the Land of Nod towards the East side of Eden;  
which may be taken, as inclining some one point or two either to the North or to the  
South of the East.

But as we may coniecture that these Nations took name of Enoch the City of *Cain*,  
or of the Region wherein it stood, when the same was repeopled after the Flood; so it is  
probable that these *Hemiochi* of Colchis, & other parts adioining, were not the first of that  
name, after the Sons of *Noah* began to fill the World againe: because, had this Enoch  
the City of *Cain* stood in any of these parts, it had then bin seated North, & not East or  
Eastward from Eden. But as *Pliny* findeth their habitation towards Pontus, so afterwards  
hee goeth on Eastward, till hee tracke them or trace them out to their originall. For he  
calleth these of Colchis (now *Mengrelia*) *Sanni Hemiochi*; *Ptolomy*, *Zani*; beyond which

Quotid ali-  
quid in he-  
magnis orbe  
mulari, noua  
vrbium funda-  
menta sacius-  
toppona Gen-  
tium nomina  
extinctis no-  
minibus priori-  
bus ornamur.  
Sen. caud. Ali-  
num.  
\* *Plin.* l. 6. c. 9.  
11. p. 16.  
\* *Mel.* l. 1. c. 1.  
\* *Strabo* lib. 11.  
\* *Val. Flacc.* l. 6.  
\* *Lucan.* l. 3. v. 37.  
P. 2.

*Plin.* l. 6. c. 9.  
\* *Strabo* lib. 11.  
\* *Val. Flacc.* l. 6.  
\* *Lucan.* l. 3. v. 37.  
P. 2.

an hundred and fifty mile Eastward hee findeth another Nation of them about Iberia  
and Arabia; and beyond these hee againe discovereth a third Nation; from whence  
all the East tooke beginning, which inhabited on the West side of the Mountains of Pa-  
ro-paritis, betwixt them and the great River of Oxus, which bordereth Bactria on the  
North side; and these Henochii are due East from the Region of Eden; and Eastward  
from the very Garden it selfe.

And although wee cannot be assured that these Henochii tooke name from the me-  
mory of the City of Enoch directly, yet because they inhabited the East from Para-  
dise; and afterwards spread themselves Westward (as all *Noahs* Sonnes did that came into  
Shinar) the coniecture is farre more probable, than that of *Annio* the Triest, who sets  
Henoch in Phoenicia, quite contrary to *Moses* word: Phoenicia from all parts of Eden  
being directly West.

And besides these severall Nations of the Henochii, *Stephanus* findeth a Region called  
Henochia; & the same also in the East, with diuers Mountaines about Bactria and Segdi-  
ana, of the same name. Only the Grecians (according to their fabulous inuentions of all  
things else) out of the word (*Hemiochi*) which significeth Carts or Coach-men, make  
these Nations to haue sprung from the Waggoners of *Cajor* and *Pollux* (to wit) *Am-  
phites* and *Telechius*, who attended them in the enterprise of *Iason* into Colchis. And  
though I doe not deny, but that *Iason* with other Greeks ranged the Coasts of Asia the  
lesse in an open Boat or kind of small Gallie, of whom I shall speake in his owne time;  
yet no man doubteth but that the Tale of the Golden Fleece, was for the most part Poe-  
ticall; and withall that in such an open Boat, which could hardly carry their owne  
Rowers, being 54. there was no place, and lesse vse of Coach-horses or Waggoners.

## §. III.

Of *MOSES* his omitting sundry things concerning *CAINs* Generation.

BECAUSE of the remembrance and testimonies of the name of the City of Enoch in  
prophane Story, thus much may suffice; Now it followeth to answer some  
few Objections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of  
*Genesis*: against which for the first it is demanded, how it was possible for *Cain* (having  
no other assistance than his Sonne *Hemoch*) to performe such a Work as the building of  
a City, seeing there is thereto required so many hands, and so great a masse of all sorts  
of Materials? To which it is answered, that we are first to consider, That of *Cain* (be-  
cause he was the Parent of an impious Race) *Moses* vseth no ample declaration; and so  
it best agreeth with his diuine Reason, seeing that he containeth the whole Story of the  
first Race, which lasted by the least account, 1656. years, in five short Chapters. Yet  
thus much may euery man borrow of his owne weakest reason, That seeing it pleased  
God to bestow on the first generations of mens liues so long a measure, as 800. & 900.  
40 years, that in such a space *Cain* had not want of leisure and means to build many rich  
Cities as Enoch, be the capacity answering to what other of the World fouler: for in  
what Age of *Cains* life he built it, the Scriptures are silent: as of whose times, and the  
times of his Issues *Moses* had the least care. And, as it was said of *Cain*, that he built a Ci-  
ty: so it was said of *Noah*, that his three Sons peopled all the World, but in both, the  
processe of time required to be vnderstood: which aduice seeing *Moses* vseth where the  
space lesse requireth it, as knowing that hee writ the Scriptures to reasonable men, wee  
may easily vnderstand, that such was his meaning also in all reports of like nature. For  
in making but a difference betwene the Birth of *Abel*, and Oblation of *Cain*, he spake  
it in this sort, *Exit autem post dies multos or a fine diuino* (that is) in processe of time  
came to passe that *Cain* brought an Oblation. And therefore it is in like sort to be vnder-  
stood of *Cain*, that many yeares fore-gone, and when his people were increased, he built  
the City of Enoch or Henoch.

And where it is written, as of *Cain*, that hee built Enoch, so of *Salomon*, that hee built  
the Temple of Ierusalem; yet it is well knowne of *Salomon*, that hee employed in that  
Work, 150000. Labourers: for this phrase or speech is common with our selues to say,  
The King inuaded, when he caused an inuasion to be made; & he built, when he coman-  
ded such a building. And therefore seeing we find that *Moses* had no regard to the ages, to  
the birth, or to the death of any of *Cains* Issues, it is not to be maruailed at, why he also

Gen. 4. 17. passeth over in a word the building of Enoch, without addition of any circumstance: for of Cain, Moses writeth in this manner: CAIN also knew his wife, who conceived and bare H E N O C H, and he built a City, and called the name of the City after the name of his sonne H E N O C H. And so H E N O C H was borne IRAD, and IRAD begat MEHVIAEL, and MEHVIAEL begat METHVSAEL, and METHVSAEL LAMECH.

18. C. 5. §. 5. Now of Seth, Moses writeth farre otherwise, and in this manner. And SETH lived an hundred and five yeeres, and begat ENOCH, and SETH lived after he begat ENOCH 807. yeere, and begat Sonnes and Daughters: so on all the dayes of SETH were 912. yeeres, and he dyed as for the yeeres & times of the wicked, they were not numbred in libro vii. centum, saith Cyril. But in Seth was the Church of God established, from whom Christ descended, as touching his manhood: and therefore this way and worke Moses walked in, and finished it with care, passing over the Reprobate Generation (as aforesaid.) Of the Line of Adam by Cain, Moses remembreth but eight Generations, reckoning Adam for one, and of the Line of Adam by Seth ten, counting Adam also therein, as followeth:

## I. A D A M.

2 Cain.	7 Lamech, who by	2 Seth.	7 Henoch.
3 Henoch.	Ada had	3 Enos.	
4 Irad.	8 Tubal and Tubal, &c.	4 Cainan.	8 Methusalem.
5 Methuizel.	by Sila Tubalcain,	5 Mahaleel.	9 Lamech, and
6 Methuizel.	and Noëma.	6 Irad.	10 Noah.

Gen. 11. 12. These be the Generations of Adam by Cain, which the Scriptures mention: but Josephus giueth vnto Lamech three score and seuentene Sonnes and Daughters, by his two Wives Ada and Sila: and to these three sonnes of Lamech, Moses ascribeth the Inuention of Pastorage, of Musique, and the working in Metall, for it seemeth that Tubal first gathered together, and made familiar those beasts which formerly were vntamed, and brought them into Herds and Droues: Tubal inuented Musick, and Tubalcain the working in Brasse and Iron: the one being addicted to Husbandry, the other was Mechanicall, the third giuen to Idleness and Pleasure. In whom began these three meaner degrees of Shepherds, Handy-crafts-men, and Musicians. And in the Issues of Seth began the Seruices of God, Diuinity, Prophecy, and Astronomy: the Children of the one beheld the Heauens, the other the Earth.

## §. IV.

Of the diuersities in the Ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their Children.

A Second scruple hath bene made, How it came to passe that the Patriarchs begat their Children at so diuers Ages, as Cainan or Cenan at seuentee yeeres, Mahaleel and Enos at three score and five yeeres, whereas Jared begat not any of his vntill he was 162. yeeres old: Methusalem begat at 187. Lamech at 182. and Noah at 500. yeeres. Now this difference hath bin the more enforced, because it cannot bee conciliated, that either Jared, Methusalem or Lamech abstained from Marriage out of the religion of Abstinence, seeing that Enos, who was translated by God for his singular Sanctities, begat children before he was three score and ten yeeres old.

The apparant difference hereof ariseth in this, that Moses did not number the Generations before the Flood precisely, according to the first begotten and eldest sons of the Patriarchs, but hee drew downe the Line of Noah from Seth, and afterward from Noah to Abraham, by their true Ancestors, were they elder or yonger, as he found them: for it is likely that Henoch was not the eldest of Jared, nor Lamech the first-borne of Methusalem, nor Noah of Lamech; neither is there any thing knowne to the contrary, but that Noah might haue had many Sonnes before Shem, Ham and Iaphet, though these three were only named, & suruiving, & which by God were referred to be the Fathers of Mankind after the Flood; and therefore when we find Mahaleel to bee begotten by Kenan at three score and ten yeeres who was the first Sonne of Kenan, and then reckon that Methusalem begat Lamech in the 187. year of his life, the difference seemeth strange, where Lamech is taken for the eldest. But Moses reiecteth all the other sonnes of Methusalem but Lamech only, because hee was the Father of Noah as aforesaid. Of this Saint

Saint Augustine hath somewhat else in his twentieth and one and twentieth Chapters, De Ciuitate Dei.

But as Moses counted the Generations of the first Age, & so to Abraham, and the children of the Promise after him, so doth Saint Matthew recite the Genealogy of Christ, not by the eldest sonnes, but from those whom God had chosen and blessed, without respect of the first-borne, who haue hereby the prerogative in Estates, worldly and transitory only; and therefore the Euangelist nameth Isaac, and not Ismael, though Ismael was first in time: so doth he take Jacob the yonger, and not Esau the elder; neither is Christ deriued from any of the three eldest Patriarchs, Reuben, Simeon, or Leui, but from Iuda a fourth Brother, and so from David a yonger sonne of Iesse; and lastly, we find, that the kingdome it selfe of Iuda was not giuen to the Heire in Nature, but to the Heire of Grace, namely Salomon.

## §. V.

Of the long liues of the Patriarchs: and some of late memory.

The third Obiection is, that the great difference of yeeres betweene those of the first Age, whereof some of them had well nere scene a thousand yeeres, makes it disputable, whether the account of times were of the same measure as in after Ages, seeing, that soone after the Flood, men liued not a third part of that time, and in succeeding Ages and to this day, not the tenth.

They that haue hereon resolved that those yeeres were but Lunary yeeres, (to wit) of a Moneth or thereabouts, or Egyptian yeeres, are easily confuted. For whereas Seth begat Enos in the yeare of his life an hundred and five, if those yeeres bee taken but for Moneths, then had Seth liued but eight yeeres, and one Moneth when hee begat Enos; & if the time of Enos haue the same allowance, when he begat Kenan, then could Enos at that time haue bene but sixe yeeres and forty eight weekes old; and so it may bee gathered of the rest, excepting only Adam, who was created perfect in his kind, as were the Trees in their kinde, bearing fruit and seed. But this were too ridiculous to imagine.

30 For to giue an ability of Generation at sixe, seuen or eight yeeres, agreeth with the short liues of the Pigmies, and not with the constitutions of our first Fathers, who being descended from Adam, the workmanship of Gods hands, and begotten and borne in the strong youth of the World, and length of dayes and ability of body agreeable. Again, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunary yeeres, then there would follow this extremity, that those which liued longest, and vpwards of nine hundred yeeres, had by that account but the time of fourescore and ten and odde yeeres; which were not only lesse by farre than the Patriarchs liued after the Flood, but short of many mens liues in this decrepit Age of the World, wherein many exceed fourescore, & some a hundred yeeres. Further (if need be) to disprove this reckoning, whereas it is written, Gen. 25. That Abraham dyed in a good Age, an old man, and of great yeeres: all which (if the former account were of Lunary yeeres) makes but seuentene and an halfe of four yeeres.

And if we seeke for a cause of this long life in Nature, then is it reasonable, that the first man, created in highest perfection, should also beget Children of equall strength or little differing: for of the first & purest seed there muist of necessity spring vp the fairest and fruitfullst plants. Secondly, the Earth it selfe was then much lesse corrupt, which yielded her increase, and brought forth fruit and food for man, without any such mixture of harmefull quality, as since that time the Curse of God, for the cruelty of mans heart, brought on it and Mankind: Neither had the Waters of the Flood infused such an impurity as thereby the naturall and powerfull operation of all Plants, Herbes, and Fruits vpon the Earth receiued a qualification and harmefull change. And as all things vnder the Sunne haue one time of strength, and another of weakenesse, a youth & beautie, and then age and deformity: so time it selfe (vnder the deathfull shade of whose wings all things decay and wither) hath wasted and worne out that liuely vertue of Nature in Man, and Beasts, and Plants; yea, the Heauens themselves being of a most pure and clenfed matter, shall waxe old as a garment; and then much more the power generative in inferior Creatures, who by the ordinance of God receiue operative Vertue from the superiour.

But besides the old age of the World, how farre doth our education and simplicity.

of liuing differ from that old time: the tender bringing vp of Children, first fedde and nourished with the Milke of a strange Dugge; an vnnatural curiosity hauing taught all Women (but the Beggar) to finde out Nurks, which necessity only ought to commend vnto them: The hasty Marriages in tender yeares, wherein Nature being but yet green and growing, we rent from her & replant her branches, while her selfe hath not yet any root sufficient to maintaine her owne top; and such halfe-ripe seedes (for the most part) in their growing vp wither in the bud, & waxe old euen in their Infancy. But about all things the exceeding luxurioufnesse of this gluttonous Age, wherein we presse Nature with ouer-weighty burdens, and finding her strength defectiue, wee take the worke out of her hands, and commit it to the artificiall helpe of strong Waters, hot Spices, and prouoking Sawces; of which *Lucan* hath these elegant Verbes:

Pharlat. 4.

—O prodigia rerum

Luxuries nunquam paruo contenta paratim:

Et quæstorum terræ pelagique ciborum

Ambitiosa fames, &amp; laeta gloria mensæ,

Discite quàm parua liceat producere vitam:

Et quantum Natura petat.

Non auro myrrhaque bibant: sed gurgite puro

Vita redit: satis est populi summissæ Cerevisiæ.

O wastfull Riot neuer well content

With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious

Of Cates by Land and Sea far fetcht and sent:

Vaine glory of a Table sumptuous,

Learne with how little life may be preferred.

In Gold and Myrrhe they need not to carouse,

But with the Brooke the peoples thirst is seru'd:

Who fed with Bread and Water are not seru'd.

Pier. Hierog. 1. 2.

The Egyptians affirme, that the longest time of mans life is a hundred yeares, because the heart in a perfect body waxeth and groweth to strength fifty yeares, and afterwards by the same degree decayeth and withereth. *Epigenes* findeth in his Philosophy, that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twenty yeares, and *Berosus* to a hundred and seuentene yeares. These opinions *Pliny* repeateth and reproueth, producing many examples to the contrary. In the last taxation, number and reuiew of the eighth Region of Italy, there were found in the Roll (saith *Pliny*) foure & fifty persons of an hundred yeares of age: seuen & fifty of an hundred and ten; two, of an hundred & five; & twenty, of an hundred and thirty: as many that were an hundred & five & thirty, or a hundred & seuen and thirty yeares old: & last of all three men of an hundred and forty: and this searsh was made in the times of *Porsipian* the Father and the Son.

Plin. l. 7. c. 29.

The simple dyet and temperate life of the Egiptians gaue them long account of many yeares: so did it to the Secretaries of Egyptian Ceremonies, to the Persians Magicians & Indian Braclmans. The Greeks affirme out of *Homer*, that *Nestor* liued three Ages, & *Tiresias* six, *Syllia* three hundred yeares, *Endymion* of the lesse Asia little less: Also *Masanissa* of Numidia liued very long, & *Darius* of Illyria. Among the kings of Arcadia many liued three hundred yeares (saith *Epiphorus*). *Hellanicus* affirmeth of the Epiens, that some of them liue full two hundred yeares; and so doth *Diodorus Siculus* of the Egyptians: & that these reports are not fabulous, *Iosephus* bringeth many witnesses with himselfe; as *Marcion*, *Herofus*, *Machius*, *Ellius*, *Hieronymus*, *Aegyptius*, *Necastius*, *Ephorus*, and others. And *Antiquary Fume*, an Historian of good reputation reporteth, that in the yeare 1570. there was an Indian presented to *Solyman*, Generall of the Turkes Army, who had out-liued three hundred yeares. I my self knew the old Countesse of Desmond of Inchiquin in Münster, who liued in the yeare 1589. & many yeares since, who was married in *Edward* the Fourth time, & held her Toynture from all the Earles of Desmond since then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen & Gentlemen of Münster can witnesse. *Strozzius Cicogna*, so out of *Torquemada Massieu*, and the like Authors, telleth of some that haue not onely far exceeded the terme prescribed by *Epigenes*; but been repayed from the withered estate of decrepit Age to fresh Youth. But for length of life, if wee note but the difference betweene the ability of men in those daies wherein *Galen* the Physician liued, it may easily proue vnto vs what Needs we are in respect of those Cedars of the first Age. For *Galen* did ordinarily let bloud six pound weight, whereas we (for the most part) stop at six ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting Constellations) which are the naturall causes of a long and healthfull life; (to wit) strong Parents, a pure

Isent. l. 1. c. 8

Plin. l. 7. c. 28.

an I thin Ayre; and temperate vse of dyet, pleasure, and rest: for those which are built of rotten timber, or mouldring stone, cannot stand long vpright; on Ayre we feed alwayes and in euery instant, and on meates but at times: and yet the heauie load of abundance, wherewith we oppresse & ouercharge Nature, maketh her to sinke vnawares in the mid-way; and therefore with a good constitution, a pure Aire, and a temperate vse of those things which Nature wanteth, are the only friends and companions of a long life.

## §. VI.

Of the Patriarchs deliuering their knowledge by Tradition: and that *ENOCH* writ before the Flood.

10

A Fourth scruple hath beene made, How the certaine knowledge of the Creation came to *Moses*, seeing there was no Story thereof written; and if any such had beene, yet it is conceiued, that all memory of Antiquity perished in the vniuersall Flood.

But if we consider the curiosity and policy of elder ages, we shall find, that knowledge was the greatest treasure that men sought for, and which they also couered and hid from the vulgar sort, as Jewels of inestimable price, fearing the irreuerent construction of the ignorant and irreligious: so as whatsoeuer was attained vnto concerning God, and his working in nature, the same was not left to publicke dispute, but deliuered ouer by heart and tradition from wise men to a posterity equally zealous; *Ex animo in animum* sue li. Dion. Arceop. scri. medio intercedente verbo: From minde to minde without Letters, by way of tradition or word of mouth. And it was thought by *Esdras*, *Origen*, and *Hilarius*, (as *Atrandula* conceiue) that *Moses* did not onely vpon the Mount receiue the Law from God, but withall, *secretiorem & veram legis enarrationem*; a more secret and true explanation of the Law; which (saith he, out of the same Authors,) hee deliuered by mouth to *Ishuah*, and *Ishuah* to the Elders: For to teach these mysteries, which he called *secretiora*, to the rude multitude, were no other *quàm dare sanctum canibus, & inter porcos spargere Margaritas*, than to giue holy things to Dogges, and to cast Pearles before Swine. In succeeding times this vnderstanding and wisdom began to be written in Ciphers, and Characters, and Letters bearing the forme of beasts, birds, and other creatures; and to be taught onely to such as seru'd in their Temples, and to their Kings and Priests. Of the first the Cabala of the Iewes was an imitation: the inuention of the other is ascribed to *Zoroaster*, *Mercurius*, *Cadmus*, and others; but falsely.

This Cabala importeth a Law, receiued by tradition and vnwritten. Cabala in Hebrew is receptio in Latine, and a receiuing in English. And this custome was also held by the Druids & Bards of our ancient Britains, & of later times by the Irish Chroniclers called Rimers. If then such as would seem wisest in the vse of reason, wil not acknowledge, that the story of the Creation, or beginning of all things, was written by inspiration, the holy Ghost guiding the hand of *Moses*; yet it is manifest, that the knowledge thereof might by tradition (then vsed) be deliuered vnto him by a more certaine presumption, than any or all the testimonies which prophane antiquity had preferred & left to their successors: which their wise men (as they terme them) did lay vp and defend from the injury of the time and other hazards. For, leauing to remember that *Adam* instructed *Seth*, and *Seth* his children and successors, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifest, that *Methusalem* liued together with *Adam* himselfe two hundred forty and three yeares, and *Noah* with *Methusalem* no lesse than five hundred yeares: and before *Noah* died, *Abraham* was fifty and eight yeares old; from whence this knowledge by an easie and ordinary way might come to Israel, and so to *Moses*.

30

But besides this tradition, it is questionlesse, that the vse of letters was found out in the very infancy of the World, proued by those prophecies written on pillars of stone and bricke by *Enoch*: of which *Iosephus* affirmeth, that one of them remained euen in his time (meaning belike some ruine or foundation thereof) which pillars by others are ascribed to *Seth*. But of these prophecies of *Enoch*, *Saint Iude* testifieth; and (some part of his Bookes (which contained the course of the Starres, their names and motions) were afterward found in *Arabia felix*, in the Dominion of the Queen of Saba (saith *Origen*) of which *Tertullian* affirmeth, that hee had seene and read some whole Pages. It is not therefore strange, that *Moses* came to the knowledge of the Creation, and story of

Cabala est scientia Theologia non vocalata, P. M. 82. Miran. 110. fol.

Ind. Ep. 7. 14. Origen. Homil. 1. in Num.

of the first Age, seeing he might receive it both by tradition and letters, had not the Spirit of God instructed and inspired him as it did : which also his many and strange miracles (performed before he wrote the Scriptures) make more manifest.

Orig. Homil. 18.  
in Num. &  
comment. in  
Evang. Ioh. 8.  
Gelaf. diff. 1. §.

Now for the Bookes of *Enoch*, howsoever some men make question of them, sure I am that *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Augustine*, *Beda*, *Procopius*, *Gazem*, (with others) cite them in their writings: although *Medina*, for an argument to prove them unwritten traditions, alledgeth that Pope *Gelasius* among other the Apocryphall Scriptures (which he reiecteth) named not these of *Enoch*; but that whatsoever was remembered out of them, the same was delivred by Tradition from the Jewes. But I rather thinke with *Perriner*, that such a Book there was, & that the same was corrupted after the death of the Apostles, & many things added thereunto by Heretikes, who tooke occasion vpon the antiquity therof, and out of that place of *Michael* contending with the Devil about the body of *Moses*, to frame and adde thereunto many inventions of their owne. One of the greatest arguments against these Bookes, is, that neyther *Philo* nor *Iosephus* (the most diligent searchers of Antiquity) make mention thereof. But against it I will set this opinion of Saint *Augustine*, *Scriptisse quidem nonnulla divina Enoch, illum septimum ab Adam, nos non possumus: That Enoch, the seventh from Adam, did write divers divine things, we cannot deny*. Now his writings which came afterwards to light, were suspected because of the antiquity, and of fables of Giants, supposed to be begotten of Angels, and others; and by so much the more, because no such Book was found amongst those Canonical Scriptures, kept by the diligence of the Hebrew Priests in *Armario Indaeo* (saith *Tertullian*) who yet affirmeth that this Booke might be preferred by *Noah*. Surely, that *Enoch* wrote the prophecies remembered by *Isaie*, no man can deny; how they were delivred to posterity, I know not; whether by the Jewes *Cabala*, or by what other meanes, the same is but mans coniecture. And (certainly) by the knowledge ascribed to *Noah* of the motions of the Heavens, and of the natures and conjunctions of the Starres; and afterwards to some of his sonnes, to *Zoroaster*, and then to *Abraham*, it is very probable that *Noah* had scene and might preferre this Booke. For it is not likely, that so exquisite knowledge therein (as these men had) was suddenly invented and found out, but left by *Seth* to *Enoch*, and by *Enoch* to *Noah*, as hath bene said before. And therefore if letters and arts were knowne from the time of *Seth* to *Enoch*, and that *Noah* lived with *Methusalelem*, who lived with *Adam*, and *Abraham* lived with *Noah*, it is not strange (I say) to conceive how *Moses* came to the knowledge of the first Age, be it by letters, or by *Cabala* & tradition, had the vndoubted word of God need of any other prooffe than self-authority.

Tert. de habit.  
mulierum.

Hebr. 11. §.

### §. VII.

Of the men of renowne before the Flood.

Now let vs consider the relation of *Moses*, who nameth seven descents of *Cains* children, and of *Adam* by *Seth* ten; *Seth* being given by God in stead of *Abel*, and of *Seth* was *Enosh* begotten, in whose time men began to professe Religion, and to offer sacrifice in publike. For although *Adam* instructed his children in the knowledge of God their Creator, as appeared by the sacrifice offered by *Cain* and *Abel*; yet it seemeth that after the birth of *Enosh* men began publicly to call on the name of the Lord, that is, they served and praised God by Communion and in publike manner, or calling vpon the Name of the Lord; and thereby were the sonnes of God or the godly distinguished from the wicked. From the birth of *Enosh* the sonne of *Seth*, to the time of *Henoch* the sonne of *Iared*, there is nothing remembered by *Moses*, but their owne births, the birthes of their sonnes, the length of their liues, and deaths. But of *Henoch* it is written, *That hee walked with God, and hee was no more scene*: for God tooke him away. By that, *that hee walked with God*, was meant, that hee was a iust and vpriight man, and that he feared, loued, and obeyed God. For the same phrase *Moses* vseth of *Noah*; *Noah was a iust and vpriight man in his time, and Noah walked with God*. The Seventy conuert it, *Enoch placuit Deo; Enoch pleased God*. And although *Aben-Ezra* and others vnderstand this place, *(tulit enim Deus) scilicet, mortuus est; God tooke him away, (that is) hee dyed*, which (indeede) agreeth both with the phrase of the Scripture, and with our manner of speech to this day, to say, God tooke him away, when he dyed; yet the difference which *Moses* maketh betweene the piety of *Henoch*, and the rest of the Patriarchs,

Gen. 5. 14.

6. §.

patriarchs, and by omitting the word (death) which he vseth to himselfe, makes it manifest, that *Henoch* was not dissolued as the rest. For to all the rest of the Patriarchs, *Moses* vseth these words, *And he dyed*; but of *Henoch* he spake otherwise, saying onely, *He was missing, or he was not scene*. *Et non inueniebatur* (saith the Apostle to the Hebrewes) *quia Deus eum transiulit; And he was not found, for the Lord tooke him away*. In the same place it is expressly added, *that he saw not death*.

But whether this taking away of *Henoch* were not with the same kinde of changing, which *S. Paul* promisseth, when he saith, *that when the end shall come, wee shall not all dye, but all shall be changed*, I leave it to the learned Diuines.

After *Henoch*, *Moses* passeth ouer to *Methusalelem* and *Lamech*, remembring (as of the rest) the times of their birth and death: sauing that *Lamech* prophesied of his sonne *Noah*, saying, *This same shall comfort vs concerning our worke, and sorrow of our hands, as Gen. 5. 29. touching the earth which the Lord hath cursed*. Of *Noah*, *Moses* writeth more amply than of any of the rest of *Adams* children by *Seth*, because the last of the ten generations of the first Age, whom God (with his Family) preferred, because he was an vpriight man in his time, and feared God.

But of the wares, peace, gouernement, and policy of these strong and mighty men, so able both in body and wit, there is no memory remaining: whose stories if they had bin preferred, and what else was then performed in that newnesse of the World, there could nothing of more delight haue been left to posterity. For the exceeding long liues of men (who to their strength of body and naturall wits, had the experience added of 800. and 900. yeares) how much of necessity must the same adde of wisdom and vnderstandings? Likely it is, that their workes excelled all whatsoever can be told of after-times, especially in respect of this old age of the World, when wee no sooner begin to know, but wee begin to die; according to *Hippocrates*: *Vita brevis, ars longa, tempus preceps*; (which is) *Life is short, art is long, and time is headlong*. And that those people of the first age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of these words of *Moses*: *These were mighty men, which in old time were men of renowne*. But these men of renowne (whom the Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both for strength of body, and cruelty of mind) trusted so much to their owne abilities, as they forgot altogether the piety of *Seth*, and the waies wherein *Henoch* walked: for all the imaginations of their hearts were euill, and continually euill. And this wickednesse was not only found in the issues of *Cain*, but it was then vniuersall, when the children & sons of God (or of the godly) were corrupted and misled by their idolatrous wiues, the daughters of *Cain*, or of those other men, louing themselves and the world only.

That these sonnes of God were Angels, which being taken with the beauty of women, accompanied them and begat Giants, some of the Fathers supposed, namely, *Lanclanti*, and *Pusebim*, misled by *Iosephus*: of whom I cannot doubt, but that they afterward changed their former opinions. And of this mistaking many Writers haue taken great advantage, and haue troubled themselves with large answers, and very needelless: the question being vncapable of dispute, especially since *S. Chrysostome* and *S. Augustine* haue answered it largely long agoe. For that good and godly men were honoured with the title of Gods children, it doth euery where appeare in the Scripture; & on the contrary, to thinke that Angels, who (as *Christ* witnesseth) beheld the face of God, (that is) alwaies attend his commandements, should after a separation from the rest which sel with *Lucifer*, forsake the glorious presence of their Creator, and become *Incubi*, or *Succubi*, contrary both to Nature and Grace, were more than madnesse to imagine.

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### §. VIII.

That the Giants by *Moses* so called, were indeed men of huge bodies: as also diuers in later times.

Of these Giants which *Moses* calleth mighty men, *Giropius* became an *Answerian* (who thought his owne wit more Giganticall than the bodies of *Nimrod* or *Hercules*) hath written a large discourse, intituled *Gigantomachia*, and strayed his braines to proue, that there were neuer any such men: his reasons (whofore he desires to lose time) he may finde them in the Treatise before named. It is true that *Cyriacus* reproues the Grecians Poets for their monstrous fictions: who asseme shamelessly, That



That the Giants haue in elder times not onely cast vp Mountaines vpon Mountaines, but remoued Ilands out of the Sea, with like fooleries. And for that inuention of casting vp Hills, and making warre with the gods, no doubt but that the same was borrowed out of the story of *Nimrod*, as before remembred; and euen out of this Scripture, That the Sonnes of God saw the Daughters of Men, of whom the first Giants were begotten, was that conceit taken of *Orpheus* and *Hesioidus*, That Giants were the sonnes of the Heauen and the Earth; meaning by the Heauens the sonnes of God, and by the Earth the daughters of Men: which verses of *Orpheus* are by *Iohn Cassian* (who hath written a witty discourse of this subject) thus changed into Latine:

*Nomine caelestes illos dixere Gigantes,  
Orti quod terrâ fuerint & sanguine celi.*

From the Earth, and from thy bloud, O heauen, they came,  
Whom thereupon the gods did Giants name.

But what will not Opiniators and selfe-beleeuing men dispute of, and make doubt of, if they cannot conceine that there were in the first Age such kind of men; and of which there haue bene in all times since; seeing the Scriptures auow the one manifestly, and common experience the other?

And for that superlatiue frayning of words, and the meaning of them, that the name of Giants was giuen to Oppressors and Tyrants, and not to strength of body and eminent stature: such men might with better reason call them Oppressors, because they were Giants; and therefore had ability to oppress, than say, That they were called Giants only, because Oppressors. For first, *Moses* himselte calleth them mighty men, which sheweth a strength surpassing others: and afterwards, men of renowne, (that is) of great vnder-taking and aduenterous action. And if the same stature of body, and ability had not bene found among diuers Nations after the generall flood, then might this place of *Moses* haue more willingly hearkened to a dispute, and yeelded to interpretation.

But besides all these famous Giants found in prophane Histories (which I will referre to accompany the Giants of Albion, in the story of Britanie) the Scriptures doe cleerly and without all allegorickal construction auow, That, besides *Nimrod*, there were found of these Giants in the time of *Abraham*, of *Moses*, of *Iesus*, and of *Dauid*; namely, the Rephaims in Acherath; the Zuzai or Zanzumims in Ham, and the Enims which dwelt anciently in the Land of Moab: whom *Moses* (for stature) compareth with the Anakims which dwelt in Hebron; for they also were taken for giants as the Anakims. Like-wise where *Moses* speaketh of the Land of Ammon hee vseth these words: That also was taken for a Land of Giants, for Giants dwelt therein afore-times: & whom the Ammonites call Zanzumims: a people that was great, and many, and tall as the Anakims. And these Giants called Rephaims in Acherath and Karnaim, & the Zuzai or Zanzumims, *Chedorlamer* king of Elam ouerthrew, assisted by other kings his associates. Also the Prophet *Amos* found among the Ammonites men of giant-like stature, whom he compareth to the Cedar, & whole strength to the Oke; and the Prophet *Baruch*, These were the Giants famous from the beginning, that were of so great stature, and so expert in warre. Particularly it is written of *Og* king of Basan, that his bed of yron was nine cubits long, and four cubits broad: for only *Og* king of Basan remained of the remnant of the Giants, who commanded the Kingdom of Basan, foure hundred yeares after the Expedition of *Chedorlamer*. Moreover, those Discouersers and Searchers of the Land of Promise (sent by *Moses* from Cadisbarne in Paran) made report at their returne of the great stature of those people in generall, and especially of the sonnes of Anak, in these words: All the people which we saw in it are men of great stature: for there we saw Giants, the sons of Anak, which come of the Giants: so that we seemed in our sights like Grass-hoppers, and so wee were in their sight, (that is) the Searchers found in their owne iudgements a maruellous difference between the Anakims and themselves: inso much that the Israelites were so stricken with feare, as they rather sought and desired to return againe into Egypt, and were more willing to endure their former slavery, than to fall by the strokes of those fearefull Nations.

Furthermore, the Scriptures, put vs out of doubt, that *Goliath* the Philistine of Gath, was a Giant of sixe cubits & a span long: the Armour which he wore weighed foue thousand shickles of bras: the shitt of his speare was like a Weauers beame, and his speare-head weighed sixe hundred shickles of yron. Also in *Samuel* there is mention of another *Goliath*

Gen. 14. 5.

Num. 13. 34.

Deut. 1. 28. 29.

Verse 21.

Amos 1.

Bar. 3. 10. 16.

Deut. 3. 11. 12.

Num. 13. 33. 34.

2. Sam. 21. 6.

1. Sam. 17. 4.

2. Sam. 21. 16. 19. weighed sixe hundred shickles of yron. Also in *Samuel* there is mention of another *Goliath*

of another *Goliath*, surnamed *Gethew*, because he was of Gath: and of three other Giants; of which the first was slaine by *Iehonathan*, *Dauid*'s Nephew, who had twelue fingers, and as many toes: a man of great stature, and his fingers were by sixes, euen foure & twenty.

Also that *Samson* was of surpassing strength, no man doubteth, who tore a Lion as he had bene a Kid, and after slue thirty of the Philistines, & (after that) a thousand more of them with a law-bone of an Ass: And lastly, hee tooke the gates of Azzah, and the two Posts, and lifted them away with the barres, and put them vpon his shoulders, and carried them to the top of the Mountaine before Ebron. If then it be approued by euery iudgement, that both Nature and the Heauens waxe old, and that the great age of Time hath (with it selfe) infeebleed and almost worne out the vertue of all things, then, I say, That as in all other kindes the Earth (before that Sinne had increased the curse and corruption) brought forth her yongue ones more strong and beautifull, than it did in after-ages: so also those Giants, those mighty men, and men of renowne, as far exceeded the proportion, nature, and strength of those Giants, remembred by *Moses* of his own time, and after him their successors, as the ordinary proportion of all men in generall, soon after the flood and in times farre off, exceeded the bulkes and bodies of men which are now borne in the withered quarter and Winter of the World. If therefore Giants were common in the third and fourth age, much more in the first flourishing youth and newnesse of the world.

But the wickednesse (especially in cruelty and oppression) of these men was such, as God therefore by the flood gaue end to all flesh, but to the iust *Noah* and his Family. And God repented him that hee had made man: which *S. Augustine* thus expoundeth; *Nescimus* Gen. 6. 6. *scit* hominem, ita Deum facti sui penitet, cuius est de omnibus omnino rebus tam fixa sententia. De Cuius Dei, 1. 15. 6. 15. *tis, quam certa praesentia. Sed si non uisatur Scriptura talibus uerbis, non se quodammodo familiaris insinuat omni generi hominum, quibus uult esse consultum: ut & perterreat superbientes, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat quarentes, & alacres intelligentes; God (saith he) doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done: (as men use to doe) but if the Scripture did not use those words or the like, it should not (in a sort) insinuate it selfe familiarly to all sorts of men, for whom it would provide: that it might terrifie the proud, stirre up the negligent, exercise the searchers of truth, and nourish those that understand.*

## CHAP. VI.

Of idolatrous corruptions, quickly rising, and hardly at length vanishing in the world: and of the Reliques of Truth touching these ancient times, obscurely appearing in Fables and old Legends.

## S. I.

That in old corruptions we may finde some signes of more ancient truth.

BEFORE we proceede any further, the occasion offereth it selfe for vs to consider, how the Greekes and other more ancient Nations, by fabulous inuentions, and by breaking into parts the Story of the Creation, and by deliuering it ouer in a mytticall sense, wrapping it vp mixed with other their owne trumpery, haue sought to obscure the truth thereof; and haue hoped, that after-ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receiue those inter-mixt discourses of God and Nature, for the inuentions of Poets & Philosophers, and not as any thing borrowed or stolne out of the Bookes of God. But as a skilfull and learned Chymist can as well by separation of visible elements draw helpfull medicines out of poyson, as poyson our of the most healthfull herbs & plants (all things hauing in themselves both life and death) so, contrary to the purposes and hopes of the Heathen, may those which seeke after God and Truth, finde out euery where, and in all the ancient Poets and Philosophers, the Story of the first Age, with all the works and maruailes thereof, amply and liuely express.

## S. II.

That the corruptions themselves were very ancient: as in the Family of NOAH,  
and in the old Egyptians.

**B**Ut this defection and falling away from God, which was first found in Angels, and afterwards in Men (the one having erred but once, the other euer) as concerning mankind it tooke such effect, that thereby (the liberall grace of God being with-drawne) all the posterity of our first Parents were afterwards borne and bred in a world, suffering a perpetual Eclipse of spirituall light. Hence it was that it produced plants of such imperfection and harmful quality, as the waters of the generall flood could not so wash out or depure, but that the same defection hath had continuance in the very generation and nature of mankind. Yea, euen among the few Sonnes of Noah, there were found strong effects of the former payson. For as the children of Sem did inherit the virtues of Seth, Enoch and Noah; so the sonnes of Cham did possesse the vices of the sonnes of Cain, and of those wicked Giants of the first Age. Whence the Chaldeans began soone after the flood to ascribe diuine power and honour to the Creature, which was onely due to the Creator. First, they worshipped the Sunne, and then the fire. So the Egyptians and Phoenicians did not onely learne to leaue the true God, but created twelue seuerall gods, and diuine powers, whom they worshipped, and vnto whom they built Altars and Temples. For Herodotus saith, *Undecim Deorum nomina primos Egyptios in usu habuisse, eoque Graeci ab illis cepisse mutatos, esse, prius Aris, & Imagines, & Tempia Dijs sibi creasse; The Egyptians (saith he) first devised the names of the twelue gods, which the Greeks received from them, who first created vnto themselves Altars, Images, and Temples for the gods.*

Herodotus  
lib. 2.

## §. III.

That in proceffe of time these lesser errors grew greater: as appeareth in the  
grosse Superstitions of the Egyptians.

**B**Ut as men once fallen away from vndoubted truth, doe then after wander for euer more in vices vnkowne, and daily prauile towards their eternal perdition: so did these grosse and blinde Idolaters euery Age after other descend lower and lower, and shrinke and slide downwards from the knowledge of one true & vny God; and did not thereby erre in worshipping mortall men onely, but they gaue diuine reuerence, and had the same respect to Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Fowles, Windes, Earth, Water, Ayre, Fire, to the Morning, to the Evening, to Plants, Trees and Rootes, to Passions and Affections of the Minde, to Palenesse, Sicknesse, Sorrowes, yea to the most vnworthy and basest of all these. Which barbarous blasphemy, Rhodius Anaxandrides describeth in this manner:

Nat. Com. lib.  
cap. 7.

*Bovem colis, ego Deis magis bouem.*

*Tu maximum Anguillam Deum putas: ego  
Obolionum credidi suauissimum.*

*Carnes suis tu caues, at gaudeo*

*Hic maxime: canem colis, quem verbero  
Edentem ubi deprehendo forte obolionum.*

I sacrifice to God the Beefe, which you adore.

I broyle the Egyptian Eeles, which you (as god) implore:

You feare to eate the flesh of Swine I finde it sweet.

You worship Dogges, to beate them I thinke meet,

When they my store deuour

And in this manner IURVENAL.

*Porum aut cape nescis: violare aut frangere morsu:*

*O sancti agnoscas, quibus hec nascuntur in horis*

*Nurula!*

The Egyptians thinke it sinne to wot vp, or to bite:

Their Leekes or Oppons, which they senie with holy rite:

O happy Nations, which of their owne sowing

Haue store of gods in euery Garden growing!

## §. IIII.

## S. IIII.

That from the reliques of ancient Records among the Egyptians and others, the first Idols and  
Fables were invented: and that the first TYPIER was CAIN, VULCAN, TVBAL CAIN, &c.

**B**Ut in so great a confusion of vanities, where among the Heathens themselves there is no agreement or certainty, it were hard to find out from what came the beginnings of these inventions were borrowed, or after what ancient pattern they erected their building, were it not certain, that the Egyptians had knowledge of the first Age, and of whatsoever was done therein, partly from some inscriptions vpon stone or metall remaining after the Flood; and partly from Mizraim the son of Cham, who had learnt the same of Cham, and Cham of his father Noah: for all that the Egyptians write of their ancient Kings, & date of times, cannot be sayned. And though other Nations after them had by imitation their Typists also, their Saturnes, Vulcans, & Mercuries, with the rest, which S. Augustine out of Varro, Eusebius out of many prophane Histories; Cicero, Diodorus Siculus, Arnobius, and many more haue observed, to wit the Phoenicians, Phrygians, Cretians, Greeks, and other Nations, yet was Cain the sonne of Adam (as some very learned men conceiue) called and reputed for the first and ancient Typist; and Adam for the first Statue: for Jupiter was said to haue invented the founding of Cities; and the first Citie of the World was built by Cain, which he called Enoch, of whom were the Henochij before remembered. And so much may be gathered out of Plato in Protagoras, which also Higinius in his 275. Chapter confirmeth. For besides that many Cities were founded by diuers men; *Tamen primus latissimam à primo & antiquissimo loca edificatam: yet the first and largest was built by the first and most ancient TYPIER*, seated in the East parts, or in India, according to that of Moses: *And CAIN dwelt towards the East side of Eden, &c.* where also the Henochij were found after the Flood. And therefore was Jupiter by the Athenians called Polux, a Founder of Cities; and Hercules, an inchoer or strengthener of Cities; (say Phoramus and Pausanias) and that to insper Herceios there were in very many places Altars and Temples erected. And that there were Cities built before the Flood, Plato also witnesseth, as may be gathered in this his affirming, that soone after mankind began to increase, they built many Cities; which, as his meaning, he deliuereth in plaine termes, in his third Booke of Lawes: for he saith, that Cities were built an exceeding space of time before the destruction by the great Flood.

This first Typist of the Ethnicks was then the same Cain, the sonne of Adam, who marrying his owne Sister also Jupiter is said to haue dome inhabited the East, where Stephanus de uribus placeth the Citie Henochia. And besides this Citie of Henoch, Philo Iudeus conceiveth that Cain built sixe others, as Maich, Jared, Tebe, Iesef, Selet and Gebat: but where Philo had this I know not. Now as Cain was the first Typist, and from whom also the Ethnicks had the invention of Sacrifice: so were Tubal, Tubal and Tubal Cain (inventors of Pastorage, Smiths-craft, and Musick) the same, which were called by the ancient prophane Writers, Mercurius, Vulcan, and Apollo; and as there is a likelihood of name between Tubal Cain and Vulcan: so doth Augustine expound the name of Norma or Naamath, the sister of Tubal Cain, to signifie Femina, or beautifull, Voluptas, or pleasure; as the wife of Vulcan is said to be Venus, the Ladie of pleasure and beautie. And as Adam was the ancient and first Saturne, Cain the eldest Jupiter, Ena, Rheia, and Nemea or Naamath the first Venus: so did the Fable of the diuiding of the World betwene the three Brethren the Sonnes of Saturne arise from the true Storie of the diuiding of the Earth betwene the three Brethren the Sonnes of Noah: so also was the Fiction of those Golden Apples kept by a Dragon, taken from the Serpent, which tempted Eua: so was Paradise it selfe transported out of Asia into Africa, and made the Garden of the Hesperides: the prophesies, that Christ should breake the Serpents head, & conquer the power of Hell, occasioned the Fables of Hercules killing the Serpent of the Hesperides, and descending into Hell, and captiuating Cerberus: so out of the taking vp of Henoch by God, was borrowed the conuerfion of their Heroes (the inventors of Religion, and such Arts as the life of man had profit by) into Starres and Heaueonly Signes, and (withall) that leauing of the World, and ascension of Astraea; of which Ouid:

*Prima caelestium terras Astraea reliquit;*

Astraea last of heaueonly Wights the Earth did leaue:

Ouid, lib. 1.

Nat. com. l. 1. c. 2.

For although thereby the *Ethnick*s would vnderstand Iustice it selfe to haue fayled, as it is a vertue abstract, and may bee considered without a person, yet, as it is vsuall among the ancient Poets to describe Vertues and Vices by the persons of men and women, as Desire by *Cupid*, Valour by *Mars*, Beautie or Lust by *Venus*; so doe they also the persons of Men by like Vertues and Vices: and therefore by Iustice and *Misraa*, *Enoch*; the iustice and pietie of *Enoch* being in the same manner exprest, as that of *Noah* was by *Moses*: for *Noah* was said to be a iust man, And *Noa* a it-walked with God. And of *Enoch* it is written, That hee walked with God, and hee was no more seene: for God tooke him away.

Gen. 7.  
Gen. 5. 22, 24.

From this storie also of the first Age, and from that part where *Moses* remembreth the Giants begotten by the sonnes of good men vpon the daughters of the wicked (whom *Moses* calleth mightie men, and men of renowne) did they steale those wondrous great acts of their ancient Kings, and powerfull Giants; and againe their warre vndertaken against the gods, from the building of the Tower of *Babel* by the Giant *Nimrod*, as Saint *Augustine* termeth him. Which warre of their Giants, *Cornelius Senerius* thus describeth:

*Tentare (nesu) olim detrudere mundo  
Sydera, captiuq; Iovis transerre Gigantes  
Imperium, & victo leges imponere caelo.*

The Giants did aduance their wicked hand  
Against the Starres, to thrust them headlong downe;  
And robbing Ioue of his Imperiall Crowne,  
On conquered Heavens to lay their proud command.

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Whereby was meant that *Nimrod* purposed to raise the building of *Babel* to that height, as God neither by drawing waters from the deepe, nor by any coniunction of the starres, should bury them vnder the moisture of a second Floud, but that by this building (if they had bene herein victorious) they would haue giuen the Law to Heaven it selfe. Also the making of leagues, peace and covenants among Heathen Nations and Kings, confirmed by sacrifice, whereof *Virgil* both in the eighth and twelfth of his *Aeneides* hath a touch, was (as it seemeth) borrowed from *Moses*, *Exod. 24.* who when he read the Booke of the Couenant, sprinkled the people with blood.

Iob. l. 1. contra  
Ap. ian.

We find also many remembrances of *Seth*, the paternall Ancestor of *Henoch* and *Noah*: for *Amenophis*, the same King of *Egypt*, which reigned at such time as *Moses* carried thence the children of *Israel*, (as of late some learned men, mistaking his time, supposed) called his sonne and successeur *Setho*, of *Seth*: and of the same *Seth* (as many men of good iudgement haue granted) were the Princes of *Thrace*, called *Scouthes*, whereof there were many very famous. But herein was the memorie of *Seth* most manifestly preferred, that the *Egyptians* worshipped *Seth*, as their most ancient parent, and of the first tradition: in honour of whom they called a principall Province *Sethetica*. We also finde in *Bithynia* the Citie of *Sethia*, and others of the same name elsewhere. And sure, from the *Egyptians* did the *Grecians* borrow this kinde of Theologie, though they scorned to acknowledge any antiquitie preceeding their owne: and that they might not seeme to learne elsewhere, they gaue the same names to their owne Idols, which the *Egyptians* did to theirs.

## §. V.

Of the three chiefe IVPITERS; and the strange storie of the third.

**B**Vt of all those armies of *Iupiters* remembred by the Ancients, *Cicero* maketh but three, because those were of most fame: which other Writers haue also done, who fought out, and laboured in their originals.

The first was *Iupiter*, the sonne of *Aether* and *Dies*, so called, because the one had reference to his celestiall conditions (for *Aether* is as much as shining or pure fire;) the other discovered his naturall vertues; which dayes and times make more perfect, and are the witness of mens actions.

The second was said to be the sonne of *Caelum* or Heauen, for the same former respect; and this *Iupiter* was an *Arcadian*, and King of *Athens*.

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The third, of whom all the *Grecian* fables were denised, was of *Crete* (now *Candia*) the sonne of *Saturne* and *Ops*. The name derived from the Latine is taken of *Iovans Pater*, from the Grecke word *Zeus*; it signifieth life, but somewhat strayned. *Boetius* in his Genealogie of the gods, conceiueh, that his name was borrowed from *Iupiter* the Planet; but whether that starre had such a name, before the same was giuen to men, I know not. *Iupiter* is hot and moist, temperate, modest, honest, aduenturous, liberall, mercifull, louing, and faithfull (that is) giuing these inclinations. And therefore those ancient Kings beautified with these conditions, might be called thereafter *Iupiter*, but howsoeuer they were, or were not with those vertues enriched, yet, by imitation, all Kings, in the eldest times assumed those Titles and Sir-names: great Princes affecting as high Titles of honour and reputation in the world, (howsoeuer deserued) as the worthyest, that euer were, acquired by their well deseruings. Ioues omnes Reges vocarunt antiqui; The Ancients called all Kings *Iupiters*, as *Tacitus* in his *Varia historia* confirmeth: Reges olim Ioues vocarunt omnes; In old times all Nations called their Kings *Iupiters*. But where this last and most remembred *Iupiter* was borne, it is vncertaine. Some there are that make him of *Crete*: others, that hee was but sent thither by his mother *Ops* of *Nat. com. l. 1. c. 7* *Opis*, to be fostered and hidden from the furie of *Titan* his vnkle: because it was conditioned betwene *Saturne* and *Titan*, that *Saturne* being a younger brother, and reigning (for his owne life) by *Titan*s permission, hee should put to death all his male children, lest the *Titans* might be interrupted by any of them in their succession; which agreement, because *Saturne* performed in his first borne, it is sayned that *Saturne* deuoured his owne children. Hereof *Lycophron*, thus turned into Latine;

*Iland sit pignior,* *Saturne* to be the fatter, is not knowne,  
*Cruda sepulchrum quid sit ipse filijs.* By being the graue and buriall of his owne.

This composition betwene *Titan* and *Saturne*, *Syllaba* also witnesseth in these;

*Conceptis verbis; TITAN Iurare coegit  
SATVRNVM, de senatuum nutria vllum,  
Quo possint regnare senis post fata Nepotes.*

Things thus agreed: *Titan* made *Saturne* sweare  
No sonne to nourish; which by reigning might  
Vsurp the right of *Titan*s lawfull heire.

But *Opis* the mother of *Iupiter*, being deliuered at once both of *Iupiter* and *INO*, conveyed *Iupiter* (first called *Lysanirus*) into *Crete*, as shee did afterwards his two brothers, *Neptune* and *Pluto*: where he was brought vp in *Gnosus*, the chiefe Citie of that Iland, by *Cressa* the King, or by the *Curetes*, a people and nation thereof.

Ense in Temp.

Other challenge him to be of *Thebes* and a *Theban*: others call him an *Arcadian*: others make him of *Meſſena*. The like contention is found among the *Greekes* touching his education and first fostering. Some affirme, that he was fed by *Hony-bees*: in recompence whereof he changed their blacke coats and skins into yellow; a reward well fitting such a god: others, that he was nourished by *Bears*: others, by *Goates*: and of all these the idle *Greekes* haue many pretty tales. But in the end when *Titan* had knowledge, that *Saturne* had broken his faith, he set on him, and tooke him & his wife prisoners, whom *Iupiter* againe rescued and deliuered.

But lastly, the father and the sonne equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. *Saturne* being the lesse powerfull, fled into *Italie*, & left his Kingdomes in *Greece* to his sonne. And although this Prince at the first purchased great honour, and for his many vertues the name of *Iupiter* was giuen him; yet, after hee vvas once settled and became potent, he gaue himselfe ouer wholly to palliardize and adulterie, without all respect of Honour, Law, or Religion. And it is reported by such as doe ascribe the actions of many to one *Iupiter*, that not therewith satisfied, hee was afterwards knowne to offend in the sinne of *Sodomie* with *Ganimedes* and others; and did not onely begin with incest, marrying his owne sister *Iuno*, but he rauished, betrayed, stole away, and tooke by strong hand all the beautifull women borne in his time, within the limits of his owne Kingdomes, or bordering them. Among whom these hereafter written, were of greatest fame, *Niobe*, *Laodamia*, and *Alceuenia*, the wife of *Amphitryon*, by whom hee had *Pelafagus*, *Sarpedon*, *Argus*, and *Hercules*: by *Taygete* he had *Taygeteus*, of whom the Mountaine *Taygetus* tooke name, with another sonne called *Saon*, of whom *Saonora*:

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by

by *Antiope* he had *Amphion* and *Zetus*: by *Leda*, *Cassor* and *Pollux*, *Heleu* and *Clytemnestra*: by *Danae*, *Perseus*: by *Jordana*, *Dencalion*: by *Charme* (the daughter of *Eubulus*) *Britomartis*: by *Protegenia*, he had *Ariblin* the father of *Eudymius*: and by *Io* (the daughter of *Imachus*) *Epaphus*, the founder of *Memphis* in *Egypt*: which *Epaphus* married *Libya*, of whom that Countrey tooke name, for so the Greekes afterward called *Africa*. He rauished *Aegina* the daughter of *Asopus*, and caried her into the Iland *Oenopia* or *Oenotria*, afterward called *Aegina*, on whom he begat *Aecus*: by *Torbibia* he had *Archeblau* and *Carbinus*: by *Ora*, *Colaxes*: hee had also *Dardanus* by *Eledra*, who built *Dardanium*, afterward *Ilium* and *Troy*. He begat the brothers *Taliet*, on *Thalia*, and on *Garamantis*, *Hiarbas*. He had besides these (if they be not their chiefe God) *Philus* and *Pulumnus*, inueters of the Bakers craft, and I know not how many more; but I know well that he could not be father to all these, who were borne in ages so farre differing. And of these his feuerall rauishments, betrayings, stealing away of mens wiues, daughters, and sonnes, buying of virgins, and the like, came in all those ancient fables of his transformations into shoures of gold, eagles, buls, birds, and beasts: and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of *Greecian* forgeries. And yet did not the *Greekes* and *Romans* feare to entitle this Monster, *Optimus Maximus*, though *Cicero* in his Second Booke, de *natura Deorum*, affirme, that hee deserued nothing lesse; and in his Oracion, pro domo sua, reprocheth *Clodius* for his incest, by the name of *Iupiter*. His Buriall was in *Cræte* (saith *Lucian*.) *Cretenses non solum natum apud se sepulchrum Iouem testantur, sed etiam sepulchrum eius ostendunt*: The *Cretians* or *Candians* doe not onely auow that *Iupiter* was borne and buried among them, but they shew his graue and sepulchre: which *Epiphanius* also confirmeth, for in his time there remayned the monuments of his tombe in the Mountaine *Iafus*. This *Callimachus* in his hymnes also witnesseth, but, as offended thereat, saith thus:

The *Cretians* cuer lyars were, they care not what they say:  
For they a tombe haue built for thee, O King, that liu'lt alway.

*Diodorus Siculus* tells by way of report from the *Libyan* fables, confirmed (as hee saith) by some *Greeke* Writers, that the originall of these gods was from the Westerne parts of *Africa*. For there among the *Atlantida* reigned one *Phranus* (which signifieth Heauen) called so for his great skill in *Astrologie*, and for his knowledge, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a god after his death. He had by many wiues 45. sons; but by his principall wife *Titea*, he had seuentene sonnes and two daughters, all which were called after their mothers name the *Titanes*. Of *Titea*, likewise it is said, that shee for her goodnesse was canonized as a goddesse, being dead, and called the Earth, as her husband was stiled Heauen. But of all the children of *Titea*, her daughter *Bastia* (which name founding as *Queene* in *English*, shee is by the Latine translator of *Diodorus* called *Regina*) excelling the rest as farre in vertue as in yeares, was by generall consent of her brethren, and of the people, appointed to rule as *Queene* after his fathers death, being as yet a Virgin. Shee tooke to husband her brother *Hyperion*, to whom shee bare a sonne and a daughter, called *Sunne* and *Moon*. The beautie and towardlinesse of these children moued her brethren to enuy, & bred in them a feare of being excluded from the succession: wherefore they tooke the boy and drowned him in the Riuer *Eridanus*, now called *Rhe*. The losse of this child caused his sister to breake her owne necke; and the losse of both her children made the mother to play many mad pranks, dancing with Cymbals, after a wilde fashion, in sight of all the people, before whom shee is said to haue vanished away. Ere shee dyed, her sonne (as the fable hath it) signified vnto her in a dreame, that hee and his sister, by the prouidence of God, should become immortall, that also the *Sunne* and *Moon* should be called by their names, and that their death should be reuenged vpon the murderers. According to which it is said, that the people did so call those two Planets, and vntill held her selfe as a goddesse, and termed her the great Mother, vvhich name they had formerly giuen to her, for her motherly care in cherishing her brethren vvhilst they were young. *Hyperion* and his Race being extinguished, the other sonnes of *Phranus* diuided the Kingdome. Of these *Atlas* and *Saturne* were chiefe. *Atlas* reigned ouer the countries lying about the Mountaines, which afterward bare his name; a iust and wise Prince, deeply skilfull in *Astrologie*, and for inuention of the *Sphere*, said to haue supported Heauen.

He

He had many sonnes; but the principall of them called *Hesperus*, being of his fathers qualities and studies, was said to haue beene carried away by the winde, from the top of an high Hill in the midst of his contemplations; and his name in honour of him, imposed by the people vpon the morning starre. The seuen daughters of *Atlas* were also said to haue beene excellent Ladies, who accompanying such as came to be desired, or registered among the Worthies, brought forth children, and were in qualitie to those that begat them. Of these it is held, that the seuen starres called *Pleiades* tooke name. *Saturne*, the brother of *Atlas*, reigned in *Sicilia*, part of *Africk*, and *Italie*. *Iupiter*, another of the sonnes of *Phranus*, reigned in *Cræte*; who had ten sonnes which he called *Curetes*; he called that Iland after his wiues name, *Idea*, in which life hee dyed, and was buried. But this *Iupiter* must not haue beene that great one, but vnto the great *Iupiter*, if these fables of the *Libyans* were true. *Saturne* (as these *Libyans* tell the tale) was a great Tyrant, and fortified strong places, the better to keepe his people in subiection. His sister *Rhea* was married to *Hammon*, who reigned in some part of *Africk*. *Hammon* louing others as well as his wife, or better, got a daughter, called *Minerua*, neare to the Riuer *Triton*, who thereupon was called *Tritonia*. Hee also begat on *Amalthæa* a sonne called *Bacchus*, whom hee caused secretly, for feare of his life, to be brought vp at *Nysa*, an Iland in the Riuer *Triton*, vnder the tuition of his daughter *Minerua*, and certaine *Nymphs*. To *Amalthæa* hee gaue in reward a goodly Countrey, that lay on the Sea-coast, bending in forme of a horne, whence grew the tale of *Amalthæa*'s plentifull horne, famous among the Poets. When *Rhea* heard these newes, shee fled from her husband to her brother *Saturne*, who not onely entertained her as a sister, but tooke her to wife, and at her instigation made warre vpon *Hammon*, vanquished him by assistance of the *Titanes*, and made him flee into *Cræte*. The *Curetes*, *Iupiter*'s children before mentioned, held the Iland at that time; which was new named *Cræte* by *Hammon*, after the name of *Cræta* the Kings daughter, whom hee tooke to wife, and had with her (women, as may seeme, being very gracious in those names) the Kingdome. *Bacchus* was growne a proper young man, had found out the making of wine, the arte of planting trees, and many things else commodious for mankind, before the flight of his mother in law. Now therefore hearing report of all that had hapned, and that *Saturne* was coming against him with the *Titans*; hee leuyed an Armie, to which the *Amazons*, liuing not farre from *Nysa*, added great forces, in loue of *Minerua*, who was entred into their profession. So *Bacchus* leading the men, and *Minerua* the women, they set forward against *Saturne*, met him, ouerthrew him, and taking many of the *Titans* prisoners, returned to *Nysa*; where pardoning the prisoners, that promised to become his true followers, he prepared for a second Expedition. In the second Expedition he behaued himselfe so well, that he wan the loue of all the people by whom he passed; in somuch that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of *Saturne*'s rigorous gouernment, he was greatly strengthened, and the enemie as much infeebled by daily reuolts. Coming to the Citie of *Hammon*, he wan a battaile of *Saturne*, before the very walls. After which, *Saturne* with his wife *Rhea* fled by night, setting the Towne on fire to despight *Bacchus*. But they were caught in their flight, pardoned by *Bacchus*, and kindly entreated. *Saturne* had a young sonne by *Rhea*, called *Iupiter*. This child *Bacchus* tooke with him in a great Expedition that he made into the East Countreies; and coming into *Egypt*, he left this *Iupiter*, being then a boy, Gouernour of the Countrey; but appointed vnto him, as an Ouer-seer, one *Olympus*, of whom *Iupiter* grew to be called *Olympus*. Whilste *Bacchus* trauielled through all Nations, as farre as into *India*, doing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of man; the *Titanes* had found out his father *Hammon* in *Cræte*, and began to warre vpon him. But *Bacchus* returned out of *India*, with whom *Iupiter* from *Egypt*, and his sister *Minerua*, together with the rest, that afterwards were held as gods, joyning all their forces, went into *Cræte*, ouerthrew the *Titanes*, chased them, tooke & slue them, and freed the world of them all. After all this, when *Hammon* and *Bacchus* were dead, they were deified; and the great *Iupiter*, the sonne of *Saturne*, succeeding them, reigned Lord alone ouer all the world, hauing none of the *Titans* left aliue, nor any other to disturbe him. Betweene this tale of the *Libyan* gods, and the Egyptian fables of *Osiris*, there is a rude resemblance, that may cause them both to be taken for the crooked Images of some one true historie. For the Expeditions of *Osiris*, and of

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Bacchus,



In Times.

De legib. l. 10.

Laertius.

quod existit; For MOSES saith, He who is; PLATO, That which is. Now of Gods incomprehensible nature, and of the difficultie either to conceive, or expresse the same, hee giueth this testimonie: *Genitorem vniuersitatis tam difficile est inuenire, quam inuentum impossibile dignè profari; It is as hard to find out the Creator of the vniuersall, as it is impossible, if he were found, to speake of him worthily.* And what can be more agreeable to the Maiestie of Gods Nature, than this property by Plato acknowledged? *Deus bonus, & quidem, Deus causa bonorum: malorum autem omnium non causa; God is absolutely good, and so (assuredly) the cause of all that is good: but of any thing that is evil he is no cause at all: and againe, Charitas Dei fuit causa factiōis mundi, & originis omnium rerum; The love of God was the cause of the worlds creating, and the original of all things.* APULEIUS the Platonist; *Summus Deus infinitus est, non solum loci exclusione, sed etiam naturæ dignitate: Et nihil est Deo similis & gratius, quam vir animo perfectio bonus; The most high God is also an infinite God, not only by exclusion of place, but by the dignitie of nature: neither is there any thing more like or more acceptable to God than a man of a perfect heart.* THALES affirmed that God comprehended all things, and that God was of all things the most ancient: *Quia nunquam esse cepit; Because he neuer had any beginning.* ZENO, that God beheld euen the thoughts of men. ARISTOTELIS, that therefore all men ought to be carefull in the actions of their life, because God was euerie where present & beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to Mises storie of the Creation, than this opinion and description of the Worlds beginning in Euripides, Scholler of ANAXAGORAS?

*Cælum terræq; vnius forma fuit:  
Sed cym fuisse ab initio aplexu mixto,  
Emergit omnis in lucem res progenita,  
Arbores, aues, fera, quæq; affert mare,  
Genusq; mortalium.*

Heauen and Earth one forme did beare:  
But when diu joyncd once they were  
From mutuall embraces,  
All things to light appeared then;  
Of trees, birds, beasts, fishes, and men  
The still-remayning races.

And as in Pythagoras, in Socrates, and in Plato: so we find the same excellent vnderstanding in Orpheus, who euerie where expresse the infinite and sole power of one God; though he vse the name of *Iupiter*, thereby to auoide the enuie and danger of the time; but that hee could attribute those things to the sonnes of men, and mortall creatures, which he doth to this *Iupiter*, there is no man who hath euer heard of God, that can imagine.

*Nomina Deorum (saith MIRANDVLA) quos ORPHEVS canit, non decipientium demonum, à quibus malum & non bonum prouenit: sed naturalium virtutum diuinarumq; sunt nomina; The names of those Gods whom Orpheus doth sing, are not of deceiuing Demits, from whom euill comes, and not goodnesse; but they are the names of naturall & diuine vertues.* Yea, that he yet reacheth higher, and speakech of God himselfe, this his instruction to Musens, and the Hymne following, teach vs: *Refriciens verò ad diuinum hunc sermonem ei diligenter animam aduerte, intendens cordis rationis capax conceptaculum: rectam autem ascendende viam, & solum aspicere mundi Regem. Vnus est ex se genitus, ex eo omnia nata sunt: ipse verò in illis versatur, nec quisquam eum intueri potest mortalium, sed ipse nihilominus omnes intuetur.*

Then marking this my sacred speech, but truly lend  
Thy heart, that's reasons sphere, and the right way ascend,  
And see the worlds sole King. First, he is simply one  
Begotten of himselfe, from whom is borne alone  
All else; in which hee's still: nor could it ere befall  
A mortall eye to see him once, yet hee sees all.

And againe the same Author,

*IUPITER omnipotens, & primus & vltimus idem;  
IUPITER est caput & medium: IOVIS omnia munus.  
IUPITER est fundamen humi & stellantis Olympi.  
IUPITER & mas est, & femina nescia mortu.  
Spiritus est cunctis, validus vir IUPITER ignis.  
Et pelagi radix, SOL, LVNA, est IUPITER ipse  
Rex & origo simul rerum est, & terminus idem.  
Nam prius oculis, magno post numine, sacrum  
Cor referans bonus in dulcem dedit omnia lucem.*

The

The first of all is GOD, and the same last is he.  
GOD is the head and midst, yea from him all things be.  
GOD is the Base of earth, and of the starred skie.  
He is the male and female too, shall neuer die.  
The spirit of all is GOD, the SUNNE and MOON, and what is higher:  
The King, th original of all, of all the end.  
For close in holy brest he all did comprehend,  
Whence all to blessed light, his wondrous power did send.

Now besides these former testimonies, that all the learned men of ancient times were not so stupid and ignorant, as the Egyptians, Grecians, and other Nations by them infected were, I will onely repeate two or three other opinions, and leaue the Reader to those large and learned Collections of Iustine Martyr, Clemens, Laclantius, Eusebius, Eusebinus, Prætor, Plesius, Dancius, and others. For Cleanthes the Stoick, being demanded of what nature God was, described him by these attributes and properties: *Bonus, iustus, sanctus, celsissimus possidens, utilis, speciosus, optimus, seuerus, liber, semper commodus, tutus, gloriosus, caritatis, &c. Good, iust, holy, possessing himselfe, profitable, beautifull, best, seuer, free, alwayes doing good, safe without feare, glorious and selfe-charitie.* EPICURVS affirmed, that God who beheld all things, and pierced euerie nature, was onely and euerie where powerfull: agreeing with DEMOCRITUS: *Rex omnium ipse salus; Hee is the only King of kings: and with Pindarus the Poet, Deus vnus, Pater, creator summus, atq; optimus artifex, qui progressus singulis diuersos secundum merita præbet; One God, the Father, the most high Creator, and best artificer, who giueth to euerie thing diuers proceedings according to their deserts.* This God (saith ANTISTHENES) cannot bee resembled to any thing, and therefore not elsewhere knowne; *Nisi in patria illa perenni, cuius imaginem nullam habes: Sane onely in that euerlasting Countrey, whose image thou hast none at all.* Hereof also XENOPHANES COLOPHONIVS: *Vnus Deus inter deos & homines maximus, nec corpore, nec mente mortalibus similis; There is one God among gods and men most powerfull, neither corporally, nor mentally like unto mortals: and XENOPHON, Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quiescere facit, magnus potensq; quod omnibus pater: qualis autem forma sit, nemini pater, nisi ipse soli, qui nec sua omnia perlufrat; God who shaketh all things, and setteth all things at rest, is great and mightie, as is manifest to all: but of what forme hee is, it is manifest to none, save onely to himselfe, who illuminateth all things with his owne light.*

Finally, Plato saith: *Totius rerum natura causa, & ratio, & origo Deus, summus animi genitor, æternus animantium sospitator, assiduum mundi sus opifex, sine propagatione genitor, neq; loco, neq; tempore ullo comprehensus, eiq; paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis; God is the cause, ground, and original of the whole nature of things, the most high Father of the soule, the eternall preseruer of liuing creatures, the continuall framer of his world, a begetter without any propagation, comprehended neither in any place, nor time; therefore few can conceive him in thought, none can expresse what hee is.* Therefore was it said by S. HEROME, *Sed enim cunctos Philosophorum reuoluas libros, necesse est, ut in eis reperias aliquam partem vestrorum Dei, et apud PLATONEM, fabricatorem mundi, Deum: apud ZENONEM, Stoicorum Principem, in eros & immortales animas &c. If thou consider all the bookes of the Philosophers, thou canst not but find in them some part of the Vessels of God, as in PLATO, God the Creator of the world: in ZENO, Prince of the Stoicks, Heel and immortal soules, &c.*

And this is certain, that if we looke into the wisdom of all Ages, we shall finde that there neuer was man of solid vnderstanding or excellent iudgement: neuer any man whose minde the Arte of education hath not bended, whose eyes a foolish superstition hath not afterward blinded; whose apprehensions are sober, and by a peniue inspicuous aduised; but that he hath found by an vnresistible necessitie, one true God, and euerlasting being, all for euer causing, and all for euer sustayning, which no man among the Heathen hath with more reuerence acknowledged, or more learnedly exprest, than that Egyptian Hermes, howeouer it fayled afterward in his posteritie: all being at length by deuilish policie of the Egyptian Priests purposely obfcurd, who inuented new gods, and those innumerable, best sorting (as the Deuill perswaded them) with vulgar capacities, and fittest to keepe in awe and order their common people.

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## §. VIII.

*That Heathenisme and Iudaisme, after many wounds, were at length about the same time under IULIAN miraculously confounded.*

**B**Vt all these are againe vanished: for the inuentions of mortall men are no lesse mortall than themselves. The Fire, which the Chaldeans worshipped for a God, is crept into euery mans chimney, which the lacke of fuell stauerth, water quencheth, and want of ayre suffocath: *Iupiter* is no more vexed with *Iunoes* ielousies; *Death* hath perswaded him to chastitie, and her to patience; and that *Time* which hath deuoured it selfe, hath also eaten vp both the Bodies and Images of him and his: yea, to their stately Temples of stone and durefull Marble. The houses and sumptuous buildings erected to *Baal*, can no where be found vpon the earth, nor any monument of that glorious Temple consecrated to *Diana*. There are none now in Phœnicia, that lament the death of *Adonis*; nor any in Libya, Creta, Thessalia, or elsewhere, that can aske counsaile or helpe from *Iupiter*. The great god *Pan* hath broken his Pipes, *Apolloes* Priests are become speechlesse, and the Trade of riddles in Oracles, with the Deuills telling mens fortunes therein, is taken vp by counterfeit Egyptians, and cozening Astrologers.

But it was long ere the Deuill gaue way to these his ouerthrowes and dishonours: for after the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* (one of his chiefe Mansions) was many times robbed, burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence the same was often enriched, repayed, and reedified againe, till by the hand of God himselfe it received the last and viter subuerfion. For it was first robbed of all the Idols and Ornaments therein by the Eubæan Pyrates: Secondly, by the Phlegians vtterly sackt: Thirdly, by *Pyrrhus* the Sonne of *Achilles*: Fourthly, by the Armie of *Xerxes*: Fifthly, by the Captaines of the *Phœnices*: Sixthly, by *Nero*, who carried thence five hundred brazen Images: all which were new made, and therein againe set vp at the common charge. But whatfoeuer was gathered betwene the time of *Nero* and *Constantine*, the Christian Armie made spoile of, defacing as much as the time permitted them; notwithstanding all this, it was againe gloriously rebuilt, and so remained till such time as *Iulian* the *Apostata* sent thither to know the successe of his Partian enterprise, at which time it was vtterly burnt and consumed with fire from Heauen; and the Image of *Apollo* himselfe, and all the rest of the Idols therein, molten downe and lost in the earth.

The like successe had the Iewes in the same *Iulians* time, when by his permission they assembled themselves to rebuild the Temple of Ierusalem: for while they were busied to lay the foundations, their buildings were ouerthrowne by an Earthquake, and many thousands of the Iewes were ouerwhelmed with the ruines, and others slaine, and scattered by Tempest and Thunder: though *Am. Marcellinus* report it more fauourably for the Iewes, ascribing this to the nature of that Element. For, saith hee, *Alipius* and the Ruler of the Province of Iudæa, being by *Iulian* busied in the reedifying of this Temple, flaming Balls of fire issuing neere the foundation, and oft consuming the Workmen, made the enterprize frustrate.

## §. IX.

*Of the last refuges of the Deuill to maintaine his Kingdome.*

**N**OW the Deuill, because hee cannot play vpon the open Stage of this World (as in those dayes) and being still as industrious as euer, findes it more for his advantage to creepe into the mindes of men; and inhabiting in the Temples of their hearts, workes them to a more effectuell adoration of himselfe than euer. For whereas hee first taught them to sacrifice to Monsters, to dead Stones cut into faces of Beasts, Birds, and other mixt Natures; he now sets before them the high and shining Idol of glorie, the All-commanding Image of bright Gold. Hetels them that truth is the Goddess of dangers and oppressions: that chastitie is the enemy of Nature, & lastly, that as all vertue (in general) is without taste, so pleasure satisfieth and delighteth euery sence: for true wisdom (saith he) is exercised in nothing else, than in the obayning of power to oppresse, and of riches to maintaine plentifully our worldly delights. And if this *Arch-Politian* find in his pupils any remorse, any feeling or feare of Gods future Iudgement, he perswades them that God hath so great neede of mens soules, that

hee

he will accept them at any time, and vpon any conditions: interrupting by his vigilant endeouours all offer of timefull returne towards God, by laying those great blockes of rugged pouertie, & despised contempt in the narrow passage leading to his diuine presence. But as the minde of man hath two Ports, the one alwaies frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other desolate and ouer-grown with grasse, by which enter our charitable thoughts and diuine contemplations: so hath that of death a double and twofold opening: worldly miserie passing by the one, worldly prosperitie by the other: at the entrance of the one we find our sufferings and patience to attend vs: (all which haue gone before vs to prepare our ioyes) at the other our cruelties, conuoufneffe, licentiousnesse, iniustice, and oppressions (the Harbingers of most fearefull and terrible sorrow) staying for vs. And as the Deuill our most industrious enemy was euer most diligent: so is he now more laborious than euer, the long day of Mankind drawing fast towards an euening, and the Worlds Tragedie and time neere at an end.

## CHAP. VII.

## Of NOAH'S Flood.

## §. I.

*Of Gods fore-warning: and some humane testimonies: and some doubting touching the truth of NOAH'S Flood.*



**I**F this destruction it pleased God to giue warning vnto *Noah*: who (saith *Iosephus*) fearing to perish among the rest, *Secedens cum suis in aliam regionem migravit*: He departed with his children, & translated into another Region. And of these Giants from whom *Noah* withdrew himselfe, *Berosus* writeth in this manner; *That they exceeded in all sorts of inhumane and unchristian wickednesse, and that they were contemptors & religious & Deorum; contemptors of religion and of the Gods: among which might me men (saith Berosus) unus erat qui Deorum, venerantior, & prudentior cunctis, &c. huius nomen erat NOAH, There was one more wise and reuerencing the Gods than the rest, whose name was NOAH: who with his three sons Sem, Iapheth, and Cham, and with their Wiues, and the Wife of Noah, (namely, Titea the great, Pandora, Noela, and Noela) preferred themselves in the Arke. This Arke God commanded Noah to prepare: And God said vnto NOAH, Make thee an Arke of Pine-trees: thou shalt make Cabines in the Arke, and shalt pitch it within, and without with Pitch. For God made Noah to know, that an end of all flesh was at hand, and that the graues of the rebellious and cruell Generations were already fashioned in the Cloudes, which soone after should swallow vp & couer all liuing creatures, which breathed in the Aire: Noah and his family excepted.*

But this vniuersall graue of waters, and generall Deluge hath not bene receiued by all: for diuine testimonies doe not perswade all natural men to those things, to which their owne reason cannot reach: *Dum obscura in obscura veritas latet: whilst the truth lieth wrapt up in obscuritie*. Many there are who haue disputed against the vniuersalitie of this ouerflowing, and haue iudged that this Flood of *Noah* fell but in some particular places and Kingdomes: moued so to thinke, because in elder ages there haue bene many other Floods (as they suppose) of that nature. Hereof *Nicholas Damascenus* writeth in this manner, as his words are cited by *Iosephus*. *Est super Atynia, dam excelsus mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos confugientes sermo est diluuij tempore liberatos: & quendam simul in Arca demeritum in huius vertice habuisse, lignorum reliquias multo tempore conseruatas, qui foras esse sinit, de quoniam MOSES Indorum Religiosus scribit*: thus saith this Author. *There is* (saith he) *aboue Minyads* (or the Countrey of *Minya*) *an exceeding high Mountaine in Armenia, called Baris: on which it is reported, that many hauing fled thither, were saved in the time of the Deluge: and that one was carried in an Arke, and rested vpon the top of the Mountaine, whereon there remained a long time after certaine pieces thereof; and this might bee the same, of which MOSES the Law-giuer of the Iewes maketh mention.* And of this opinion were the

Thal.

*Thalmoditis* (saith *Annius*) that many Giants saved themselves vpon Mount Sion.

But *Beuvius* (who after *Moses* was one of the most ancient, howsoeuer he haue bene since deformed & corrupted) doth in the substance of all agree with *Moses* as touching the generall Flood, taking from thence the beginning of his History in these words: *Ante agnatum cladem famulans, qui uniuersum perijt Orbem, &c. Before that famous destruction of waters, by which the world uniuersall perished: witnessing withall, that Noah with his wife Titea, & his three Sons with their wiues (in all eight persons) were only saved.*

## §. II.

Of the Flood in the time of OGGES: and that this was not NOAH'S Flood.

**B**Ut from the vanitie of the Greeks, the Corrupters of all truth, (saith *Lactantius*) who without all ground of certainty vaunt their Antiquities, came the error first of all: who therein flattering themselves also, sought to perwade the world that there was no Flood preceded the Fould of *Ogyges*, King of the Thebans in Boeotia, or rather of *Attica*; and therefore (saith *Rhodogynius*) *Ogyx* nudi appellans Poeta, tanquam percutit dixerit, ab *Ogyge* vetustissimo: The Poets gave the name of *Ogygia* to things exceeding ancient, as of *Ogyges* the most ancient.

But let *Ogyges* be as ancient as those men can make him, yet it is manifest, that he liued but in *Jacobs* time (though *Eusebius* makes him later, and in *Moses* time) and was borne 67. yeeres after him. There is also an opinion, that *Ogyges* was *Cadmus* (and then was he late latter) as *Rhodogynius* in the ninth Booke of his Antiquities remembereth: *Sans tamen qui in Aegypto regnasse autem hunc: unde sit CADMVS qui in Græciam profectus Thebas condidit, a Bosce inulato sic nuncupatus: quoniam Syrorum lingua Bos dicitur Thebe. There are (saith he) who thinke that this *Ogyges* did reigne in Egypt, whereby he should be *CADMVS*, who trausailing into Greece built Thebes, so named of a Beesse: because in the Syrian Language, a Beesse is called Thebe.*

But this Flood of *Ogyges* fell in the yeere of the World 3440. according to *Eusebius*, who followed the account of the Septuagint: and the Flood of *Noah* in the yeere 2242. after the same account; and so there came 1200. betweene these Floods, wanting but two, though herein *Eusebius* was much mistaken, and corrected this opinion in his *Chronologie*. Now although the very yeere and time of this ouerflowing in *Achaia*, or rather *Attica*, be not precisely set downe, but that there is a great difference among Writers, yet whoeuer makes it most ancient, finds about 500. yeeres difference betweene that and the generall Flood.

For *Paulus Orosius* affirms, that this tempest fell vpon the Athenians, but 1040. yeeres before Rome was built. *Bucholzerus* saith, it was 1043. elder than Rome; which was founded: according to the same *Bucholzerus* in the worlds yeere 3219. though after the account which I follow (and whereof I will giue my reasons in the Story of *Abraham*) it was built in the Worlds yeere 3280. Now the generall Flood preceded the building of Rome (saith *Bucholzerus*) 1563. yeeres: and the Flood of *Ogyges* (as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by easie calculation, that (if he place *Ogyges* in his true age) the difference betweene these two Floods must be 520. yeeres, to which we (allowing 60. more) find 580. And that this of *Ogyges* was not the same of *Noah* (except we call *Noah*, *Ogyges Priscus*, as some doe) it appears by this, that the Flood of *Ogyges* then King of *Attica* or *Ogygia*, did not extend it selfe any further than the banks of *Archi-Pelago*, or the *Aegean* Sea. For whereas *Mela*, *Plinie*, and *Solinus* witness, that the Citie of *Ioppe* in Iudaea was founded before the Flood; and that (notwithstanding the waight of Waters) there remained on certaine Altars of stone the Title of the King, and of his Brother *Phineus*, with many of the grounds of their Religion: sure it is no where found among prophane Historians nor in the Scriptures, that euer the Flood of *Ogyges* spred it selfe ouer any part of Syria, much lesse ouer all the Earth. But that it drowned both the Regions of *Attica* about *Athens*, and that of *Achaia* in *Peeloponnesus*, it is very probable. For it seemeth that at that time it was, when *Helice* and *Bura* were swallowed vp (Cities sitated on the North part of *Peeloponnesus*): of which *Ouid*:

*Si queras Helicen, & Bura, Achaidos urbes,  
Inuenies sub aquis.*

*Si queras Helicen, & Bura, Achaidos urbes,  
Inuenies sub aquis.*

*Bura* and *Helice*, on *Archaian* ground  
Are sought in vaine, but vnder Sea are found.

Of this Flood of *Ogyges* was inuented the Fable of *Apollo* and *Diana*. For *Latona*, the daughter of *Cæus*, the sonne of *Titan*, being beloued and forced by *Iupiter*, and by him gotten with child, *Iuno* thereat enraged, permitted her (as they say) no part of the Earth to be deliuered on; & withall, caused the monstrous Serpent *Python* to follow & affright her, wherefoeuer she travelled: till at length arriving at the Ile of *Ortygia*, she was there receiued; in which she was deliuered, first of *Diana*, and then of *Apollo*, being Twins: whereof *Barlaam* makes this exposition: That at such time as the Deluge (which happened in *Ogyges* his reigne) ceased, out of the abundant moisture of the Earth (heat by putrefaction being thereto mixed) there were exhaled such thick mists and foggies, that in *Attica*, and along the Coasts of the *Aegean* Sea, neither the beames of the Sunne by day, nor of the Moone by night, could pierce the ayre; or be perceived by the inhabitants: so as when at length (the Earth being dried, and these vapours dissipated) the ayre began to be cleare, the people of *Ortygia* clyped the light of the Moone somewhat before day, & in the same morning the Sunne also appeared: fabulously (because *Diana* represented the Moone, and *Apollo* the Sunne) they were reported to be borne in the Ile of *Ortygia*, thereof afterwards called *Delos*; which signifieth manifestation.

And surely it is not improbable, that the Flood of *Ogyges*, being so great, as Histories haue reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the ayre, sensibly discerned in those parts, and some vnusuall face of the Skyes. *Varro* in his Booke of *gente populi Romani* (as he is cited by *Saint Augustine*) reporteth out of *Cæsar*, that so great a miracle happened in the Starre of *Venus*, as neuer was seene before, nor in later times. For the colour, the greatnesse, the figure, and the course of it, were changed. This fell out, as *Adraflus Cyprianus*, and *Dionysopolites*, famous Mathematicians, affirmed, in the time of *Ogyges*.

Now concerning the course of that or any other Planet, I doe not remember, that I haue any where read of so good Astrologers, flourishing among the Greeks, or elsewhere in those dayes, as were likely to make any calculation of the revolutions of the Planets, so exact, that it should need no information. Of the colour and magnitude, I see no reason why the difference found in the Starre of *Venus*, should be held miraculous; considering, that lesser mists and foggies than those which couered Greece with so long darknesse, doe familiarly present our senses with as great alterations in the Sunne and Moone. That the figure should varie, questionlesse it was very strange: Yet I cannot hold it any prodigie: for it stands well with good reason, that the side of *Venus* which the Sunne beholds, being enlightened by him, the opposite halfe should remaine shadowed, whereby that Planet would, vnto our eyes, descrying onely that part whereon the light falleth, appeare to be horned, as the Moone doth seeme; if distance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehension of our senses.

A worthy Astrologer now liuing, who by the helpe of perceiving Glasses hath found in the Starres many things vnknowne to the Ancients, affirmeth so much to haue bene discovered in *Venus* by his late obseruations. Whether some watry disposition of the ayre might present as much to them that liued with *Ogyges*, as *Gallienus* hath seen through his Instruments; I cannot tell: sure I am, that the discouerie of a truth formerly vnknowne, doth rather conuince Man of ignorance, than Nature of error. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but particular Flood of *Ogyges*, was (as appeareth by this of *Saint Augustine*) accompanied with such vnusuall (and therefore the more dreadfull, though naturall) signes, testifying the concurrence of causes with effect: as that inundation; whereas the Flood of *Noah*, which was generally, and altogether miraculous, may seeme to haue had no other token, or fire shewing, than the long preaching of *Noah* himselfe, which was not regarded; for they were eating and drinking, when the Flood came suddenly, and took them all away.

## §. III.

Of DEVCALIONS Flood: and that this was not NOARS Flood: nor the Vmbri  
in Italie a remnant of any vniuersall Flood.

**A** Second Flood of great fame, and of which the time is more certaine, was that of  
Deucalion in Thessalia, of which S. Augustine out of Varro: His temporibus (us  
Varro scribit) regnante Atheniensibus CRANAO, successore CECROPS (us au-  
tem nostri, EUSEBIUS & HIERONYMVS) adhuc eadem CECROVE permanente, diluuium  
fuit, quod appellatum est DEVCALIONIS: (that is) In these times (as Varro reporteth)  
CRANAEVS the successor of CECROPS governing the Athenians, or as our EUSEBIUS and  
HIEROMEVS) CECROPS yet living, that Flood (called DEVCALIONS) happened.

And in the beginning of the eleuenth Chapter of the same eighteenth Booke, he vseth  
these words: Edixit ergo MOSES ex Egypto populum Des nouissimo tempore Cecropis  
Atheniensium Regis, cum apud Assyrios regnaret Alcatades, apud Sicyonios Marathus,  
apud Argiuos Tripas: Moses led the people of God out of Egypt about the latter time  
of Cecrops King of the Athenians, Alcatades reigning over the Assyrians, over the  
Sicyonians Marathus, and over the Argiuos Tripas. So as leauing the curiositie of a  
few yeeres, more or lesse, it appeareth, that this Flood of Deucalion was either at the e-  
gression of the children of Israel out of Egypt, or neere it: and then after Noah 753.  
yeeres, according to Funtilius, who makes Cecrops to liue in the yeere of the World 2409.  
or if we follow Mercator, then 739. yeeres after Noah, and in the yeere of the World  
2395. But if Deucalion were borne in the age of the World 2356. according to Coda-  
man; then giuing vnto Deucalion 40. yeeres of age when this Flood happened, it falleth  
within one yeere of Mercators account. But Deucalion by all approued Historians is  
said to haue bene 82. yeeres old at that time. Now Clemens Alexandrinus dares the  
time of this Flood of Deucalion, and the conflagration and burning in Phaëtons time, by  
the reigne of Crotaphus, King of the Argiuos; but Crotaphus liued King of the Argiuos sixe  
yeeres after Israel departed Egypt, which makes twenty yeeres difference, according to  
Funtilius, who will haue this Flood and Burning to haue fallen 14. yeeres before Moses  
left Egypt: for he gaue of the Worlds yeeres to the Flood and Burning the yeere 2440  
and to Moses his egression the yeere 2454. And yet Cedrenus thinke that Moses was  
more ancient, and liued with Imachus; but that cannot be true: for then had the Flood  
of Deucalion, and the burning of Phaëton, preceded the Flood of Ogyges, which is denyed  
by all: for that of Thessalia (called Deucalion) followed that of Attica (called Ogygia)  
at least 250. yeeres, or thereabouts. Eusebius in his Chronologie makes it 230. & so doth  
B. Orosius: Eusebius about the 50. yeere of Moses life, and Cyrillus about the 67. and  
both after Noahs Flood 770. yeeres: for these be Clemens Alexandrinus his words: Fuit  
autem in Graecia tempore quidem Phorci, qui fuit post Inachum, inundatio que fuit  
tempore Ogygis: There happened in Greece in the time of Phorcius, who liued after  
Inachus, the Flood of Ogyges. Now if the Flood of Ogyges in Attica were 1020. or  
1016. yeeres before the first Olympiad, according to Eusebius and Orosius (as before) then  
is it manifest, that taking 763. out of this number of 1020. it falls out, that Ogyges Flood,  
happened before the Hebrewes left Egypt 250. yeeres, or 260. yeeres, according to the  
difference between the opinions of Eusebius and Orosius. And for my selfe (who rather  
follow those Chronologers, which giue 60. yeeres more to Abraham after the Flood,  
than the rest) I reckon the times which come between these Floods in this sort. The  
generall Flood was in the yeere of the World 1656. Iacob was borne in the yeere of the  
World 2169. so as from the beginning of the Flood to Iacobs birth, there were consumed  
513. yeeres. Ogyges Flood happened 100. yeeres after Iacob was borne; and therefore  
after the generall Flood 613. yeeres. Now Deucalion was borne in the yeere of the  
World 2356. and had liued 82. yeeres, when his Kingdome of Thessalia was ouerwhel-  
med; (which added to 2356. make 2438.) his Flood was after Noahs Flood ended, 782.  
yeeres. And hereto Annus his Xenophon agreeeth, who makes 700. yeeres betwene the  
generall Flood and Deucalions birth; to which adde 82. yeeres of his Age (as before)  
and then the Flood of Thessalia followed the generall 782. yeeres. The words of that  
Xenophon are these: Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum Deucalionis, secundo anno  
Sphaeræ, septingenti supputantur anni, qui natus annos 82. & octoginta Thessaliam vidit  
inundatam: From the drowning of the World to the birth of Deucalion, in the second  
yeere

Cedren. lib. 34.

Clem. Alex. l.  
lib. 2. c. 11.

Eusebius chron.

yeere of SPHERVS, are numbered 700. yeeres, and when DEVCALION was 82. yeeres old,  
he saw Thessalia drowned. This Flood happened in the Winter time about Parnassus:  
witnesseth Aristotle in the first of his Meteors. And Varro (whom Saint Augustine so often  
citeeth for his excellent Learning, especially in Antiquities) findeth this Flood of De-  
ucalion to haue happened in the time of CRANAEVS, who succeeded Cecrops: Orosius thinke  
it somewhat later, Amphytrion reigning in Athens, the third from Cecrops: Only this  
of Deucalion was very great, and reached not only ouer Thessalia it selfe, and the Regi-  
ons adioyning Westward, but it couered the greatest part of Italie: and either the  
same, or some other particular Flood then happening, oppressed Egypt, saith Eusebius.  
And therefore did the Greekes cyther thinke it, or faime it to be vniuersall; and Deucalion  
then King, sauing himselfe and some others on the Mountaine of Thessalia (of all other  
the highest, saith Solinus) was by reason thereof (as Strabo witnesseth) said to be the  
preseruer of Mankind. That this Flood couered a great part of Italie, Plinie and Solinus  
make it probable, who affirme, that the people then inhabiting Italie, were therefore cal-  
led iacoi: quia ab iuvibus diluuij superfuissent; and therefore also were they esteemed  
the most ancient Nation, as Strabo confirmeth in his first Booke, and Trezenius in his  
second: which Vmbri these Authors make the Parents of the Salines, and the Sabines  
to be the Parents of the Samnites, Piceni, Lucani, Bruttij, and all others inhabiting an-  
ciently the banks of the Mediterrane Sea. But that these Vmbri were not the Inhabiters  
of Italie before the Flood of Noah, and so tooke name by sauing themselves vpon the  
Appennine Mountaines, the Scriptures teach vs; shewing who, and who only then were  
preserved: which is sufficient. Report hath aduentured further, telling vs, that the first  
people which after the generall Flood inhabited Italie, were the Camefenes; (so named  
from Camefe, whom CALIO in originibus another of Annius his Authors, names for a con-  
fort of Ianus) which people liued altogether a sauage life, till such time as Saturne arri-  
uing on those Coasts, deuised Lawes to governe them by: the memorie of whose Acts  
in that Region, Diador and Thallus among the Greekes, Nepos Cassius and Varro among  
the Latines, haue preferred; and of whom Virgil:

Primus ab aethero venit SATVRNVS Olympo,  
Arma IOVIS fugiens, & regnis exil adeptus,  
Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus altis  
Composuit, Legesq; dedit; Latiumq; vocari  
Maluit.

AEnl. 8. 319.

SATVRNE descending from the Heauens high,  
Fearing the Armes of IVPITER his Sonne,  
His Kingdome lost, and banisht thence, doth flie.  
Rude people on the Mountaine tops he wonne  
To liue together, and by Lawes: which done,  
He chose to call it Latium.

And afterward in the Verses following he speaketh of the Ausones, and after them, of the  
Sicani: Nations, which againe fought to dis-plant the ancient Inhabiters:

TUMMANVS Ausonia, & gentes venere Sicani.

Virg. l. 8. Aen.

Then came th Ausonian Bands, and the Sicanian Tribes.

Of these Sicani (which left Spaine, and sat downe in Italie) Thucydides and Plinie giue te-  
limonie: who were again expelled by the Tigg, saith Thucydides. After all these plantati-  
ons & replantations, came the Vmbri, descended of the Gaules (saith Annus), not of those  
Gaules of France, but of those of Scythia, who commanded a great part of Italie, euen all  
Hetruria and Campania; as Herodotus, Plinie, and Dionysius haue assured vs: and therefore  
this Flood of Deucalion was long after that of Noah. For all those Nations were planted  
in Italie, and dispossest of Italie again, before the Vmbri were euer heard of, or had being.  
So that Kingdome was first called Camefenes, then Latium or Saturnia, then Ausonia, then  
Sicania; before the Vmbri (in whose time Deucalions Flood happened) posselt the same,  
about 306. yeeres before the Warre of Troy: Lyaon then governing Arcadia; who being  
the father of two and twentie sonnes, the youngest called Oenotrius invaded Italie, who  
gaue it the name of Oenotria. This name it held vntill Italus of the same Nation changed  
it into Italie, after his owne name, about 250. yeeres before the fall of Troy. After these,

Thucyd. l. 6.

Plin. l. 3. c. 5.

Annus ex Sca.

mule Thalmis.

dila.

sic. ad l. 1.

Plin. l. 3. c. 5.

Dion. l. 1. c. 1.

Pan. Gen. Arcad.

lib. 8.

Arist. Pol. 7. c. 10

Herod. l. 1.  
Plin. l. 3. c. 4.

came the *Pelagis*, of whom *Plinie* in his third Booke and fifth Chapter, and *Strabo* in his fifth, *Thucydides* in his sixth, speaks at large; and after them the *Lydi*, vnder *Tyrrhenus* their Captaine, that gaue name to the *Tyrrheni*; who casting thence the *Umbri*, tooke from them three hundred Castles, and built therein twelue Cities; to which (after they had posselt and past ouer the *Appennine* Mountaines) they added diuers others, whereof *Telms* (afterward *Bononia*) was one.

Now that there was not anciently such a Nation as these *Umbri* in those parts, I doe not affirme; having respect to the testimonies before repeated. And *Stephanus* thinks, that the name was deriued from the Greeke word *Ombros*; but that these *Umbri* of *Italie* were defended of the Nation of *Seythians* (called *Galls*) it shall be shewed hereafter. 10

### §. IIII.

Of some other Records testifying the vniuersall Flood: and of two ancient Deluges in Egypt: and of some elsewhere.

Euseb. de prep.  
Euseb. l. 9. c. 4.

**S**aint *Augustine* out of *Varro* affirmeth, that the *Greekes* and *Latines* made not any mention of the Vniuersall Flood, because they had nothing of Antiquitie foregoing that of *Ogyges*; and therefore (according to *Rhodogius*, before remembered) were all things among the *Greekes* (which antiquitie had borne out of knowledge) called *Ogygia*, which we in *Englis* commonly call (worme-eaten) or of defaced date. But as all the parts of the Earth were successiue planted and peopled; and as all Nations had their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the instant: so did every Familie, vvhich afterward became a great People, with vvhom the knowledge of diuine Letters vvvas not receiued, finde no Parent of more antiquitie, than such as they had themselves, nor allow of any before their owne; and as the *Gracians*, so did others vaunt themselves to be *Indigene*, and growing out of the Earth, or inuent some other prophane or ridiculous beginning. But the *Chaldeans* had certaine knowledge of *Noahs* Flood, as *Nerosus* vvittnessteth; and *Nicolaus Damasceus* maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforesaid) though he also affirme by heere-say, that some Giants saued themselves vpon the Mountaine *Baris* in *Armenia*, but speake not thereof as from any authentic approved: vsing the vvord *Sermo est*; That such a speech there vvvas. And *Eusebius* remembereth 30 a place out of the ancient Historian *Abydenus*: who writteth, that *Sisithrus*, to preserue himselfe from a Flood fore-told him by *Saturmus*, fled to the Hills of *Armenia* by ship, ad *Armenian nauigio consuegielut*: who the third day (after the Waters were fallen) sent forth birds, that finding no land to rest on, returned againe, which hee also did a second time; but at the third returne the birds feet were couered with mudde and slime. To this effect are *Eusebius* words out of *Abydenus*, which may seeme a true description (though in other termes) of *Noahs* Flood.

Diod. l. 1.

Herod. l. 1. c. 4.

*Cyrillus* also affirmeth, that *Alex. Polyhistor* maketh mention of this generall Flood. And *Plato* in *Timaeo* produceth an *Egyptian* Priest, who recounted to *Solon* out of the holy Bookes of *Egypt*, the storie of the Flood vniuersall, which (saith he) happened long before the *Gracian* inundations. Fryer *Annus* his *Xenophon* remembereth a third Flood, which also *Diodorus Siculus* confirmeth, somewhat more ancient than that of *Ogyges* in *Attica*. For he named the generall Flood for the first, which happened (saith he) vnder the old *Ogyges*: Sub *prisco* *Ogyge*, which was *Noah*; he calleth the second *Niliaca*: *Hercules* and *Prometheus* then liuing, 44. yeeres before that of *Attica*, in the 34. yeere of *Belo-chus* King of the *Affrians*, though I doe not beleue him as touching the time. But this Flood couered a great part of the nether *Egypt*, especially all that Region subiect to *Prometheus*, and hereof came the fable of the *Vulture* on *Prometheus* his Liuer, afterward slaine by *Hercules* of *Egypt*: which fiction *Diod.* *Siculus* dilueth in these words: *Flu-minum propter cursuum velocitatem, profunditatemq. aquarum, Aquilam tunc appellatum, HER-CULI EM cum consilij magnitudine, tum virtute, volunt e vestigio compressisse, & aquarum impetum ad priorem cursum conuertisse: Unde & Graeci quidam Poeta rem gestam in fabulam vertentes, HERCVLEM tradunt Aquilam PROMETHEI iccur depascentem occidisse; This Flood (meaning of *Nilus*) for the swiftnesse of his course, as also for the depth, vvvas in those dayes called the Eagle: but *HERCVLES* by his great indgement and vertue did againe com- 40 press it, and brighten this Riuer, so farre extended and ouer-spread, turning it into the old chan-nels: Whence certaine Greeke Poets (conuerting this labour and vvork of *HERCVLES* into a fable)*

fable) denieth that *HERCVLES* slew the Eagle which sed on *PROMETHEUS* Liuer; meaning, that he deliuered *Prometheus* of that sorrow & torment, which for the losse of his People and Countrey (by the Waters destroyed and couered ouer) he suffered.

A fourth Flood chanced about *Pharus* in *Egypt*, where *Alexander Macedon* built *Alexandria*, as *Annus* conceiueh out of his *Xenophon*, who in this briefe sort writeth of all these Inundations: *Inundationes plures fuere: prima nouimestru inundatio scribarum sub prisco* *Ogyge*; *secunda Niliaca, &c.* There were many Inundations (saith the same *Xenophon*): the first, which was vniuersall of nine Moneths, and this happened vnder the first *Ogyges*: the second vvvas *Niliaca*, and of one Moneths continuance, in the time of *Hercules* and *Prometheus*, *Egyptians*: a third of two Moneths, vnder *Ogyges Atticus*: the fourth of three moneths, in *Thessalia*, vnder *Deucalion*: and a fifth of the like continuance (called *Pharonica*) vnder *Proteus* of *Egypt*, about the time of *Helens* rape. *Diodorus* in his fifth Booke and eleuenth Chapter, taking the *Samothrac*es for his Authors, remembereth a Flood in *Asia* the lesse, and elsewhere, of no lesse destruction than any of the other particular Inundations, saying, that the same happened before that of *Deucalion*; the Sea of *Pontus* and *Hellepont* breaking in ouer the Land.

But there haue been many Floods in diuers times, and ages, not inferior to any of these two last remembered, *Niliaca* and *Pharonica* in *Egypt*: as in the yeere of our Redemption 590. when in *October* of the same yeere, *Gregory* then being Bishop of *Rome*, there happened a marvellous ouerflowing in *Italy*, and especially in the *Venetian* Territorie, and in *Lequiria*, accompanied with a most fearefull forme of thunder & lightning: after which followed the great Plague at *Rome*, by reason of the many dead Serpents cast vp & left vpon the Land, after the Waters decreased and returned. And in the yeere 1446. there perished 10000. people, by the breaking in of the Sea at *Dordrecht* in *Holland*: of which kind I take that Flood to be of *Achaia* or *Attica*. Before that, and in the yeere 1238. *Themius* speaketh of an Earthquake, which swallowed many thousands: and after that, of a Flood in *Frisland*, in which there perished 100000. persons. *Strozzi* Sigog. in his *Magia vniformis*, telleth of an Inundation in *Italie*, in the time of Pope *Damasus*, in which also many Cities of *Sicil* were swallowed: another in the Papacie of *Alexander* the sixt: also in the yeere 1515. *Maximilian* being Emperor. He also remembereth a pe- 50 rillous ouer-flowing in *Polonia*, about *Craconia*, by which many people perished. Likewise *Vignier* a French Historian speaketh of a great Flood in the South part of *Langue-doc*, which fell in the yeere of our Lord 1557. with so dreadfull a tempest, as all the people attended therein the very end of the World, and Iudgement Day; saying, That by the violent descent of the Waters from the Mountaines, about *Nismes* there were removed diuers old heapes and mountes of ground, and many other places torne vp and rent: by which accident there was found both Coyne of Silver and Gold, diuers pieces of Plate, and Vessels of other Metall, supposed to be hidden at such time as the *Goths* invaded that Prouince, in the yeere 1156.

### §. V.

That the Flood of *NOAH* was supernaturall, though some say it might haue bene foretold by the Starrs.

**N**OW howsoever all these Floods, and many other, which haue couered at severall times severall Regions, not only in these parts of the World, but in *America* also, (as I haue learned of some ancient Southfayers among them) may be ascribed to naturall causes and accidents; yet that vniuersall Flood (in the time of *Noah*) was powred ouer the whole face of the Earth by a power aboue Nature, and by the especial commandement of God himselfe, who at that time gaue strength of influence to the 30 Starrs, & abundance to the Fountaines of the Deepe; whereby the irruption of Waters was made more forcible, than any ability of nature could effect, or any second causes, by whatsoever vnion, could performe, without receiving from the Fountain of all power strength, & faculties supernaturall. *Henricus Meelinensis*, a Scholler of *Albertus Magnus*, in his Commentaries vpon the great coniunctions of *Alon Masar*, obserueth, that before the Flood of *Noah*, the like coniunction of *Iupiter* and *Saturne*, happened in the last degree of *Cancer*, against that constellation since called the *Ship of Argos*; by which the Flood of *Noah* might be fore-told, because *Cancer* is both a watric Signe, and the House

Allo de (u. or  
dia Theob. or  
Astronog.  
Gen. 7. 11.

¶ The word  
naufragium  
properly ligni-  
fiesh any place  
of shipwreck,  
against which  
the force of  
the water be-  
ing naturally  
carried down-  
wards, dash-  
eth and break-  
eth it of  
itselfe.  
allido per  
frango. Hence  
because Win-  
dors doe not  
only open, but  
also shut, the  
word hath  
been expoun-  
ded (it indoes)  
for Barres or  
Floud-gates.

of the *Moone*, which is the Ladie of the Sea, and of *Moysture*, according to the rules of *Astronomie*, and common experience. And this opinion *Petrus de Aliaco* vpon *Genesis* confirmeth, affirming, that although *Noah* did well know this Floud by diuine reuelation, yet (this conjunction being notorious) he could not be ignorant of the second causes thereof: for those were not only signes, but also working causes, by strength received from the first cause, which is God himselfe: and further, that by "*Cataractæ Calî*" (Englified the Windores of Heauen) *Moses* meant this great and watrie conjunction; the word (*Cataractæ*) signifying flowing downe or coming downe. Now (saith *P. de Aliaco*) it pleased God to ordaine by the course of the Heauens such a constellation, by which all men might behold therein their destruction towards, and thereby forsake those wicked wayes wherein they walked, and call vnto God for mercy.

Of this iudgement was *Gul. Parisiensis*, who vnderstood, that the words *Cataractæ Calî*, or Windores of Heauen, were to be taken for the former conjunction, or for these watrie Signes, *Cancer*, *Pisces*, *Pleiades*, *Hyades*, and *Orion*; and of the Plants, *Mars*, *Pennis* and the *Moone*: which are the forcible causes of the greatest Inundations. His owne words are these: *Nondum intellego Prophetam Hebraorum Cataractas Calî vocasse, nisi partes illas Calî, quæ generatiue sunt Pluuiarum & Inundationum Aquarum, quales sunt signa aquatice, vt Cancer, &c.* as aforesaid. As yet (saith he) I perceiue not what the Prophet of the Hebrewes meant by those words (*Cataractæ Calî*, or Windores of Heauen) vnlesse he thereby vnderstanding those Celestiall powers, by whose influences are engendered the Raines, and Inundations of waters, such as are the watrie Signes of *Cancer*, &c.

But in a word, as it might please God, that in the course of his vncsearchable Wisdom this conjunction should at such time be: so did he (as aforesaid) adde vigor and faculty, and gaue to euery operation increafe of vertues, violent eruptions to Springs & Fountaines, commanding them to cast out the whole treasure and heape of their waters; taking retention from the Clouds, and condensing ayre into water by the ministerie of his Angels, or howsoeuer else best pleased his All-powerfulnesse.

## S. VI.

That there was no need of any new Creation of Matter to make the vniuersall Floud: And what are *Cataractæ Calî*,

Gen. 7. VERS. 11.

Now if it be objected, that God did not create any thing of new; for God resteth the seventh day: (that is) he did not then after create any new species which granted, it may seeme that then all the Earth and Ayre had not waters sufficient to couer the habitable World fiftene Cubits aboue the highest Mountaines. Of this proposition, whether God hath so retrayned himselfe, or no, I will not dispute; but for the consequent (which is) that the World had want of water to ouer-couer the highest Mountaines, I take that conceit to be vnlearned and foolish: for it is written, that the Fountaines of the great Deepe were broken up (that is) the waters forsooke the very bowels of the Earth; and all whatsoeuer was differt therein, pierced & brake through the face thereof. Then let vs consider, that the Earth had aboue one and twentie thousand miles, the Diameter of the Earth, according to that circle, seven thousand mile, and then from the Superficies to the Center some three thousand five hundred miles. Take then the highest Mountaine of the World, *Caucasus*, *Taurus*, *Olympus*, or *Atlas*, the Mountaines of *Armenia* or *Scythia*, or that (of all other the highest) in *Tenuris*, and I doe not finde, that he that looketh highest, stretcheth aboue thirtie miles vp right. It is not then impossible, answering reason with reason, that all those waters mixed within the Earth three thousand five hundred miles deepe, should not well helpe to couer the space of thirtie miles in height, this thirtie miles vp right being found in the depths of the Earth one hundred and sixtene times: for the Fountaines of the great Deepe were broken up, and the waters drawne out of the bowels of the Earth. Secondly, if we consider what proportion the Earth beareth to the extension of the Ayre our and aboue it, wee shall finde the difference exceeding great. If then it pleased God to condense but so much of this Ayre, as euery where compasseth and embraceth the Earth, which condensation is a conuersion of Ayre into Water, a change familiar in those Elements; it will not seeme strange to men of iudgement, yea but of ordinarie vnderstanding, that the Earth (God so pleasing) was couered ouer with Waters, without any new Creation.

Lastly,

Lastly, for the opinions of *Gulielmus Parisiensis*, and *Aliaensis*, to which I may adde *Berofus* and others, That such a conjunction there was, fore-shewing that destruction by Waters which followed; and that by the word *Cataractæ Calî*, or Windores of Heauen, was meant this conjunction; there needs no other answer than that obseruation of *Ludouicus Viner*, who affirmeth, That by the grauest *Astrologian* it was obscured, that in the yeere 1524. there should happen the like conjunction as at *Noahs* Floud; that which (saith he) there was neuer a more faire, drie, and seasonable yeere: the like destruction was prophesied of the yeere 1588. But *Picco Earle of Mirandula* proueth, that there could be any such conjunction at that time.

To conclude, I find no other mysterie in the word *Cataractæ Calî*, than that the clouds were meant thereby: *Moses* vsing the word *Windores of Heauen* (if that be the sense of the word) to expresse the violence of the Raynes, and powring downe of Waters. For who soeuer hath seene those fallings of water, which sometimes happen in the *Indies*, which are called the Spowts, (where clouds do not breake into drops, but fall with a resistlesse violence in one body) may properly vse that manner of speech which *Moses* did; That the Windores or Floud-gates of Heauen opened: (which is) That waters fell contrarie to custome, and that order which we call naturall. God then loosened the power retentive in the vppermost ayre, and the waters fell in abundance: Behold (saith *Ion*) he withholdeth the Waters, and they drie up; or better in Latine, *Et omnia siccantur*; And all things are dried up; but when he sendeth them out, they destroy the Earth: And in the 26. Chapter: He blindeth the Waters in the Clouds. But these Bonds God loosed at that time of the generall Floud, & called vp the Waters which slept in the great Deepe; and these ioyning together, couered the Earth, till they had performed the worke of this will: which done, he then commanded them to returne into their darke and vast Caues, and the rest (by a winde) rarified againe into ayre, formerly condensed into drops.

## S. VII.

Of some remainder of the memorie of *NOAH* among the Heathen.

**N**OAH is commanded by God, before the fall of those Waters, entred the Arke which he had built, with his own Wife, and his Sonnes, and his Sonnes Wiues, taking with them of euery Creature which tooke life by generation, seven of the cleane, & of the vncleane, two. *Noah*, according to *Philo*, signifieth quietnesse: after others, and according to the prophesie of his Father *Lamech*, cessation; to whom after-times gaue many Names, answering his antiquitie, zeale, vertue, and other qualities: as, *The first Ogges*, because in the time of the *Grecian Ogges* there was also a great Floud of *Achaia*: *Saturne* they called him, because he was the Father of Nations: Others gaue him the Name of *Promethew*, who was said to steale away *Iupiters* fire; fire in that place being taken and vnderstood for the knowledge of God and heavenly things. Others thinke, that he was so called for his excellent wisdom and foresight. He had also the Name of *Iannus*, (i. e. *Ides*) *Vinosus*, because *Iain* signifieth Wine in the Hebrew. And so *Tertullian* findes him written in *Libri Ritualibus*, in the Books of Ceremonies, preceding both *Saturne*, *Vranus*, and *Ioue*: which three enjoyed an elder time than all the other ancientest fayned gods. And this Name *Iain* is taken from the Hebrew and Syrian, and not from the Latine: for it was in vse before there was any Latine Nation, or any Kingdome by that Name knowne. Of the antiquitie of *Iannus*, *Fabius Pictor* giueth this testimony: *IANI atate nulla erat Monarchia, quia mortalibus pectoribus nondum hæserat vlla regnandi cupiditas, &c.* *Vinum & Far primum populus docuit IANVS ad sacrificia: primum enim Aras & Pomaria & sacra docuit*; In the time of *IANVS* (saith he) there was no Monarchie: for the desire of rule had not then folded it selfe about the hearts of men. *IANVS* first taught the people to sacrifice Wine and Meale: he first set up Altars, instituted Gardens and solitarie Groves, wherein they used to pray; with other holy Rites and Ceremonies. A greater testimony than this there cannot be found among the Heathen, which in all agreeth so well with the Scriptures. For first, whilest *Noah* flourished, there was not any King, or Monarch; *Nimrod* being the first that tooke on him soveraigne authority. Secondly, *Noah* after the Floud was the first that planted the Vine, and became a Husbandman; and therefore offered the First-fruits of both (to wit) Wine and Meale. Thirdly, he was the first that rayfed an Altar, & offered sacrifice to God, at thanksgiving

for

for his merciful goodnesse towards him. *Noah* was also signified in the Name of *Bifrons* (which was given to *Iannus*) because he beheld the times both before & after the Flood. *Quis praterita nouerit, & futura profecerit*, saith *ARNOBIVS*: Because he knew what was past, and provided for what was to come. He was also in the person of *Iannus* shadowed by the Name of *Chaos*, and *Semen Orbis*, The Seed of the world: because as out of that confused Heape was drawne all the kinds of Beasts and Plants, so from *Noah* came all Mankind. Whereof *Ouid* in the person of *Iannus*:

Arnob. cont. Gent.  
lib. 6.

Ouid. de Fasti.  
lib. 1.

*Me Chaos antiqui (nam sum res prisca) vocabant,  
Aspice quàm longi temporis aëta cano.*

The ancient call'd me *Chaos*: My great yeares  
By those old times, of which I sing, appears.

He was also intituled *Caelum* and *Sol*, *Heaven* and the *Sunne*, for his excellent knowledge in Astronomie: *Vertumnus*, *Bacchus*, and *Liber Pater*, not that latter, which *Diod. Siculus* and *Alex. Aphrodisiens* so call, because he was the restorer of the *Greekes* to their former libertie, but in respect of the Flood. For the *Greekes* called *Liber* γρ, and his *Turkes Hyades*, of Rayne, because *Noah* entered the *Arke* when the *Sunne* ioyned with the *Staries Hyades*, a constellation in the Brow or Necke of *Taurus*, and euer after a Monument of *Noahs* Flood. He was also by others surnamed *Triton*, a Marine god, the sonne of *Neptunus*; because he liued in safetie on the Waters. So was he knowne by the name of *Dionysus*, quasi *Diouionem, mentem pungens*, Bite-braine, or Wit-slugger; though *Diodorus* conceiue otherwife, and deriue that name à *Patre & Loco*, Of his Father, and the place of his birth, (to wit) of *Ioue*, and *Nysa*, a Towne of *Arabia felix*, saith *Strabo* out of *Orpheus*. He had also the by-name of *Taurus*, or *Taurophagus*; because he first yoked Oxen, and tyll'd the ground: according to that of *Moses*; *AND NOAH became an Husbandman*. Now howtsoever the *Grecians* vaunt of their *Theban Bacchus* (otherwise *Dionysus*) it is certain, that the Name was borrowed, and the Invention stolne from *Noah*. But this Name of *Bacchus*, more anciently *Bacrus*, was taken (saith *Gul. Stenckius*, and out of him *Danius*, from *Noachus*, (N) being changed into (B); and it is the more probable, because it cannot be doubted but that *Noah* was the first planter of the Vine after the Flood: and of *Noah* (the first and ancient *Bacchus*) were all those fables deuised, of which *Diodorus* complaineth in his fourth Booke and fifth Chapter. This first *Bacchus* (to wit) *Noah*, was surnamed *Nysus*, of the Mountaine *Nysa* in *India*; where the *Grecian Bacchus* neuer came, whatsoeuer themselves faime of his enterprises: and these Mountaines of *Nysa* ioyned with those of *Parapanisus*, and those other *Easterne* Mountaines, on which the *Arke* of *Noah* rested after the Flood.

Nat. Com. lib.  
c. 12.

Caelum.

Gen. 9. 20.

Struc. in libris  
continualibus, &  
Dan. us de pre-  
mamundietate.

Plin. l. 6.  
lib. 6. c. 17.  
Herod. l. 4.  
Strabo l. 7.

Furthermore, to the end that the memorie of this second Parent of Mankind might the better be preferred, there were founded by his Issues many great Cities, which bare his Name, with many Riues & Mountaines, which oftentimes forgot that it was done in his regard, because the many Names giuen him brought the same confusion to places as to himselfe. Notwithstanding all which, we find the Citie of *Noah* vpon the banks of the red Sea, and elsewhere: the Riuer of *Noas* in *Thrace*, which *Strabo* calleth *Noarus*; *Ptolomee*, *Danubius*; diuiding *Thyria* from *Pannonia*. Thus much for the Name.

## §. VIII.

Of sundry particulars touching the *Arke*: as the place where it was made, the matter, fashion, and name.

Now in what part of the World *Noah* built the *Arke*, it doth not appeare in the Scriptures, neither doe I find any approued Author that hath written thereof: onely *Gorgopius Becanus* in his *Indo-Scythia* conceiue, that *Noah* built his *Arke* neere the Mountains of *Caucasus*, because on those Hills are found the goodliest Cedars: for when *Alex. Maecdon* made the waire among a people, called *Nyses*, inhabiting the other side of *Caucasus*, he found all their Burials & Sepulchers wrought ouer with Cedar. To this place (saith *Becanus*) *Noah* repaired, both to separate himself from the reprobate Giants, who rebelled against God & Nature, as also because he would not be interrupted in the building of the *Arke*; to which also he addeth the conueniencie of Riues, to transport the Timber which he vsed, without troubling any other Carriages.

Only

Only this wearisome of, that the *Arke* was built in some part of the Easterne World, & to my vnderstanding, not far from the place where it rested after the Flood. For *Noah* did not vse any Mast or Sayle (as in other Ships) & therefore did the *Arke* no otherwise moue, than the Hulle or body of a Ship doth in a calme Sea. Also, because it is not probable, that during these continuall and downe-right Raines there were any Windes at all, therefore was the *Arke* little moued from the place where it was fashioned and set together: for it is written, *God made a Wind to passe vpon the Earth, and the waters ceased*. And therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the Waters, there was not any Storme or forcible winde at all, which could driue the *Arke* any great distance from the place where it was first by the Waters lifted vp. This is also the more probable, if that ancient opinion be true, as it is very likely, that the *Arke* had *fundum planum*, a flat bottom, and not rayed in forme of a Ship, with a sharpenesse forward, to cut the waues, for the better speed.

This kind of Vessell the *Hebrewes* call *Thebet*, and the *Greekes* *Larnax*, for so they termed *Deucalions* Ship: and some say, that the Hill *Parnassus*, to which in eight dayes hee arriued, was first call'd *Larnassus*, and by the change of (L) into (P) *Parnassus*; but *Paus. Symp. de Vrb. faniis* thinks that it tooke name of a Sonne of the Nymph *Cleodora*, called *Parnassus*, fol. 127. the Inuencor of *Auguration*.

*Paccornius* findes the word (*Parnassus*) to haue no affinity with the *Greeke*, but thinks it derived from the *Hebrew* word *Nahus*, which signifieth *Auguration* and *Divination*: or 24. from *Har* or *Parai*, as in his Chapter of Oracles in the Lease before cited.

*Iosephus* calls the *Arke* *Machina*, by the generall name of a huge Frame, and *Epiphanius* out of the *Hebrew*, *Aron*, but herein lyeth the difference betweene *Aron* and *Thebet*, That *Aron* signifieth properly the *Arke* of the Sanctuarie, but *Thebet* such a Vessell, as swimmeth, and beareth it selfe vpon the Waters.

Lastly, this *Arke* of *Noah* differed from the fashion of a ship in this, that it had a Coouer and Roofe, with a Crest in the midst thereof, and the sides declining like the Roofe of an Houseto the end, both to cast off the Waters, and that thereunder *Noah* himself and his children might shelter, and separate themselves from the noysomnesse of the many Beasts, which filled the other rooms and parts of the *Arke*.

Of what Wood the *Arke* was built, it is vncertaine. The *Hebrew* word *Gopher* once and in this place onely vsed, is diuersly vnderstood: and though the matter be of little importance, yet this difference there is, That the *Genuea* Translation calls it Pine-tree; the *Rabbins*, Cedar; the *Seuentic*, square Timber; the *Latine*, smooth Timber. Others will haue it Cypres Trees, as dedicated to the dead, because Cypres is worne at Funerals. But out of doubt, if the word *Gopher* signifie any speciall kind of Timber, *Noah* obeyed the voyce of God therein; if not, he was not then curious as touching the kind or nature of the wood, hauing the promise of God, and his grace and mercie for his defence: For with *Noah* God promised to establish his covenant. *Plinie* affirmeth, that in *Egypt* it was the vse to build ships of Cedar, which the wormes ate not, and he auoweth, that he saw in *Nicia*, in the Temple of *Apollo*, Cedar beames, laid in the time of the foundation of the Citie, and that they were still found in his time, which was about 1188. yeares after: prouing thereby, that this kind of wood was not subiect to putrifying or mouldring in a very long time. But in that it is easie to cut, light to carie, and of a sweete sauour, lasting also better than any other wood, & because neere the place where the *Arke* rested, there are found great store of these Cedar trees, as also in all the mountains of the East, besides those of *Libanus*, it is probable enough that the *Arke* might be of that wood: which hath, besides the other commodities, the greatest length of Timber, and therefore fittest to build ships withall. *Pererius* conceiue, that the *Arke* had diuers sorts of Timber, & that the bottom had of one sort, the decke & partition of another, all which may be true or false, if *Gopher* may be taken for Timber in generall. True it is, that Cedar will serue for all parts of a Ship, as well for the body, as for Masts and Yards. But *Noah* had most respect to the direction receiued from God: to the length, breadth, and height, and to the partitions of the *Arke*; and to pitch it, and to diuide it into Cabines: thereby to seuer the cleaue beasts from the vncleane, and to preserve their seuerall sorts of food; & that it might be capable of all kind of liuing creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when *Noah* had gathered together, he cast his confidence wholly on God, who by his Angels steered this Ship without a Rudder, and directed it

without



without the helpe of a Compass, or the North star. The Pitch which *Nash* vled, is by some supposed to have bene a kind of *Asphaltum*, whereof there is great quantitie about the Valley of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, how the dead Sea, or *Asphaltus*, and in the Region of *Babylon*, and in the *West India*: and therein it exceedeth other Pitch, that it melts not with the Sunne, but by the fire onely after the manner of hard Wax.

## S. IX.

That the Arke was of sufficient capacite.

**T**HE *Arke*, according to Gods commandment, had of length three hundred Cubits, fittie of breadth, and thirtie deepe or high: by which proportion, it had six parts of length to one of breadth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which S. AUGUSTINE: *Proculdubio figura est peregrinantium in hoc seculo Civitatis Dei, (hac est) Ecclesie, que sit salua per lignum, in quo peccavit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Iesus Christus: nam & mensurata est longitudinis, altitudinis, latitudinis, eius significat corpus humanum, in cuius veritate ad homines pronuntiatus est venturus, & venit, &c. without doubt, (saith he) it is a figure of the Citie of God traualling in this world as a stranger, (that is) of the Church, saued by the Tree, whereupon the Mediator betwene God and Man, the Man Iesus Christ did hang: for even the very measure of the length, height, and breadth, answereth the shape of Mans body, in the truth whereof the coming of Christ was fore-told and performed.*

By what kind of Cubite the *Arke* was measured, it hath bene a disputed question among the Fathers, and others; and the differences are in effect these: The first kind of Cubit (called the Common) containeth one foot and a halfe, measured from the shiipe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. The second (the Palme-Cubit) which taketh one handfull more than the common. The third is called *Regius Cubitus*, or the *Persian Cubit*, which exceedeth the common Cubit three ynches. The fourth is the sacred Cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar Cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Lastly, there is a fift Cubit, called Geometrical, which containeth six common Cubits. But of all these sorts, which were commonly measured by the vulgar Cubit, the alteration and diminution of mens stature hath made the difference. For there is now a lesse proportion of bodies, so is the common Cubit, from the shiipe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger, of lesse length than it was in elder times.

S. AUGUSTINE considering the many sorts of Beasts and Birds which the *Arke* held, with their food and water, was sometimes of opinion, that the *Arke* had proportion after the Geometrical Cubit, which containeth almost sixe of the Common: For, measuring the *Arke* by the vulgar Cubit, it did not exceed the capacite of that Vessell built by *Hero* of *Syracuse*, or the Ship of *Tolome* *Philopater*. But S. AUGUSTINE (who at the first was led by *Origen*) changed his iudgement as touching the Geometrical Cubit; and found, vpon better consideration, that there needed not so huge a Body to preferue all sorts of Creatures, by God appointed to be reserved. For it was not needfull to take any kindes of Fishes into the *Arke*, because they were kept liuing (saith S. AUGUSTINE) in their owne element. *Non fuit necesse conseruare in Arca, que possent in aquis viuere, non solum menses sicut Pisces, verum super-natantes, sicut multe alies: it was not needfull to conserue those Creatures in the Arke, which could liue in the waters; and not onely Fishes which can liue under water, but also those Fowles which sit and swim on them.* And againe, *Terra non aqua, palea est, quia ADAM non huius, sed illius fructum vetum comedit: it was the Earth, and not the waters, which God curs'd; for of the forbidden fruite of the Earth, and not of the Sea, did ADAM eat.* So as S. AUGUSTINE gathereth hereupon (as afore said) that to huge a Frame needed not.

And if we looke with the eyes of iudgement hereunto, wee shall finde nothing monstrous therein; although the imaginations of men, who (for the most part) haue more of mischief, and of ignorance, than of any reuerend reason, found many impossibilities in this worke of God. But it is manifest, and vndoubtedly true, that many of the Species, which now seeme differing, and of severall kindes, were not then in *terrena natura*. For those Beasts which are of mixt nature, either they were not in that age, or else it was not needfull to preferue them, seeing they might be generated againe by others: as the Mules, the *Hyen's*, &c. the like, the one begotten by Asses and Mares, and the other

by Foxes and Wolues. And whereas by discouering of strange Lands, wherein there are found diuers Beasts & Birds, differing in colour or stature from those of these Northern parts; it may be supposed by a superficial consideration, that all those which were red and pyed Skinned, or Feathers, are differing from those that are lesse painted, and were plaine russet or blacke; they are much mistaken that so thinke. And for my own opinion, I find no difference, but only in magnitude, betwene the Cat of Europe, and the Owne of India; & euen those Dogges which are become wilde in *Hispaniola*, with which the Spaniards vsed to deuoure the naked Indians, are now changed to Wolues, and begin to destroy the breed of their Catell, and doe also oftentimes teare asunder their owne Children. The common Crow and Rooke of India is full of red feathers in the down'd and low Islands of Caribana; and the Black-bird and Thrush hath his feathers mixt with blacke and carnation, in the North parts of Virginia. The Dog-fish of England is the Sharke of the South Ocean: For if colour or magnitude made a difference of Species, then were the Negro's, which we call the Blacke-Mores, non animalia rationalia, not Men, but some kind of strange Beasts: and so the Gyants of the South America should be of another kind, than the people of this part of the World. We also see it daily, that the natures of Fruits are changed by transplantacion, some to better, some to worse, especially with the change of Climate. Crabs may be made good Fruit by some grafting, and the best Melons will change in a yeere or two to common Cowcumbers, by being set in a barren Soyle. Therefore taking the kindes precisely of all Creatures, as they were by God created, or out of the Earth by his Ordinance produced; the *Arke*, after the measure of the common Cubit, was sufficiently capacious to containe of all, according to the number by God appointed: For if we adde but halfe a foot of measure to the common Cubit, which had a foot and a halfe of Giantly stature (and lesse allowance we cannot giue to the difference betwene them and vs) then did the *Arke* containe 600. foot in length, and 100. foot in breadth, and 60. foot deepe.

But first of all, to make it manifest that the Geometrical Cubit is not vsed in the Scripture, the stature of the Giants therein named may suffice. For if the Bed of *Q*, King of *Babylon*, had bene nine Geometrical Cubites long, it had taken 54. Cubites of the common, which make 80. foot: and *Goliath*, who had the length of six Cubites and a handfull, which makes nine foot and a handfull (a proportion credible) if these Cubites had bene Geometrical, then had bene 54. foot in height, and vprwards, which were monstrous and most incredible; for (according to this proportion) had the head of *Goliath* bene nine foot long, and farre weightier and bigger than all *Dauids* bodie, who carried it away.

Again, if the Geometrical Cubit had bene vsed for a Measure in the Scripture, as many Commenters haue obserued, then had the Altar (appointed to containe five Cubites of length, five of breadth, and three of height) haue reached the length of 27. foot vpright, and so must their Priests haue ascended by steps or Ladders to haue performed their Sacrifices thereon, which was contrarie to Gods Commandment given in these words: *Thou shalt not goe up with steps vnto mine Altar, that thy blame be not discovered thereon*; and therefore was the Altar but three common Cubits high, which make foure foot; that their Priests standing thereby might execute their Office: Wherefore I may conclude, that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures was not the Geometrical, but the ordinarie Cubit of one foot and a halfe, according to the measure of Giantly stature; which measure (doublelesse) might giue much the more capacite to the *Arke*; although it be also probable, that as the Men were, so were the Horses whereon they rode, and all other creatures of a correspondent size. And yet (as I take it) though by this it meanes there were not any whit the more roome in the *Arke*; it were not hard to conceiue, how all the distinct Species of Animals, whose liues cannot be preferued in the Waters, might according to their present quantites be contained in a Vessell of those dimensions which the *Arke* had; allowing to the Cubit one foot and a halfe of our now vsuall measure: whence it followeth of necessitie, that those large Bodies which were in the days of *Nash* might haue roome sufficient in the *Arke*, which was measured by a Cubit of length proportionable.

How the appointed number of creatures to be saued, (that is) seuen of the cleane, two of the vncleane (with necessarie foode) might haue place in the *Arke*; *But* hath very lear-

learnedly declared : the briefe summe of whose discourse to that purpose, is this. *The lengths of the Arke was three hundred Cubits, which multiplied by the breadth, namely fiftie Cubits, and the product by the height of thirtie Cubits, beneath the whole Concavities have bene 450000.* Now whereas the posts, walls, and other partitions of Lodgings may seeme to have taken vp a great part of the hollow : the height of the roofe, which (the perpendicular being one Cubit) contained 7500. cubical Cubes, was a sufficient recompence : If therefore in a Ship of such greatnesse we seeke roome for 89. distinct Species of Beasts, or (lest any should be omitted) for 100. severall kinds, we shall easily find place both for them, and for the Birds, which in bignesse are no way answerable to them, and for meat to sustaine them all. For there are three sorts of Beasts, whose bodies are of a quantitie best knowne, the Beeffe, the Sheepe, and the Wolfe : to which the rest may be reduced, by saying, (according to *Aristotle*) that one Elephant is answerable to foure Beeces, one Lyon to two Wolves, and so of the rest. Of Beasts, some feede on vegetables, others on flesh. There are one and thirtie kinds of the greater sort, feeding on vegetables : of which number, onely three are cleane, according to the Law of *Moses*, whereof seven of a kind entred into the *Arke*, namely, three couples for breede, and one odde one for sacrifice : the other eight and twentie kinds were taken by two of each kinde, so that in all there were in the *Arke* one and twenty great Beasts cleane, & six and fiftie vncleane, estimable for largenesse as ninetie one Beeces; yet for a supplement (lest perhaps any Species be omitted) let them be valued as a hundred and twentie Beeces. Of the lesser sort feeding on vegetables, were in the *Arke* sixe and twentie kinds, estimable with good allowance for supply, as fourescore Sheepe. Of those which devour flesh were two and thirtie kinds, answerable to threescore and foure Wolves. All these two hundred and eightie Beasts might be kept in one storie or roome of the *Arke*, in their severall Cabbines; their meate in a second : the Birds and their prouision in a third, with place to spare for *Noah* and his family, and all their necessaries.

## S. X.

That the *Arke* rested upon part of the Hill *Taurus* (or *Caucasus*) betwene the East Indies, and *Scythia*.

## T. I.

A preterition of some questions lesse materiall : with a note of the use of this question, to finde out the Metropolis of Nations.

**W**Hat time *Noah* tooke to build the *Arke*, I leaue to others to dispute : but hee receiued the Commandement from God a hundred yeers before the waters fell; and had therefore choice of time and leysure sufficient. As for the number of Decks & Partitions, which *Origen* diuides into foure, *S. Augustine* into three, I will not trouble the Reader with the controuersie; or whether those creatures which sometimes rest on the Land, other times in the Waters, as the Crocodiles (now called *Alligators*) the Sea-Cowes or Sea-Horses, were kept in the *Arke*, or no, I thinke a needlesse curiositie; and yet to this *Isidore Pererius*, and others before him, that a Fish-pole might be made as well within the *Arke*, as in *Hiero* his Ship of *Syracuse*. Lastly, to consider or labour to disprove the foolerie of the *Hebrewes*, who suppose that the *Arke* was lightened by a Carbuncle, or had Windows of Crystall to receiue in Light, and keep out Water, were but to reuiue the buried vanities of former times. But that which I seeke most to satisfie my selfe and others in, is, in what part of the World the *Arke* rested after the Flood: because the true vnderstanding of some of these places (as the Seat of the terrestrial *Paradise*, and the resting of the *Arke*) doe onely and truly teach the Worlds Plantation, and the beginning of Nations; before and after the Flood; and all storie, as well generall as particular, thereby may be the better vnderstood.

## T. II.

A proposall of the common opinion, that the *Arke* rested upon some of the Hills of *Armenia*.

**A**nd first, for the true place where the *Arke* rested after the Flood, and from what part of the World the Children of *Noah* quailed to their first settlement and place.

plantation, I am resolu'd (without any presumption) that therein the most writers were vterly mistaken. And I am not led so to thinke out of my Humour or newnesse of opinion, or singulartie; but doe herein ground my selfe on the originall & first truth, which is the word of God, and after that vpon reason, and the most probable circumstances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, *that the Arke staied upon one of the mountaines of Ararat*, which the *Chaldean Paraphrast* hath conuerted *Kardu*, meaning the hills *Gordai* or *Gordiai* in *Armenia* the greater : (as the words *Gordai* and *Kardu* seeme to be one and the same) of which opinion also the most of our Interpreters are, I finde neither Scripture nor reason which teacheth any such thing : (to wit) that it rested on

10 that part of *Ararat*, which is in the greater *Armenia*. *Nicolaus Damasceus* calls this mountaine of *Ararat*, *Baris*, being the same which the *Chaldean* nameth *Kardu*, to which mountaine the Fryer *Ammius* (citing this place out of *Iosephus*) makes him finde another adioyning, called *Ocila*, and to say that the *Arke* (of which *Moses* the Lawgiuer of the *Hebrewes* wrote) did first take ground on this *Ocila*. But I doe not finde any such mountain in being, as this *Ocila*; neither is there any mention of it in the place of *Iosephus*. *Strabo* remembereth a Promontorie in *Arabia Felix*, of that name; and *Plinie* findes a Mart-towne so called in the same, which *Ptolomie* calls *Ocilia*, *Pinetus*, *Acyla*, and *Niger Zidon*. But this *Ocila* of *Damasceus*, or rather of *Ammius*, seemeth to bee one and a part of the *Armenian* mountaines. *Berosus* calleth those mountaines of *Armenia* *Gordai*, and

20 *Curtius Cordai* : *Ptolomie* *Gordai* and *Gordiai* : of which the Countrie next adioyning is by this *Nicolaus Damasceus* called *Ninysada*, perhaps (as *Becanus* coniectures) for *Milyada* or rather *Minni* : which word is vfed for *Armenia Minor*. And the very word of *Armenia* seemes to be compounded of this word *Minni*, and *Aram* : as if we should say *Minni of Syria*; for that *Armenia* also was a part of *Syria*, *Plinie* witnesseth. *Epiphanius* placeth the *Cardes* about these mountaines, whom others call *Gordai* or *Gordeni*. The mountaines are seated apart from all other to the North of that Ledge of the mountaines called *Taurus*, or *Niphates* in the plains of *Armenia* the great, nere the Lake *Thapsus*; whence the River of *Tigris* floweth in 75. degrees of longitude, and 41. and 42. degrees of latitude. One of the mountaines *Gordai* (that which surmounteth the rest)

30 *Epiphanius* calls *Lubar*, which in the *Armenian* signifieth a place of descent : but this out of *Iosephus*, which name (saith *Iunius*) was of the euent, because of *Noahs* coming downe with his children. But this also I take to be a supposed euent; seeing any hill from whence on euery side we must descend, may thus be called : as *Iunius* corrects the place in *Iosephus* *καβαρις* (*Kubaris*.) That the place is thus to be read, he coniectureth, because *Iosp. l. 1. c. 4.* sayes, the place is called *καβαρις* (as it were the descent or coming downe) and *Epiph. l. 1. contr. Hæres.* calls it *Μαζα*, which word in the *Armenian* and *Aegyptian* tongue signifieth descent, of *Lubar*, which is to descend; whence also *Lubra* is a *Synagogue*, because it was commonly built on some high place: whereof also the Latine *Delubrum* may seeme to bee deriued; and *Ab. 6. 9.* they that belonged to the *Synagogue* of the *Aegyptians* are called *Libertini*, for *Lubra tenu*. Yet this opinion hath bene embraced from age to age, receiuing a habit of strength by time, and allowance without any farther examination; although the name of *Lubar* might otherwise rightly bee giuen, especially to that mountaine, by reason that the passage was more faire, vp and downe vnto it, than to any of the rest adioyning.

## T. III.

The first argument against the common opinion. They that came to build Babel, would haue come sooner, had they come from a neerer place, as *Armenia*.

50 **B**Ut there are many arguments to perswade me, that the *Arke* of *Noah* did not rest it selfe in any part of *Armenia*, and that the mountaine *Ararat* was not *Baris*, nor any one of the *Chaldean* mountaines.

For the first, it is agreed by all which follow *Berosus*, that it was in the 130. yeere, or in the yeere 131. after the flood, when *Nimrod* came into the valley of *Shinar*, which Valley was afterward called *Babylonia*, *Chubb*, and *Chaldaea*. If then the *Arke* had first found land in *Armenia*, it is very vnprobable, that the children of *Noah* which came into that valley could haue spent so many yeeres in so short a passage: seeing the Region of *Mesopotamia* was onely interiacent, which might by easie iourneyes haue bene past ouer in

twentie dayes; and to hasten and helpe which passage, the nauigable riuer of *Tygrus* offered it selfe, which is euery where transpassable by boates of great burden: so as where the Desert on the one side resisted their expedition, the riuer on the contrary side serued to aduance it; the riuer rising out of the same Ledge of mountaines, or at the foote of them, vwhere the *Arke* of *Noah* vvas first supposed to settle it selfe; Then if the Nations vvhich followed *Nimrod* still doubted the surpris of a second flood (according to the opinions of the ancient Hebrewes) it foundeth ill to the care of reason, that they would haue spent many yeeres in that low and ouerflowne Valley of *Mesopotamia*, so called of the many Riueres vvhich imbroyder or compasse it: for the effects witnessed their afflictions, and the workes vvhich they vnderooke; their vnbeliefe, being no sooner arriued in *Shinar*, but they began to prouide themselves of a defence (by erecting *Babel*) against any future or feared inundation. Now at *Babel* it was that *Nimrod* began his Kingdome, the first known Citie of the world, founded after the flood about 131 yeeres, or (as others suppose) ten yeeres later: though (for my selfe) I rather thinke, that they vnderooke that worke in two respects; first, to make themselves famous, *To get vs a name* (saith the Text :) Secondly, thereby to vlturpe dominion over the rest.

## †. IIII.

The second argument, That the Easterne people were most ancient in populositie, and in all humane glory.

For a second Argument: The ciuilitie, magnificence and multitude of people (wherein the East parts of the world first abounded) hath more weight than any thing which hath bene, or can be said for *Armenia*, and for *Noahs* taking land there. And that this is true, the vse of Printing and Artillerie (among many other things which the East had) may easily perswade vs, that those Sunne-rising Nations were the most ancient. The certaintie of this report, that the East *Indians* (time out of minde) haue had Gunnes and Ordnance of batterie, confirmed by the *Portugals* and others, make vs now to vnderstand, That the place of *Philostratus* in *vita Apollonij Tiani*, l. 2. c. 14. is no fable, though exprest in fabulous words: vwhen he saith, that the wise men, vvhich dwell betweene *Hypophis* and *Ganges*, vse not themselves to goe forth into battaile: but that they drie aue their enemies with thunder and lightning sent from *Iupiter*. By which means there it is said, that *Hercules* *Aegyptus* and *Bacchus*, ioyning their forces, were defeated there; and that this *Hercules* there cast away his golden shield. For the inuention of letters vvas ignorantly ascribed to *Cadmus*, because hee brought them first into Greece: of which the people (then rude and sauage) had reason to giue him the honour, from whom they received the benefit. But it is true, that letters are no lesse ancient than *Seth* or *Itenoch* were: for they are said to haue written on pillars of stone (as before remembred) long before the flood. But from the Easterne world it was that *Iohn Cutheberg* a *Germane*, brought the deuice of Printing: by whom *Conradus* being instructed, brought the practice thereof to *Rome*: and after that *Nicholans Gersan* a *Frenchman*, betwixt both the letters and inuention. And notwithstanding that this myserie was then supposed to be but newly borne, the *Chinians* had letters long before either the *Egyptians* or *Phenicians*; and also the Art of Printing, when as the *Greekes* had neither any ciuill knowledge, or any letters among them.

And, that this is true, both the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* haue witnessed, who about an hundred yeeres since discovered those Kingdomes, & doe now enjoy their riches there in: for the *Chinians* account all other Nations but *Saluages*, in respect of themselves.

And to adde strength to this argument, the conquest and storie of *Alex. Macedon* may iustly be called to witnesse, who found more Cities and sumptuousitie in that little Kingdome of *Perus*, which lay side by side to the East *India*, than in all his other trauals & yndertakings. For in *Alexanders* time learning & greatnesse had not traualled so far to the West as *Rome*: *Alexander* esteeming of *Asia* but as a barbarous Countrey, and of *Rome* as of a Village. But it was *Babylon* that stood in his eye, and the fame of the East pierced his eares. And if we looke as farre as the Sun-rising, and heare *Paulus Venetus* what hee reporteth of the vttermost Angle and Island thereof, wee shall finde that those Nations haue sent out, and not receiued, sent knowledge, & not borrowed it from the West. For the farther East (to this day) the more ciuill, the farther West the more sauage.

And

And of the Isle of *Iapan* (now *Zippingari*) *Venetus* maketh this report: *Incola religioni, literis, & sapientia sunt aditissimi, & veritatis indagatores acerrimi; nihil illis frequentius oratione, quam (more nostro) sacris in delubris exercent: unum cognoscunt Principem, unum Deum adorant. The Islanders are exceedingly addicted to religion, letters, and Philosophie, and most diligent searchers out of truth: there is nothing among them more frequent than prayer, which they vse in their Churches, after the manner of Christians. They acknowledge one King, and worship one God. The antiquitie, magnificence, ciuilitie, riches, sumptuous buildings, and policie in gouernment, is reported to be such by those who haue bin employed into those parts, as it seemeth to exceede (in those formerly named, and diuers other particulars) all other Kingdomes of the world.*

## †. V.

The third argument, From the wonderfull resistance which *SEMI RAMIS* found in the East Indies.

But for a third argument, and also of a treble strength to the rest, I lay the inuasion of *Semiramis* before the indifferent and aduised Reader: who may consider in what age shee liued, and how soone after the worlds new birth shee gathered her Armie (as *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Ctesias* reporteth) of more than three Millions to inuade *India*, to which hee adioyned also 500000. Horse, and 100000. Waggones: whereof if we beleeue but a third part, it shall suffice to proue that *India* was the first planted and peopled Countrey after the flood. Now as touching the time wherein shee liued: All Historians consent, that shee was the wife of *Ninus*; and the most approved Writers agree, that *Ninus* was the Sonne of *Belus*, and *Belus* of *Nimrod*; that *Nimrod* was the Sonne of *Cush*, *Cush* of *Cham*, and *Cham* of *Noah*. And at such time as *Nimrod* came to *Shinar*, hee was then a great Nation, as by the building of the Citie and Tower of *Babel* may appeare; and being then so multiplied and increased, the two descents cast betweene *Nimrod* and *Semiramis*, brought forth in that time those multitudes, whereof her Armie was composed. Let vs then see with whom shee encountered in that waite with this her powerful Armie: euen with a multitude, rather exceeding, than equalling, her owne, conducted by *Stavrobates* King of *India* beyond *Indus*; of whose multitudes this is the witnesse of *Diod. Siculus*. *STAVROBATES anitis maioribus quamque crans SEMIRAMIS copijs*. *STAVROBATES gathering together greater troups than those of SEMIRAMIS*. If then these numbers of *Indians* had bene encreased but by a *Colonie* sent out from *Shinar*, (and that also after *Babel* was built, which no doubt tooke some time in the performance) this encrease in the East, and this Armie of *Stavrobates* must haue bene made of stone, or somewhat else by miracle. For as the numbers which *Semiramis* gathered might easily grow vp in that time, from so great a Troupe as *Nimrod* brought with him into *Babylonia* (as shall be demonstrated hereafter in the Storie of *Israel*) so could not any such time, by any multiplication natural, produce so many bodies of men as were in the *Indian* Armie victorious ouer *Semiramis*, if the *Colonies* sent thither had bene so late as *Rebel* ouerturned, and the confusion of Languages. For if wee allow 65. yeeres time after the Flood, before *Nimrod* was borne: of which, thirty yeeres to *Cush* ere hee begat *Seba*, after whom hee had *Hauilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, and *Sabtecha*: GEN. 10. 7. and then thirtie yeeres to *Raamah*, ere hee begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, both which were borne before *Nimrod*: and fve yeeres to his fve elder brothers, which make sixtie fve, and then twice thirtie yeeres for two Generations more, as for *Nimrod*, *Sheba* and *Dedan* with others, to beget their sonnes; and that a third Generation might grow vp, which makes in all an hundred twenty fve yeeres, there will then remaine sixe yeeres to haue bin spent in trauielling from the East, ere they arriued in *Shinar* in the yeere after the Flood 131. And so the followers of *Nimrod* might bee of sufficient multitude. But as for those which make him to haue arriued at *Shinar* in the yeere 101. and the confusion to haue bene at *Peleg*s birth, these men doe all by miracle: they beget whole Nations without the helpe of time, and build *Nimrod*s Towre in the Ayr, and not on thofe low and marsh grounds (which require sound foundations) in the Plaines of *Shinar*. For except that huge Towre were built in a day, there could bee no confusion in that yeere 101. or at *Peleg*s birth. And therefore it is farre more probable, that *Nimrod* vsurped Regall authority in the 131. yeere after

Glycas Gen. 2.  
d. 1. c. 1. v. 173.

after the Flood, (according to *Berosus*) and that the worke of *babel* lasted forty yeeves (according to *GLYCAS*) *Hominiū in ea perficienda totis 40 annis incassum laborantibus; Met labouring in vaine 40. yeeves to finish it.* By which account it falls out, that it was 170. yeeves after the Flood, ere a *Colony* was sent into *East India*; which granted the one being the maine body, and the other but a Troupe taken thence; it can hardly be beleueed, that *Staurabates* could haue exceeded *Semiramis* in numbers: who being then Emperesse of all that part of the world, gathered the most of Nations into one bodie.

# ¶ VI.

The fourth Argument from diuers considerations in the person of *NOAH*.

Fourthly, it is no way probable, that *Noah*, who knew the world before the flood, & had lived therein the long time of 600. yeeves, was all that space 130. yeeves after the flood, without any certaine habitation: No, it will fall out, and better agree with reason, that *Nimrod* was but the conductor of those people, by *Noah* destined and appointed to fill and inhabit that middle part of the earth and the Western world; (which traualles *Noah* put ouer to young and able bodies) and that *Noah* himselfe then covered with many yeeves, planted himselfe in the same place which God had assigned him: which was where he first came downe out of the *Arke* from the waters: for it is written, that after *Noah* came downe out of the *Arke* hee planted a Vineyard, and became a Husbandman: whose businesse was to dresse and manure the earth; and not to range ouer so many parts of the world, as from *Armenia* into *Arabia felix*, where hee should (if the tradition be found) haue left certaine Colonies: thence into *Africa* towards *Tripoli*, then into *Spain*, where they say he settled other companies, and built Cities after the names of *Noela* and *Nargela* his sonnes wiues: from thence into *Italy*, wherethey say hee found his sonne *Cham* the *Saturne* of *Egypt*, who had corrupted the people and subiects of *Comer* in his absence: with whom *Noah* (as they make the storie) had patience for three yeeves; but then finding no amendment, they say he banisht him out of *Italy*. These be but the fancies of *Berosus Annianus*, a plaine imitation of the Græcian fables. For let euery reasonable man conceiue, what it was to traualle farre in such a forre as the World was, when after so great a rotting of the earth by the flood, the same lay waste and ouer-growne for 130. or 140. yeeves, and wherein there could hardly be found either part or passage through which men were able to creepe for woods, bushes and bryars that in those yeeves were growne vp.

And there are so many reasons, prouing that *Noah* neuer came into the valley of *Shinar*, as we need not suspect his passage into *Italy* or *Spain*: For *Noah*, who was Father of all those Nations, a man reuerenced both for his authority, knowledge, experience and pietie, would neuer haue permitted his children and issues to haue vnder-taken that vnbeleueing presumptuous worke of *Babel*. Rather by his presence and preualent persuasions he would haue bound their hands from so vaine labours, & by the authority which he receiued euen from God himselfe, hee would haue held them in that awfull subiection, as whatsoeuer they had vainely conceiued or feared, yett they durst not haue disobeyed the personall commandment of him, who in the beginning had a kinde of Regall authority ouer his children and people. Certainly, *Noah* knew right well, that the former destruction of mankind was by themselves purchased through crueltie and disobedience; and that to distrust God, and to raise vp building against his Almighty power, was as much as in them lay, a prouocation of God to lay on them the same, if not a more sharpe affliction. Wherefore, there is no probability, that euer he came so farre West as *Babylonia*; but rather, that hee sent those numbers, which came into *Shinar* (being the greatest troupe, because they had the greatest part of the world to plant) vnder *Nimrod*, or those vpon whom he vsurped. *Nauclerus* and *Celestius* take the testimony of *Methodius* Bishop of *Tyre* for current, that there were three Leaders of the people after their encrease (to wit) *Nimrod*, *Sapbene*, and *Isolan*: of which *Nimrod* commanded the issues of *Cham*, *Isolan* of *Sem*, and *Sapbene* of *Taphet*. This opinion I cannot iudge of, although I will not doubt, but that so great a worke as the worlds plantation, could not be effected without order and conduction.

Of the sonnes of *Sem*: *Isolan*, *Hamalah*, and *Ophir*, are especially noted to haue dwelt in the *East India*. The rest of *Sems* issues had also the Regions of *Persia* and the other adioyning

adioyning to *Indus*, and held also a part of *Chaldea* for a time: for *Abraham* inhabited *yr*, till he was thence called by God; and whether they were of the Sonnes of *Isolan*, or of all the rest a certaine number (*Cham* and his issue onely excepted) that *Noah* kept with himselfe, it cannot be knowne. Of which plantation I shall speake at large in the Chapter following.

Now another reason which mooues me to beleuee, that *Noah* stayed in the East far away from all those that came into *Shinar*, is, that *Moses* doth not in any word make mention of *Noah* in all the story of the Hebrewes, or among any of those Nations which contended with them. And *Noah*, being the Father of all mankind, and the chosen servant of God, was too principall a person, to be either forgotten or neglected, had he not (in respect of his age and wearisome experience of the world) withdrawn himselfe, and rested a part with his best beloued, giuing himselfe to the seruice and contemplation of God and heavenly things, after he had directed his children to their destined portions. For he landed in a warme and fertile soile, where hee planted his Vineyard, and drest the earth after which, and his thankfe-giuing to God by sacrifice, hee is not remembered in the Scriptures, because he was so farre away from those Nations of which *Moses* wrote; which were the Hebrewes chiefly, and their enemies and borderers.

# ¶ VII.

Of the senselesse opinion of *ANNIUS* the Commentor vpon *BEROSUS*: who finds diuers places where the *Arke* rested; as the *Caspian* and *Gordian* hills which are three hundred miles asunder; and also some place of *Scythia*.

It remaineth now that we examine the Arguments & authorities of Frier *Annius*, who in his Commentaries vpon *Berosus* and others, laboureth maruailously to proue, that the *Arke* of *Noah* rested vpon the *Armenian* mountaines called *Caspj*; which mountaines separate *Armenia* from the vpper *Media*, and doe equally belong to both. And because all his Authours speake of the mountaines *Gordian*, he hath no other shift to vnitie these opinions, but by vnitng those farre-distant mountaines together. To effect which, hee hath found no other inuention, than to charge those men with error, which haue carefully overseene, printed, and published *Ptolemies* Geographie, in which they are altogether disaffected. For that last edition of *Mercators*, sets these hills five degrees (which makes three hundred English miles) asunder. And certainly, if we looke into those more ancient copies of *Ptolemy* and others, we shall find nothing in them to helpe *Annius* withall: for in those the mountaines *Caspj* stand seuen degrees to the East of the *Cordier*, which make 420. miles. And for those Authours by whose authority *Annius* strengtheneth himselfe, *Piodorus* whom he so much followeth, giueth this iudgment vpon them in the like dispute. *Aberrantur vero omnes, non negligentia, sed regno videlicet: rum stus ignorantia. They haue all erred* (saith he) *not through negligence, but through ignorance of the situation of Kingdomes.* But for an induction, to proue that the *Arke* of *Noah* stood on the mountaines of *Armenia*, he beginneth with the antiquity of the *Scythians*: and to proue the same he citeth *Marcus Porcius Cato*, who auoweth that 250. yeeves before *Ninus* the earth was ouerflowne with waters, & in *Scythia* *Sagarenatum mortale genus*; and that in *Scythia* the stocke of mortall men was renewed. The same Authour also teacheth that the *Vmbri* before remembered (who were so called, because saued from *Dencalions* flood) were the Sonnes of the *Galli*, a Nation of the *Scythians*. Ex his uenisse *IANVM cum DRYM*, & *Galli progenitoribus Vmbrosum*; From these *Scythians*, he saith, that *IANVS* came with *DRYM*, and with the *Galli* the progenitors of the *Vmbri*; And againe, *Equidem principatus originis semper Scythi tributur*. Certainly, the Prime antiquitie of off-spring is alway giuen to the *Scythians*. And herein truly I agree with *Annius*, that those Regions called *Scythia* and now *Tartaria*, and by some Writers *Sarmatia*, *Asiatica*, were among the first peopled: and they held the greatest part of *Asia* vnder tribute till *Ninus* time. Also *Plinie* called the *Vmbri* which long time inhabited *Italy*, *Gens antiquissima, a most ancient Nation*, who descended of these *Scythians*. Now that which *Annius* laboureth is to proue that these ancient *Scythians* (meaning the Nephewes of *Noah*) did first inhabit that Region of the mountaines, on which the *Arke* rested; and confessing that this great ship was grounded in *Armenia*, he saith a nation of *Scythians* called *Araxe*, taking name of the mountain *Arax*, neere the Riuer of *Araxes*. And because his Author *Cato* helpeth him in part

(to wit, That in *Scythia* mankind was restored after the great flood, 250. yeares before *Ninus*) and in part utterly destroyeth his conceit of *Armenia*, by adding the word *Saga*, as, In *Scythia Saga renatum mortale genus*, In *Scythia Saga* mankind was restored, hee therefore in the Proeme of his Commentary vpon *Berosus*, leaueth out the addition of *Saga* altogether in the repetition of *Cato* his words, and writes, *homines in Scythia saluati*. For *Scythia Saga* or *Saca*, is vndoubtedly vnder the Mountains of *Parapanisus*, on which, or neare which it is most probable that the *Arke* first tooke ground: and from thofe East parts (according to *Moses*) came all thofe companies which erected the Tower of *Babel* in *Shinaar* or *Babylonia*.

But now the best authority which *Annius* hath, is out of *Diodorus*: where hee hath read, that the *Scythians* were originally *Armenians*, taking name a *Scythia Kegeorum*, from *Scyth*: their King. But (in a word) wee may see his vanity, or rather (indeede) his fallshood in citing this place. For *Diodorus*, a most approoued and diligent Author, beginneth in that place with these words: *Fabulantur Scythae; The Scythians fable*: and his Interpreter in the table of that worke giueth this title to that very Chapter. *Scytharum origo & successus, fabula; The originall and successe of the Scythians, a fable*. And (indeede) there needs no great disproofe hereof, since *Ptolomy* doth directly delineate *Scythia Saga* or *Saca*, and sets them in 130. degrees of longitude: and the *Persians* (saith *Herodotus*) call all the *Scythians*, *Saca* which *Pliny* confirmeth: for in respect that these *Saca* (saith *Pliny*) are the next *Scythians* to the *Persians*, therefore they giue all the rest that name. Now that any Nation in *Armenia* can neighbour the *Persians*, there is no man beleueth. But this supposed *Scythia Araxea* in *Armenia* lyeth in 78. degrees of longitude (that is) 42. degrees distant from the *Saca*; and the Country about *Araxes* *Ptolomy* calleth *Colchene* and *Saducene* and *Sacagene* without any mention of *Scythia* at all: and yet all thofe which are or were reputed *Scythians* either with *Imanus* or without, Tab. Afr. 7. 6. 10 to the number of 100. severall Nations, are by *Ptolomy* precisely set downe.

But to come to thofe later Authors, whereof some haue written, others haue seene a great part of thofe North-east Regions, and searched their antiquities with great diligence: First, *Marius Niger* boundeth *Scythia* within *Imanus*, in this manner: (for *Scythia* without these Mountains is also beyond our purpose) *Scythia inter Imanum montem ea est, que proprio vocabulo Cassaria hoc tempore dicitur: ab Occasu Sarmatia Asiatica: ab Oriente Imao monte: a Septentrione terra incognita: a Meridie Saccis, Sogdianis, Margianis, usque ad Oceanum in Hyrcanum mare exiunt; & parte ipsius maris hinc usque ad Rha fluminis ostia terminatur: Scythia within the Mountain Imanus is that part of the World, which in their owne speech is at this time called Cassaria; and the same is bounded on the West side by Sarmatia Asiatica (or of Asia) on the East by the Imao Mountains: on the North by unknowne Lands: on the South by the Saccæ (which are in the Saccæ) the Sogdians, and the Margians, to the mouth of Oxus, falling into the Hyrcan Sea, and by a part of the same Sea as farre as the mouth of Rha.*

Now if *Niger* sets all *Sarmatia Asiatica*, to the West of *Scythia*, then *Sarmatia* (qua magna sine Regio est, & quæ innumera nationes complectitur) which is a great Region, comprehending innumerable Nations (saith *Niger*) much of it being betwene *Scythia* and *Armenia*: doth sufficiently warrant vs, that *Armenia* can be no part of *Scythia*; and to make it more plaine, hee disseuereth *Scythia* it selfe from any part of *Armenia*, by the Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, which he leaueth on the right hand of *Sarmatia*, and yet makes *Sarmatia* but the West bound of *Scythia*.

And for *Paulus Pemetus*, he hath not a word of *Armenia* among the *Tartarian* or *Scythian* Nations; neither doth his fellow Frier *Ioh. Plancarpio*, cited by *Vincentius* in his description of *Scythia* make any mention of *Armenia*; neyther doth *Haytonus*, an *Armenian* borne, of the blood of thofe Kings (though afterward a Monke) euer acknowledge himselfe for a *Tartarian*, or of the *Scythian* Races defended: though he write that storie at large, gathered by *Nicholaus Salcuni*, and (by the commandement of Pope *Clement* the fifth) in the yeere 1307. published.

Neyther doth *Mathias a Michon* (a Canon of *Cracovia* in *Polonia*) a *Sarmatian* borne, and that traualled a great part of *Sarmatia Asiatica*, finde *Armenia* any way within the compasse of *Tartaria*, *Scythia*, or *Sarmatia*; and yet no man (whose Trauailles are extant) hath obserued so much of thofe Regions as he hath done: prouing and disproving many things, heretofore subiect to dispute. And among others he bueth that ancient and receiued

receiued opinion, That out of the Mountains *Rhiphi*, and *Hyperborei* in *Scythia*, spring the Riuer of *Tanais* or *Don*, *Volga* or *Edel*; prouiding by vnanfwerable experience, that there are no such Mountains in *verum natura*; and (indeed) the Heads and Fountaines of thofe famous Riuer are now by the Trade of *Muscovia* knowne to euery Merchant, and that they arise out of Lakes, low, wooddie, and marsh grounds. The Riuer of *Tanais* or *Don*, ariseth to the South of the Citie *Tula*, some twentie English miles, out of a Lake called *Imanowero*, in the great Wood *Okenitzkies* or *Isciphanules*, *Volga*, which *Ptolomy* calls *Rha*, and the *Tartars* call *Edel*, riseth out of a Lake called *Fronow*, in the great Wood *Kodkanki*: from which Lake the two other famous Riuer flow of *Byzithenes* (now *Nepeser*) and *Dniuna* or *Dniudna*. And this learned *Polonian* doth in this fort bound the European *Sarmatia*. In *Sarmatia* of Europe are the Regions of *Russians*, *Lithuanians*, *Muscovians*, and thofe adioyning, bounded on the West by the Riuer of *Essa*, the Name per chance mis-printed *Vissa* for *Vistula*, a Riuer which parts *Germany* and *Sarmatia*; and for the East border he nameth *Tanais*, or *Don*. *Sarmatia Asiatica* he cutteth from Europe by the same Riuer of *Tanais*, and the *Caspian* Sea, to with-hold it from stretching farther East: this *Asian Sarmatia* being part of that *Scythia* which *Ptolomy* calleth *Scythia intra Imaum montem*: *Scythia within the Mountain Imao*. And the same *Mathias Atichon* farther affirmeth, that the *Scythians* (which Frier *Annius* would make *Armenians*) came not into *Sarmatia Asiatica* it selfe about three hundred and a few odde yeeres before his owne time: these be his words: *Constat eam esse gentem novam, & aduentitiam a partibus Orientis (mutatis sedibus) paulo plus abhinc trecentis annis Asia Sarmatiam inire (nam: It is manifest) (saith he, speaking of the Scythian Nation) that this is a late planted Nation, come from the coasts of the East, from whence they entred into Asia, and gat new seats a little more than 300. yeeres since: For (indeed) before that time the Gothes or Poloci inhabited Sarmatia, Asiatica. And this Mathias liued in the yeere 1511. and this his Discourse of *Sarmatia* was printed at *Angula* in the yeere 1506. as *Bucholzcrus* in his *Chronologie* witnesseth. Now these *Scythians* (saith he) came from the East, for in the East it was that the *Arke* of *Noah* rested, and the *Scyth* *Saca* were thofe people which liued at the North foot of thofe Mountains, of *Taurus* or *Ararat*, where they encounter or begin to mixe themselves with the great *Imanus*. And were there no other testimony than the generall description of the Earth now extant, and the witness of *Ptolomy*, it is plaine, that betwene all parts of *Armenia*, and *Scythia*, there are not only thofe three Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, but the *Caspian* Sea: on the East shore of which Sea, but not on the West, or on that part which any way toucheth *Armenia*, there are (indeed) a Nation of *Scythians* (called *Ariace*) betwene *Iaxartus* and *Iactus*; but what are these *Scythians* to any *Ariace*, or *Scythia Araxea*, which *Annius* placeth in *Armenia*, more than the *Scythians* of Europe?*

## †. XIII.

40 The fift Argument, The Vine must grow naturally neere the place where the *Arke* rested.

TO this if we adde the consideration of this part of the Text, That *NOAH* planted a Vineyard, we shall find that the fruit of the Vine or Rayfin did not grow naturally in that part of *Armenia*, where this resting of the *Arke* was supposed: for if the Vine was a stranger in *Italie* and *France*, and brought from other Countries thither, it is not probable that it grew naturally in *Armenia*, being a farre colder Country. For *Tyrrhenus* first brought Vines into *France*, and *Saturnus* into *Latium*: yea at such times as *Brennus* and the *Gauls* invaded *Italie*, there were few or no Vines in *France*. For (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Camilus*) the *Gauls* remained betwene the *Pyrenæi* and the *Alpes*, *S. ruius* *Atreida*, neere vnto the *Senones*, where they continued a long time, vntill they drunke Wine, which was first brought them out of *Italie*; and after they tasted thereof they hastened to inhabit that Country, which brought forth such pleasant fruit: so as it appeareth, that the Plant of the Vine was not naturall in *France*, but from *Italie* brought thither; as by *Saturne* from elfe where into *Italy*.

Now it is manifest, that *Noah* traualled not farre to seeke out the Vine. For the Plantation thereof is remembered, before there was any counsaile how to dispose of the World among his children: and the first thing he did, was, to till the ground, & to plant a Vineyard, after the Sacrifice and Thanksgiuing to God; and wherefoever the *Arke* rested, there

there did the Vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appeare, that he tra-  
uailed farre for the Scriptures teach vs, that he was a Husband-man, & not a Wanderer.

## I. IX.

An answer to an obiection out of the words of the Text: The Lord scattered them  
from thence upon the face of the whole earth.

AND that all the children of Noah came together into Shinar, it doth not appeare  
[saying that it may be inferred out of these words (from thence) because it is written:  
So that the Lord scattered them from thence upon all the earth; which hath no other sense,  
but that the Lord scattered them (to wit) those that built this Towre: for those were  
from thence dispersed into all the Regions of the North and South, and to the West-  
ward. And by these words of Sybilla (as they be conuerted) it seemeth that all came not  
together into Shinar; for they haue this limitation: *Quidam eorum turrem adificauerunt  
alissimam, quasi per eam caelum effens ascensuri*: Certaine of them built a most high Towre,  
as if they meant thereby to haue: scaled the Heauens.

## I. X.

An answer to the obiection of the name of Ararat, taken for Armenia: and  
the height of the Hills there.

BEFORE I conclude this part, it is necessarie to see & consider, what part of Scrip-  
ture, and what reason may be found out, to make it true or probable, that the Arke  
of Noah was forsaken by the waters on the Mountaines of Armenia. For the Text hath  
only these words: The Arke rested on (or vpon) the Mountaines of Ararat; or Armenia,  
saith the marginal note of the Geneva: the Chaldean Paraphrast calls it *Kardu*, of which,  
the highest hath the name of *Lubar*, saith Epiphanius. Now this *Ararat*; (which the Sep-  
tuaginta do not conuert at all, but keepe the same word) is taken to be a Mountaine of  
Armenia, because Armenia it selfe had anciently that name: so as first out of the name,  
and secondly out of the height (which they suppose exceeded all other) is the opinion  
taken, That the Arke first sat thereon.

But these suppositions haue no foundation: for neither is *Ararat* of Armenia alone, nei-  
ther is any part, or any of those Mountaines of equall stature to many other Mountaines  
of the World; and yet it doth not follow, that the Arke found the highest Mountaine  
of all other to rest on: for the Plaines were also vncovered, before Noah came out of  
the Arke. Now, if there were any agreement among Writers of this *Ararat*, and that  
they did not differ altogether therein, we might giue more credit to the conceit. For in  
the Bookes of the Sybills it is written, that the Mountaines of *Ararat* are in Phrygia, vp-  
on which it was supposed that the Arke stayed after the Flood. And the better to parti-  
cularize the place and feate of these Mountaines, and to proue them in Phrygia, and not  
Armenia, they are placed where the City of *Calenes* was afterward built. Likewise in the  
same description thee maketh mention of *Marfus*, a Riuer which runneth through part  
of Phrygia, and afterward ioyneth it selfe with the Riuer *Meander*, which is farre from  
the Gordian Mountaines in Armenia. We may also finde a great mistaking in Iose-  
phus (though out of BEROSUS, who is in effect the Father of this opinion) that IOSE-  
PHUS sets *Ararat* betwene ARMENIA and PARTHIA, toward ADIABENE, and affir-  
meth withall, that in the prouince of *Ceron* (by others *Kairos* and *Arnos*, so called by  
reason that the waters haue from thence no descent, nor issue out) the people vnt  
that they had in those dayes reserved some peices of Noahs Arke. But *Parthia* toucheth  
no where vpon Armenia, for Armenia bordereth *Adiabene*, a Prouince of *Affrya*: so  
that all *Media* and a part of *Affrya* is betwene *Parthia* and Armenia. Now whereas the  
discovery of the Mountaines *Cordici* was first borrowed out of *Berosus* by *Iosephus*; yet  
the Text which *Iosephus* citeth out of *Berosus*, differs far from the words of that *Berosus*,  
which wandreth vp and downe in these dayes, set out by *Ammius*. For *Berosus*, cited by  
*Iosephus*, hath these words: *Fertur & nauighuius pars in Armenia apud montem Cor-  
diciorum superesse, & quosdam Bitumen inde abrafum secum reportare, quo vice amuletis loci  
huius homines uti solent*: (which is) It is reported also that a part of this ship is yet remai-  
ning in Armenia upon the Gordian Mountaines; and that diuers doe scrape from it the Bitu-  
men or Pitch, and carrying it with them, they use it in stead of an amulet. But *Ammius* his

Edition

Edition of the Fragment of *Berosus* vseth these words: *Nam eleuata ab aquis in Gordia  
montis turris quereit, cuius adhuc dicitur aliqua pars esse, & homines ex illa Bitumen  
collece quoniam maxime utuntur ad expiationem*: For the whole Arke being lifted vp by the  
waters, rested on the top of the Gordian Mountaines; of which it is reported that some parts  
remain, and that men doe carry thence of the Bitumen to purge by Sacrifice therewith: so as  
in these two Texts (besides the difference of wordes) the name is diuersly written. The  
ancient *Berosus* writes *Cordici* with a (C.) and the Fragment *Gordici* with a (G.) the  
one that the Bitumen is vsed for a preseruatiue against Poyson or Inchantment, the  
other in Sacrifice. And if it be said that they agree in the general, yet it is reported by  
neither from any certaine knowledge, nor from any approued Author: for one of  
them, vseth the word (*fertur*) the other (*dicitur*) the one, that so it is reported, the  
other, that so it is said; and both but by heare-say, and therefore of no authority nor  
credit. For common bruit is so infamous an Historian, as wise men neither report af-  
ter it, nor giue credit to any thing they receive from it.

Furthermore, these Mountaines which *Protonius* calls *Gordici*, are not those Moun-  
taines which himselfe giueeth to Armenia, but he calleth the Mountaines of Armenia  
*Moschici*. These be his owne words: *Montes Armenie nominantur, qui Moschici ap-  
pellantur, qui presentantur effi, ad superiacentem partem Ponti Cappadocum; & mons qui  
Paryades dicitur: The Mountaines of Armenia are they which are called Moschici, stretch  
along to the higher part of Pontus of the Cappadocians: also the Hill which is called Paryades:*  
which Mountaines *Plinie* calleth *Parietari*, & both which lye to the North of *Gordici* or  
*Baru*, in 43. and 44. and a halfe; and the Gordian Mountaines in 39. and a halfe: from  
the Northernmost of which did the *Georgians* take their names, who were first *Gordians*  
and then *Georgians*, who amidst all the strength of the greatest Infidels of Persia and  
*Turkie*, doe still remaine *Christians*. Concerning the other suppositions, that the Moun-  
taines of *Gordici*, or otherwise *Baru*, *Kardu* or *Lubar* (which *Protonius* calleth *Torgadizien*)  
are the highest of the World, the same is absolutely false.

## I. XI.

Of *Caucasus*, and diuers farre higher hills than the Armenian.

OF the best Cosmographers with other, that haue seene the Mountaines of Armenia  
find them farre inferiour, and vnder-set to diuers other Mountaines euen in that part  
of the World, and else where: as the Mountaine *Athos* betwene Macedonia and Thrace,  
which *Protonius* calls *Olympus*, now called *Lacus*, (saith *Cassiodorus*) is farre surmounting  
any Mountaine that euer hath bene seene in Armenia: for it casteth shade three hun-  
dred furlongs, which is seuen and thirtie miles and vpwards: of which *Plutarch*: *Athos  
adunbrat latera Lemnia bouis: Athos shadoweth the Cow of Lemnos*. All the Mount of  
*Olympus* in Thessalie, is said to be of that height, as neither the Windes, Cloudes or  
Raine ouertop it. Again, the Mountaine of *Ansandrus* in Mysia, not farre from *Ida*,  
whence the Riuer *Scamandrus* floweth, which runneth through *Troy*, is also of a farre  
more admiration than any in Armenia, and may be seene from Constantinople. There  
are also in *Mauritania* neere the Sea, the famous Mountaines of *Atlas*, of which *HERO-  
DOTVS*: *Extat in hoc mari Mons cui nomen Atlas, ita sublimis esse dicitur, ut ad illius  
verticem oculis mortalium pervenire non possint*: Vpon this Coast there is a Mountaine called  
*Atlas*, whose height is sayd to be such, as the eye of no mortal man can discern the top thereof.  
And if we may beleuee *Aristotle*, then are all these inferiour to *Caucasus*, which he ma-  
keth the most notorious both for breadth and height: *Caucasus Mons omnium maximus,  
qui situm ad ortum sunt, acumine atq; latitudine, cuius iuga a Sole radiantur effi, ad con-  
tinentium ab ortu: & iterum ab occasu Caucasus* (saith *ARISTOTTE*) is the greatest Moun-  
taine both for breadth and height of all those in the North-east, whose tops are lightened by  
the Sun-beames, effi, ad contineium (which is, saith *Macrobius*) betwene the first crowing  
after mid-night and the breake of day: Others affirme, that the top of this Mountaine  
holds the Sunne-beames when it is darke in the Valley; but I cannot beleuee either:  
for the highest Mountaine of the World knowne is that of *Tenerife* in the Canaria:  
which although it hath nothing to the Westward of it for 1000. Leagues together but  
the Ocean Sea, yet doth it not enioy the Suns company at any such late houres. Besides  
these Mountaines which *Aristotle* calleth *Caucasus* are those which separate *Calchis* from  
*Iberia*,



Iberia; though (indeed) *Caucasus* doth diuide both *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* from *Sarmatia*: for hee acknowledgeth that the Riuer of *Phasis* riseth in the same Mountaine, which himselfe calleth *Caucasus*, and that *Phasis* springeth from those Hills which funder *Colchis* from *Iberia*, falling afterward into *Euaxinus*: which Riuer (it is manifest) yeldeth it selfe to the Sea, two degrees to the North of *Trapezus* (now *Trabzunda*) howsoever Mercator bring it from *Peryardes*.

## †. XII.

Of diuers incongruities if in this Storia we should take *Ararat* for *Armenia*.

SO as it doth first appeare, that there is no certaintie what Mountaine *Ararat* was: for the Bookes of the *Syblis* set it in *Phrygia*, and *Berosus* in *Armenia*: and as for *Berosus* authoritie, those men haue great want of proofes that borrow from thence.

Secondly, that *Baris* was the highest Hill, and therefore most likely that the *Arke* grounded thereon, the assertion and supposition haue equall credit: for there are many Hills which exceed all those of *Armenia*, and if they did not, yet it doth not follow (as is before written) that the *Arke* should fit on the highest.

Thirdly, it cannot be proued that there is any such Hill in *Armenia*, or in *rerum natura*, as *Baris*: for *Baris* (saith *Hierome*) signifieth high Towres: and so may all high Hills be called indifferently; and therefore we may better giue the name of *Baris* to the Hills of *Caucasus* (out of which *Indus* riseth) than to any Hills of *Armenia*. For those of *Caucasus* in the East, are vndoubtedly the highest of *Asia*.

Fourthly, the Authours themselves doe not agree in what Region the Mountaines *Gordaei* stand: for *Ptolome* distinguisheth the Mountains of *Armenia* from the *Gordaei*, and calleth those of *Armenia* *Maschici* and *Paryardes*, as aforesaid. Now *Paryardes* is seated neere the middle of *Armenia*, out of which on the West-side riseth *Euphrates*, and out of the East-side *Araxis*: and the Mountaines *Maschici* are those Hills which disioyne *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* (now the Country of the *Georgians*) from *Armenia*.

## †. XIII.

Of the contrary situation of *Armenia*, to the place noted in the Text: and that it is no maruaile that the same Ledge of Hills running from *Armenia* to *India*, should keepe the same name all along: and euen in *India* be called *Ararat*.

LASTly, we must blow vp this Mountaine *Ararat* it self, or else we must digge it down, and carry it out of *Armenia*, or find it else where, and in a warmer Country, and (withall) set it East from *Shinar*; or else we shall wound the Truth it selfe with the weapons of our owne vaine imaginations.

Therefore to make the mistaking open to euery eye, we must vnderstand, that *Ararat* (named by *Moses*) is not any one Hill, so called, no more than any one Hill among those Mountaines which diuide *Italia* from *France* is called, the *Alpes*: or any one among those which part *France* from *Spaine* is the *Pyrenian*; but as these, being continuations of many Hills, keep one name in diuers Countries: so all that long Ledge of Mountaines, which *Plinie* calleth by one name *Taurus*, and *Ptolome* both *Taurus*, *Niphates*, *Contris*, *Coronus*, *Sariphi*, vntill they encounter and crosse the Mountaines of the great *Imanus*, are of one general name, and are called the Mountaines of *Ararat* or *Armenia*, because from thence or thereabout they seeme to arise. So all these Mountaines of *Hircania*, *Armenia*, *Coraxis*, *Caspji*, *Maschici*, *Amazonici*, *Heniuchi*, *Scythici*, (thus diuerly called by *Plinie* and others) *Ptolome* calls by one name *Caucasus*, lying betweene the Seas *Caspium* and *Euaxinus*: as all those Mountaines which cut afunder *America*, euen from the new Kingdome of *Granado*, to the streight of *Magellan*, are by one name called *Andes*. And as these Mountaines of *Ararat* runne East and West, so doe those maruailous Mountaines of *Imanus* stretch themselves North and South; and being of like extent well-neere, are called by the name of *Imanus*, euen as *Plinie* calleth these former hills *Taurus*, and *Moses* the hills of *Ararat*. The reason of feuerall names giuen by *Ptolome*, was, thereby the better to distinguish the great Regions and Kingdomes, which these great mountaines bound and disieure; as *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Media*, *Susiana*, *Persia*, *Partbia*, *Caramania*, *Aria*, *Margiana*, *Bactria*, *Sogdiana*, and *Parapanisus*: ha-

Plinie in his  
description of  
Lybia l. 5. c. 27.

uing all these Kingdomes either on the North or South side of them. For all the mountaines of *Asia* (both the lesse and the greater) haue three generall names, (to wit) *Taurus*, *Imanus*, and *Caucasus*: and they receiue other titles; as they feuer and diuide particular places and regions. For these mountaines which funder *Cilicia* from the rest of *Asia* the lesse on the North side, are called *Taurus*; and those mountaines which part it from *Comagena* (a Prouince of *Syria*) are called *Amanns*: the mountaines called *Taurus* running East and West, as *Imanus* doth North and South. Though *Taurus* the Riuer of *Euphrates* forceth her passage, leaving the name of *Amanns* to the mountains on her West-banke; and on her East side the mountaines are sometimes knowne by the name of *Taurus*, (as in *Ptolome*s three tables of *Asia*) and sometimes *Niphates*; (as in the fourth) retaining that vncertaine appellation so long as they bound *Armenia* from *Mesopotamia*: and after the Riuer of *Tygris* cutteth them afunder, they then take the name of *Niphates* altogether, vntill they separate *Assyria* and *Media*; but then they call themselves *Contris*, though betweene the vpper and nether *Media*, they doe not appeare, but altogether discontinue. For at *Mazada* in *Media* they are not found, but runne through the Easterne *Media* by pieces: in the middle of which Region they call themselves *Orontes*, and towards the East part *Coronus*; out of the Southerne part whereof the Riuer of *Bagradas* riseth, which diuiderh the ancient *Persia* from *Caramania*: and then continuing their course Eastward by the name of *Coronus*, they giue to the *Parthians* and *Hircanians* their proper Countries. This done, they change themselves into the mountaines of *Sariphi*, out of which riseth the Riuer *Margus*, afterward yielding her selfe to *Oxus* (now *Abia*): and drawing now neere their wayes end, they first make themselves the South border of *Bactria*, and are then honoured with the Title of *Parapanisus*; and lastly of *Caucasia*, euen where the famous Riuer of *Indus*, with his principal companions *Hydaspis* and *Zaradrus*, spring forth and take beginning. And here doe these Mountaines build themselves exceeding high, to equal the strong Hills called *Imanus* of *Scythia*, which encounter each other in 35. 36. and 37. degrees of Latitude, and in 140 of Longitude: of the which the West parts are now called *Delanguer*, and the rest *Nagracot*; and these Mountaines in this place onely are properly called *Caucasi* (saith *Ptolome*) that is, betweene *Parapanisus* and *Imanus*: and improperly, betweene the two Seas of *Caspium* and *Pontus*.

## †. XIII.

Of the best Vine naturally growing on the South side of the Mountaines *Caucasi* and toward the East Indies: and of other excellencies of the soile.

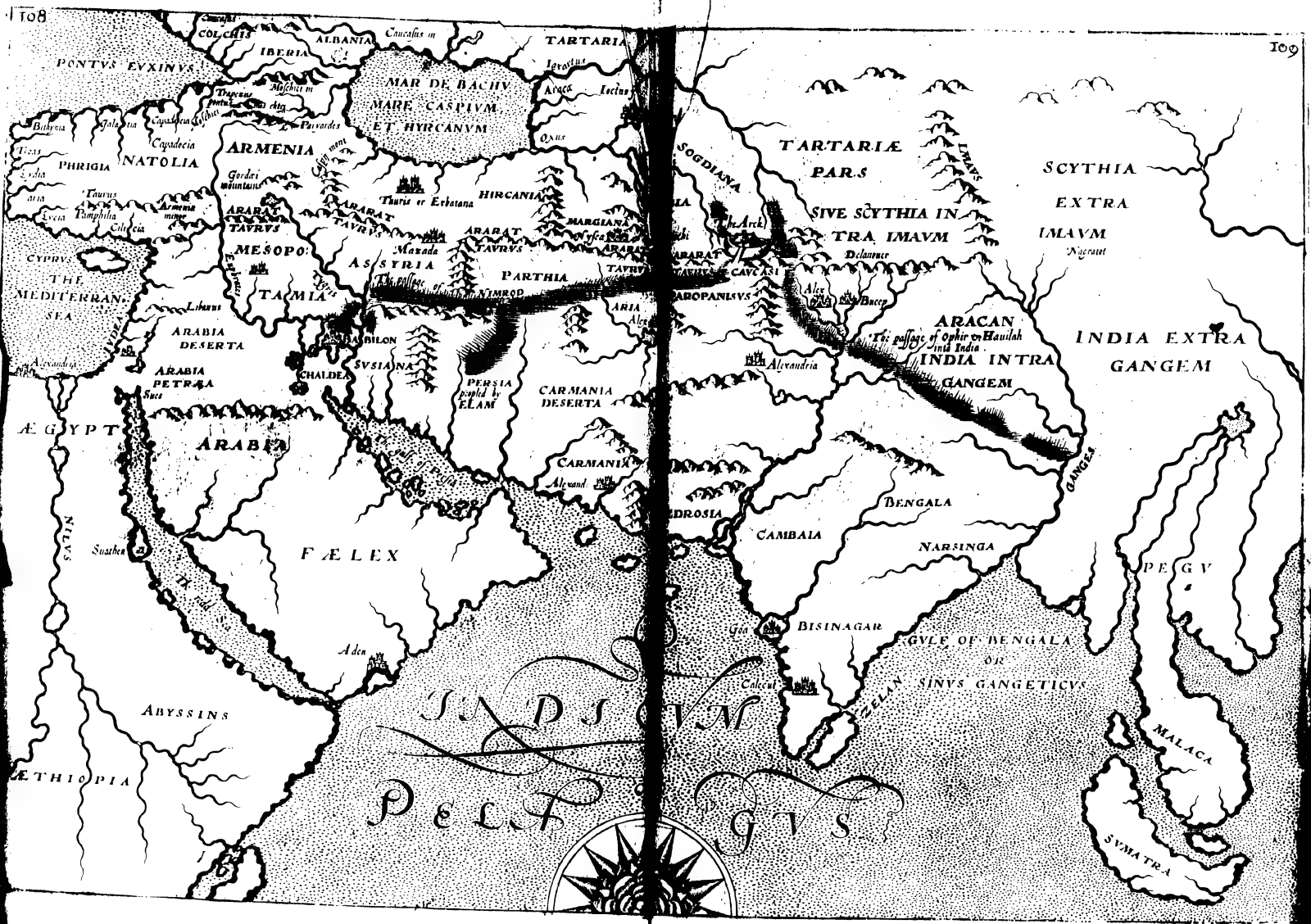
NOW in this part of the World it is, where the Mountaine and Riuer *Imanus*, and the Mountaine *Nysus* (so called of *Bacchus Nysus* or *Noah*) are found: and on these highest Mountaines of that part of the world did *Goropius Becanus* conceiue that the *Arke* of *Noah* grounded after the Flood: of all his coniectures the most probable, and by best reason approued. In his *Indosynchia* he hath many good Arguments, though mixt with other fantasticall opinions of this subiect. And as the same *Becanus* also noteth; that as in this part of the world are found the best Vines: so it is as true, that in the same Line, & in 34. 35. & 36. degrees of Septentrionall Latitude, are the most delicate Wines of the World, namely in *India*, *Candia*, and other parts of *Greece*: and likewise in this Region of *Margiana*: and vnder these Mountaines *Strabo* affirmeth, that the most excellent Vines of the World are found; the clusters of Grapes containing two Cubits of length: & it is the more probable, because this place agreeth in Climate with that part of *Palestina*, where the searchers of the land, by *Moses* directio, found bunches of equal bignes at *Escul*. The fruitfulness of this place (to wit) on the South bottome of these Hills, *Curtius* witnesseth. For in *Margiana* neere the Mountaines of *Meros* did *Alexander* feast himselfe & his Armie ten daies together, finding the most delicate Wine of all other.

Num. 13. 14.

## †. XV.

The conclusion, with a briefe repeating of diuers chiefe points.

AND therefore to conclude this opinion of *Ararat*, it is true, that those Mountaines doe also trauesse *Armenia*: yea, and *Armenia* it selfe sometime is knowne by the name



the Valley of *Shinaar* in 79. and 80. And therefore *Armenia* lyeth from *Shinaar* North-west, ninety five degrees from the East; and if *Armenia* had bene but North, yet it had differed from the East one whole quarter of the Compass. But *Gregorie* and *Hierome* warne vs, *In scripturis no minima differentia amitti debet: nam singuli sermones, syllabe, apices, & puncta in diuina Scriptura plana sunt sensibus; In the Scriptures the least difference may not be omitted: for every speech; syllable, note, or accent, and point in diuine Scriptures are replenished with their meanings.* And therefore seeing *Moses* teacheth vs that the children of *Noah* came from the East, we may not beleue Writers (of little authority) who also speake by heare-say and by report, *ut fertur, & ut dicitur*, as *Berosus* and *Nicolaus Damascenus*, determining herein without any examination of the Text, at all ad-venture. But this is infallible true, that *Shinaar* lyeth West from the place where the *Arke* of *Noah* rested after the flood; and therefore it first found ground in the East, from whence came the first knowledge of all things. The East parts were first ciuill, which had *Noah* him selfe for an Instructor: and directly East from *Shinaar* in the same degree of 35. are the greatest grapes and the best Wine. The great Armies also which ouer-topped in number those Millions of *Semiramis*, proue, that those parts were first planted. And whereas the other opinion hath neither Scripture nor Reason sufficient: for my selfe I build on his wordes who in plain termes hath told vs, that the Sonnes of *Noah* came out of the East into *Shinaar*, and there they abode. And therefore did the *Arke* rest on those Easterne Mountaines, called by one generall name *Taurus*; and by *Moses* the Mountaines of *Ararat*, and not on those Mountaines of the North-west, as *Berosus* first fained; whom most part of the Writers haue followed therein. It was, I say, in the plentiful warme East where *Noah* rested, where hee planted the Vine, where hee tilled the ground & liued thereon. *Placuit vero NOACHO agricultura studium, in qua tractanda ipse omnium peritissimus esse dicitur: ob eamq. rem sua ipsius lingua ISH-ADAMATH (hoc est) telluris vir, appellatur celebratissq. est; The studie of Husbandrie pleased NOAH (saith the excellent learned man ARIAS MONTANVS) in the knowledge & order of which it is said, that NOAH excelled all men: and therefore was he called in his owne language a man exercised in the earth. Which also sheweth that he was no Wanderer, and that he troubled not himselfe with the contentions, beginning againe in the world, & among men, but stayed in his destined places, and in that part of the world, where hee was first deliuered out of the prison of the *Arke*, whereinto God had committed him, to preserve him and mankind.*

## CHAP. VIII.

Of the first planting of Nations after the Flood; and of the Sonnes of NOAH, SHEM, HAM, and IAPHET, by whom the earth was repopled.

## §. I.

whether SHEM and HAM were elder than IAPHET.



These Sonnes of *Noah*, which was the eldest, there is a question made. Saint *Augustine* esteemed *Shem* for the eldest, *Ham* for the second, and *Iaphet* for the yongest: and herein the opinions of Writers are diuers. But this we finde euery where in the Scriptures, and especially in *Moses*, that there was neuer any respect giuen to the eldest in yeres, but in vertue; as by the examples of *Henoch*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Daniel*, is made manifest. In a few wordes, this is the ground of the controuersie; The Latine translation, and so the *Geneua*; haue conuerted this Scripture of *Genesis* the 10. v. 21. in these wordes: *Vnto SHEM also the Father of all the Sonnes of HEBER, and elder brother of IAPHET, were children borne.* But *Iunius*, agreeing with the *Sepuagint*, placeth the same wordes in this manner: *To SHEM also the Father of all the Sons of HEBER, and brother of IAPHET the eldest sonne, were children borne:* So the transposition of the word (*elder*) made this difference. For if the word (*elder*) had followed after *Iaphet*, as it is in the vulgar translation placed before it, then had it bene as plaine for *Iaphet*, as it is by these translations for *Shem*. Now (the matter being otherwise indifferent) seeing Gods blessings are not tyed to first and last, in blood

bloud, but to the eldest in pietie, yet the arguments are stronger for *Iaphet* than for *Shem*. And where the Scriptures are plainly vnderstood without any danger or inconuenience, it seemeth strange why any man of iudgement should make valuation of coniecturall arguments, or mens opinions. For it appeareth that *Noah* in the tiue hundredth yeere of his life, begate the first of his three Sonnes, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Iaphet*: and in the fixe hundredth yeere (to wit) the hundredth yeere following, came the generall flood; two yeeres after which *Shem* begate *Arphaxad*, which was in the yeere 602. of *Noahs* life, and in the yeere of *Shems* life one hundred: so as *Shem* was but 100. yeeres old, two yeeres after the flood; and *Noah* begat his first borne being 500. yeeres old; & therefore, were *Shem* the elder, he had then bene a hundred yeeres old at the flood, and in the fixe hundredth yeere of *Noahs* life, and not two yeeres after. Which seeing the Scriptures before remembred hath denied him, and that it is also written: *Then Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger sonne had done unto him (to wit) Ham*; of necessitie the first place doth belong to *Iaphet*. This younger sonne, so conuerted by the vulgar and *Geneua*, *lunium* turnes it *filius minimus*; *His youngest sonne*; but *S. Chrysostome* takes it otherwise, and findes *Ham* to bee the middle or second brother, and *Iaphet* the youngest sonne of all: which *Ham* for his disobedience and the contempt of his Father (whose nakednesse he derided) was dis-inherited, & lost the preeminencie of his birth, as *Ejan* and *Ruben* did. *Peterius* conceiveth that *Ham* was called the younger in respect of *Shem* the eldest, but auoweth withall, that the *Hebrew* hath not that precise difference of *younger* and *youngest*, because it wanteth the comparatiue degree. It is true that *Shem* himselfe was alwaies named in the first place, yet whereas in the first Verse of the tenth Chapter of *Genesis*, *Shem* is accounted before *Iaphet*: in the second Verse *Moses* leaueth to begin with the issue by *Shem*, and reciteth the children of *Iaphet* first. So the first place was giuen to *Shem* for his election and benediction, and for this weightie respect, that the *Hebrew* Nation, *Abraham*, the *Prophets*, *Dauid*, and *Christ* our Sauour were descended of him. And therefore, whether we shall follow the Vulgar *Pagninus*, and the *Geneua*, who agree in this conuersion, *Shem* *frater IAPHET maior*; or with the *Septuagint*, *Iulius*, and *Tremellius*, *Shem* *fratris IAPHET maioris*; or with *Peterius*, *Shem* *frater IAPHET ille magnus*; inferring that *Shem* was the great and famous brother of *Iaphet*, let the Reader iudge. But for ought that I haue seene to the contrarie, it appeareth to me that *Iaphet* was the eldest. For where *Peterius* qualifieth the strength of the former Argument, That *Shems* age at the time of the flood did not agree with the eldership (with a supposition that the Scriptures tooke no account of smaller numbers) I doe not finde in the Scriptures any such neglect at all: for it is written, that *Shem* was an hundred yeeres old, & begat *Arphaxad* two yeeres after the flood; and againe in the 12. Verse: *So SHEMA lived after he begat EBAR, foure hundred and three yeeres*, &c. so as the number of two yeeres, of three yeeres, of fiue yeeres, and afterward of two yeeres, were alwaies precisely accounted.

## S. II.

Of diuers things that in all reason are to be presumed, touching the first planting of the world, as that all histories must yeelde *MOSES*: that the world was not planted all at once, nor without great direction: and that knowne great Lords of the first ages were of the issue of *HAM*.

**B**UT let vs go vnto the Worlds plantation after the flood, which being rightly vnderstood, we shall finde that many Nations haue supposed or fained themselves those Ancestors and Fathers, which neuer saw or approached the bounds of their Countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plaine in the Scriptures how the sonnes and issues of *Noah* were distributed, and what Regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the world was also peopled. And if any prophane Author may receive allowance herein, the same must bee with this caution, That they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For so farre as the storie of Nations is therein handled, we must know, that both the truth and antiquitie of the bookes of God finde no companions equall, either in age or authoritie. All record, memorie, and testimonie of antiquitie whatsoeuer, which hath come to the knowledge of men, the same hath bene

beeene borrowed thence, and therefore later than it, as all carefull obseruers of time haue noted: among which thus writeth *Eusebius* in the Proeme of his Chronologie: *MOSES is found more ancient than all those whom the Grecians make most ancient, as HOMER, HESIOD, and the Traian warre; and farre before HERCVLES, MYSEVS, LILIVS, CHIRON, ORPHEVS, CASTOR, POLLVX, ASCVLAPIVS, BACCHVS, MERCVRIVS, and APOLLO, and the rest of the gods of the nations, their Ceremonies, or holy Rites, or Prophets: and before all the deeds of IVPITER, whom the Greekes haue placed in the top and highest Turret of their Diuinitie.*

For of the three *Iupiters* remembred by *Cicero*, the ancientest was the sonne of *Aether*, whose three sonnes begotten on *Proserpina*, were borne at *Athens*, of which *Cecrops* was the first King: and in the end of *Cecrops* time did *Moses* bring the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*: *Eduxit MOSES populum Dei ex Egypto nouissimo tempore CECROPIS Atheniensis Regis*; *MOSES* brought the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, in the last dayes of *CECROPIS*, King of the *Athenians*, saith *S. Augustine*: and yet was not *Cecrops* the Founder of the Citie it self, but *Theseus* long after him. But because the truth hereof is diuersly proued, and by many learned Authors, I will not cut a funder the purpose in hand, by alleaging many authorities in a needlesse question, but leaue it to the proper place.

The Sonnes of IAPHET were,	Gomer, Magog, Madai, Iauan, Tubal, Mesbach, and Tiras.	The Sonnes of GOMER were,	Arkenaz, Riphath, Togarm.
		The Sonnes of IAVAN were,	Elifba, Tarsis, Kittim, and Dodanim.

First, we are to consider, that the world after the Flood not planted by imagination, neither had the children of *Noah* wings to flie from *Shinaar*, to the vttermost border of *Europe*, *Africa* and *Asia* in haste, but that these children were directed by a wise Father, who knew those parts of the world before the Flood, to which he disposed his children after it, and sent them not as Discouersers, or at all-adventure, but assigned & allotted to euery Sonne and their issues, their proper parts. And not to harken to fabulous Authors, who haue no other end than to flatter Princes (as *Virgil* did *Augustus* in the fiction of *Aeneas*) or else to glorifie their owne Nations; let vs build herein vpon the Scriptures themselves, and after them vpon Reason and Nature. First therefore wee must call to minde and consider, what manner of face the earth euery where had in the 130. yeere after the great inundation, and by comparing those fruitfull Vallies, with our own barren and cold ground, informe our selues thereby, what wonderfull Deserts what impassable fastnesse of woods, reeds, bryars, and rotten grasse, what Lakes and standing Pooles, and what Marishes, Fens, and Bogs, all the face of the earth (excepting the Mountaines) was pestered withall. For if in this our Climate (where the dead and destroying Winter depresseth all vegetatiue and growing Nature, for one halfe of the yeere in effect) yet in twenty or thirty yeeres, these our grounds would not all ouergrow and be couered according to the nature thereof either with Woods, or with other offensive Thickets and Bushments: much more did all sorts of Plants, Reedes, and Trees, prosper in the most fruitfull Vallies, and in the Climate of a long and warme Summer, and hauing withall the start of 130. yeeres, to raise themselves without controulment.

This being considered, it will appeare, that all these people which came into *Shinaar*, and ouer whom *Nimrad* either by order or strength tooke the Dominion, did after the confusion of Languages, and at such time as they grew to be a mighty People, disperse themselves into the Regions adioyning to the said Vallie of *Shinaar*, which contained the best part of *Mesopotamia*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*; and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated: some of them towards the South, others towards the West and North. And although there were allotted to *Shem* many Regions, both East and West from *Shinaar*, with the Dominion of *Palestina*, which the *Canaanites* first posselt; yet could he not enjoy the lot of his inheritance on the Iuddaine, but by time and degrees. For wee finde, that *Abraham*, the true successour of *Shem*, dwelt in

Chaldea at *Ur*; and from thence (called by God) hee rested at *Charran* in *Mesopotamia*: from whence after the death of *Thare* hee travailed to *Sichem* in *Palesina*: and yet there had passed betwene *Shem* and *Abraham* (reckoning neither of themselves) seven Descents, before *Abraham* moved out of *Chaldea*: where, and in *Babylonia*, all those people by *Nimrod* commanded, inhabited for many yeeres, and whence *Nimrod* went out into *Affria*, and founded *Nineue*. Indeed the great Masters of Nations (as farre as wee can know) were, in that Age of the Issues of *Nam*; the blessing of God given by *Noah* to *Shem* and *Japhet* taking little effect, vntill diuers yeeres were consumed; and vntill the time arrived, which by the wisdom of God was appointed. For of *Chus*, *Mizraim*, and *Canaan*, came the People and Princes, which held the great Kingdome of *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, for many Descents together.

## §. III.

Of the Isles of the Gentiles in *IAPHETS* portion: of *BEROSVS* his too speedie seating *GOMER* the sonne of *IAPHET* in *Italie*; and another of *IAPHETS* sonnes *TUBAL* in *Spaine*: and of the Antiquitie of Longinque Navigation.

**T**O beginne therefore (where *Moses* beginneth) with the sonnes of *Japheth*, among whom the Isles of the *Gentiles* were diuided: which diuision, as well to *Iaphets* sonnes as to the rest which came into *Shinaar*, was (if the diuision were made at *Phaleg*'s birth) in the yeere of the World 1757. or 1758. and (by that account) in the yeeres after the Flood one hundred and one, of which question elsewhere.

The habitations proper to the sonnes of *Japhet* were the Isles of the *Gentiles*, which include all *Europe* with all the Ilands adioyning; and compassing it about: *Europe* being also taken for an Iland, both in respect that the Sea *Hellepont* and *Aegæum*, *Bosphorus* and *Euxinus* cut is off from the great Continent of *Asia*, as also because *Europe* it selfe is (in effect) surrounded with water, sauing that it is fastned to *Asia* by the North, for it hath those Seas before named to the East, the *Mediterran* to the South and Southwest, the Ocean to the West, and *British*, *Germane*, and *Baltick* Sea, with that of *Glaciale* to the 30 North North-east, and North-west. Besides, it hath about it all the *Cyclades* or Isles lying betwene *Greece* and the lesser *Asia*, and the Isles of *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, *Crete*, or *Candia*, *Sicilia*, *Corfica*, *Sardinia*, *Malta*, the Isles of *Brittanie* and *Zealand*, with their young ones adiacent.

This partition and portion of *Japheth*, with the part which hee held in *Asia*, and the North, which was also very great, answereth to that blessing of God by *Noah*, *Dilates Deus IAPHETH: Let God spread abroad* (or increase the Posteritie of) *IAPHETH*, and let him dwell in the Tents of *Shem*. For though *Iunius* here vseth the word (*alliciat*) and not *dilates*: and the *Genua* persuaides; yet the *Septuagint* haue *dilates* or *amplifies*; and such was the blessing giuen to our Fathers, which God promised to *Abraham* and his Seede for euer. And the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of *Shem* was a blessing by God to the Posteritie of *Japheth*: noting not onely an enlargement of Territories, but that thereby they should bee made participant of Gods Church. But to come to *Japhets* sonnes, of whom *Gomer* is the eldest. This *Gomer* (if we may beleue *Berosus* and *Annius*, whose authoritie the greatest number of all our late Writers haue followed) did in the tenth yeere of *Nimrods* Reigne depart from *Babylonia*, and planted *Italie*: which also *Functius* confirmeth in these words, *Anno decimo NIMRODI, &c. In the tenth yeere of NIMRODS Reigne, GOMERVS GALLVS planted a Colonie in that Land afterward called Italie: and in the twelfth yeere of the same NIMRODS Reigne TUBAL seated himselfe in Auluria in Spaine (now called Biscaia) which was in the 140. and 10 in the 142. yeeres after the Flood, according to BEROSVS.* But this opinion is very ridiculous. For before the confusion of Tongues the children of *Noah* did not separate themselves, at least so many of them as came with *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*. Let vs therefore consider with reason, what time the building such a Citie and Towre required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any readie means to performe such a worke as *Nimrod* had erected (and as *Functius* himselfe out of his Author *Berosus* witnesseth) *ad altitudinem & magnitudinem montium; To the height and magnitude of the Mountaines.* Sure that both this Citie and Towre was almost builded, the Scriptures witness: But she

The Lord came downe to see the Citie and Towre, which the Sonnes of men builded. Let vs then but allow a time sufficient for the making of Bricke to such a Worke, of the greatest height (and therefore of circuit and foundation answerable) that euer was. For where the vniuersall Flood covered the highest Mountaines fiftene Cubits; Let vs build vs a Citie and a Towre (saith *NIMROD*) whose top may reach vnto the Heauen: meaning, that they would raise their Work about fiftene Cubits higher than the highest Mountaine, otherwise they could not assure themselves from the feare of a second inundation: a great part whereof was finished before it fell, and before they left the Worke. They also began this building vpon a ground, the most oppressed with waters of all the world: as by the great ruine which these waters forcibly ouer-bearing and ouer-flowing, made in the time of the succeeding Emperours, is made manifest, approued also by the Prophet *Heremie*, speaking of *Babylon* in these words: *Thou that dwellest vpon many waters.* It cannot be doubted but that there needed a substantiall foundation, for so high a raised building on a marish ground: and to which, *Glyca* vpon *Genesis* giueth fortie yeeres. For it seemeth, that the Towre was neere finished when God ouerthrew it: it being afterward written, so the Lord scattered them from thence vpon all the Earth, and they left to build the Citie. Out of which place it may be gathered (because the Towre is not then named) that they very neere had performed the Work of their supposed defence, which was the Towre: and that afterward they went on with the Citie adioyning, wherein they inhabited. It is also to be noted, that till such time as this confusion seized them (whereupon the Towre was throwne down) these Nations did not disperse themselves: for from thence the Lord scattered them vpon all the Earth, (that was) when they perceived not one anothers speech. Now to thinke that this Worke in the newnesse of the Word (wanting all instruments and materials) could be performed in ten yeeres; and that *Tubal* and *Gomer* in the same yeere could creepe through 3000. miles of Desert, with Women, Children, and Cattell: let those light Beleevers, that neither tyethemselues to the Scripture, nor to reason, approue it, for I doe not. And if the *Arke* of *Noah* was 100. yeeres in building, or but neere such a time, (and then) when the World had stood 1554. yeeres, it were more than foolishnesse and madnesse it selfe, to thinke that such a Worke as this could be performed in ten; when the World (from the Flood to the arrival at *Babel*, and beginning of this building there) had but 111. yeeres, and whereof they had spent some part in trauieling from the East. Again, if all *Asia* set to their helping hands in the building of the Temple of *Diana*, and yet they continued in that Work 400. yeeres (or be it but halfe that time) and in such an Age as when the World flourish'd in all sorts of Artificers, and with abundant plentie of materials & carriages: This Worke of the Towre of *Babel* could hardly (with all the former wants supposed) be erected in those few yeeres remembered. And for conclusion, let all men of iudgement weigh with themselues how impossible it was for a nation or Family of men, with their Wiues, and Children, and Cattell, to trauaile 3000. miles through Woods, Bogs, and 40 Declants, without any Guide or Conductor; and we shall find it rather a Worke of 100. yeeres than of 100. dayes. For in the West Indies, of which the *Spaniards* haue the experience, in those places where they found neither Path nor Guide, they haue not entered the Country ten miles in ten yeeres. And if *Nimrods* people spent many yeeres by the account before remembered in passing from the East India or the higher part thereof, which standeth in 115. Degrees of Longitude, vntill they came into *Shinaar* which lyeth in 79. Degrees (the distance betwene those places containing 36. Degrees, which makes 7.0. Leagues, which is 2160. miles) & did all the way keep the Mountaines and hard ground; then the difference betwene *Babylon* and *Biscaia* is much more: for the bodie of *Biscaia* lyeth in ten Degrees, and *Babylon* or *Shinaar*, (as aforesaid) in 79. for the length of way from *Shinaar* to *Auluria* or *Biscaia* is 69. Degrees, which make 1380. Leagues, or of miles 4140. And therefore if *Nimrod* took diuers yeeres to find *Shinaar*, which was but 2160. miles; or (supposing that the *Arke* rested in *Armenia*) little above 400. miles: there is no cause to the contrary, but to allow as many yeeres to *Gomer* & *Tubal* to trauaile 3000. miles, to Countries lesse known vnto them by far, than the Land of *Shinaar* was to *Nimrod*. For *Paradisus* was knowne to *Noah* before the Flood: and so was the Region of *Eden* by *Moses* after ward remembered; but what hee vnderstood of most part of the World else it is unknowne. And therefore did *Annius* ill aduise himselfe to plant *Gomer* in *Italie*, and *Tubal* in *Spaine* in the tenth & twelfth of *Nim-*





the purpose of his Prophecie, teacheth what Nations they were, that should in vanitie assaile *Israel*. He ioyneth them together vnder their Prince *Gog*, and sheweth that their habitations were on the North quarters of *Iuda*, and how seated and ioyned together. *Gog* signifieth in the Hebrew (saith Saint *Hierome*) *telum* or covering of a house: and *Pinus* upon *Ezech* elatifieth that by *Gog* is meant *Antichrist*: for (saith hee) *Antichristus* est *Diabolus* instrumentum sub specie humana: That *Antichrist* shall be the covering of the *Devill* vnder humane forme. He addeth, that *Mageg* is as much to say as *Gog*: the Letter (*M* being an Hebrew Preposition, and importeth as much as *of* or *from*: so hee taketh *Mageg* for those people which follow *Antichrist*. So farre *Pinus*: at least in this not amisse, that he expoundeth *Mageg*; not for any one person, but for a Nation; with which agreeeth this oblation of *Berwaldus*. *Mageg* (saith he) in Hebrew is written *Ham-Mageg*, which sheweth *Mageg* to be a Region or Nation: for the Letter (*H*) which is vsed but for an *Emphatic* (which the Hebrewes call *Hetia edia*) is neuer added to proper names of men, but often to place. So as *Gog* was Prince of that Nation (called either *Mageg*, or according to others, the people of *Gog*) also Prince of *Atsib ch*, (or *Mofech*) and of *Tubal*: as by the first Verse of the 29. Chapter is made manifest: *Behold I come against thee Gog ib: ch: se Prince of Meshech and Tybal*. This must needs bee meant by the Successours of *Selucus Nicator*, who did not (as other conquering Nations) seeke to make the *Tewes* their Tributaries only, but endeuored by all means, and by all kind of violence to extinguish the Religion it selfe (which the Hebrewes protest) and the acknowledging of one true God: and to force them to worship and serue the mortall and rotten gods of the Heathen; of which nothing remained but the very name, and dead Images. Saint *Ambrose* and *Isidore* take *Gog* for the Nation of the *Goths*: be like because they invaded *Europe*, and sacked *Rome*, and many other places and Cities thereof. *Hermolantus* *Barbatus* out of *Pompey*, *Mela* deriues the *Turkes* from the *Scythians*, esteemed *Mazgotians* of *Gog*. Many take *Gog* for the proper name of a Man: others of a Region: others for a Nation inhabiting a Region, as *Iunius*, who sayes that *Gog* is the name of a Nation, d. nominated from him whom the *Greekes* Stories call *Gyges*: who in former time hauing slaine *Candaules* the *Lydian*, gaue his owne name to that Nation, thence after called *Gygides*: and thereof. Also the *Gygen* Lake; which Lake *Syrabo* also findeth in *Lydia*. (of which *Gyges* was King) fortie Furlongs from *Sardis*. *Plinie* calleth it *Gygenum stagnum*. *Herodotus* and *Nicander* set it about the Riuer of *Hyllus*, and *Alexander*; but the difference is not great. *Marius Niger* maketh mention of this *Gygen* King of *Lydia*: who after hee had subdued the Countrey about the Riuer *Rhodium* which runneth into the *Hellspont*, called the Promontorie *Trase* after his owne name *Gyges*. These Opinions doe also seeme to strengthen that of *Iunius*. For *Mageg*, saith hee, is that part of *Asia* the lesse, which *Halyattes* obtained, and after him his Sonne *Crasus*: who (as *Iunius* further notes) hauing mistred all those Regions as farre South as *Lilanus*, in that Border built the Citie *Gyrra* or *Gogkara* (which in the Syrian signifieth the Citie of *Gog*) seated in *Calestria*, whose people were the ancient Enemies of the *Romes*.

Now that *Mageg* is found in *Calestria*, *Plinie* asidifieth, saying; *Calestria habet Bambycem que alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur*, *Syris vero Mageg Calestria habet in it Bambyce*, which by another name is called *Hierapolis*, but of the Syrians *Mageg*. Hee further telleth vs that the monstrous Idoll *Ateractis*, called by the *Greekes* *Dorecta*, was here worshipped. *Lucian* makes mention hereof, saying that the Citie had anciently another name, which yett hee expresseth not; forbearing perhaps the word *Mageg*, as founding nothing elegantly in the *Greece*. But if we may beleuee *Syrabo*, then was *Edessa* in *Mesopotamia* the same *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*, where the same Idoll was worshipped. *Ortelius* is doubtfull whether one of these Authors did not mistake the place of this *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*. It may well enough bee that the same name and Religion was common to them both. Certaine it is, that both of them lay due North from *Palestina*, and were both subiect vnto the Kings of the Race of *Selucus*. Now I doe not condemne the Opinion of *Hermolantus* *Barbatus* following *Iosephus*, but grant, that perhaps *Mageg* might also bee the Father of the *Scythians*; notwithstanding that in this place, where *Gog* is made the Prince of *Mageg*, the Nations of *Calestria* and the North parts adioyning bee meant by *Mageg*: for by a latter Plantation from these parts they might bee propagated into *Scythia*. Yet it is not to be denyed, that the *Scythians*

in old times coming out of the North-east wasted the better part of *Asia* the lesse, and posselt *Calestria*, where they built both *Scythopolis* and *Hierapolis*, which the Syrians call *Mageg*. And that to this *Mageg* *Ezechiel* had reference, it is very plaine: for this Citie *Hierapolis* or *Mageg* standeth due North from *Iudea*, according to the words of *Ezechiel*, that from the North quarters those Nations should come. For as the Kings of the South which infected the *Israelites* were the *Pharoloms*, Kings of *Egypt*: so those of the North were the Kings of *Asia* and *Syria*, the Successours of *Selucus*, the Successour of *Alexander Macedon*. *Gulielmus Tyrtius* thinks that this *Hierapolis* is that *Kages*, mentioned in the storie of *Tobias*. *Plinie* takes it not onely to haue beene called *Bambyce*, as we haue said, but also *Edessa*: not that by *Euphrates*; but another of the same name; now the known name is *Alleppe*: for so *Belonius* expounds this *Hierapolis*, or *Mageg*. This Citie had the Title of Sacred, as the Sacred Citie, (for so the word *Hierapolis* signifieth) yet was it a place of most detested Idolatry, and wherein was worshipped the Idoll of the Mermayde *Ateractis*, or *Atergitis*, according to *Plinie*, which the *Greekes* call *Dorecta*.

If then we conferre the words of *Ezechiel* in the third verse of the thirtie eight Chapter, wherein he ioyneth together *Gog Mesech*, and *Tubal*: and withall remember that *Hierapolis* was the Citie of *Mageg*, which also is seated directly North from *Iudea*: with whom also *Ezechiel* completh *Gomer*, and all his bands of the North quarters; wee may (as I conceiue) safely conclude, that these Followers and Vassals of *Gog* (which were Northern Nations in respect of *Iudea*) were not the *Gomerians* of *France*, nor the *Tubalines* of *Spain*, but a people of the lesser *Asia*, and *Calestria*: and therefore that the opinions of *Berosus*, *Iosephus*, and whosoever else hath followed them therein are to be reiected. But if *Iosephus* referre himselfe to later times, and thinke that some Colonie of the *Tubalines* might from *Iberia* and *Asia* passe into *Spain* (to wit) from that piece of Land betweene *Colchis* (or *Mengrelia*) and *Albania*, (most part posselt by the *Georgians*) then is his iudgement of better allowance. For without any repugnance of opinions, it may be granted, that in proceesse of time these people might from their first habitation, passe into the Countries neere the *Euxine* Sea, and from thence in after Ages into *Spain*.

*Iosephus* makes mention of the *Iberi*, saying, that they were anciently called *Thobelos*, as of *Tubal*; from whence (saith *Iustine*) they passed into *Spain* to search out the Mines of that Region: hauing belike vnderstood that it was a Southerly Countrey and Mountainous. For it seemeth that the *Tubalines* called *Chalybes* liued altogether by the exchange of Iron, and other Metals, as *Apollonius* witnesseth in these following Verses, telling how the *Argonautes* did visit them;

*Hæc gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro,  
Sed ferri venas scindit sub montibus altis:  
Merces hac mutat, quæ vitæ alimenta ministrant:*

The *Chalybes* plough not their barren soyle  
But vndermine high Hills for Iron Veines:  
Changing the purchase of their endlesse toyle  
For Marchandize, which their poore liues sustaines.

But it is more probable, that *Spain* was first peopled by the *Africans*, who had euer since an affection to returne thither, & to repeople it a new. This appeared by the *Carthaginians* of old, who were easily drawne to passe ouer the Streights into that Countrey; and after by the *Moors* who held *Granada*, and the South parts eight hundred yeeres, till the time of *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*. And either of these opinions are more probable, than that in the twelfth yeere of *Nimrod*'s Reigne, *Tubal* past into *Spain*, and therein built Saint *Fual*: a poore Towne, and a poore deuice, God knowes. Certaine it is that we must finde *Mofech* or *Mesech*, and *Tubal* Neighbours, and *Gomer* and *Togarma* not farre off, or else we shall wrong *Ezechiel*: for he called *Gog* the Leader or Prince of *Mesech* and *Tubal*, and maketh *Gomer* and *Togarma* their Assistants. And that *Mesech* inhabited *Asia*, *Frontinus* (though he followed *Berosus*) confesseth, for these bee his words: *MESACVS, qui à MOSE MESECH, prius Mesos ab Adula monte vsq; ad Ponticam regionem posuit: hæc regio postea Cappadocia dicta est, in qua urbs Atazica, &c. hæc est terra MAGOG principalis; MESACVS, whom MOSES calleth MESECH, placed the ancient Mesians*

*Arctians from the Mount Adulus, unto the Coast of Pontus. This Region was afterward called Cappadocia, in which is the Towne Adaxia, &c. this is the principall Country of MAGOG.* And this doth *Annus* also auow, and yet forgets that *Gog* was Prince both of *Mefech* and *Tubal*: and therefore, that the one was a Nation of *Spaniards*, the other of *Cappadocians*, is very ridiculous; *Spain* lying directly West, and not North from *Iudea*. Also *Ezechiel* in the 27. Chapter, where he prophesieth of the destruction of *Tyre*, nameth *Mefech* and *Tubal* ioynly. And for a finall prooffe, that these Nations were of a Northern Neighbour Land (how farre fouer stretched) *Ezechiel* in the 38. Chapter makes them all Horsemens. *Then, and much people with thee, all shall ride upon Horses, even a great multitude and a mighty.* Then if any man belecue that these troupes came out of *Spain*, over the *Pyrenes*, and first passed over a part of *France, Italie, Hungarie, and Sarmatia*, and imbarqued againe about the *Hellspont*, or else compassed all *Pontus*, and *Euxinum*, to come into the lesser *Asia*, which is halfe the length or compasse of the then knowne World; he may be called a strong beleuer, but he shall neuer be iustified thereby. But on the contrarie it is knowne, that *Seleucus*, as a Prouince neighbouring *Palestina* or *Iudaea*, and that *Hierapoli* (or *Adagor*) ioyned vnto it: whose Princes commanded all *Syria*, and *Asia* the lesse, (namely the *Seleucida*) and held it, till *Scipio, Asiaticus* ouerthrew *Antiochus* the Great: after which they yet posselt *Syria* till the time of *Tigranes*: and whether *Mefech* be in *Cappadocia*, or vnder *Iberia*, yet is it of the *Tubalines*, and one and the same Dominion.

Of *Gomer* the like may be said. First, he seated himselfe with *Togorma*, not farre from *Magog* and *Tubal*, in the borders of *Syria* and *Cilicia*. Afterward hee proceeded further into *Asia* the lesse; and in long tract of time his valiant Issue filled all *Germanie*, rested long in *France* and *Brittanie*, and possessed the utmost borders of the earth, accomplishing (as *Melancthon* well notes) the signification of their parents name, which is *Vimul* bordering. But when these borderers wanted further place, wherein they might exonerate their swelling multitudes that were bounded in by the great *Ocean*, then did they returne vpon the Nations occupying the Countries, through which they had formerly passed, oppressing first their Neighbours, afterwards the people more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy restorer of our Antiquities, *M. William Camden* hath noted) that they were called *Cimbri*, which in their old Language doth signifie *Robbers*; necessitie forcing them to spoyle their Neighbours, to whom in their originall they were as neere ioyned, as afterwards in the feates which they possessed. For that the Warlike nations of *Germany* were in elder Ages accustomed to be beaten by the *Gauls*, the authoritie of *Cesar* affirming it is prooffe sufficient. But in times following they pursued richer Conquests, and more easie though further distant, by which (to omit their other enterprizes not here to be spoken of) they were drawne at length into *Asia* the lesse, and occupied those parts, which had formerly bene held by their Progenitours. I say not that they claymed those Lands as theirs by Descent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their owne Pedigree. Neyther can any man therefore deny, that they were of olde seated in *Asia*, because in late Ages they returned thither; vnlesse hee will thinke, that all those Nations which from farre parts haue invaded and conquered the Lind of *Shinaar*, may by that Argument bee proued not to haue issued from thence at the first.

Now concerning *Samothres*, for his excellent wisedome surnamed *Dia*, whom *Annus* makes the Brother of *Gomer* and *Tubal*, (which Brother *Moses* neuer heard of, who spake his knowledge of *Iaphets* sonnes, they must find him in some olde Poet: for *Eunelius*, a great *Berosian*, confesseth: *Quis hic SAMOTHES fuerit incertum est; quod hic SAMOTHES SIT, ITA INCERTUM EST*; neither is there any prooffe that he was that same *Dia*, whom *Cesar* saith the *Gauls* suppose to bee their Ancestor; yea, and *Vignier* confesseth with *FUNCTIVS*: *Mais on ne sçait quil estoit; No man knows who he was.*

## §. V.

Against the fabulous *BEROSVS* his fiction, That the Italian *IANVS* was *NOAH*.

**B**efore I goe on with *Noah* his Sonnes, I thinke it necessarie to disprove the fiction which *Annus* hath of *Noah* himselfe: an inuention (indeed) very ridiculous, though warranted (as hee hath wrested) by those Authours of whom him-

himselfe hath Commented: as the Fragment of *Berosus*, *Fabius, Pictor, Cato, Laetius*, and others. For *Annus* seeks to perfwade vs, that *Noah* (surnamed *Ianus*) was the same which founded *Genoa*, with other Cities in *Italie*, wherein he liued 92. yeeres. This to disprove, by *Moses* silence, is a sufficient argument to mee, if there were nothing else to disprove it. For if he vouchsafed to remember the building of *Babel, Erce, Babel, Chalde*, and *Nineue* by *Nimrod*, *Noah* was a man of too great make to be forgotten, with all the acts he did in 92. yeeres. But it were a needlesse labour for me to disprove the authoritie of that *Berosus*, on whom *Annus* groundeth, seeing so many learned men haue so demonstratiuely proued that Fragment to be counterfeit. Besides that, *Tatianus* the *Aff* 10 *Syrian* in his Oration against the *Greekes*, auoweth, that the ancient and true *Berosus* wrote onely three Bookes, dedicated to *Antiochus* the successor of *Seleucus Nicaeor*: but *Annus* hath deuised five Bookes, wherewith he honoureth *Berosus*. And whereas *Berosus* handled onely the estate of the *Chaldeans* and *Affyrrians*, *Annus* hath filled this Fragment with the businesse of all the World. And if wee may beleue *Eufebius* better than *Annus*, then all the Kings of the *Latines* (before *Æneas*) consumed but 150. yeeres: whereas no man hath doubted, but that from *Noah* to *Æneas* arrival into *Italy* there past 1126. (after the least rate of the *Hebrew* account) and (after *Codoman*) 1291. For *Ianus* (who was the first of their Kings) liued at once with *Ruth*, who married *Hooz*, in the Worlds year (as some reckon) 2717. after the Flood 1064. and *Noah* dyed 350. yeeres after the 20 Flood: and so there past betwene *Ianus* of *Italie* and *Noah* surnamed *Ianus* 704. yeeres. For *Saturnus* succeeded *Ianus*, *Icus* after *Saturnus*, *Fannus* after *Icus*, and *Latinus* followed *Fannus*: which *Latinus* liued at once with *Tutanes* the 27. King of *Affyria*; with *Pelasgus* of *Peloponnesus*; with *Demophoon* of *Athens*; and *Sampson* Iudge of *Israel*. Now all these five Kings of the *Latines* haue consumed but one hundred and fiftie yeeres; and the last of them in the time of *Sampson*: then reckoning upwards for one hundred and fiftie yeeres, and it reacheth *Ruth*, with whom *Ianus* liued.

True it is, that the *Greekes* had their *Ianus*; but this was not *Noah*: so had they *Iou* the sonne of *Xuthus*, the sonne of *Demogolon*, from whom they draw the *Iones*, who were indeed the children of *Iauan*, the fourth sonne of *Iapheth*. For the vulgar Translation (where the *Hebrew* word is *Iauan*) writes *Greece*, and the *Septuagint*, *itellan*; which is the 30 same. So had they *Medus* the son of *Maeda*, whom they make the Parent of the *Modes*, though they were descended of a far more ancient Father (to wit) *Madai* the third sonne of *Iapheth*.

Lastly, we see by a true experience, that the *Brittish* Language hath remayned among vs about 2000. yeeres, and the *Englisch* speech euer since the inuasion of the *Angles*, and the same continuance haue all Nations obserued among themselves, though with some corruption and alteration. Therefore, it is strange if either *Noah* (by them called *Ianus*) had left in *Italie* his grand-child *Gomer* after him, or *Tubal* in *Spain*, that no plaine resemblance of the *Hebrew*, *Syrian*, or *Seythian* (which no time could haue quite extinguished) should haue bene found in the Languages of those Countries. For which reasons we doubt not but these personall Plantations of *Ianus*, *Gomer*, *Tubal*, &c. in *Italie*, *Spain*, or *France*, are merely fabulous. Let the *Italians* therefore content themselves with the *Græcian Ianus*, which commanded them and planted them, and who preceded the fall of *Troy* but 150. yeeres (saith *Eusebius*) which was in the time of *Latinus*, the fift King; which also *Saint Augustine* and *Iustine* confirme: and this agreeth with reason, time, and possibilitie. And if this be not sufficient to disprove this vanitie, I may out of themselves add thus much: That whereas some of them make *Vesta* (others *Camafena*) the wife of this *Ianus*, who instituted the holy Fire of the *Vestal Virgins* in *Rome* (the *Latines* and *Romans* taking from *Ianus* all their Idolatrous and Heathenish Ceremonies) there is no man so impious, as to beleue that *Noah* himselfe (who is said by *Atoles* to 30 haue walked with God, to be a iust man, and whom God of all Mankind made choice of) could be either ignorant of the true and only God, or so wicked and vngratefull, to set vp or deuise any Heathen, Saluage, or Idolatrous adoration, or haue instituted any Ceremony, contrarie to that which he knew best pleasing to God himselfe.

## §. VI.

That GOMER also and his sonne TOGORMA of the Posteritie of IAPHETH, were first seated about Asia the lesse: and that from thence they spread westward into Europe, and Northward into Sarmatia.

TO turne now to the sons of Noah, and the Worlds Plantation after the Flood: therein I obserue, that as both reason and necessitie taught them; so, when they multiplied in great numbers, and dispersed themselves into the next Countries bordering to their first habitations, and from thence sent forth Colonies elsewhere, it was in such a manner as that they might repayre to each other, and keepe intelligence by Riuer: because the Land was yet Defart, and ouer-prest with Woods, Reeds, Bogs, & rotten Marishes. As when Nimrod seated in Babylonia, Chus took the South part of Chaldea, down the Riuer of Gehon, by which he might passe to & fro from Babylon to his own Plantation: those also, which were of the Race of Shem, inhabiting at Vr or Orchoe neere the Lakes of Chaldea, might by the same Riuer get vnto Babylon, and receiue succour from thence. All which Tract of Land vpon Gehon Southward, Moses in the description of Paradise calleth the Land of Chus: because the Dominion and Empire was then in the hands of Nimrod a Chusite, by whom the children of Shem (which came into that Valley and stayed not in the East) were for a while oppressed, till God afterward by the seed of Abraham made them his owne Nation and victorious. Hamilah, the brother of Nimrod, and sonne of Chus, tooke both bankes of Tygris, especially on the East side of the Riuer: by which Riuer his people might also passe to and fro to Babel.

The Imperiall seat of which Region of Hamilah or Sufian, was anciently called Chusian or Chusan, after ward Sufa. Chus himself tooke the Bankes of Gehon, and planted those Countries Westward, and South-west ward towards Arabia the Stony, and the Defart, where Ptolomie placeth the Citie of Chusidia, first Chusia.

Seba, and Sheba, with the rest that planted Arabia felix, had Tygru to conuey them into the Persian gulfe, which washeth the bankes of Arabia felix on the East side: so as those sons of Chus might take Land downe the Riuer as they pleased. Also the Citie of Nineue was by Nimrod founded on the said Riuer of Tygris; and from thence a Colony past to Charran, standing also vpon a nauigable branch of Euphrates. In like manner did Iapheths sonnes settle themselves together, and tooke their seates in Asia the lesse: from whence they might indifferently stretch themselves Northward, and Westward, into the next parts of Europe, called the Isles of the Gentiles. And it seemeth very agreeable to reason, that both Gomer, Magog, and Tubal, late downe first of all in that part of Syria, to the North of Palestina and Phoenicia: and from thence Gomer or his children past on into Asia the lesse, as those of Magog and Tubal did; from whence the Tubalines spread themselves into Iberia: and the Magogians more Northerly into Sarmatian. The first Gomerians, and first Planters in Asia the lesse, held the Country of the Cimmerians (witnesseth Herodotus) the same Region which was afterward by the Gallo-Greeks called Galatia, to whom Saint Paul wrote his Epistle fo intituled. This Nation of the Cimmerians (whom the inuincible Scythians afterwards dispersed, and forced from their first Plantations) gaue names to diuers places, as to the Mountaines about Albania (called Cimmerini) and to the Citie of Cimmeris in Phrygia: also Paphlagon Cimmerius tooke appellation from this Nation, in the out-let whereof was also a Citie of that name, called Cimmerium: which Plinie saith (mistaking the place) had sometime the name of Cerberus, but Cerberion was a Towne in Campania, so called of the vnhealthfull waters, fauouring of Brimstone, which Augustus caused to be cleansed by letting in the water of the Lake Lucernus.

The children of Tubal ranged as farre as Iberia, to whom the Moschici were Neighbour, which others write Meshech. The Prophet Ezechiel (coupling them together) calleth Gog the Prince of Meshech and Tubal. For these Meschi (which Ptolomie calleth Moschici) inhabit Syracena a Province of Armenia, directly South from the Mountaines Moschici, in the Valley betweene the Mountaines Moschici, and the Mountaines Paryarades: out of whose North part springeth the Riuer Phasis; from the East part Araxii; and from the West Euphrates: and of this Meshech are descended also the Mosconians (saith Melanchton) and it may bee, that in proceffe of time some of them inhabited those Regions also: For Meshech (saith Melanchton) signifieth extendens, enlarging, or stretching forth.

forth. Togorma also at first did inhabit amongst his parents and kinned. The Togormians were also called Giblei, a people neighbouring the Sydonians in Gabala, a Tetrarchie of Phoenicia, the same which Plinie calleth Gaben: from whence Salomon had his most excellent Masons, which hewed stones for the Temple of Hierusalem. Thence the Togormians stretched into the lesse Armenia, whose Kings were hence called Tigranes, and their Cities Tigranokarte: of which Cities Tigranes, subdued by Lucullus the Roman, built one. Hierosolymitanus hath planted the Togormians in Barbary, forgetting the prophesie of Ezechiel against the Tyrians. They of the house of Togorma, brought to thy Faures horses, and horse-men, and mules; which could not well bee driuen ouer the whole length of the Mediterranean Sea, but from the neighbour Countries by land. But Iosephus takes them for the parents of the Phrygians; which I doe not deny, but they might be in the ensuing ages: and so might the Tubalines be of the Spaniards; but it was from Iberia, and many hundred years after the twelfth of Nimrods reigne. The Iewes conceiue that the Turkes came of those Togormians, because their Emperor is called Togor. The Chaldeans make them the Fathers of the Germanes. But Laonicus affirmes, that the Turkes descended of the Crim Tartar, which borders Muscacia. But for these subderiuations it were infinit to examine them. Only of the first and second plantation, and of the first Nations after the flood, is the matter which I labour to discouer; and therein to open the ignorance of some, and the corruption of other fabulous Writers. And this we must Note, that those grand-children of Noah which were of a more quiet, or (perchance) of lesse vnderstanding, & had not therefore the leading of Colonies sent out, their proper habitations could bee hardly knowne: onely reason hath taught vs, that they dwelt among the rest, and were couered with the fame of others, who tooke on them the Conduction and Dominion ouer the rest.

From Madai the third sonne of Iapheth, were the Medes. The Grecians bring them (as before) from Medus the sonne of Medea.

## §. VII.

Of Iauan the fourth son of Iapheth: and of Melch, of Aram, and Meshech of Iapheth.

OF Iauan the fourth sonne of Iapheth came the Iones, which were afterwards called the Greekes: and so the Latine and Greek Interpreters for Iauan write Greece, as in Esay: Et mittam ex his qui saluati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italiam, & Graeciam: And I will send those that escape of them to Nations in the Sea, in Italy and in Greece. The Genens here vseth the word (Tarbisib) for Tarfus, a City in Cilicia, though Tarfus in many places be taken for the Sea. The Tigurine and the Genens vse the names Tubal and Iauan, and not Italy and Greece: keeping the same Hebrew words. Of the Iones were the Athenians, though themselves dreame that they were Aborigines, or men without Ancesters, and growing (as it were) out of the soile it selfe: who abounding in people, sent Colonies into Asia the lesse, of whom came the Iones of those parts. Others deriue the Athenians from Ion the sonne of Xuthus, the son of Deucalion; but the antiquity of Iauan marres the fashon of that supposition, who so many years preceded Xuthus, Ion, or Deucalion. Pausanias tels vs that Xuthus stole out of Theffaly with all his Fathers treasure, and his Brothers portions, and arriuing at Athens, hee was graciously receiued by Erichon, who gaue him his Daughter in marriage; of whom he receiued two sonnes, Ion and Achaeus, the supposed Ancesters of the Athenians: (For Attica was called Ionia, saith Plutarch in the life of Theseus) who, when he had ioined Megara to Attica, erected a pillar in that Isthmos or Strait, which fastneth Peloponnesus to the other part of Greece: writing on that part which looketh towards the East, these words: Hac non sunt Peloponnesus, as Ionia; These Countries are not of Peloponnesus, but of Ionia: and on the other side which looked towards the South, and into Peloponnesus, this: These parts are Peloponnesus, and not Ionia.

Strabo out of Hecataeus affirmeth, that the Iones came out of Asia into Greece; which is contrary to the former opinion: That the Iones of Greece transporting certain companies into Asia the lesse, the name of Iones was thereby therein retained. And though Strabo knew no more thereof than hee learned of the Greeks themselves, yet I finde this coniecture of Hecataeus reasonable enough. For though it were to him vnknowne, yet sure I am that Asia the lesse had people before Greece had any: and that Iauan did not flee from

Babylonia.

Babylonia into Greece, but tooke Asia the lesse in his passage; and from thence past over the nearest way, leaving his owne name to some maritime Prouince on that side, as hee did to that part of Greece so called. But yet *Strabo* himselfe beleued, that *Ionia* took the name from *Iou* the son of *Xanthus*: for so much he had learned from themselves, which was also the opinion of *Paulinus*. True it is, that the *Greekes* in after-times cast themselves into that part of Asia the lesse, opposite vnto them, which they held for diuers years. And howsoever the *Greekes* vaunt themselves to be Fathers of Nations, & the most ancient; yet all approved Historians (not their owne) deride and disproue their pride, and vanity therein. For this dispute of Antiquity (among prophane Writers) rested betwene the *Scythians* and the *Egyptians*, as *Insiue* out of *Troguus*, in the warre betwene *Vexors* of *Egypt*, and *Tanaus* of *Scythia*, witnesseth: which preceded farre the reigne of *Ninus*, and was long before the name of Greece was euer heard of. And it is also manifest, that in *Cecrops* time the *Greekes* were all saluages, without law or religion, liuing like brute beasts in all respects; and *Cecrops* (saith Saint *Augustine*) liued together with *Meser*.

Lib. 18. de Civ.  
Dif. 10.

The sixth sonne of *Iapheth* was *Meshech*, whom the *Septuagint* call *Mosech*: (a part of those Nations commanded by *Gog* the chiefe Prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*.) But this we must remember, that betwene *Meshech* the sonne of *Aram*, and *Meshech* (or *Mosech*) the sonne of *Iapheth*, there is little difference in name, and both by diuers Interpreters diuersly written. *Montanus* with the Vulgar writeth *Meshech*, the sonne of *Aram*, *Mes*; the *Genea*, *Mas*; *Iunius*, *Meshech*. But it may be gathered out of the 120. *Psalm*, that eyther *Meshech* the sonne of *Iapheth*, was the parent of those people, or gaue name to that Prouince wherein *David* hid himselfe: or else (vvhich may rather seeme) that it tooke name from *Meshech* the sonne of *Aram*. For *David* bewailing his exile (while he liued among a barbarous and irreligious People) yseth these words: *Vocis mei* that I remaine in *Meshech*, and dwell in the Tentis of *Kedar*: vvhich *Iunius* conuerteth thus: *Hei mihi quia peregrinor tam diu: habit ut antiquam Sencita Kedaremi*. The *Septuagint* giues it this sense: *Vocis mei because my habitation* (or abode) *is prolonged, who dwell with the Inhabitants of Kedar*: vvhich vvhich this of the *Latine* agreeth: *Hei mihi, quia inculatus mens prolongatus est, habitauit cum habitantibus Kedar*: The *Chaldean* otherwise, and in these vvhords: *O me miserum, quia peregrinatus sum Asiatis, habitauit cum tabernaculis Arabum*: O wretch, that I am, for I haue traualled among those of Asia: I haue dwelt in the Tabernacles of the *Arabians*. But howsoever or which soeuer conseruatiō be taken for the best, yet all make mention of *Kedar*: which is a Prouince of *Arabia Petraea*; and the *Chaldean* putteth *Asia* in stead of *Meshech*, but the *Hebrew* it self hath *Meshech*. And if it be to be taken for a Nation, (as it is most likely, because it answers to *Kedar*, the name of a Nation) seeing *Meshech* the sonne of *Aram*, 1. *Chron.* 17. is called *Meshech*, it is indifferent whether this Nation tooke name from *Meshech* or *Meshech*, both bordering *Iudaea*, and like enough to be commanded by one Prince; for so *Ezechiel* makes *Meshech* and *Tubal*. But as for those that take *Meshech* out of the word *Mosech* (giuen by the *Septuagint* to be the *Musconian*: sure they presume much vpon the affinity of names, as aforesaid. And sure I am that *David* neuer trauelled so farre North; (for to him *Musconia* was utterly vnkown) but about the border of *Kedar* (it may be) he was often in all the time of his persecution: the same being a City on the Mountains of *Samir* or *Galaad*. And yet *Arias Montanus* makes *Mosech* the Father of the *Musconians*: and herein also *Melanchton* runnes with the tide of common opinion, and sets *Meshech* in *Musconia*, though with some better aduice of iudgement; as, first feared in *Cappadocia*, and from thence travelling Northward: expounding the places of the 120. *Psalm*, (*Hei mihi quod exul in Meshech*) to signifie, *Genus eius feritatem in signum esse*; That the ferity of that Nation exceeded: which fiercenesse or brutality of the *Musconians*, *David* neuer produced, or (perchance) neuer heard of. But the same ferity or cruelty which those Northern *Musconians* had, may as well be ascribed to the *Arabians* and *Kedarens*. For this Country tooke name of *Kedar* the second sonne of *Ismael*, of whom a people of equall fiercenesse to any of the world were begotten, both in those times and long after, euen to this day (if the *Arabians*, *Ismaelites*, and *Saracens*, may be accounted one people:) the same being forthlewed by the speech of the Angell to *Hagar*, *Gen.* 16. v. 12. And he shall be a wilde man: his hand shall be against every man, and every mans hand against him. Now *Arabia* the *Desert* (saith *Pliny*) confronteth the *Arabians* *Cochlei* on the East, and the *Cedrai* Southward, both which ioine together vpon the *Nabathai*. So it appeareth (as before

2d. lib. 10. v. 5.

Gen. 15. 13.

before) that *Meshech*, *Tubal*, *Gomer*, *Togorma*, and *Mazog*, neighboured *Canaan* and *Israel*, and that *Kedar* also did ioine to *Meshech*: all which vv ere Regions of *Syria*, or of *Asia* the lesse, commanded by the Successors of *Selencus*, enemies of the re-establishment of *Israel* and *Iuda*. But (as I haue already said) it might well bee, that long after the first plantation the issue of *Meshech* (or *Mosech*) might passe into *Cappadocia*, and thence into *Hyrcania*, and giue names, both to *Mazga* in the one, and to the Mountaines *Moschici* in the other, and from thence might send people more Northerly into *Musconia*, & so all opinions fauld. But all salvage Nations ouer-grown and vncultivated, doe (for the most part) shew a late plantation, euen as Ciuility, Letters, and magnificent Building, witnesseth antiquity.

10 *Tiras*, the seventh sonne of *Iapheth*, vvhich *Montanus* reckons among the sonnes of *Gomer*, was the Father of the *Thracians*, as all Authors (worthy the examination) affirme. *Iosephus* vv as the first that determined hereof; and because the Scriptures are altogether silent, what part of the world *Tiras* peopled, the coniectures are indifferent, and giue no ground at all of dispute. It followeth now to speake of the sonnes of *Gomer*, vvhich vv ere three,

*Ascanes*, *Riphath*, and *Togorma*.

### §. VIII.

Of *Ascanes* and *Riphath*, the two elder Sonnes of *Gomer*.

20 *Ascanes* vv as the Father of those which the *Greekes* call *Agini*, (saith *Iosephus*) but he giues no reason vvh y.

*Eufimius* makes *Ascanes* the Father of the *Goths*. The *Iewes* in their *Thargum* make him the roote of the *Germane Nation*, but their expositions are commonly very idle. *Pliny* findeth *Ascania* in *Phrygia*, neere the Riuer of *Nilus* and *Cies*: *Melanchton* being of the same opinion, that the *Tuifcones* vv ere descended of the *Ascanes*: (for *Tuifcones*, saith he, is as much to say, as of the *Ascanes*, *propositio articuli die Ascanes*) and that the word signifieth a Religious Keeper of fire: it being an ancient superstition to pray at the fire of Sacrifices, as afterwards at the Tombes of Martyrs. Not farre from *Phrygia* was the lake *Ascania*, knowne by that name in the *Romanes* time. And among the Kings which came to the succour of *Troy*, was *Ascanius* (Deo simili, saith *Homer*) like vnto God: because he was beautifull and strong: for in the same manner doth *Virgil* grace *Aeneas*, *Os humerosq; Deo similis in face and body like one of the Gods*: *Virgil* also remembereth such a Riuer, together with the Hills *Gargara*: as, *Illes ducit amor trans Gargara, transq; sonantem* Aescanium; Appetite leads them both over the Mountaines *Gargara*, and the roaring *Aescanium*. But this *Pliny* maketh more plaine in the description of *Phrygia*. For he placeth the City of *Brillion* vpon the Riuer *Ascanius*, which is adioyning to *Myfia*, and is neere the border of the *Troian Empire*: and the Lake *Ascanes* he directes vs to finde by the description 40 of *Prusia*, founded by *Hannibal* at the foot of *Olympus*, which lieth far within the Countries of *Bithynia*: and then from *Prusia* to *Nicea* are accounted 25. miles, in which vvay this Lake lyeth, euen betwene *Prusia* and *Nicea*. And so *Iunius* (as I conceiue him) takes them of *Ascanes*, to be the Inhabitants of *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*, and those North parts of *Asia*. *Stephanus de Pribis* makes it a City of *Troas*, built by *Ascanius* the son of *Aeneas*: saying, that there vv as another of that name in *Myfia*. Of *Ascania* a Lake of *Bithynia*, *Proton* witnesseth: and *Strabo* giueth *Ascania* both a Lake, a Riuer, and a Towne in *Myfia*, neere vnto *Cio*; which also agreeth vvh *Pliny*. For *Pliny* findeth *Prusia* (before spoken of) neere *Cio*, and calleth the Islands before *Troy* *Ascanes*.

Now, vv whether these places tooke name of *Ascanes* the son of *Gomer*, or of *Ascanius* the sonne of *Aeneas*, it might be questioned: sure it is, that *Ascanius* which brought succour to the *Troians*, could not take his name from *Aeneas* son, who vv as then either exceeding young, or rather vnborne: and it seemeth that the Countries vv hence those succours came, vv ere not out of any part of *Phrygia* or *Myfia*, but farther off, and from the North parts of all *Asia* the lesse, vvhich by *Hieremy* is called *Ascanes*, by the figure *Synecdoche*, as *Iunius* thinketh. Out of those testimonies therefore vv hich deceiue not, we may confidently determine. For of the Prophet *Hieremy* vv ee shall learne of vv hat Nation the *Ascanes* vv ere, vv hose vv ords are these: Set up a Standard in the Land, blow the Trumpet among the Nations against her, call up the Kings of *Ararat*, *Minni*, and *Ascanes* c. 51. v. 17.

against *uer*, &c. meaning against the *Babylonians*. *Ararat* was *Armenia* the greater, as most Interpreters consent, so called of the Mountaines of *Ararat* vvhich runne through it: *Minni* the lesser *Armenia*: *Armenia* being compounded of *Aram* and *Minni*. For *Minni* was the ancient name: (saith *Iunius* and others before him, and *Aram* anciently taken for *Syria*, vvhich contained all that Tract from *Euphrates* to the Sea-coasts of *Phenicia*, and *Palestina*; and therefore *Mesopotamia* being in elder times but a Prouince of *Syria*, the Scriptures difference it in the story of *Iacob* and *Esau*, and call it *Aram-padan*. Then if these two Nations were of the *Armenians* and *Afcanes* ioined with them (who altogether vnitied vnder *Cyrus* and *Darius*, came to the spoyle of the *Babylonian Empire*) we shall erre much to call *Arkenaz* *Germany* or *Almaine*: for we heare of no swart *Rutliers* at that siege. But the *Arkenaz* were of those Nations which were either subiect or allied to the *Medes*: of which if any of them came afterward into *Phrygia*, I know not: for the dispersion of Nations was in aftertimes without account. But for the opinion of *Enselius*, who makes them to be *Goths*; or that of *Iosephus*, who calls them *Rhegini*; or of the *Iewes*, who will haue them to be *Almaines*, when they confirme it either by Scriptures or Reason, I will thinke as they doe.

Of *Riphat* the second sonne of *Gomer* there is mention in the first of *Chronicles*. *Derallus* and *Pererius* thinke that he wandered farre off from the rest of his Brothers, and therefore no memory of his plantation. But I see nothing to the contrary, but that hee might seate himselfe with the rest of his Family: for there wanted no roome or soyle in those dayes for all the sonnes and Grand-children of *Noah*. Therefore I take it to be well understood, that the *Riphei* were of *Riphat*, vvhich the *Greeks* afterwards (according to *Iosephus*) called the *Paphlagonians*: and *Riphei* (saith *Melanchton*) signifieth Gyants. These people were very famous in the North parts, and in *Sarmatia*: the most of number and power among them, *Sarmatarum gens maxima Heneti*, The greatest number of the *Sarmatians* were the *Heneti*; who spake the ancient *Polac*: which being first called *Riphei* (for the Ioue of some of their Leaders or Kings) changed their names and became *Heneti*, (a custome exceeding common in those times) and dwelt first in *Paphlagonia*, as *Homer* witnesseth, and so doth *Apollonius* in his *Argonauticks*: Now, when these *Riphei* (afterward *Heneti*) sought new Regions, they came along the shores of *Euaxinus*, and filled the North-part of *Europe*, containing *Russia*, *Litania*, and *Polonia*. From thence they croft thwart the Land, and peopled *Ilyria*, desirous (saith *Melanchton*) of a warmer soile of Fruit and Wine. These *Heneti* or *Veneti*, whom *Melanchton* taketh to be one people, filled all that Land betweene the *Baltick* and *Adriaticke* Seas; and to this day the name of the Gulfe *Pemedeus* is found in *Rassia*. This Nation, after they were possit of *Litania* and *Polonia*, disturbed the plantation of the *Boij* and *Hermundurij*. Therefore, it seemeth to me, that of *Riphat*, came the *Riphei* afterward *Heneti*, and so thinketh *Arius Montanus* first seated in *Paphlagonia*, but in course of time Lords of *Sarmatia*; and those other parts before remembered, chiefly betweene the Rivers of *Vistula* and *Albu*. The name (saith *Melanchton*) signifieth Wandering or Wanderers, or *Nomades*: a people which liued by Whitemeat and fruits, as (indeed) all Nations did in the first Ages.

Of the third sonne of *Gomer*, *Togorma*, I haue spoken already; now therefore of *Iauan* children, vvhich were foure:

*Elfis*, *Thasus*, *Cethim*, *Dodanim*.

### §. IX.

Of foure sonnes of *Iauan*: and of the double signification of *Thasus*, either for a proper name, or for the Sea.

Of *Elfis* or *Elphas*, came the *Aeoles*: and of this *Elfis*, all the *Greekes* were called *Heliones*, saith *Montanus*. *Melanchton* makes *Elfis* the Father of the *Aeoles* in *Asia* side: others of *Elis* in *Peloponnus*; or of both. And seeing the *Greekes* were descended in generall of *Iauan*, it is probable that the *Aeoles* & the *Elis*, tooke name of *Elfis*, his eldest Sonne. *Ezechiel* in the 27. speaking of *Tyre*, nameth the Isles of *Elfis*. *Pliny* thus: *Ex parua de insulis Elis facta sunt overimentum: Blue silke and Purple* brou-bf. on the Isles of *Elfis*, w<sup>ch</sup> is th<sup>er</sup> covering: The *Chaldeans* write *Italia*: but the *Pulgar*, the *Tigurine*, the *Genena*, and *Iunins*, keepe the vword *Elfis*: and so I thinke they might doe vvith reason. For there was not found any such Purple Dye in *Italia*

in those dayes, nor since, that I can read of: but those Isles of *Elfis*, were by a better coniection the Isles of *Greece*; and the best Purple was found afterward at *Tyre* it selfe: & before that, among the *Cyclades*, and on the coast of *Gerulia*.

*Thasus*, the second Sonne of *Iauan*, inhabited *Cilicia*, of which *Thasus* is the *Metropolis*. *Montanus* for *Thasus* in *Cilicia*, vnderstands *Carthage* in *Africa*; but (referring the respect due to so learned a man) he vv as much mistaken in that coniection. The *Chaldean Paraphrast* puts *Carthage* for *Thasus*, but it hath no authority nor warrant of reason therein. So likewise, where it is vvritten, that the Ships of *Salomon* went euery three yeares to *Thasus*, and brought thence Gold, Siluer, Elephants teeth, &c. the *Chaldean Paraphrast* translates *Thasus* (*Africa*.) But *Salomons* Ships were prepared in the Red Sea at *Esfon-Gaber*, in the Bay of *Blana*, nere vnto *Madian*, vvhere *Iethro* (*Moses* Father in Law) inhabited; a Prouince of *Arabia Petraea*, *Idumea*, or of the *Chusites*; and they sayled to the higher part of the East *India*. For it had bene a strange Nauigation to haue spent three yeares in the passage betweene *Iudea* and *Carthage*, or any other part of *Africa*, vvhich might haue bene sayled in fixe or ten daies. And if so great riches might haue bin found within the bounds of the *Mediterran* Sea, all the other neighbouring Princes would soon haue entertained that Trade also. But this enterprize of *Salomon* is in this fort vvritten of in the first of *Kings*: Also King *Salomon* made a Naue of Ships in *Esfon-Gaber*, which is beside *Elath* and the brinke of the Red Sea in the Land of *Edom*: and *Hyram* sent vvith the Naue his seruants, that were Mariners, and had knowledge of the Sea, vvith the seruants of *Salomon*: and they came to *Ophir*, and set from thence 420. Talents of Gold, &c. But as the Nations about *Pontus* thought no Sea in the vvorld like vnto their owne, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that onely: (vvhereof it came, that *Pontus* was a vvord vsed for the Sea in generall) so, because the *Israelites* and the *Phenicians* knew no other Sea than that of the *Mediterran* in the beginning; and that the people of *Thasus* had the greatest Shippes, and were the first Nauigators in those parts vvith such Vessels, they were therefore called men of the Sea: and the vvord *Thasus* vsed often for the Sea. And vvhereas it is said that the Shippes of *Salomon* went euery three yeares to *Thasus*, that phrase is not strange at all; for vv we vse it ordinarily vvherefoever we nauigate, (namely) that the Kings Ships are gone to the Sea, or that they are set out euery yeare, or euery three yeare to the Sea, and therefore *Thasus* was not therein named, either for *Carthage*, *Africa*, or *India*, but vsed for the Sea it selfe. But in this place *Thasus* is th<sup>er</sup>ly taken for *Thasus*, the chiefe City in *Cilicia*, founded by *Thasus* the second sonne of *Iauan*, or by his Successors in memory of their first parent. To this City arriued *Alex. Macedon*, before he gaue the first ouerthrow to *Darius*, and casting himselfe into the Riuer to bathe and vvash his body, hee fell into an extreame Feuer, and great danger of death: and in this City of *Thasus* was *S. Paul* borne. Now this agreeth vvith the reason and nature of a Plantation. For (*Gomer* and his other sonnes inhabiting *Asia* the lesse, and that part of *Syria* adioyning) *Iauan*, who vv as to passe ouer the Sea into *Greece*, tooke the edge of the same Coast, and first planted the *Iones* on that shore: gaue the Islands betweene *Asia* the lesse and *Greece*, to *Elfis*, and left *Thasus* vpon the Sea-side in *Cilicia*; of vvhom that City tooke name.

The third sonne of *Iauan* vv as *Cethim*, of vvhom were the *Romanes* and *Italians*, saith *Beroaldus*; but I allow better of *Melanchtons* opinion, vvho makes *Cethim* the Father of the *Macedonians*. *Cethim* is a vv voice plurall (saith he) and signifieth *percussores*, though in that respect it may be meant by either. But it seemeth more probable, that the place of *Efay* 23. (according to *Melanchton*) had relation to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*: *Hee calamitas ab Efai predicta est, qui capite vicesimo tertio inquit, venturos esse eneriores Tyri ex terra Cettim*: This calamity (saith *Melanchton*) was foreboded by *Efai* the Prophet, vvho in the three and twentieth Chapter pronounced, that the Destroyers of *Tyre* were come out of *Cettim*. And although the children of *Israel* esteemed all men Islanders, vvich came to them by Sea, and separate from that Continent; (and so also *Cettim* might be taken for *Italy*, saith *Beroaldus*) yet we must take the first performance of the former Prophecie, vvich tooke effect by the destruction of the *Tyrans* by *Alexander*, vvho after 7. Moneths siege, entred that proud City, and cut in pieces ffeuen thousand principall *Citizens*; strangled two thousand, & changed the freedome of 13. thousand otheys into bondage and slavery. Now, that *Macedon* vv as taken for *Cethim*, it doth appeare plainly in the first of the *Maschabees*; in these vvords: After that *Alexander* the *Macedonian*, the

the sonne of Philip, went forth of the Land of Cethim, and slew Darius King of the Persians, and Medes. Iosephus sets Cethim in the Isle of Cyprus, in which (saith hee) there remaineth the Citie *Citium*, the Countrey of *Zeno* the Philosopher (witnesseth *Laertius*;) which City *Pintus* vpon *Ezechiel* affirmeth, that it stood in Saint *Hieromes* time. So it may be that all the Islands in ancient times by the Hebrewes were called the Islands of *Cethim*: and in that sense might *Cyprus* be so called also, & yet because *Tharbis* was the very next Port to *Cyprus*, and directly our against it, it is also very probable, that *Cethim* dwelt by his brother *Tharbis*: and finding that Island too streight for his people after they were increased, & that the rest of the Coasts, both on *Asia* side and *Greece* were inhabited by his Father and Brothers, he sent Colonies ouer the *Egean* Sea, and inhabited *Macedonia*.

*Dodanim* the fourth sonne of *Ianan*, and the youngest Brother (by the most opinions) fate downe at *Rhodes*, as nere *Cethim*, *Tharbis*, and *Elisa*, as hee could. For *Dodanim* and *Rhodanim* are vsed indifferently by many Translators: the Hebrew (*D*) and the Hebrew (*R*) are so like, as the one may easily be taken for the other, as all *Hebraists* affirm. There is also found in *Epirus* the City of *Dodona*, in the Prouince of *Molossia*. And as *Cethim*, when he wanted soyle in *Cyprus*: so *Dodanim* (seated in a far lesse Island) did of necessity send his people farther off; and keeping alongst the Coast, and finding *Peloponnesus* in the possession of *Elisa* he passed a little further on the Westward, and planted in *Epirus*. And though the City of *Dodona*, was not then built, or (perchance) not so ancient as *Dodanim* himselfe, yet his Posterity might giue it that name in the memory of their first parent, as it hapned all the World ouer. For names were giuen to Cities, Mountaines, Riuer, and Prouinces, after the names of *Noahs* children and grand-children; not in all places by themselves, but by their successors many yeares after: eury of their Families being desirous to retain among them by those memories, out of what branch themselves were taken, and grafted elsewhere. And because great Kingdomes were often by new Conquerors newly named, and the greatest Cities often fired and demolished, therefore those that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gaue their own names, or the names of their Ancestors, to Mountaines and Riuer, as to things (after their iudgements) freeest from any alteration.

Thus then did *Ianan* settle himselfe and his children, in the edge and frontier of *Asia* the lesse, towards the Sea-shore: and afterward in *Greece*, and the Islands and neighbour Prouinces thereof, as *Iapheth* their Father had done in the body of the lesser *Asia*, together with *Ianan*s brethren, *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Tubal*, *Mesech*, and the rest round about him. And in like sort did *Chus* (the sonne of *Cham*) people *Babylonia*, *Chaldea*, and the borders thereof towards the West and South-west: and the Sonnes of *Chus* (all but *Nimrod*, who held *Babylonia* it selfe) travelled Southward in *Arabia felix*, and South-westward into *Arabia petraea*: the rest of his children holding the Regions adioyning to *Nimrod*. *Mizraim* the brother of *Chus* in like manner tooke the vway of *Egypt*: and his brother *Canaan* the Region of *Palestina* adioyning. The sonnes of *Canaan* had their portions in *Canaan*, of whom all those Nations came, which were afterward the Enemies both to the Hebrews, and to those of the sons of *Shem*, which spread themselves towards the West, and the borders of the *Mediterranean* Sea: of which I shall speake hereafter. But first of the sons of *Cham* or *Ham*, which were foure:

*Chus*, *Mizraim*, *Phut*, and *Canaan*.

### §. X.

That the seat of *Chus* the eldest son of *Ham*, was in *Arabia*, not in *Ethiopia*: and of strange Fables, and ill Translations of Scripture, grounded on the mistaking of this point.

### †. I.

Of Iosephus his Tale of an *Ethiopian* wife of *Moses*, grounded on the mistaking of the seats of *Chus*.

THAT *Ham* was the Father of the *Egyptians*, it is made manifest in many Scriptures, as in the 105. Psalm, verse 51. Then *Israel* came to *Egypt*, and *Jacob* was a stranger in the land of *Ham*: and in the 78. Psalm, Hee slew all the first-borne in *Egypt*, even the beginning of their strength, in the Tabernacles of *Ham*. There is also

also found a great City in *Thebaida*, called *Cheramis*: (as it were the City of *Ham*) of which name *Herodotus* also discouers an Iland in the same Region: But because *Chus* is the elder sonne of *Ham*, it agreeth with order to speake first of him. Now though I haue already in the description of *Paradise* handled this question, and (I hope) proued that *Chus* could not be *Ethiopia*: yet seeing it cometh now to his turne to speake for himselfe, I will adde some farther prooffe to the former. For, the manifestation hereof sets many things straight, which had otherwise very crooked constructions, and senseless interpretations. Surely, how focuer the *Septuagint* and *Iosephus* haue herein failed, that *Chus* could not be *Ethiopia*, but *Arabia*: (to wit) both that *Arabia* called *Straea*, and a part of *Arabia* the Happy and the Desert: which Regions *Chus* and the *Chusites* presently planted, after they left *Babylonia* to *Nimrod*, wherein they first fate downe altogether. And there is nothing which so well cleereth this Controuersie, as the true interpretation of the place, *Num. 12. v. 1.* where *Moses* his Wife is called a *Chusite*; together with some places which speake of *Nabuchodonosors* Conquests. For whereas *Iosephus* and the *Septuagint* in the place, *Num. 12. v. 1.* as also elsewhere, vnderstand *Chus* for *Ethiopia*, we must giue credit to *Moses* himselfe herein; and then it will appeare that *Iosephus* was grossly mistaken, or vainly led by his owne inuention. For *Iosephus* presuming that *Chus* was *Ethiopia*, and therefore that the Wife of *Moses* (which in Scripture, *Num. 12. ver. 1.* is called a woman of *Chus*) was a woman of the land of *Ethiopia*, saith that *Tharbis* the Daughter of the King of *Ethiopia*, fell in loue with the person and fame of *Moses*, while he besieged *Saba* her Fathers City; and to the end, to obtaine *Moses* for her Husband, she practised to betray both her Parents, Country, and Friends, with the City it selfe, and to deliuer it into *Moses* hands. The Tale (if it bee worth the reciting) lyeth thus in *Iosephus*. After he hath described the strength of the *Ethiopian* City *Meroe*, which he saith at length *Cambyfes* called so from the name of his Sister, (the old name being *Saba*) he goeth on in these words: *Hic cum Moses desidero exercitum otiosum aggrefferet, hoste non audiente manus conferre, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Ethiopum Regi filia nomine Tharbis, &c.* which tale hath this sense in English: When *Moses* was grieved that his Army lay idle, because the Enemy besieged, durst not fallie and come to handy strokes, there happened this accident in the meane while. The *Ethiopian* King had a Daughter called *Tharbis*, who at some assaults giuen, beheld the person of *Moses*, and withall admired his valour: And knowing that *Moses* had not only upheld and restored the falling estate of the *Egyptians*, but had also brought the conquering *Ethiopians* to the very brink of subuersion: these things working in her thoughts, together with her owne affection, which daily increased, shee made meanes to send vnto him by one of her trustiest seruants, to offer her selfe vnto him, and become his wife; which *Moses* on this condition entertained, that shee should first deliuer the City into his possession, whereunto shee condescending, and *Moses* having taken oath to performe this contract, both the one and the other were instantly performed.

### †. II.

A dispute against the tale of Iosephus.

THIS Tale (whereof *Moses* hath not a word) hath *Iosephus* fashioned, and therein also vterly mistaken himselfe, in naming a City of *Arabia* for a City of *Ethiopia*: as he names *Ethiopia* it selfe to haue bene the Countrey of *Moses* his Wife, when (indeede) it was *Arabia*. For *Saba* is not in *Ethiopia*, but in *Arabia*, as both *Strabo* and all other Geographers, ancient and moderne, teach vs, saying, that the *Sabaens* are *Arabians* and not *Ethiopians*; except *Iosephus* can perswade vs, that the Queene of *Saba* which came from the South to heare the wisdom of *Salomon*, were a *Negro*, or *Blacke-Moore*. And though *Damianus à Goes* speake of certaine Letters to the King of *Portugall* from *Prestre Iohn*, of the *Abissines*: wherein that *Ethiopian* King would perswade the *Portugals* that he was descended of the Queene of *Saba* and of *Salomon*; yet it doth no where appeare in the Scriptures, that *Salomon* had any Son by that great Princeesse: which had it bene true, it is likely that when *Sisbac* King of *Egypt* invaded *Roboam*, and sacke *Ierusalem*, his Brother (the Sonne of *Saba* and *Salomon*) who ioyned vpon *Egypt*, would both haue impeached that enterprize, as also giuen aide and succour to *Roboam* against *Ieroboam*, who drew from him ten of the twelue Tribes to his owne obedience. Neither is it any thing against our opinion of *Moses* his Wife, to haue been an *Arabian*, that the Scriptures teach



vs, that *Moses* married the daughter of *Iethro* Priest of *Midian* or *Madian*: which standing on the North Coast of the Red Sea, ouer against the body of *Egypt*, and neere *Eilon-Gaber*, where *Salomon* prouided his Fleet for *India*, in the Region of *Edom*, may well be reckoned as a part of *Arabia*, as the Red Sea is called *Sinus Arabicus*. For *Euumen* ioyneeth to the Tribe of *Isa* by the North, to *Arabia Petraea* by the East, to the *Mediterran* by the West, and to the Red Sea by the South-east. And if wee marke the way which *Moses* tooke when he left *Egypt*, and conducted *Israel* thence, it will appeare that he was no stranger in *Arabia*: in the border whereof, and in *Arabia* it selfe, hee had formerly liued fortie yeeres; where it seemeth, that besides his carefull bringing vp in *Egypt*, he was instructed by *Iethro* in the *Egyptians* learning. For *Iosephus* conflicteth, and Saint *Stephen* confirmeth, that he was learned in all the wisdome of the *Egyptians*. But on the other side this Text makes much against *Iosephus*, where it is written in *Exodus* the second Therefore *Moses* fled from *Pharao*, and dwelt in the Land of *Madian* or *Midian*, and not in *Ethiopia*. And in the third Chapter it is as plaine as words can expresse, in what Region *Madian* was, where it is written, when *Moses* kept the sheepe of *Iethro* his Father in Law Priest of *Madian*, & drave the Flocke to the Desert, and came to the Mountaine of God in *Horeb*. Now that Mount *Horeb* is not in *Ethiopia*, euery Infant knoweth. And if we may beleue *Moses* himselfe, then was not the Wife of *Moses* purchased in that manner which *Iosephus* reporteth (which was for betraying her Country and Friends) neither had shee the name of *Tharbis*, but of *Sippora*, or *Zippora*: neither was shee a Negro, but a *Madianite*. And as God worketh the greatest things by the simplest means: so it pleased him from a Shepherd to call *Moses*, and after him *Dauid*, and by them to deliuer his people first and last. For *Moses*, sitting by a Well (as disconsolate and a stranger) defended the daughters of *Reuel* from the other shepherds, and drew them Water to water their sheepe: vpon which occasion, by God ordained) he was entertained by *Iethro*, whose Daughter he married: and not for any betraying of Townes or Countries.

v. 15.

Exod. 2.

From hence also came *Iethro* to *Moses* at *Rehdim*, not farre from *Idumea*, and finding the insupportable government of such a multitude, hee aduised him to distribute this weightie charge, and to make *Gouernours* and *Iudges* of euery Tribe and Familie. And if *Iethro* had beene an *Ethiopian*, it had beene a farre progresse for him to haue passed through all *Egypt* with the Wife and Children of *Moses*, and to haue found *Moses* in the border of *Idumea*: the *Egyptians* hating *Moses* and all that fauoured him. But the passing of *Moses* through *Arabia Petraea* (which ioyneeth to *Madian*) proueth that *Moses* was well acquainted in those parts, in which the second time he wandred forty yeeres, and did by these late traualles of his, seeke to instruct the children of *Israel* in the knowledge of one true God, before he brought them to the Land of plenty & rest. For he found them nourished vp with the milke of *Idolatri*, and obstinate in the Religion of the *Heathens*, & finding that those stiffe plants could not be bowed or declined, either by perswasion or by miracle, he ware them out in the Deserts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from those hee might receiue fruit, agreeable to his owne desire, and Gods Commandements.

Sive Senen:  
Bild.

Lastly, this opinion of *Iosephus* is condemned by *Augustinus Chrysostomus*, where also he reprehendeth *Apollinaris*, who auowed that *Moses* had married both *Tharbis* and *Sephora*: His owne words haue this beginning: *Mentitur etiam Apollinaris dum uxores babuisse Moses, &c. Apollinaris also lyeth, in affirming that Moses had two wives: and who doth not perceiue these things faigned by them: for it is manifest that the wife of Moses was Zephora, Daughter to the Priest or President of Madian: and that Madian cannot be taken for Ethiopia beyond Egypt, being the same that ioyneeth to Arabia: so farre Chrysostomus*.

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## †. III.

*Chus* ill expounded for *Ethiopia*. *Ezech.* 29. 10.

Ezech. 29. 10.

Now as *Chus* is by the Septuagint conuerted *Ethiopia*, and the wife of *Moses* therefore called *Ethiopia*: so in the conquest of *Nabuchodonosor* is *Ethiopia* written for *Arabia*. For by the words of *Ezechiel*, it is manifest that *Nabuchodonosor* was neuer in *Ethiopia*, behold (saith *Ezechiel*, speaking of the person of this great *Assyrian*) I come

vpon

vpon thee and vpon thy Rivers, and I will make the Land of *Egypt* utterly waste and desolate, from the Towre of *Senenb*, euen to the borders of the blacke Moors: vvhich last words should haue beene thus conuerted: From the Towre of *Senenb* to the borders of the *Chusites* or *Arabians*: betweene which two is situated all *Egypt*. For to say, from the borders of *Senenb* to the *Ethiopsians*, hath no sense at all. *Senenb* it selfe being the border of *Egypt*, confronting and ioyning to *Ethiopia*, or the Land of the blacke Moors. So as if *Nabuchodonosor* conquest had bene but betweene *Senenb* and the border of *Ethiopia*, it were as much to say, and did expresse no other victory than the conquest of all that Land and Countrey, lying betweene *Middlesex* and *Buckingham*, where both the Countreies ioyne together, or all the North parts of *England*, betweene *Barwick* and *Scotland*: for this hath the same sense with the former, if any man sought to expresse by these two bounds, the Conquest of *England*: *Barwick* being the North border of *England*, as *Senenb* or *Sene* is the South bound of *Egypt*, seated in *Thebaida* which toucheth *Ethiopia*. But by the words of *Ezechiel* it appeareth, that *Nabuchodonosor* neuer entred into any part of *Ethiopia*, although the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgar*, the *Geneua*, and all other (in effect) haue written *Ethiopia* for *Chus*.

## †. IIII.

Another place of *Ezechiel*, cap. 30. vers. 9. in the like manner mistaken.

And as the former, so is this place of *Ezechiel* mistaken, by being in this sort conuerted: In die illa egredietur nuncius a facie mea in triebus ad conterendum *Ethiopiae confidentiam*: Which place is thus turned in English by the *Geneuans*: In that day shall there Messengers goe forth from me in ships to make the careless Moors afraid. Now the Latine for (ships) hath the Greeke word *Trieres* for *Triremes* which are Gallies of three banks, and not ships. But that in this place the Translation should haue beene (as in the former) amended by vsing the word *Chus* or *Arabia* for *Ethiopia* or the blacke Moors, euery man may see which meanly vnderstandeth the Geography of the World, knowing, that to passe out of *Egypt* into *Ethiopia* there neede no Gallies nor Ships, no more than to passe out of *Northampton* in *Leicestershire*: *Ethiopia* being the conterminant Region with *Egypt*, and not diuided so much as by a Riuer. Therefore in this place of *Ezechiel* it was meant, that from *Egypt*, *Nabuchodonosor* should fend Gallies alongst the coast of the Red Sea, by vvhich an Army might be transported into *Arabia* the *Happy* and the *Stony* (sparing the long wearisome march ouer all *Egypt*, and the Desert of *Pharan*) which Army might thereby surprise them vnawares in their security and confidence. For when *Nabuchodonosor* was at *Senenb* within a mile of *Ethiopia*, he needed neither Gallies nor Ship to passe into it: being all one large and firme Land with *Egypt*, and no otherwise parted from it, than one In-land shire is parted from another; and if hee had a fancy to haue rowed vpon the Riuer but for pleasure, hee could not haue done it: for the fall of *Nilus* (tumbling ouer high and steepy Mountaines) called *Catadupa Nili*, were at hand.

Lastly, as I haue already obserued, the sonnes of euery father seated themselves as neuer together as possibly they could, *Gomer* and his sonnes in *Assa* the lesse *Iauan* and his sons in *Greece*, and the Ilands adioyning, *Shem* in *Persia* and Eastward. So the Sons & Grandchildren of *Chus* from the Riuer of *Gebon* (their Fathers first seat) inhabited vpon the same, or vpon some other contiguous vnto it, as *Nimrod* and *Hauilah* on the one side, and *Saba*, *Sheba*, and *Sabtecha* (with the rest) did on the other side. And to conclude in a word, the *Hebrews* had neuer any acquaintance or fellowship, any war, treaty of peace, or other intelligence with the *Ethiopian* black Moors, as is already remembered in the Chapter of *Paradise*.

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## †. V.

A place, *Esay* 18. v. 1. in like manner corrupted, by taking *Chus* for *Ethiopia*.

And as in these places before remembered, so in diuers other is the vword *Ethiopia* put for *Arabia* or *Chus*, which puts the story (where it is so vnderstood) quite out of square; one Kingdome thereby being taken for another. For what sense hath this part of

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of Scripture, *Esay 18. Vt terra Cymbalarum alarum que est trans flumina Aethiopia*, or according to the Septuagint in these words: *Vt terra nauium alarum qua est trans flumina Aethiopia*; *viz.* to the Land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the Riuer of *Aethiopia*, sending Embassadors by Sea, upon the vessels of reeds upon the waters. *Vt terra vmbrosa ore*; *viz.* to the Land of the shade coast, faith *Iunius*. The former Translator vsunderstand it in this sense; That the waters are shadowed with the sails, which are significantly called the wings of the ships, the other, that the coast of the Sea was shadowed by the height of the Land.

But to the purpose: That this Land here spoken of by the Prophet *Esay*, is *Egypt*, no Interpreter hath doubted. For they were the *Egyptians* that sent this message to the *Israelites* which *Esay* repeateth, & by the former translation euery man may see the transposition of Kingdomes: for hereby *Egypt* is transported vnto the other side of *Aethiopia*, and *Aethiopia* set next vnto *Iudea*, when it is the Land of *Chus*, and *Arabia* indeed that lyeth betwene *Iudea* and *Egypt*, and not *Aethiopia*, which is seated vnder the Equinotiall Line. And of this *Beroaldus* asketh a materiall question, (to wit) what Region that should be, of which the Prophet speaketh, and placeth it beyond the Riuer of *Aethiopia*. Nam de ignota regione dici nequit; For it cannot be said that he treateth of an unknowne Region. Now if *Aethiopia* it selfe be vnder the Equinotiall line, with whom the *Iewes* had neuer any acquaintance, why should any man dream that they had knowledge of Nations far beyond it againe, and beyond the Riuer of *Aethiopia*? except we shall impiously thinke that the Prophet spake hee knew not what, or vfed an impertinent discourse of those Nations, which were not discovered in 2000. yeares after, inhabiting as far South as the Cape of good Hope, commonly knowne by the name of *Bona Esperanza*.

## †. VII.

That upon the like mistaking, both *Terrah* in the story of *Senacherib*, and *Zera* in the story of *Asa* are vnderstandedly made *Aethiopians*.

And by this translation is the story of *Senacherib* vterly mistaken in the cause of his retreat. For *Senacherib* was first repulsed at *Pelusium*, at the very entrance of *Egypt* from *Iudea*: when hauing certaine knowledge that *Thirrhakeh*, (which all the Interpreters call King of *Aethiopia*) was on the way to set on him, hee began to with-draw himselfe: And fearing to leaue his Army in two parts, hee sent threatening Messengers to *Ezechia* King of *Iudea*, perswading him to submit himselfe: the Tenor whereof is set down in the second of *Kings* in these words: *Haue any of the gods of the Nations deliuered his Land out of the hands of the King of Assur? where is the god of Hamath, &c.* By vvhich proud Embassage, if he had obtained entrance into *Ierusalem*, he then meant to haue vnnied that great Army before *Ierusalem*, commanded by *Rabshakeh*, with the other which lay before *Pelusium*, a great City vpon the branch of *Nilus* next *Arabia*. For *Senacherib* had already mastered the most part of all those Cities in *Iudea* and *Beniamin* vvvith a third Army, (which himselfe commanded) being then at the siege of *Lebna*. But vpon the rumor of that *Arabian* Army led by their King *Thirrhakeh* (whom *Iosephus* calls *Tharaces*) *Rabshakeh* halted from the siege of *Ierusalem*, and found *Senacherib* departed from *Lachis*, and set downe before *Lebna*, which was afterwards called *Eleuthropolis*, as some haue supposed. But while he had ill successe at *Pelusium* and feared *Thirrhakeh*, God himselfe whom he least feared, brook his Army before *Ierusalem* by the Angel of his power, so as 180000. were found dead in the place, as in the life of *Ezechias* is hereafter more largely written. And that this Army of *Thirrah* was from *Arabia*, *Iosephus* himselfe makes it plaine. For he confesseth in the tenth Book, the first Chapter of the *Iewes* Antiquities, that it was come to *Senacherib*'s knowledge, that the Army which was a foote (both to relieue the *Egyptians* and the *Iewes*) marched towards him by the vvay of the Desert: Now the Desert which lay indifferent betwene *Ierusalem* and *Pelusium*, was that of *Pharan* or *Sar*, which also toucheth on the three *Arabias*, to wit, the *Sony*, of which it is a part: the Desert, and the *Hapay*; and by no other vvay indeed could the *Arabians* come on to succour either *Pelusium* or *Ierusalem*. But that there is any Desert betwene *Pelusium* and the South part of *Egypt*, hath neuer yet bene heard of, or described by any Cosmographer or Historian. So then this description of the second of *Kings*, vers. the ninth, hath the same mistaking as the rest. For here the word (*Chus*) is also translated *Aethiopia*; and in this sense haue all the Interpreters, (but *Iunius*) expressed the beginning of the ninth Verse:

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He heard also men say of *Thirrhakeh* King of *Aethiopia*, &c. whereas it should haue bene thus conuerted with *Iunius*: *Andiam autem de Thirrhakeh Rege Chusbi*; Hee heard also of *Thirrhakeh* King of the *Chusites*. For they were the *Chusites* and *Arabians*, whose Houses and Cities were next the fire, and vpon whom the very smoke of *Iudea* flaming was blowne, being their neereft Neighbours: and so were not the *Aethiopian* black-Moores vnder the Equinotiall, whom neither war nor peace (which discovereth all Regions) euer found out, faith *Pliny*. For this King was no more King of *Aethiopia* than *Zerah* was, who invaded *Asa* King of *Iuda*, with an Army of a Million, and three thousand Chariots. Indeed, how such an Army & those Chariots should passe through all *Egypt* (the Kings of *Egypt* being mighty Kings) let all men that know how these Regions are seated, and how farre distant, judge. For Princes doe not easily permit Armies of a Million to run through them; neither was there euer such strength of Black-Moores heard of in that part of the World, or elsewhere. Neither are these *Aethiopians* such trauailers or Conquerors; and yet is this King *Zerah* also called King of *Aethiopia*. But the vvord *Chusbi* being first so conuerted for *Aethiopia*, the rest of the Interpreters (not looking into the seates of Kingdomes, or the possibilities of attempts, or inuasions) followed one another in the former mistakings.

## †. VII.

A farther exposition of the place, *Esay 18. 1.*

Concerning these words in that eighteenth Chapter of *Esay*, *Nauium alarum; winged ships*, (so the Septuagint turne it) or *Cymbalarum* (according to the Latine) *sayles whistling in the windes*, or *terra vmbrosa ore* (after *Iunius*) *the Land of a shadowed coast*, or *the Land shadowing with wings*, as our English *Geneua* hath it. The two first interpretations of the Septuagint and *S. Hierome*, haue one sense in effect. For the sailes are commonly called the wings of a ship, & we vse to lay ordinarily when our ships saile slowly, that the wanteth wings: (that is) when her sailes are either worne or too narrow: and we also vse the same phrase of the winde whistling in the sailes. And it may be that the *Egyptians* employed so many of those smal ships, as their sailes were said to giue a shadow ouer the Red Sea. But to make both interpretations good, *Pintus* (vpon *Esay*) affirmeth, that the vvord (*Sabal*) doth signifie both to shadow and to gingle (vvhich is) to make a kinde of *Cymbaline* found: so as the meaning of this place (faith *Pintus*) is this: *Woe to thee, O Egypt, which dost promise to others safeguard, vnder the shadow of thy wings; vvhich (indeede) seemeth to agree with the argument of the eighteenth Chapter of Esay; and this phrase is often elsewhere vsed, as in the sixteenth Psalme: Sub vmbra alarum tuarum protegeme; Defend me vnder the shadow of thy wings.* The Boates of reede spoken of are of two kinds; either of basket-willow couered with hides (as anciently in *Brittain*) or a Tree made hollow in the bottome, and built vpon both sides with Canes. Of the one sort I haue scene in *Ireland*, of the other in the *Indies*.

## §. XI.

Of the plantation and antiquities of Egypt.

## †. I.

That *Mizraim* the chiefe planter of Egypt: and the rest of the sonnes of Ham, were seated in order, one by another.

The second sonne of Ham was *Mizraim*, (who according to the place of a second brother) was sent somewhat farther off to inhabite. For *Chusbi* first posselt *Chaldea* on the West side of *Gehon* chiefly: and from thence, as hee increased in people, so hee entered *Arabia*, and by time came to the border of the Red Sea, & to the South-east-side of *Iudea*. *Mizraim* his brother (with *Phut*) past ouer into *Africa*. *Mizraim* held *Egypt*: and *Phut* (as a third brother) was thrust farther off into *Mauritania*. *Canaan* tooke the Sea-coast, and held the side of *Palestina*: and these foure brothers posselt all that Tract of Land, from *Gehon* in *Chaldea*, as farre to the West as the *Mediterrane* Sea: comprehending all *Arabia Deserta*, and *Petra*, all *Canaan* which embraceth *Galilee*, *Samarria*, and

and *Judea*; with the two *Egypt*s, wherof the neather is bounded by *Mempius* on the South, and by the *Mediterrane* Sea on the North: and *Thebaide* (called the vpper *Egypt*) stretcheth it self toward the South as far as *Syene*, the border of the *Ethiopi*ans or black *Manni*. All the rest of the coast of *Africa* Westward, *Phut* peopled; which brothers had not any other Nation or Family that dwelt between them. And in the same manner did all their sons againe, and all the sons of the rest of *Noah*s children, sort themselves.

## †. II.

Of the time about which the name of *Egypt* began to be knowne: and of the *Egyptians* Lunary yeeres, which made their antiquities seeme more fabulous.

**T**His flourishing Kingdome posselt by *Mizraim*, changed her ancient name, and became *Egypt*, as such time as *Egyptus* (otherwise *Rameſſes*, as some thinke) the sonne of *Belus*, chased thence his elder brother *Danau*s, shifting him into that part of *Greece* now called *Morcia*, by whom the *Argines* were made *Dana*i, abandoning their proper names: which happened 877. yeeres after the Flood, in the time of *Iofua*, as *St. Augustine* coniectureth out of *Eusebius*. But in *Homer*s *Odyſſes* it appeareth that the *Egyptians* were so called at the time of the *Troian* Warre. And before this, *Egypt* was knowne by diuers other names, as *Oceana*, *Aria*, *Osiriana*, &c. And *Manethon* (whom *Iosephus* citeth in his first booke against *Appion*) numbrellth all the Kings of *Egypt* after *Moses* departure, who consumed 393. yeeres. By which other men coniecture, that the *Egyptians* tooke on them that name 330. yeeres after *Iofua*, and about 1000. yeeres after the Flood. But where *Iosephus* in the same booke taketh *Israel* to be those *Hysos*, which he also calleth *Pastores* or *Shepherds*, which are said to haue reigned in *Egypt* 511. yeeres: whom also he calleth his Ancestors, (meaning the Ancestors of the *Iewes*) in this I am sure he was grossly deceiued, or that he vainly boasted: for the *Israelites* had no such Dominion as *Manethon* saith, nor abode in *Egypt* so long a time by many yeeres.

Of the *Egyptian* Antiquities there are many fancies in *Trogus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Diod. Siculus*, *Mela*, and others. For they affirme (saith *Pomp. Mela*) that there had reigned in *Egypt* 330. Kings before *Amasis*, who was contemporary with *Cyrus*; and that they had memory and story of 13000. yeeres; and that the Stars had foure times changed their course, and the Sunne twice set in the East. These Riddles are also rise among the *Athenians* and *Arcadians*, vvhoe dare affirme, that they are more ancient than *Iupiter* and the *Moon*e; vvhich of *Onid*:

*Ante Iouem genitum terra habuisse seruntur  
Arcades: & Luna gens prior illa fuit.*

The *Arcadians* the earth inhabited  
Ere yet the *Moon*e did shine, or *Ioue* was bred.

But for those 13000. yeeres it may well be true; seeing it is certaine that the *Egyptians* reckon their yeeres by Moneths, which makes after that account not about 1000. or 1100. yeeres, whether we take their Moneths or Lunary yeeres to haue bene of the first kinde of 27. dayes and eight houres; or otherwise 29. dayes and twelue houres; or after any other of those foue diuersities of their Lunary yeeres.

## †. III.

Of certaine vaine assertions of the Antiquity of the *Egyptians*.

**E**radus *Mercator* in his *Chronology*, reasoneth for the *Egyptians* Antiquity in this manner: That the sixteenth *Dynastie* (where *Eusebius* begins to reckon the *Egyptians* times) had beginning with the generall Flood: and that therefore the first of the fifteen reached the Creation, or soone after it. To which coniecture of *Mercator*, *Petrus* maketh this answer; That therein *Mercator* was first deceiued, because he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynastie* vvas at once with the generall Flood: which *Eusebius* maketh 292. yeeres after, and in the time of *Abraham*. Secondly, *Mercator* maketh the beginning of the shepherds *Dynastie* (being in number 17.) in the time of their first King, *Saltis*, to haue bene in the yeere of the Word 1846. which

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*Eusebius* findeth in the Worlds age 2140. For the 16. *Dynastie* was begun but in the 292. yeeres after the Flood, as they account, and continued 190. yeeres. Thirdly, whereas *Mercator* maketh euery *Dynastie* to endure 115. yeeres, *Eusebius* reckoneth many of them at lesse than 100. yeeres: for the 28. had but sixe yeeres, the 29. but 20. and the 30. but 18. yeeres.

Now *Annius* in his Supplement of *Manethon* affirmeth, That all these 15. *Dynasties* lasted but 162. yeeres: and that the first of the 15. began but in the 131. yeere after the flood: so as where *Mercator* makes all the 15. to precede the flood, and the 16. to haue bene then in being at the time of the flood, *Annius* makes them all after it. But the contrariety of fallhood cannot be hidden, though disguised. For *Annius* had forgotten his former Opinion and Assertion, that it was in the 131. yeere that *Nimrod*, with the sons of *Noah*, came into the Valley of *Shinaar*: so he forgets the time which was consumed in the building of *Babel*: & that before the confusion of Speech there was no dispersion, nor far-off plantation at all. And though he hastily conueyed *Gomer* into Italy, and *Tubal* into Spain, in the tenth yeere of *Nimrod*s reigne: (which was ten yeeres after his arrival into *Babylonia*) yet herein he is more vnadvised. For he makes *Egypt* posselt, & a gouernment established in the very first yeere of the arrival of *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*, before all partition, or any expedition farre off or neer in question: for from thence (that is, from *Babel*) did the Lord scatter them upon all the earth.

## †. IIII.

Against *Petrus*: that it is not unlikely, but that *Egypt* was peopled within 200. yeeres after the Creation; at lesst, that both it, and the most parts of the World were peopled before the Flood.

**B**ut whereas *Petrus* seeketh to ouerthrow this Antiquity of the *Egyptians* touching their *Dynasties*, (which *Eusebius* doth not altogether destroy, but lessen) I do not find any great strength in this opinion of *Petrus*; (to wit) that it was either vnlikely or impossible that *Egypt* should bee peopled within 100. or 200. yeeres after *Adam*, in the first Age. And whereas he supposeth that it was not inhabited at all before the generall Flood, I doe verily beleue the contrary: and that not onely of *Egypt*, but the better part of all the World was then peopled: *Petrus* his words are these: *Quomodo enim primos mundi ducentos, vel etiam centum annos Adam proles adeo multiplicari potuit, ut ad Egyptum usque habitandum & complendum propagata sit, &c.* For how could the children of *Adam* be so multiplied in the first two hundred, or in the first hundred yeeres of the world, and so propagated as to inhabit and fill *Egypt*? for allowing this (saith *Petrus*) we must also confesse, that there were then both the *Assyrians* and other Nations.

Now seeing that the Scriptures are silent herein, and that it is no point of our sauing beleefe, it is lawfull for euery man to be guided in this and the like questions by the best reason, circumstance, and likelihood; and herein, as in the rest, I protest that I doe not gainsay any mans opinion out of any crossing or cauillying humour: for I thinke it the part of euery Christian, rather to reconcile differences, where there is possibility of vni-on, than out of froward subtilty, and preiudicate resoluclness, to maintaine factious needlesse, and dangerous contentions.

First therefore, to this opinion, that *Egypt* was not planted so soone after *Adam*; no, not at all before the Flood, I say, that there is no reason why wee should giue a lesse increase to the sonnes of *Adam*, than to the sonnes of *Noah*. For their length of life, which exceeded those which came after the Flood double, & (after a few yeeres) treble, is an infallible proofe of their strength and ability, to beget many Children: & at that time they obserued no degrees of kindred, nor consanguinity. And that there was a speedy increase of people, and in great numbers, it may in some sort appeare by this, that *Cain*, who (being fearefull that the death of *Abel* would haue bene reuenged on him) withdrew himselfe from the rest, which were afterward begotten, and dwelt in the Land of *Nod*, and there, by the helpe of his owne issues built a City, (called *Enoch*) after the name of his first-borne. Now if it be gathered that *Nimrod* came into the Valley of *Shinaar* with so many multitudes, as sufficed to build the City and Towre of *Babel*: and that to this increase there was giuen but 130. yeeres by *Berosus*, and after the account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly vnderstood, by the birth of *Arphaxad*,

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Selah,

*Selah, Heber, and Phaleg*) but one hundred and one yeere: I see no cause to doubt, but that in the infancy of the first age, when the bodies of men were most perfect, even within 130. yeeres, the same (if not a greater) number might be increased; and so within 70. yeeres after (that is, by such time as the World had stood 200. yeeres) as well *Affria, Syria, and Egypt* might bee possesse before the Flood, as they were within the same or lesse time after it. Neither doth it agree with the circumstance or true Story of the *Babylonian and Assyrian Empire*, that all those people, which were increased in the first hundred or 130. yeeres after the Flood, came into *Shinaar* and *Babylonia*. For that euer *Noah* himselfe came out of the East, as there is no Scripture or Authority to proue it, so all probable coniecture and reason it selfe denies it. Again, those multitudes, and powerfull numbers, which *Semiramis* (but the third from *Nimrod*) found in *India*, considered with her owne Army of three Millions, (and she left not all her Kingdomes empty) doe well proue, that if the World had such plenty of people in so few yeeres after the Flood, it might also be as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their owne account *Ninus* gouerned *Babylonia* and *Affria* but 292. yeeres after the Flood of *Noah*. And these Troupes of *Semiramis* were gathered out of all those Easterne Kingdomes, from *Media* to the *Mediterran Sea*; when there had now past from the Flood to the time of this her inuasion, somewhat lesse or more than 360. yeeres: for much more time the true *Chronology* cannot allow; though I confesse, that in respect of the strange greatnesse of *Semiramis* Army, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as short a time as can well be given. And if but one halfe bee true of that which is said, That her Army consisted of 1300000. Footmen, and 500000. Horsemen, it must needs bee, that long before *Semiramis* Reigne, the greatest part of *Asia* (whence her huge Armie was gathered) was full of people: yea *Arabia* it selfe (much part whereof is barren) must long before this time of *Semiramis* haue bene plentifully peopled; when *Ninus* hauing a determination to make himselfe Master of all Nations, entred (notwithstanding) in League with the King thereof: whom therefore hee either feared, or sought his assistance. And if *Arabia* were then so well replenished, I see no cause but *Egypt* might also bee peopled. Now if wee may beleuee *Trogus Pompeius* (*Epitomis* by *Iustine*) *Egypt* was a most flourishing and magnificent Nation before *Ninus* was borne. For these bee his ownewords, speaking of *Ninus*. *Euere quidem temporibus antiquioribus Vexoris Rex Aegypti, &c. But there were in times more ancient Vexoris King of Egypt, and Tanais King of the Scythians: of which the one invaded Pontus, the other Egypt. And how full of people all that part of the World was, the Conquests of Ninus witnesseth, who subdued with no small force the Armenians, the Medes, and afterwards the Bactrians; yea, all that whole body of Asia on this side India. For Diadormus out of Ctesias numbred the Armies wherewith Ninus invaded Zoroaster, at 1700000. Footmen, and 200000. Horsemen: and the Stories generally shew, that though Zoroasters Armie was farre short of this, yet it was greater than any that those parts of the World euer since beheld. But to what end should I seeke for foreigne authority? for no man doubteth but that *Egypt* was possesse by *Atteraim*, the sonne of *Ham*; and that it was an established Kingdome, filled with many Cities in *Abrahams* time, the Scriptures tell vs. And sure, to prepare and cultivate a desolate and ouergrown ground, to beautifie it with many Cities, Lawes, and Policies, cannot bee esteemed a labour of a few dayes: and therefore it must be inhabited in a lesse time than 200. yeeres after the Flood; and in the same time (if not in a shorter) before the Flood. For if so many Millions of men were found within 300. yeeres after the generall Flood; so as not onely *Babylon* and *Affria*, *Bactria*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Palestina*, yea, the faire-off *Lybia* on the one side, and *India* on the other, and *Scythia* (inferiour to neither) were all filled: into what small corners could then all those Nations be comprest, which 1656. yeeres brought forth before the Flood? euen necessity, which cannot be resisted, cast the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the knowne World; especially, where Death forbore the Father, and made no place for the Sonne, till hee had beheld liuing Nations of his owne body.*

† V.

† V.

Of some other reasons against the opinion of Paterius.

For what a strange increase did the long liues of the first Age make, when they continued 800. or 900. yeeres? Surely, we haue reason to doubt, that the World could not containe them, rather than that they were not spread ouer the World. For let vs now reckon the date of our liues in this Age of the World: wherein if one exceede 50. yeeres, ten for one are cut off in that passage, and yet wee finde no want of people; nay we know the multitude such, as if by warres or pestilence they were not sometimes taken off by many thousands, the earth with all the industry of man could not giue them food. What strange heapes then of foules had the first Ages, who enioyed 800. or 900. yeeres, as aforesaid? These numbers, I say, cannot be counted nor conceived. For it would come to the same reckoning in effect, as if all those which haue bene borne in *Brittaine* since 3. or 4. hundred yeeres before the *Norman Conquest* (sauiug such as by accident or by violence were cut off) were now alive; and if to these there were added as many as by *Polygamy* might haue bene increased. For (to omit, that the Gyants and mighty ones of the first Age obserued no law of Matrimony) it is to bee thought that those Louers of the world and of pleasure, when they knew the long and liberall time to which Nature had giuen them, would not willingly or hastily present themselves to any danger which they could flye from or eschew. For what humane argument hath better perswasion to make men careless of life, and fearelesse of death, than the little time which keepe them asunder, and that short time also accompanied with so many paines and diseases, which this enuious old Age of the World minglenth together, and soweth with the seedes of Mankinde?

Now if that *Berosus* or *Annius* may be alledged for sufficient Authours, whom *Paterius* himselfe in this question citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by *Iosephus* confirmed, that the City of *Enoch* was seated neere *Zabnan* in *Syria*: and if other parts of *Syria* were peopled in *Cains* time; I see no cause why *Palestina* (which is also a Prouince of *Syria*) and *Egypt* (which neighboureth it) could be left desolate both all the life time of *Cain*, and all those times betwene his death and the Flood, which were by estimation 700. or 800. yeeres. And sure though this Fragment of *Berosus* with *Annius* his Comment be very ridiculous in many places (the ancient Copies being corrupted or lost) yet all things in *Berosus* are not to bee reiected. Therefore Saint *Hierome* for such Authours giues a good rule: *Bona eorum eligamus, vitiosus contraria; Let vs choose what is good in them, and reiect the rest.* And certainly in the very beginning of the first Booke, *Berosus* agreeth (in effect) with *Moses*, touching the generall Flood: and in that first part *Berosus* affirmeth, that those mighty men and Gyants which inhabited *Enoch*, commanded ouer all Nations, and subiected the vniuersall World: and though that phrase (of all the world) be often vsed in the Scriptures for a part thereof as in the second of the *Acts*, that there were dwelling at *Hierusalem* Iewes, men that feared God of every Nation vnder Heauen: yet by words which follow in *Berosus*, it is plaine, that his words and sense were the same: for he addeth, from the Sunnes rising to the Sunnes setting which cannot be taken for any small part thereof. Again, we may safely coniecture, that *Noah* did not part and proportion the World among his sonnes at aduenture, or left them as Discoverers, but directed them to those Regions which he formerly knew had been inhabited. And it cannot be denied that the earth was more passable and easie to trauiell ouer before the Flood, than after it. For *Paterius* himselfe confesseth, that *Attica* (by reason of mud and slime which the water left vpon the Earth) was uninhabited 200. yeeres after *Ogyges* Flood; whereby we may gather, that there was no great pleasure in passing into farre Countries, after the generall Deluge, when the earth lay (as it were) compsted for 100. or 130. yeeres together. And therefore was the face thereof in all coniecture more beautifull, and lesse cumbersome to walke ouer, in the first Age, than after the generall ouerflowing.

M 2

† VI.

## §. VI.

Of the words of Moses, Gen. 10. v. ultima, whereupon Pererius grounded his opinion.

lib. 1.

**L**Astly, whereas Pererius draws this Argument out of the last Verse of the tenth of Genesis, And out of these were the Nations divided after the flood: Quo significatur talem divisionem non fuisse ante diluvium; By which it appeareth (saith Pererius) that there was no such division before the Flood; which he also seeketh to confirme out of the eleventh of Genesis, because the division of tongues was the cause of the dispersion of the people. This consequence, quo significatur, &c. seemeth to me very weake: The Text it selfe rather teacheth the contrary: For out of these (saith Moses) were the Nations divided in the earth, after the Flood; inferring, that before the Flood the Nations were divided out of others, though after the Flood out of these onely. But whatsoever sense may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawne to the times before the Flood, or to any Plantation or division in that age: for if there were none else among whom the earth could be divided after the Flood, but Noah's Sonnes, wherein doth that necessary division controule the planting of the World before it? And whereas it is alleged that the confusion of speech was the cause of this dispersion; it is true, that it was so for that present; but if Babel had never beene built, nor any confusion of Languages at all, yet increase of people and time would have enforced a farther-off and generall Plantation: as Berosus sayes well, that when Mankind were exceedingly multiplied, Ad comparandas nomina, sedes necessitas compellebat, They were driven by necessitie to seek new Habitations. For we finde (as it is before said) that within 300. yeeres after the Flood, there were gathered together into two Armies, such multitudes as the Valley about Babylon could not have sustained those numbers, with their increase, for any long time; all Asia the greater and the lesse; all Scythia, Arabia, Palestina, and Egypt, with Greece and the Islands thereof; Mauritania and Libya, being also at that time fully peopled. And if wee beleue Berosus, then not onely those parts of the World, but within 140. yeeres after the Flood, Spaine, Italie and France were also planted: much more then may we thinke, that within 1656. yeeres before the Flood, in the time of the chiefe strength of Mankind, they were replenished with people. And certainly seeing all the World was overflowed, there were people in all the World which offended.

## †. VII.

A conclusion, resolving of that which is most likely, touching the Egyptian Antiquities: with somewhat of Phut (another Sonne of Ham) which peopled Libya.

**T**herefore, for the Antiquitie of the Egyptians, as I doe not agree with Mercator, nor indge with the Vulgar, which give too much credit to the Egyptians Antiquities: so I doe not thinke the report of their Antiquities so fabulous, as either Pererius or other men conceiue it. But I rather incline to this, that Egypt being peopled before the Flood, and 200. or 300. yeeres, more or lesse after Adam, there might remaine vnto the Sonnes of Mizraim some Monuments in Pillars or Altars (of stone or metall) of their former Kings or Gouvernours: which the Egyptians having added to the List and Roll of their Kings after the Flood, in succeeding time out of the vanitie of glory, or by some corruption in their Priests, something beyong the truth might be inferred. And that the memory of Antiquity was in such sort preferred, Berosus affirmeth it of the Chaldeans, and so doth Epigenes. For they both write, that the vse of Letters and the Art of Astronomie was knowne to the Babylonians 3634. yeeres before Alexanders Conquest: and this report Annius findeth to agree and reach to the time of Enoch, who was borne 1034. yeeres before the Flood, and wrote of the Worlds destruction, both by Water and Fire, as also of Christ his comming in iudgement, as Saint Jude hath witnessed. But leaving these Antiquities to other mens iudgements, and every man to his owne reason, I will conclude this Plantation of Egypt. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by Mizraim, and that it tooke the name of Egypt from Egyptus the Sonne of Belas, as aforesaid. Being divided into two Regions, that part from Memphis or Nicopolis to the Mediterranean Sea, was called the inferiour Egypt; surnamed also Delta: because the severall branches of Nilus breaking asunder from one body of the River, gave it the forme

of

of the Greeke letter Delta, which is the forme of a Triangle. That branch, which ran toward the North-east and embraced the Sea, next vnto the Desarts of Sur and Pharan, had on it the City of Pelusium, where Senabers was repulsed: The other branch, which yielded it selfe to the Salt-water towards the North-east, is beautified by that famous City of Alexandria: The vpper part of Egypt is bounded betweene Memphis and Syene neere Ethiopia, and had the name of Thebaide, of that ancient City of Thebes, which (according to Homer) was adorned with 100. Gates: and therefore called Cinis centum portarum, and by the Greeks Diopolis; in the Scriptures No-bamun, which signifieth multitudes of Inhabitants, exceeding beliefe. Iosephus calls Egypt Mersin of Mizraim: and

16. l. 1. ant. 17. Hier. Euseb.

10 Herodotus assumes that it had once the name of Thebae.

Phut the third sonne of Ham tooke the next portion of Land to his brother Mizraim, and inhabited Libya: whose people were anciently called Phutici, (saith Iosephus) and Pliny mentioneth the River Phut in Mauritania: which River from the Mountain Atlas (known to the Inhabitants by the name of Dyris) he maketh to be distant the space of two hundred miles. It also appeareth in the thirtieth Chapter of Ezechiel, that Phut, Chus, & Lud were contermini and Associates with the Egyptians.

## §. XII.

Of the eleuen sonnes of Canaan, the fourth sonne of Ham.

10

## †. I.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan: with the names of his eleuen sonnes.

**C**anaan (the fourth sonne of Ham) posselt all that Region called by the Romanes Palestina; in the Scriptures Galilee, Samaria, and Iudea; in the latter times known by the name of the Holy Land and Iherusalem: the limits whereof are precisely set downe by Moses, Genesis the tenth, Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon as thou goest to Gerar vntill Azzah, and as thou goest vnto Sodome and Gomorrhah, and Admah, and Zeboim, euen vnto Lasba. Now howloeu these words of the Hebrew Text (as thou goest) be conuerted, Moses meaning was that Gerar was the South bound of Canaan, and Zidon the North, Sodome & Gomorrhah the East, and the other Cities named Rood on the Frontiers thereof. For Gerar standeth in a right Line from Gaza in the way of Egypt, the vttermost Territory of Canaan Southward: and this was properly the Land of Canaan.

Now the sons of Canaan which posselt this Country, and inhabited some part of the borders thereof, were in number eleuen:

1. Zidon.
2. Heth or Chethus.
3. Iebusi or Iebuseus.
4. Emori or Emoreus, or Amoreus.
5. Girgessio or Girgeseus.
6. Hethi or Chineus.
7. Arki or Harkens.
8. Seni or Sinaus.
9. Araadi or Aruadeus.
10. Zemari or Samareus, or Tzemareus.
11. Hamathi or Hamathens, or Chamathaus.

Of which the most renowned were the Hethites, Girgessites, Amorites, Hethites, Iebusites, and Perizzites: which Perizzites were descended of Zemari or Samareus, or from some 30 of his.

## †. II.

Of the portions of Zidon and Heth.

**Z**idon the first borne of Canaan, built the famous City of Zidon in Phénicia, which afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of Affer: for Affer, Zabulon, and Nephthali had a great part of the ancient Phénicia distributed among them; but the Afferites could neuer obtaine Zidon it selfe.

The second sonne of *Canaan* was *Heth* or *Cethus*: of whom came the *Hethites*, or *Hittites*, one of those feuen principall Nations (Commanders of *Canaan*) appointed by God to be rooted out; namely, the *Gergesites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites*, the *Hemites*, and the *Iebusites*. The *Hittites* inhabited about *Bersabe*, and towards *Hobron* neere the Torrent *Befor*, and about *Gerar*, which *Moses* maketh the vtermost limit of *Canaan*, hauing the Defart of *Pharan* to the South; for about *Bersabe* (otherwise *Puteus iuramenti*) foure miles from *Gaza* dwelt *Heth* and his Posterity, as far to the Northeast as *Hebron*, & *Mamre*; and of *Ephraim* the *Hittite* did *Abraham* buy the field of *Sarahs* buriall. Of which Nation *Rebecca* bewailed her selfe to *Isaac*, saying, *That she was weary of her life for the Daughters of Heth*. The Giants *Anakim* were of these *Hittites*, a strong & fierce Nation, in whose entertainment by the kings of *Israell* against them the *Syrians* greatly feared: as in the fourth of the *Kings*; *Israell hath hired against vs the Kings of the Hittites*.

†. III.  
Of the *Iebusites* and *Amorites*.

*Iebus*, the third sonne of *Canaan*, of whom came the *Iebusites*, and whose principall seat was *Iebus*, (afterward *Hiernusalem*) were also a valiant and stubborne Nation, and held their City and the Country neere it, till such time as *Dauid* by Gods assistance recovered both: yet were not the *Iebusites* extinguished, but were Tributaries to *Salomon*. *Amoreus* was the fourth sonne of *Canaan*, of whom the *Amorites* tooke name, who inhabited that Land to the East of *Jordan* below the Sea of *Galilee*, hauing *Arnon* and the Mountaines of *Galaad* on the East, and *Jordan* on the West: of whom *Og* (King of *Basán*) and *Sihon* (ouerthrowne by *Moses*) were Princes.

The *Amorites* had also many other habitations disperfed within the bounds of *Canaan*: as behinde *Libanus* in the edge of *Calefryia*, or *Syria Libanica*. They had also their being in the Mountaines of *Iuda*, and in *Idumea* neere the Metropolis thereof, called *Duma*. And hereof it came that all the *Canaanites* were sometime called *Amorites*: as in *Genesis* the fifteenth: *For the wickednesse of the Amorites is not yet full*. And that this was also a powerfull Nation, wee finde in the Prophet *Amos*: *Yes destroyed the Amorite before them, whose height was like the height of a Cedar, and he was strong as the Oake*.

†. IIII.  
Of the *Gergesites*, *Hemites*, and *Harkites*.

The fifth sonne of *Canaan* was *Gergesew* or *Gergesim*, (otherwise *Girgasi*) who inhabited on the East side of the Lake of *Tiberias*, or the Sea of *Galilee*, where *Prology* sets the City *Gerafa*, which *Iosephus* calls *Gefera*, in the Territory of *Decapoli*. Here it was that *Christ* dispossest the possessed with *Diuels*; and the *Gergesites* desired him to depart their Coasts: because their Swine, filled with the euill spirits, drowned themselves in the Sea of *Galilee*. *Gergesew* also built *Beriton* (sometime *Geris*) afterward *Felix Iulia*, three miles from the Riuer *Adonis* in *Phoenicia*: in which the *Romans* held a Garrison: and to which *Augustus* gave many large priuiledges.

*Hemus* the sixth sonne, and Father of the *Hemites*, inhabited vnder *Libanus* neere *Emath*. These *Hemites*, howsoeuer the *Captharim* expelled a good part of them (as in *Deuteronomy* the second is remembered) yet many of them remained all the warre of *Iofua*, and afterward to the time of *Salomon*. For God was not pleased vterly to root out these Nations, but they were sometimes made Tributaries to the *Israelites*, and at other times serued (in their falling away from the true worship of God) to assist them: for as it is written, *Judges* the third: *They remained to prone Israell by them, whether they would obey the Commandements of God*.

The seuenth sonne was *Aracens* or *Harki*, who between the foote of *Libanus* and the *Mediterran* Sea, (ouer against *Tripoli*) built the City of *Archas*, *Arce*, or *Arca*, afterwards *Arachia*.

†. V.

†. V.  
Of *Sini* and *Aradi*.

*Sineus* the eight son, *Hierosolymitanus* sets at *Caparofa*, which *Prology* findes in *Iudea*, not farre from *Iebus*: to the South thereof, saith *Iunius*. But it is more probable, that *Sineus* founded *Sim*, which *S. Hierome* calls *Sim*: *Prology*, *Simyra*: *Mela* and *Pliny*, *Simyru*: *Brachard*, *Syon*, (called *Synochus*) neere *Arca*. *Pererius* thinks that *Sineus* inhabited the Defarts of *Sinai*, or thereabout; but hereof there is no other certainty than the report of *Brachard*, who tooke view of all these places, affirming, that *Sineus* built *Synochus*, as *Zidon* built *Zidon*. There is also another Nation of *Cini* (written with the letter C. otherwise *Kenzi*) who descended of *Hobab* the son of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, who assisted the *Israelites* in their conduction through the Wildernes of *Pharan*. But these *Cinai* were admitted among the *Israelites*, and had a portion of Land with the *Nephthalims*, beside their habitations with the *Amalekites*: against these *Cinai*, *Balaam* prophced, that they should be destroyed by the *Assyrians*.

The ninth sonne was *Aradus* or *Arnadus*, who in the Ile of *Aradus* built the City *Arados*: opposite against which Iland on the Maine of *Phoenicia*, they founded another City of that name, which for opposition was afterwards called *Antaradus*. To this City came *S. Peter* (saith *Clement*) & in this Ile preached the Gospell, and founded a Church in honour of our Lady: but wee finde no such worke of his in the *Acts* of the Apostles. Both these two were very famous, and places of skilfull Sea-men: whom *Ezechiel* remembereth in his prophecies against the *Tyrians*: *The inhabitants of Zidon and Arnad were they Mariners*.

†. VI.  
Of *Zemari*.

Of *Samarus*, or *Zemari*, the tenth sonne, there are diuers opinions. Some think that he inhabited in *Calefryia* at *Edeffa*, and founded *Samaraium*, which in *Iofua* is placed in the Tribe of *Beniamin*. There is also *Samarajm* (of the same Orthography) vpon the Mountaines of *Ephraim* (saith *Beroaldus*) mentioned in the second of *Chronicles*, c. 13. v. 4. which the *Latins* conuerteth amisse (saith he) by *Semeran*. The *Hierosolymitan* Paraphrast makes *Samarus* (of whom were the *Perizzites*) the parent of the *Emissani*, which *Pliny* calls the *Hemisseni*, in *Calefryia*; and it may be that it was their first habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited those other places before remembred. But that they founded *Samaraium*, both the Hebrew Orthographie, and this place in the first of *Kings* (speaking of *Omsi*) disproueth: *And he bought the Mountaine Samaria or Shemeron of one Shemer, for two talents of silver, and built in the Mountaine; and called the name of the City which hee built, after the name of Shemer, Lord of the Mountaine, Samaria*. But of all these places I shall speake more at large in the conquest of the holy Land, by the children of *Israell*. Of whomsoeuer the *Samaritanes* were descended, sure I am, that they were euer a perfidious Nation, and base: for as long as the state of the *Iewes* stood vp, they alwaies called themselves *Iewes*: when it suffered or sank, they then vterly denied to be of that Nation or Family; for at such time as they were returned from their first captiuitie, they became a mixt Nation; partly of the Colonies of the *Assyrians*, and partly of the *Naturalls*.

†. VII.  
Of *Hamathi*.

The last of *Canaan*s sonnes was *Hamathus*, or (according to the Hebrew) *Hamathi*, of *Hamath*, (saith *Beroaldus*): of which (the aspiration taken away) the same is pronounced *Emath*, whereof *Hamathus* was present. *Iosephus* & *Saint Hierome* confound *Emath* with *Antioch*: not that *Antioch* which standeth on the Riuer *Orontes*, on the frontier of *Comagena*, betweene the Mountaine *Cassius* and the Prouince of *Pieria*, and *Selenciu*, of which *Saint Peter* was Bishop, and in which *Saint Luke* and *Ignatius* were borne; but *Antioch*, surnamed *Epiphania*, as *Beroaldus* supposeth, which standeth betweene *Aracida*



*Apamea* and *Emesa* in *Cassitis*. Yet, indeed, *Emath* cannot be taken for either: for both that *Antioch* vpon *Orontes*, and that which neighboureth *Emesa*, are farther off seated from *Canaan*, than euer any of those Nations straggled. And whereas *S. Hierome* setteth *Emath*, which he confoundeth with *Epiphania*, in the Tribe of *Nephthali*; it is manifest, that *Epiphania*, which standeth to the North of *Emesa*, hath all the Prouince of *Laodicea* betwene it and any part of the Land diuided. And if *Libanon* it selfe were not shared among the Tribes, then could not *Epiphania* belong vnto them: for both the Prouinces *Laodicea* and *Libania*, are betwene *Epiphania* and any part of the holy Land: & therefore *Emath* so taken could not be a part of *Nephthali*, as in the thirteenth of *Iosua* is directly proued. For *Iosua* counting the lands that remained vnpoult, reckoneth all Mount *Libanon* towards the Sunne-rising, from *Baalgad* vnder Mount *Hermion*, vntill we come to *Hamath*. And this reason (among others) is vsed, that *Emath* was not in *Nephthali*, or any way belonging to the children of *Israel*: because *Dauid* accepted the presents of *Tebu* King of *Emath*, and (therewithall) conditions of peace: which hee would not haue done, if that Territory had euer belonged to the children of *Israel*, but would haue recovered it without composition, and by strong hand, as he did the rest. But this Argument (as I take it) hath no great weight. For if the promise which God made, be considered, as it is written in *Deuteronomy*, then might *Emath* bee comprehended, though feasted altogether without the bounds of the Land promised, according to the description of *Moses* and *Iosua*: for *Emath* is indeede situate on the other side of the Mountaine of *Hermion*, which ioyneth to *Libanus*: and is otherwise called *Iturea*. But whereas *Hamath* is named in *Iosua* the 19. v. 35. and written in the *Latine* conuersion *Emath*, therein (saith *Beroaldus*) was *S. Hierome* mistaken. *Emath* or *Iturea* is that ouer the Mountaines, and the City in *Nephthali* should be written *Hamath*: and so the *Septuagint* (vnderstanding the difference) write it *Amath* and not *Emath*, the same which indeede belonged to the *Nephthalims*, seated on the South side of *Libanus*, to the East of *Affodim*: which City *S. Hierome* writes *Emath*; *Iosephus* *Hamath*; others, *Emathin*, or *Amatheos*, and the people *Amathin*; of which (as I take it) *Rabshakeb* vaunteth in the second of *Kings*: Where is the god of *Hamath*?

## §. XIII.

Of the sonnes of Chush (excepting Nimrod,) of whom hereafter.

The sonnes of Chush were,	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px; margin: 0 5px;"> <i>Seba,</i>  <i>Hauila,</i>  <i>Sabta,</i>  <i>Raama,</i>  <i>Sabteca,</i>  <i>Nimrod,</i> </div> </div>	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px; margin: 0 5px;"> <i>Sebea,</i>  <i>and</i>  <i>Dedan.</i> </div> </div>
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## †. I.

That most of the sonnes of Chush were seated in Arabia the Happy: and of the Sabaeans that rebbed Iob: and of the Queene that came to Salomon.

**S**eba or Sabas was the eldest sonne of Chush, the eldest sonne of *Ham*; to make a difference betwene him and his Nephew *Sheba*, the sonne of his brother *Raama*, or *Regma* (or *Ragma* after *Montanus*): his name is written with a single (*S*) *Samuch*, and *Sheba* the sonne of *Regma* with an (*s*) asperate, which is the Hebrew *Shin*. *Seba* the eldest sonne of Chush, *Regma* his brother, and *Sheba* the sonne of *Regma*, posselt both the shores of *Arabia Felix*. *Saba* tooke that part toward the Red Sea, as neereest to his Father Chush, and the Land of the Chusites: *Regma* and *Sheba* the East coast of the same Arabia, which looketh into the Gulfe of *Persia*; of which *Pliny*: *Sabai Arabum populi, propter thura clarissimi ad vitrag maria porrectu gentibus habitant; The Sabaeans people of Arabia, famous for their Frankincense, extending their Nations, dwell along both the Seas, (to wit) the Persian, and the Arabian, or Red Sea.* This Country was afterwards called *Arabia*, a populi mixtionem, saith *Poissinus*. To this agreeth *Ptolomy*, who setteth the City of *Saba* towards the Arabian or Red Sea, and the City *Rhegama* towards the Persian, with whom also we may leaue *Sabta*: for so much *Montanus* gathereth out of *Ptolomy*, because

because he remembreth a (Nation called *Stabai*) neere the Persian Sea; and *Maffabathe* which descended of them. But *Montanus* hath sent *Regma*, or (as he calls him) *Rhama* into *Carmania*, for which I see no reason. *Iosephus*, who once attended his owne fancies, hath banished *Saba* or *Seba* to the border of *Ethiopia*. But *Beroaldus* thinkes it strange, that the *Sabai*, which stole away *Iobs* Cattle, should runne through all *Egypt*, and all *Arabia Petrea*, and finde out *Iob* in *Tracemitu*, betwene *Palastina* and *Celestria* 1200. miles off. Now, as this coniecture was more than ridiculous, so do I thinke, that neither the *Sabai* on the Red Sea, nor those toward the Persian Sea, could by any meanes execute the stealth vpon *Iob*, which sooner *Beroaldus* shall take for neereft. But these were the *Sabai* of Arabia the Desart, where *Guilandinus Melchior* affirmeth out of his owne experience, that the Citie *Saba* is seated: the same which *Ptolome* calls *Saua*, now *Semifescasac* and from this *Saba* in Arabia the Desart, came those *Magi*, or *Wise men* which worshipped *Christ*, saith *Melchior*, whose words are these: *The Magi came neither out of Mesopotamia (as Chrysostome, Hierome, and Ambrose supposed) nor out of Arabia the Haplie, as many wise men doe beleene, but out of Saba in Arabia the Desart: which Citie when my selfe was there, was (as I haue it) called Semifescasac.* And to approue this opinion of *Guilandinus*, it appeareth that these *Sabai* were neighbours to *Iob*, and lay fit to invade and rob him. For both the other Nations (as well those on the Persian Sea, as those on the Red Sea) are so dist-ioyned with large Desarts, as there is no possibilitie for strangers to passe them, especially with any numbers of Cattel, both in respect of the Mountaines, of the sands; and of the extreame want of water in those parts: *Pbi nec homines, nec bestie videntur, nec aues, imò nec arbores, nec gramen aliquod, sed non nisi montes saxosi, altissimi, asperius, where there are found neither men, nor beasts, nor so much as birds, or trees, nor any pasture or grasse, but only sharpe, and high stones, and cragie mountaines.* *Beroaldus* and *Petrus* conceiue, that the Queene of *Saba* which came to visit *Salomon*, was of the *Sabai* on the East side of Arabia *Felix*; but the contrarie seemeth more probable, and that she was Queene of *Saba* towards the Red Sea: for *Salomon* at that time commanding all that part of Arabia *Petrea*, twixt *Idumaea* and the Red Sea; as farre downe as *Midian* or *Madian*, and *Ezion Gaher*: and this Queene of *Saba* which inhabited the West part of Arabia *Felix*, being his neighbour, might without any farre trouble enter his Territories, free from all danger of surpris by any other Prince or Nation.

But to auoid tediousnesse, it is manifest that *Seba* or *Saba*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, or *Regma*, with his Sonnes *Sheba* and *Dedan*, and *Sabteca*, were all the possessors of Arabia the Happy, & the Desart: onely *Hauilah* & *Nimrod* dwelt together on the East side of Chush, who held Arabia *Petrea*. Now for *Sabta*, there is found of his name the Citie of *Sabbatha* or *Sabota* in the same Arabia: of which both *Plinie* and *Ptolome*; who withall nameth *Sabotale*, within the walls whereof there were sometimes found sixtie Temples. *Ezekiel* ioyneth the Father and the Sonne together, *The Merchants of Sheba and Raama were chy Merchants.* And that they were the Easterne Arabians, their merchandise witnesseth, formerly repeated in the Chapter of *Paradise*. For *Iosephus* his fancies, that *Saba* was the parent of the *Ethiopian* about *Meroc*, and *Sabta* of the *Ethiopian* *Aflabari*, they be not worthie any farther answer than hath already beene giuen: especially seeing these Cities, preserving the memorie of the names of *Saba*, & of *Sabta* in Arabia, were yet remaining in *Ptolome* of time, though in some letters changed. As also in the coasts adioyning, the names of other of the brethren of the familie of *Cafso*, with little alterations are preserved. In Arabia the Desart is found the Citie *Saba* or *Saua*, (now *Semifescasac*) with the Citie of *Rhegama* for *Rhegma*; & the Nation by *Ptolome* himselfe called *Rabeni* of *Ramah*. In Arabia the Haplie is found the Citie of *Rhegama*, and *Rabana*; which also keepeth the found of *Rhegma*, the Citie of *Saptha* or *Saplah*, not farre from the East-coast of Arabia: as also the *Metropolis* and chiefe Citie in the bodie of the South part of Arabia, called without difference or alteration *Sabbatha*; and to the West of *Sabbatha* towards the Red Sea the great Citie of *Saba*; and the Nation adioyning, *Sabai*: and to the South thereof againe toward the streight entrance of the Red Sea, the Region of *Saba*. To all these his Brothers and Nephewes which were seated on the East side of Arabia, *Hauilah* by the passage of *Thoris* was a neighbour, to whom hee might passe by Boate euen vnto *Rhegma* the Citie of *Raama*, or *Rhegma*, let were the Riuer of *Lar* towards the mouth of the Persian Sea, which stood in *Plinies* time.

## f. II.

Ioſephus his opinion of Dedan, one of the iſſue of Chufb, to haue been ſeated in the Weſt Aethiopia, diſſonant out of Ezechiel: and Hieremie.

And whereas Ioſephus (whom in this S. Hierome followeth, as not curious herein) ſent Dedan the ſon of Raamah into Weſt Aethiopia, it is ſtrange that Ezechiel ſhould couple Sheba, Raamah, and Dedan together; Dedan in the 15. Verſe, and Sheba, and Raamah in the 22. Verſe, to be the Merchants of Tyre, if Dedan had dwelt in Weſt Aethiopia, which is diſtant from Raamah and Sheba (the habitation of his father and brother) about foure thouſand miles. Beſides which, the merchandiſe that the Dedanites brought to Tyre doth not make them naked Blacke-moores. For they of Dedan (ſaith Ezechiel) were they Merchants in precious clothes for thy Chariots; and theſe Weſterne Aethiopians neuer ſaw cloth, till the Portugals, ſeeking thoſe Coaſts, traded with them: the merchandiſe of the Countrie being Hides, Elephants teeth, ſome Gold and Amber, Ciuet Cats, and Rice, but nothing at all of any manufacture: and all theſe they exchanged for linnen, or yron chiefly.

But in thoſe dayes the Weſt part of Africa within the body of the land was knowne onely by imagination: and, being vnder the burnt Zone, was held vninhabitable. And therefore that the Negroes of the Weſt Aethiopia, which inhabit about Serra Lione, or Niger, could either paſſe by Sea or Land to Tyre, in the bottome of the Mediterranean Sea, was a ſtrange, or rather a fooliſh fancy. Now to put it out of diſpute that Dedan alſo dwelt by the reſt of the children of Chufb, which ſeates they held by that name in the time of Hieremy the Prophet, let vs heare Hieremy his owne words: *Fly, ye inhabitants of Dedan, for I haue brought the deſtruction of Eſau vpon him.* Heereby it appeareth, that Dedan was a Neighbour to the Idumeans: and Idumea is a Prouince of Arabia Petraea: and Dedan which dwelt on the North part of Arabia ſelix, ioyned in that part to Petraea, the ſeat of his Grand-father Chufb, which neighbourhood and fellowſhip of Dedan and the Idumeans, is alſo confirmed by Ezechiel: *I will ſtretch out my hand vpon Edom, and deſtroy Man and Beaſt out of it, and I will make it deſolate from Teman: and they of Dedan ſhall fall by the ſword.*

## §. XIII.

Of the iſſue of Mizraim: and of the place of Hieremie, Chap. 9. Verſ. 7.

The termination in the Hebrew, is commonly a ſigne of the plural number, as in the deſc.

cap. 16. v. 9.

After Chufb it followeth to ſpeake of Mizraim's ſonnes, whoſe names (ſaith Saint Auguſtine) were plural, to ſignifie the Nations, which came of them. Ludim, the elder ſonne of Mizraim, was the Father of the Lybians in Africa: and the reſt of his Brothers diſperſed themſelues into all the Regions adioyning. Among the ſons of Sheb there is alſo Lud; but hee is differenced from Lud the ſonne of Mizraim by the ſingular number: the ſonne of Sheb being written Lud, the ſonne of Mizraim, Ludim; and yet theſe Names and Nations are often confounded, notwithstanding the apparent difference both of Names and Nations. For that Ludim the ſonne of Mizraim was the parent of the Lybians in Africa, and that he was ſeated not farre from Mizraim his father, appeareth by the Prophet Hieremy, who ioyneth them in this ſort together: *Come up ſee Horſes, and ſee ye Chariots, and let the valiant men ſo forth, the black-moores, and the Lybians which beare the ſhield:* For thoſe Nations aſſiſted the Egyptians, being of one parent deſcended. And in Ezechiel, Phut & Lud are ioyned together: *Aethiopia (or Chufb) ſaith Ezechiel, c. 30. v. 3. and Phut and Lud, and all the common people, and the men of the Land that are in league ſhall fall with them by the ſword:* which is as much to ſay, as the ſons of Chufb, (which were the Chufites) the ſonnes of Mizraim, (which were the Egyptians) and the Lybians (deſcended of his ſonne Lud) with other the inhabitants of Egypt and Africa, ſhall fall together. Hieroſolymitanus finds alſo in Africa a Nation of the Lydians, and I beſeech if: becauſe Hieremy ioyneth the Lybians, and Lydians together in the place before remembred. But Lybia in Africa is by the Hebrewes called Ludim (ſaith Arius Montanus) though 2. Chron. 12. 3. they ſeeme to be called Lubim or Lubel, a name ſomewhat neerer the word Lybies, and by which it may ſeeme that the true

writing

writing is, not Lybies, but Lybies. Neither is it here to be omitted, that Pintus (vpon the thirtieth of Ezechiel) vnderſtandeth that which is ſpoken in the third Verſe of Lud, not to be meant of the Lybians at all: for he will haue this threatening to be meant againſt the people of Lyda, a City (ſaith he) between Egypt and Palatiſina, which opinion I could not miſlike if the City of Lyda were ſo ſeated. But Lyda (which ſhould be written Lydda with a double D, and is the ſame City which was afterward Doſopolis, in which S. Peter cured Aeneas of the palsy) ſtandeth neere the Torrent Gadi, not farre from Iſſeppe the Port of Hieruſalem. Yet it is not impoſſible but that this City might haue Lud for the Founder. For there are many Cities of one name founded in all the Regions of the World, and farre aſunder; as after the names of Alexander, Seleucus, and Antiochus, many Cities called Alexandria, Selencia, and Antiochia, ſo of diuers others. St. Hierome maketh Lebahim to be the Father of Libya, who was the third ſonne of Mizraim: and ſo doth Poſtellus; and either opinion may be true.

The reſt of Mizraim's ſonnes haue no proper Countries giuen them in the Scriptures, ſauiug Caſubim and Capſorim, of whom came the Philiftins, whom the Scriptures call Peleſet.

Theſe Caſubim inhabited Caſiopia, a Region lying in the entrance of Egypt from Palaſtina, in which the Lake Sirbonis, and the Mountaine Caſius are found: not farre from whence Pompey was buried.

Capſorim ſeated neere Caſubim in that Tract of Egypt called Sethrois, not farre from Peluſium. Strabo calls it Sethrois, Stephanus and Pliny, Sethroitis, of the City Sethron: which Ortelius takes to be the ſame which Ptolemy calls Hierocles parua. Of the Caſubim and Capſorim's name the Philiftins, which are called by the Septuaginta Allophyls (which is) Alienigenes, Strangers, or of a ſtrange kindred. Theſe Philiftins inhabited the South part of the holy Land towards Egypt, of whom Palaſtina tooke name. For the Hebrewes (ſaith Iſidore) doe not vſe the letter (P) but in ſtead of it (ph) Their principall Cities were Gaza, Aſcalon, Azotus, Geth, and Accaron: and the people of them called Gaſai, Aſcalonites, Azotij, Gethij, and Accaronites: Iſidore affirms, that Aſcalon was firſt called Philiftim; and of that City the Country adioyning. But where Iſidore had it, I know not.

The firſt knowne King of the Philiftins was that Abimelech, who had a liking to Abraham's wife: with whom Abraham made a covenant and league. This Abimelech dwelt indeed at this time in Gerar; but it is written that hee was alſo King of the Philiftins, in theſe words: *wherefore Iſaac went to Abimelech King of the Philiftins vnto Gerar.* Now in reſpect that this or ſome ancienter Abimelech gouerned the commonwealth greatly to his glory, the reſt of his ſucceſſors called themſelues by the ſame name. The Philiftins commanded that Tract of land vpon the Mediterranean Sea to the Northward, from the Caſtle of Pilgrims (otherwiſe Caſarea Palaſtina, or Straton's Towre) which was the South border of Phenicia, to Gaza, or to the Riuer of Egypt. The Anakims or ſtrong Gyants were of theſe Philiftins: & Goliath was of Geth, one of the five Cities aboue named. They had ſometimes ſiue Kings, ſaith Tyrranus. They maſtered the Iſraelites at ſeueral times about 150. yeeres, and kept them Tributaries, till they were weakened by Sampſon and Samuel; but in the end this yoke was taken off by David, and laid on themſelues.

It is objected, that becauſe theſe Cities & the Countries adioyning, were held by the ſonnes of Mizraim, therefore did the Iſraelites diſpoſſeſſe the ſonnes of Mizraim, and not of Canaan, by forcing thoſe places.

To this faith Pererius, that although the Palaſtines or Philiftins held it in the time of Moſes, yet at the time of the promiſe it was poſſeſſed by the Canaanites; as in the ſecond of Deuteronomy. The Hittites dwell in the Villages vnto Gaza. And what maruaile, if the Canaanites being the greater part, the denomination were from them? For that the Philiftins were of Capſor, and ſo of Mizraim and not of Canaan, beſides Moſes, the Prophet Hieremy witneſſeth: *The Lord will deſtroy the Philiftins: the remnant of the iſſue of Capſor: and in like manner in the ninth of Amos, the Philiftins are ſaid to be the reliques of Capſorim: Hane not brought up Iſrael out of the land of Egypt, and the Philiftins from Capſor, and Aram from Kir?* ſo I read this place with diuers of the learned. For whereas the Vulgar hath, & Palaſtines de Cappadocia, & Syros de Cyrene, this conuerſion Beroaldus condemneth; where Capſor is taken for Cappadocia, and Cyrene for Kir. For Cyrene is a City directly Weſt from Egypt, betweene Ptolemais on Barce and Apollonia: but Kir in Aſia vnder the Affyrians; Iſidorus hath it Kir, and not Cyrene: and ſo hath the Geneu.

But

Of which see  
in the second  
Book, Chap. 7.  
§. 3. †. 5.

cap. 16. v. 9.

But *Pererius* calls *Caphtorim* *Cappadocia*, according to the Vulgar translation, to which he is bound: & yet it is not altogether improbable if he mean *Cappadocia* in *Palæstina*, and not that *Cappadocia* by the Sea *Pontus* in the North of *Asia* the lesse. For whether they inhabited *Sethreites*, or *Cappadocia* of *Palæstina*, it is not certainly knowne. And sure in this manner he may expound *Cappadocia* to be ambiguous, as well as he doth *Cyrene*: taking it here not for *Cyrene* in *Africa*, but for a place in *Media*. For it is written in the second of *Kings*, that *Teglatphalassar* king of the *Assyrians* carried away the Inhabitants of *Damascus* into *Kir*: and so *Iosephus* seemes to vnderstand this *Kir* for *Cyrene* in *Media*, calling this *Cyrene*, *Media Superior*: for it was the manner and policy of the *Assyrians* to transplant the people conquered by them, as they did the *Samaritans* or *Israelites*, and other Nations. And hereof it came that *Kir* was called *Syro-Media*: because the *Syrians* by the *Assyrians* were therein captiued.

§. X V.  
Of the issue of *SEM*.

†. I.  
Of *Elim*, *Assur*, *Arphaxad*, and *Lud*.

It remaineth lastly to speake of the Sons of *Sem*, who are these:

1. *Alam*, or *Elam*,
2. *Assur*,
3. *Arphaxad*,
4. *Lud*, and
5. *Aram*.

**T**He posterity of *Sem*, *Moses* recounteth after the rest: because from them he proceedeth in order with the Genealogie and Story of the Hebrewes: (For of *Sem* was *Abraham* descended.)

Of these five sonnes, the Scriptures remember the length of the life of *Arphaxad* only, and only the children of him & *Aram*, the rest are barely spoken of by rehearsing of their names, saying that it may be gathered, that *Assur* (who was supposed to found *Nineue*) was also said to be the Father of the *Assyrians*, whose issues, and the issues of *Cham*, instantly contended for the Empire of the East: which sometimes the *Assyrians*, sometimes the *Babylonians* obtained, according to the vertue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which also teacheth vs, that all the East parts of the World were peopled by *Assur*, *Elam*, and *Lud* (saying *India*) which I beleue *Noah* himselfe first inhabited: and to whom *Ophir* and *Hanilab* the sons of *Isidur* afterward repaired. His filij *Sem* ab *Euphrate* fluuio partem *Astie* vsq; ad *Oceanum Indicum* tenuerunt: The sons of *Sem* (saith *S. Hierome*) held all those Regions from *Euphrates* to the *Indian Ocean*.

Of *Elam* came the *Elamites*, remembered, *Acts* 2. vers. 9. and the Princes of *Persia*; which name then began to be out of vse and lost, when the *Persians* became Masters of *Babylonia*: the East Monarchy being established in them. Some prophane Writers distinguish *Elam* from *Persia*, and make the *Elamites* a people apart. But *Susa* (which the Scriptures call *Sufan*) in *Elam* was the kings seat of *Persia* (witnesseth *Daniel*:.) And *I saw* (saith he) in a vision, and when I saw it, I was in the Palace of *Sufan*, which is in the Promontory of *Elam*: This City is embraced by the *River Eulæus* (according to *Ptolomy*) in *Daniel*, *Malai*: and seated in the border of *Sufiana*.

*Assur* (as most Historians beleue) the second son of *Sem*, was Father of the *Assyrians*, who disdaining the pride of *Nimrod*, parted from *Babel*, and built *Nineue*, of equal beauty and magnitude with *Babylon*, or exceeding it. But we shall in due place disprove that opinion: Every mans hand hath bene in this Story, and therefore I shall not need herein to speake much: For the *Assyrians* broken inuaded and spoiled the *Israelites*, destroyed their Cities, and led them Captiues, as both in *Divine* & *Humane* letters there is large and often mention of this Nation.

But howbeit *Herodotus* and *D. Siculus* extend this Empire, and honour this Nation with

with ample Dominion; yet was not the state of the *Assyrians* of any such power, after such time as *Sardanapalus* lost the Empire. For *Senacherib* who was one of the powerfullest Princes among them, had yet the Mountain *Taurus* for the utmost of his Dominion toward the North-east, and *Syria* bounded him toward the West, notwithstanding these vaunts of *Senacherib* in *Esay* the 37. Have the gods of the Nations delivered them? whom my Fathers haue destroyed? as *Gozan*, and *Harar*, and *Reseph*, and the children of *Eden* which were as *Telaasar*? Where is the King of *Hamath*, and the King of *Arphad*, and the King of the City *Sepharuaim*, *Hena* and *Inah*? All these were indeede but petty Kings of Cities, and small Countries, as *Harar* in *Mesopotamia*: *Reseph* in *Palmyrena*: *Hamath* or *Emath* in *Ituraea*, vnder *Libanus*: the Isle of *Eden*: *Sepher*, and others of this sort. Yea, *Nabuchodonosor*, who was most powerfull, before the conquest of *Egypt*, had but *Chaldea*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Syria*, with *Palæstina* and *Phenicia* parts thereof. But in this question of *Assur*, I will speake my opinion freely when I come to *Nimrod*, whose plantation I haue omitted among the rest of the *Chusites*, because hee established the first Empire: from whom the most memorable story of the World taketh beginning.

Of *Arphaxad* came the *Chaldeans*, saith *Saint Hierome*, and *Iosephus*; but it must be those *Chaldeans* about *Ur*: for the sonnes of *Cham* possesse the rest. It is true that he was the Father of the *Hebrewes*: for *Arphaxad* begat *Shela*, and *Shela*, *Heber*: of whom hereafter.

And that *Lud*, the fourth son of *Sem*, gaue name to the *Lydians* in *Asia* the lesse, is the common opinion, taken from *Iosephus* and *S. Hierome*; but I see not by what reason he was moued to straggle thither from his friends.

†. II.  
Of *Aram*, and his Sonnes.

**A**ram the fifth and last Son of *Sem* was the parent of the *Syrians*: of which *Damascus* was head. Their name was changed from *Aram* or *Aramites* by *Syrus* (saith *Eusebius* out of *Iosephus*) which *Syrus* liued before *Moses* was borne: the same which others call the sonne of *Apollo*. *Mesopotamia* also being but a Province of *Syria*, had the name of *Aram Naharajim*, which is as much to say: as *Syria duorum fluuiorum*, *Syria compassed with two Rivers*, (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. The Scriptures call it *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Padan Aram*: and the *Greekes* *Mesopotamia* simply.

*Arise* and get thee to *Padan Aram* (saith *Isaac* to *Jacob*) to the house of *Bethuel* thy mothers father, and thence take thee a wife. *Strabo* also remembereth it by the ancient name of *Aram* or *Aramea*, as these his owne words conuerted witness: *Quos nos Syros vocamus, ipsi Syri Aramensis & Arameos vocant; Those which we call Syrians* (saith hee) *themselves call Aramensis and Arameans*.

Against this opinion, that *Aram* the sonne of *Sem* was the Father and Denominator of the *Syrians* in generally, and not onely of those in *Syria Inter-amnis*, which is *Mesopotamia* (some reade, *Genes* 2. 2. 1. *Kemuel*, the Father of the *Syrians*: where other out of the originall read *Kemuel*, the sonne of *Aram*. Neither is it any inconuenience for vs to vnderstand the word (*Aram*) here, not for the Nation, but for the name of some one of note; the rather, because in the History of *Abraham* and *Isaac* (which was in time long before *Kemuel's* Posterity could be famous) we finde *Mesopotamia* called *Aram*; and that with an addition: sometimes with *Naharajim*, and sometimes of *Padan*, to distinguish it from another *Aram*, which (as it seemes) then also was called *Aram*. For whereas *Iunius* thinks in his notes vpon *Gen* 2. 5. 20. that *Padan Aram* ought to be restrained to some part of *Mesopotamia*, (to wit) to that part which *Ptolomy* calls *Ancobartus* (so called from the *River Chaboras*, which diuiding it, runneth into *Euphrates*) the promiscuous vse of *Padan Aram*, and *Aram Naharajim* (which latter appellation questionlesse comprehendeth the whole *Mesopotamia*) may seem to refute this opinion: especially seeing the signification of this appellation agreeth with the whole Region. For it signifieth as much as the yoke of *Syria*, which name agrees with this Region: because the two Rivers, (as it were) yoked together goe along it. The Reliques of the name *Padan* appeare in the name of two Cities in *Ptolomy*, called *Aphadana*: (as *Iunius* hath well noted) the one vpon *Chaboras*, the other vpon *Euphrates*.

The Sonnes of Aram were,

Uz or Hus,  
Hul,  
Gether, and  
Mesch or Mes.

*Hierom. in trad. Heb. cap. 4. ver. 21.* Uz or Hus inhabited about *Damascus*, and built that City; saith *Iosephus* and *St. Hierome*. But *Tollarius* mistaking this opinion, both in them and in *Lyra*, who also followeth *Iosephus*, affirmeth that *Abrahams* Steward *Eliezer* was the Pounder thereof; though it were likely that *Hus* the eldest son of *Aram* dwelt neare vnto his father, who inhabited the body of *Syria*. For *Hus* was a Region of the same, adioyning to *Arabia* the Desart, & to *Balanea* or *Tracanis*: whereof the Prophet *Hieremy*: Reioyce and be glad O Daughter of *Edom* that dwellest in the Land of *Hus*. *Hus* therefore is seated beyond *Jordan*, in the East Region of *Tracanis*, adioyning to *Babylon*, hauing *Balanea Gaulonitis*, and the Mountaine *Serr* to the East, *Edrai* to the South, *Damascus* North, and *Jordan* West: hauing in it many Cities and people, as may also be gathered out of *Hieremy*: And all sorts of people: and all the kings of the Land of *Hus*. In this Region dwelt *Ieb*, descended of *Hus*, the son of *Nabor*, the brother of *Abraham* (saith *S. Hierome*) and married *Dina* the Daughter of *Jacob*, saith *Philo*.

*Hul* the second son of *Aram*, *S. Hierome* makes the Father of the *Armenians*: and *Gether* the third son, parent to the *Acarnanians* or *Carians*: which opinion, (because I finde not where to set him) I do not disproue, though I see no reason why *Gether* should leaue the fellowship of his owne brethren, and dwell among Strangers in *Asia* the lesse. *Iunius* giues *Hul* (whom he writes *Chul*) the Desart of *Palmyrena*, as far as *Euphrates*, where *Ptolomy* setteth the City of *Challe*.

*Gether* (saith *Iosephus*) founded the *Bactrians*: but *Iosephus* gaue all *Noahs* children feathers, to carry them far away in all haste. For mine own opinion, I alwaies keep the rule of Neighbourhood, and thinke with *Iunius* (to wit) That *Gether* seated himselfe neare his brothers, in the body of *Syria*, and in the Prouince of *Cassiotis*, and *Selencis*, where *Ptolomy* placeth *Gindarus*, and the Nation by *Pliny* called *Gindareni*.

*Iunius* also giueth to *Mes* or *Mesch* the North part of *Syria*, betwene *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*, neare the Mountaine *Mafus*. The certainty of those Plantations can no other wise be knowne than by this probability, that *Aram* the father, (of whom that great Region took name) planted his sons in the same Land about him: for he wanted no scope of Territory for himselfe and them; neither then when the World was newly planted, nor in many hundred years after: and therefore there is no reason to cast them in the Desart parts of the World, so far asunder. And as necessity and policy held them together for a while: so Ambition (which began together with Angels and Men) inhabiting the hearts of their children, set them asunder. For although these sons of *Aram*, and the sons of the rest of *Noahs* children, kept themselves within the bounds of some one large Kingdome, yet therein euery one also sought a Prouince apart, & to themselves; giuing to the Cities therein built their own names, thereby to leaue their memory to their Posterity: the vse of Letters being then rare, and knowne to few.

In this sort did the pride of the *Spaniards* in *America* cast them into so many Prouinces: euery one emulating and disdaining the greatnesse of other, as they are thereby to this day subiect to inuasion, expulsion, and destruction: so as *Noua Hispania* and *Peru* excepted, because those Countries are vnaccessible to Strangers) an easie force will cast them out of all the rest.

Chap. 8. §. 7.

*Mes* the fourth son is made the parent of the *Maonians*: of whom something hath bin spoken already. *Arphaxad* the third son of *Shem*, begat *Shelah*, and *Heber*. *Heber* had two sons, *Phaleg* and *Tollan*: and in *Phalegs* time was the Earth diuided.

### f. III.

Of the diuision of the Earth in the time of *Phaleg*, one of the sonnes of *Heber*, of the issue of *Sem*.

THE many people which at the diuision (at *Phalegs* birth) were then living, and the through Plantation of all the East part of the World (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the Earth were diuided at eyther. The *Hebrewes* (saith *Peterius* out

of *Sedar Holam*, one of their *Chronicles* affirm that this partition happened at the death of *Phaleg*: and *Phaleg* was borne in the yeare after the Flood, 101. and liued in all 239. yeares, which numbers added makes 340. And therefore was it so many yeares after the Flood, ere the children of *Noah* seuered themselves. But to this opinion of the *Hebrewes*, and the doubt they make how in so few yeares as 101. (the time of *Phalegs* birth) so many people could be increased, *Peterius* giues this answer, That if 70. persons of the Family of *Jacob* increased to 600000. fighting men in 215. yeares, (besides women, children, and impotent persons) how much more is it likely, that so soone after the Flood the children of *Noah* might in a shorter time bring forth many multitudes, hauing receiued the blessing of God, Increase and multiply, and fill the earth? What strength this answer hath, let others iudge: for the children of *Israel* were 70. and had 215. yeares time: and the sons of *Noah* were but three, and had but 101. yeares of time, to the birth of *Phaleg*.

Others conceiue that *Phaleg* tooke that name after the diuision, in memory thereof: as *Iosephus* and *Saint Augustine*, who reason in this manner. If the diuision were at *Phalegs* death (which hapned in the yeare, which is commonly held to be the 48. of *Abraham*, but was by more likely computation 12 yeares before his birth) then was the diuision 38. yeares after *Ninus*, who gouerned 52. yeares: in the 43. yeare of whose reigne *Abraham* was borne. But when *Ninus* began to rule the *Assyrians*, 80. yeares before this diuision (as this diuision is placed by the *Hebrewes*, *Hierome* and *Chrysostome*) then was the earth so peopled in all the East and Northerne parts, as greater numbers haue not bene found at any time since. For *Ninus* associating to himselfe *Arius* King of *Arabia*, a people who at that time (saith *Diod. Siculus*) plurimum opibus atq; armis praeabant, Excecdetia both in riches and bodies of men, subdued many Cities in *Armenia*; receiued *Barzani* into grace; then invaded *Media*, and crucified *Pharnus* the King thereof, with his Wife and seuen Children; vanquished all those Regions between *Nilus* and *Tanais*, the *Egyptians*, *Phoenicians*, the Kingdoms of *Syria*, and all the Nations of *Persia*, to the *Hyrcanian* Sea. For the numbers which followed *Ninus* (already remembered out of *Ctesias*) against *Zoroaster* and others: and *Zoroaster* on the other side, who made resistance with 400000. proue it sufficiently, that if the diuision had not happened before the death of *Phaleg*, there had needed no diuision at that time at all. For some of them were so ill satisfied with their partitions, as they fought to be masters of all, and greater Armies were there neuer gathered than by *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: wherefore in this opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

But for that conceit that if the diuision had bene made at the birth of *Phaleg*, there were not then sufficient numbers borne to fill the earth: It was neuer meant that the earth could be filled euery where at the very instant, but by times and degrees. And surely whatsoeuer mens opinions haue bene heerein, yet it is certaine, that the diuision of tongues and of men must goe neere together with the ceasing of the worke at *Babel*: and that the enterprize of *Babel* was left off instantly vpon the confusion of Languages, where followed the execution of the diuision; and so neyther at the birth nor death of *Phaleg*: for *Phaleg* was borne in the yeare 101. after the Flood, which was the yeare that *Nimrod* came into *Shinar*, or ten yeares after he arriued, saith *Berosus*.

Now if it be objected that *Phaleg* (the Etymologie of whose name signifieth diuision) must haue liued without a name, except the name had bene giuen him at the time of this confusion and partition: to this objection it may be answered, That the change of names vpon diuers accidents is not rare in the Scriptures: for *Jacob* was called *Israel* after he had wrestled with the Angel; *Abraham* was first *Abram*; and *Edom* *Esau*; and thas *Phaleg* being a principall man in this diuision had his first name vpon this accident changed, it is most probable.

And lastly, whereas the *Hebrewes*, *Saint Hierome* and *Chrysostome* account *Heber* for a great Prophet, if that by giuing his sonne the name of *Phaleg*, hee fore-told the diuision which followed: to this I say, I doe not finde that *Heber* deserved any such honour, if hee had thereupon so called his sonne: for diuision and disperfion followeth increase of people of necessity; and this Prophesie (if any such had bene) might also haue reference to the diuision, which afterwards fell amongst the *Hebrewes* themselves.

But if we giue a reasonable time to the building of the Towre and City of *Babel*, in which time many people (by reason and by demonstratiue prooffe) might be increased: and that vpon the fall thereof the confusion and diuision followed (whereupon *Phelag* tooke name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monstrous.

## †. IV.

Of the sonnes of *Isolan*, the other sonne of *Heber*.

The sons of *Isolan* were

1. *Elmodad*.
2. *Saleph*, or *Salep*, or *Sheleph*.
3. *Asamath*, or *Chat-zer*.
4. *Iare*, or *Iaraab*, or *Ierash*.
5. *Hadoram*.
6. *Vzal*, or *Vzal*.
7. *Dicklach*, or *Diela*.
8. *Obal*, or *Ebal*, or *Hobal*.
9. *Abimael*.
10. *Sheba*, or *Seba*.
11. *Ophir*, or *Opir*.
12. *Hauilah*, or *Chauila*, and
13. *Iobab*.

Al those sons of *Isolan* (according to Saint *Hierome*) dwelled in the East parts of the world, or *India*, euen from the Riuer *Copie* or *Choss*, which is one of the branches or heads of *Indus*.

Gen. 10. 30.

But the certaine places of those thirteen Sons cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, the words of *Moses* being general: And their dwelling was from *Mesba* as thou goest vnto *Sebar* a Mount in the East. Of all these thirteen Sons, there were onely three memorable, (to wit) *Sheba*, *Ophir*, and *Hauilah*. Concerning whose names, to auoid confusion, it is to be obserued, that among the sons of *Chus*, two of them had also the names of *Sheba* and *Hauilah*. *Abraham* had also a third *Saba* or *Sheba*, his grand-child by his wife *Retura*. But *Seba* the sonne of *Chus*, and *Sheba* the sonne of *Rhegma* his Nephew, we haue left in *Arabia Felix*: and *Hauilah* the son of *Chus* vpon *Tigris*. *Saba* the grand-child of *Abraham* was (as some haue thought) the Father of the *Sabeans* in *Persia*: of which Nations *Dionysius de Orbis situ*, maketh mention. *Primum Sabes; post hos sunt Passagarde; prope vero hos sunt Tasci*: The first are *Sabeans*; after these be *Passagarde*; and neere these the *Tasci*. And whereas it is written: But vnto the Sonnes of the Concupines which *Abraham* had, *Abraham* gaue gifts, and sent them away from *Isaac* his sonne (while he yet liued) Eastward to the East-Country: hereupon it is supposed, that this *Saba* the sonne of *Abraham*, wandered into *Persia*: for *Persia* was accounted the furthermost East-Country in respect of *Iudæa*; which also *Ouid* setteth vnder the Sun-rising. Yet seeing the rest of *Abrahams* sons seated themselves on the borders of *Iudæa*, I rather choose to leaue *Saba* the son of *Abraham* in *Arabia* the Desart, where *Protolmy* setteth a City of that name.

Gen. 15. 6.

Metamorph.

τὸν δὲ μέγαν  
ναύτην σὺν  
τοῖς παῖσιν  
αὐτοῦ.

But *Saba* the sonne of *Isolan*, the son of *Heber*, (as I conceiue) inhabited *India* it selfe. For *Dionysius Afer* in his *Periegesis*, (or description of the World) which hee wrote in Greeke Verse, among the Regions of *India* findeth a Nation called the *Sabei*. *Taxila* hee inter medios habitat; *Sabaum*; In the middle of these dwell the *Sabei*, and the *Taxili*, saith this *Dionysius*.

## †. V.

Of *Ophir* one of *Isolans* sonnes, and of *Peru*, and of that voyage of *Salomon*.

*Ophir* also was an Inhabitant of the East *India*, and (as *S. Hierome* vnderstandsit) in one of the Ilands plentifull with gold, which are now known by the name of *Moluccæ*. *Iosephus* vnderstandsit *Ophir* to be one of those great head-lands in *India*, which by a general name are called *Chersonesi*, or *Peninsule*: of which there are two very notorious; *Calicut* and *Malacon*. *Pererius* takes it rightly for an Iland, as Saint *Hierome* doth, but

but he sets it at the head-land of *Malacca*. But *Ophir* is found among the *Moluccæ* farther East.

*Aries Montanus* out of the second of *Chronicles*, the third Chapter and sixth Verse, gathers that *Ophir* was *Peru* in *America*, looking into the West Ocean, commonly called *Maare del Sur*, or the South Sea; by others *Mare pacificum*. The words in the second of the *Chronicles* are these: And hee ouer-layed the house with precious stones for beautie; and the gold was gold of *Paruaim*. *Iunius* takes this gold to bee the gold of *Hauilah*, remembered by *Moses* in the description of *Paradise*: And the gold of that Land is good: finding a Towne in *Characene* a Province of *Susiana* called *Barbatia*; so called (as he thinks) by corruption for *Paruaim*: from whence those Kings subiectd by *Dauid*, brought this gold, with which they presented him; and which *Dauid* preferred for the enriching of the Temple.

Gen. 11. 6.  
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But this fancy of *Peru* hath deceiued many men, before *Montanus*, and *Plesiu*, who also tooke *Ophir* for *Peru*. And that this question may be a subiect of no further dispute, it is very true that there is no Region in the World of that name: sure I am, that at least *America* hath none, no not any City, Village, or Mountaine so called. But when *Franco Pizarro* first discovered those Lands to the South of *Panama*, arriuing in that Region which *Arabaliba* commanded (a Prince of magnificence, Riches and Dominion inferior to none) some of the *Spaniards* vtterly ignorant of that language, demanding by signes (as they could) the name of the Country, and pointing with their hand athwart a Riuer, or Torrent, or Brooke that ranne by, the *Indians* answered *Peru*, which was either the name of that Brooke, or of water in general. The *Spaniards* thereupon conceiuing that the people had rightly vnderstood them, set it downe in the *Diurnall* of their enterprise, and so in the first description made, and sent ouer to *Charles* the Emperour, all that West part of *America* to the South of *Panama* had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued euer since, as diuers *Spaniards* in the *Indies* assured me; which also *Acosta* the *Iesuite* in his naturall and morall History of the *Indies* confirmeth. And whereas *Montanus* also findeth that a part of the *Indies* (called *Iucatan*) tooke that name of *Isolan*, who as hee supposed navigated from the vtmost East of *India* to *America*: it is most true, that *Iucatan* is nothing else in the language of that Country, but [*what is that*] or [*what say you?*] For when the *Spaniards* ask'd the name of that place (no man conceiuing their meaning) one of the *Saluages* answered *Iucatan* (which is) *What ake you, or what say you?* The like hapned touching *Paria*, a mountainous Country on the South side of *Trinidad* & *Margarita*: for when the *Spaniards* inquiring (as all men doe) the names of those new Regions which they discovered, pointed to the Hills a farre off, one of the people answered, *Paria*, which is as much to say, as, *high Hills* or *Mountaines*. For at *Paria* begins that maruailous ledge of *Mountaines*, which from thence are continued to the Strait of *Magellan*, from eight degrees of North latitude to the 52. of South: and so hath that Country euer since retained the name of *Paria*.

The same hapned among the *English*, which I sent vnder Sir *Richard Greeneuille* to inhabit *Virginia*. For when some of my people asked the name of that Country, one of the *Saluages* answered, *Wingandacon*, which is as much to say, as, *You were good either, or gay clothes*. The same hapned to the *Spaniard* in asking the name of the Iland *Trinidad*. For a *Spaniard* demanding the name of that selfe place which the Sea incompassed, they answered, *Caeri*, which signifies an Iland. And in this manner haue many places newly discovered bene intituled, of which *Peru* is one. And therefore wee must leaue *Ophir* among the *Moluccæ*, whereabout such an Iland is credibly affirmed to be.

Now although there may be found gold in *Arabia* it selfe (towards *Persia*) in *Hauilah*, now *Susiana*, and all alongst that East *Indian* shore; yet the greatest plenty is taken vp at the *Philippines*, certaine Ilands planted by the *Spaniards*, from the East *India*. And by the length of the passage which *Salomons* ships made from the red Sea, (which was three yeares in going and comming) it seemeth they went to the vtmost East, as the *Moluccæ* or *Philippines*. Indeede the farther now goe from *Portugal*, or from hence, finish that nauigation in two yeares, and sometimes lesse: and *Salomons* ships went not about a tenth part of this our course from hence. But wee must consider, that they euermore kept the coast, and crept by the shores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the vse of the Compass was knowne, it was impossible to navigate athwart the Ocean; and therefore *Salomons* ships could not finde *Peru* in *America*. Neither was it needfull

for the *Spaniards* themselves (had it not beene for the plenty of gold in the East India Ilands, farre above the mines of any one place of *America*) to saile euery year from the West part of *America* thither, and there to haue strongly planted, & inhabited the richest of those Ilands: wherein they haue built a City called *Manila*. *Salomon* therefore needed not to haue gone farther off than *Ophir* in the East, to haue spied worke: neither could he nauigate from the East to the West in those dayes, whereas he had no coast to haue guided him.

*Tostatus* also gathereth a fantastick opinion out of *Rabanus*, who makes *Ophir* to be a Country, whose Mountaines of gold are kept by *Griffins*: which Mountaines *Salinus* affirmeth to bee in *Scythia Asiatice*, in these words: *Nam cum auro & gemmis assidue, Griffes tenent vniuersa, alites ferocissima, Arimaspi cum his dimicant, &c.* For whereas these 10 Countries abound in gold, and rich stones, the *Griffins* defend the one and the other: a kinde of Fowle the fiercest of all other, with which *Griffins* a Nation of people called *Arimaspi* make warre. These *Arimaspi* are said to haue bene men with one eye onely, like vnto the *Cyclopes* of *Sicilia*: of which *Cyclopes*, *Herodotus* and *Aristeum* make mention: and so doth *Lucan* in his third Booke: and *Valerius Flaccus*; & *D. Sicutus* in the story of *Alexander Macedon*. But (for mine owne opinion) I beleue none of them. And for these *Arimaspi*, I take it that this name signifying *One-eyed*, was first giuen them by reason that they vsed to wear a vizzard of defence, with one sight in the middle to serue both eyes; & not that they had by nature any such defect. But *Salinus* borroweth these things out of *Pliny*, 20 who speaks of such a Nation in the extreme North, at a place called *Gisfalcon*, or the Cause of the Northeast winde. For the rest, as all fables were commonly grounded vpon some true stories or other things done: so might these tales of the *Griffins* receive this Morall: That if those men which fight against so many dangerous passages for gold, or other riches of this World, had their perfect senses, and were not deprived of halfe their eye-sight (at least of the eye of right reason & vnderstanding) they would content themselves with a quiet and moderate estate; and not subiect themselves to famine, corrupt aire, violent heate, and cold, and to all sorts of miserable diseases. And though this fable be fained in this place, yet if such a tale were told of some other places of the World, where wilde Beasts or Serpents defend Mountaines of gold, it might bee auowed. For 30 there are in many places of the world, especially in *America*, many high and impassable Mountains which are very rich & full of gold, inhabited onely with *Tygres*, *Lions*, and other rauenous and cruell beasts: vnto which if any man ascend (except his strength be very great) he shall bee sure to finde the same warre, which the *Arimaspi* make against the *Griffins*: not that the one or other had any sense of the gold, or seek to defend that metall, but being disquieted, or made afraid of themselves or their young-ones, they grow enraged and aduenturous. In like sort it may be said that the *Alegartos*, (which the *Egyptians* call the *Crocodyles*) defend those Pearles which lye in the Lakes of the Inland: for many times the poore *Indians* are eaten vp by them, when they dige for the pearle. And though the *Alegartos* know not the pearle, yet they finde fauour in the flesh and bloud of 40 the *Indians*, whom they deuoure.

### †. VI.

Of *Hauilah* the sonne of *Ioctan*, who also passed into the East Indies: and of *Meſha* and *Sepher* named in the bordering of the Families of *Ioctan*: with a Conclusion of this discourse touching the plantation of the world.

OF *Hauilah* the sonne of *Ioctan*, there is nothing els to be said, but that the generall opinion is, that he also inhabited in the East India in the Continent, from which *Ophir* past into the Ilands adioyning. And whereas *Ganges* is said to water *Hauilah*, it is meant by *Hauilah* in the East India, which tooke name of *Hauilah* the son of *Ioctan*; but *Hauilah*, which *Pison* compasseth, was so called of *Hauilah*, the sonne of *Chus*, as is formerly proued by this place of Scripture: *Saul smote the Amalekites from Hauilah, as thou comest to Shur, which is before Egypt*. But that *Saul* ever made Warre in the East India, no man hath suspected. For an end we may conclude, that of the thirteen sonnes of *Ioctan*, these three, *Saba*, *Hauilah*, & *Ophir*; though at the first teated by their brethren about the hill *Mafius* or *Meſb*, *Gen.* 10. 30. (to wit) betwene *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*; yet at length either themselves or their issues remoued into the East India, leaving the 50 other

other Families of *Ioctan*, to fill the Countries of their first plantation, which the Scripture defines to haue bene from *Meſb* vnto *Sepher*. And although *S. Hierome* take *Meſb* to be a Region of the East India, and *Sepher* a Mountaine of the same (which Mountain, *Montanus* would haue to be the *Andes* in *America*), those fancies are farre beyond my vnderstanding. For the word (*East*) in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to *Iudea*, is neuer farther extended than into *Persia*. But *Meſb* is that part of the Mountaine of *Mafius* in the North of *Mesopotamia*, out of which the Riuer *Chaboras* springeth which runneth by *Charan*; and in the same Region we also finde for *Sepher* (remembered by *Moses*, *Siphara* by *Ptolomy*, standing to the East of the Mountaine *Mafius*; from whence *Ioctan* hauing many sonnes, some of them might passe into *India*, hearing of the beauty and riches thereof. But this was in proceſſe of time.

The other fashon of planting I vnderstand not, being grounded but vpon mens imaginations, contrary to reason and possibility. And that this Mountaine in the East was no farther off than in those Regions before remembered, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture where the same phrase is vsed: as in *Numbers* 23. *Balaam the King of Moab* 10 *bath brought me from Aram, out of the Mountaine of the East*; which was from the East part of *Mesopotamia*. For *Balaam* brought *Balaam* out of *Mesopotamia*, (witnesseth this place of Deuteronomie: ) *Because they hyred Balaam the sonne of Beor, of Pethor in Aram Nabarajm, to curse thee*: for *Aram Nabarajm* was *Syria flumiarum*, which is *Mesopotamia*, as 20 aforesaid.

This plantation of the World after the flood doth best agree (as to me it seems) with all the places of Scripture compared together. And these be the reports of Reason and probable coniecture, the Guides which I haue followed herein, and which I haue chosen to goe after; making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their owne fancies, be they ancient or moderne. Neither haue I any end herein, priuate, or publike, other than the discovery of truth. For as the partiality of man to himselfe hath disguised all things: so the factious and hirsling Historians of all Ages (especially of these latter times) haue by their many Volumes of vntreue reports left Honor without a Monument; and Vertue without Memory: and (in stead thereof) haue erected Statues and Trophies 30 to those, whom the darkeſt forgetfulness ought to haue buried, and covered ouer for euernmore. And although the length and dissolving Nature of Time, hath worne out or changed the Names and Memory of the Worlds first planters after the flood (I mean the greatest number and most part of them) yet all the foot-steps of Antiquity (as appears by that which hath bene spoken) are not quite worne out nor ouer-grown: for *Babylon* hath to this day the found of *Babel*; *Rhennia* hath *Zidon*, to which City the eldest Son of *Canaan* gaue name; (so hath *Cilicia*, *Tharſis*; and the *Armenians*, *Medes*, *Hibernians*, *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, the *Syrians*, *Idumians*, *Libyans*, *Moors*, and other Nations, haue preferred from the death of forgetfulness some signes of their first Founders and true Parents.

## CHAP. IX.

Of the beginning and establishing of Government.

### §. I.

Of the proceeding from the first Government under the eldest of Families to Regall, and from Regall absolute, to Regall tempered with Lawes.

IT followeth now to entreate how the World began to receive Rule and Government, which (while it had scarcity of People) vnder-went no other Dominion than Paternity and Eldership. For the Fathers of Nations were then as Kings, and the eldest of Families as Princes. Hereof it came, that the word (*Elder*) was alwayes vsed both for the Magistrate, and for those of Age and Grauity: the same bearing one signification almost in all languages. For in the eleventh of *Numbers* God commanded *Moses* to gather together 70, of the Elders of the people, and 50 Gouer-



Gouernour ouer them: the *Hebrew* bearing the same sense, which the *Latine* word *Senes* or *Seniores* doth. So it is written in *Susanna*, *Then the Assembly belerued them as those that were the Elders and Iudges of the People*. And so in the words of those false Iudges and witnesses to *Daniel*, *Shew it vnto vs, seeing God hath giuen thee the office of an Elder*. Demophilus useth the same word for the Magistrate among the *Grecians*. *Cicero* in *Cato* giueth two other reasons for this appellation: *Apud Lacedaemonios qui amplissimum Magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam appellantur Senes*; Among the *Lacedaemonians* the chiefe Magistrates, as they were so are they called *Eldermen*: and againe: *Ratio & prudentia nisi essent in senibus, non summum Concilium Maiores nostri appellassent Senatum*; If reason and aduise-ment were not in old men, our *Ancitors* had neuer called the highest Councell by the name of a *Senate*.

But though these reasons may well be giuen, yet wee doubt not but in this name of (*Elders*) for Gouernours or Counsaillers of State, there is a signe that the first Gouernours were the Fathers of Families, and vnder them the eldest Sons. And from thence did the *French*, *Italian*, and *Spaniard* take the word (*Signor*) and out of it (*Seignourie*) for Lordship and Dominion: signifying (according to *Loyseau*) puissance in propriety, or proper power. The kinds of this *Seignourie*, *Seueca* makes two: the one, *Potestas aut imperium*; power or command; the other, *Proprietas aut dominium*; Propriety or Mastership: the correlative of the one is the subiect, of the other the slaue. *Ad Caesarem* (saith he) *potestas omnium pertinet, ad singulos proprietas*; *Caesar* hath power ouer all, and euery man propriety in his owne: and againe, *Caesar omnia imperio possidet, singuli dominio*; *Caesar* holdeth all in his power, and euery man possesseth his owne. But as men and vice began abundantly to increase: so obedience, (the fruit of naturall reuerence, which but from excellent seed seldome ripeneth) being exceedingly ouer-shadowed with pride, and ill examples, vnto us withered and fell away. And the soft weapons of paternall perswasions (after mankind began to neglect and forget the originall and first giuer of life) became in all ouer-weak, either to resist the first inclination of euill, or after (when it became habitual) to constraime it. So that now, when the hearts of men were onely guided & steered by their owne fancies, & toft to and fro on the tempestuous Seas of the world, while wisdom was seuered from power, and strength from charity: Necessity (which bindeth euery nature but the immortal) made both the Wife & Foolish vnderstand at once, that the estate of reasonable men would become far more miserable than that of beasts, and that a generall flood of confusion would a second time ouer-flow them, did they not by a generall obedience to order and dominion preuent it. For the mighty, who trusted in their owne strengths, found others againe (by interchange of times) more mighty than themselves: the feeble fell vnder the forcible; and the equall from equall receiued equall harmes. Infomuch that licentious disorder (which seemed to promise a liberty vpon the first acquaintance) proued vpon a better triall, no lesse perillous than an vn-  
Necessitas est  
prouisio iudicij  
um, & immu-  
tatis prae-  
sentis prae-  
sentis prae-  
sentis prae-
durable bondage.

These Arguments by Necessity propounded, and by Reason maintained and con-  
40
firmed, perswaded all Nations which the Heauens couer, to subiect themselves to a Master, and to Magistracy in some degree. Vnder which Gouernment, as the change (which brought with it lesse euill, than the former mischiefs) was generally pleasing: so time (making all men wise that obserue it) found some imperfection & corrosiue in this cure. And therefore the same Necessity which inuented, and the same Reason which appro-  
of Lawes, priuate affections in supreme Rulers made their own fancies both their Treasurers and Hangmen: measuring by this yard, and waighing in this ballance, both good and euill.

For as wisdom in Eldership preceded the rule of Kings, so the will of Kings fore-  
50
went the inuentions of Lawes. *Populus nullis legibus tenebatur: archetia principum pro legibus erant*; The people were not gouerned by any other Lawes than the wills of Princes. Here-  
of it followed, that when Kings left to be good, neither did those mens vertues value them which were not fancied by their Kings, nor those mens vices deforme them that were. *Amar interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt; Loue seip. one while too much, another while sharke nothing*. Hence it came to passe, that after a few years (for aurochion and restraint of Royall power) Lawes were established: and that gouernment which  
had



had this mixture of equality (holding in an even ballance supreme power and common right) acquired the title of Regall : the other (which had it not) was knowne for Tyrannicall : the one God established in fauour of his people : the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the infancy of this Regall authority, Princes as they were chosen for their vertues onely, so did they measure their powers by a great deale of moderation. And therefore (saith Fabius Piclor) *Principes, quia iusti erant, & religionibus dediti, iure habiti Dij & dii;* 1. E. libro 1. seculo Part. 1. *Princes, because they were iust and religious, were rightly accounted and called gods.*

And though (speaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be ascribed to Reason and Necessity ; yet it was God himselfe that first kindled this light in the mindes of men, whereby they saw that they could not liue and bee preferred without a Ruler and Conductor : God himselfe by his eternall providence hauing ordained Kings ; and the law of Nature Leaders, and Rulers ouer others. For the very Bees haue their Prince, the Deere their Leaders ; and Cranes (by order imposed) watch for their owne safety. *The most High beareth rule ouer the Kingdomes of Men ; and appointeth ouer it whomsoever hee pleaseth.* By me (saith wisdom, spoken by the Son of God) *Kings reigne ; by me Princes rule ; and it is God (saith Danicel) that setteth up Kings , and taketh away Kings.* And that this power is giuen from God, *Christ himselfe witnesseth, speaking to Pilate ; Thou couldest haue no power at all against me, except it were giuen thee from above.* Mat. 23. 19. 21.

It was therefore by a threefold Iustice that the World hath beene gouerned from the beginning, (to wit) by a Iustice naturall : by which the Parents and Elders of Families gouerned their Children, and Nephewes, and Families ; in which gouernment the Obedience was called naturall Piety : Again, by a Iustice diuine, drawne from the Lawes and Ordinances of God ; and the Obedience hereunto was called Conscience : And lastly, by a Iustice ciuill, begotten by both the former ; & the Obedience to this we call Duty. That by these three those of the eldest times were commanded, and that the rule in generall was Paternall, it is most euident : for *Adam* being Lord ouer his owne Children, instructed them in the seruice of God his Creatour ; as wee reade, *Cain* and *Abel* brought Oblations before God, as they had beene taught by their Parent, the Father of 30 Mankind.

## §. II.

*Of the three commendable sorts of Government with their opposites : and of the degrees of humane society.*

What other Policy was exercised, or State founded after such time as mankind was greatly multiplied before the Flood, it cannot bee certainly knowne, though it seeme by probable coniecture, that the same was not without Kings in that first Age: it being possible that many Princes of the *Egyptians* (remembered among their antiquities) were before the generall Flood: and very likely, that the cruell Oppressions in that Age proceeded from some tyranny in Government, or from some rougher forme of Rule, than the Paternall.

*Berosus* ascribeth the rule of the World in those dayes to the Gyants of *Libanus*, who mastered (saith he) all Nations from the Sun-rising to the Sun-set. But in the second Age of the World, and after such time as the rule of Eldership failed, three severall sorts of Government were in severall times established among men, according to the diuers natures of Places and People.

The first, the most ancient, most generall, and most approued, was the Government of one, ruling by iust Lawes, called *Monarchy*: to which *Tyranny* is opposed, being also a sole and absolute Rule, exercised according to the will of the Commander, without respect or obseruation of the Lawes of God, or Men. For a lawfull Prince or Magistrate (saith *Aristotle*) is the Keeper of Right & Equity: and of this condition ought euery Magistrate to be, according to the rule of Gods word: *Iudges and Officers shalt thou make thee in thy Cities : And these shall iudge the people with righteous iudgement.* Deut. 1. 6. 18.

The second Government is of diuers principall Persons established by order, and ruling by Lawes, called *Aristocracy*, or *Optimum potestas* ; to which *Oligarchia* (or the particular faction and vsurpation of a few great-ones) is opposed : as the *Decem viri*, or *Trium viri*, and the like.

The third is a State popular, (or Government of the people) called *Democratie*, to which is opposed *Ochlocratia*, or the turbulent vniust ruling of the confused multitude, seditiously swaying the State, contrary to their own Lawes & Ordinances. These three kinds of Government are briefly exprest by *Tholomaeus*; *vnus, paucorum, & multorum*. Of one, of few, of many.

Now as touching the beginning and order of policy since the second increase of Mankind, the same grew in this sort: First of all, euery Father, or eldest of the Family, gaue Lawes to his owne issues, and to the people from him and them increased. These as they were multiplied into many Households (man by nature louing society) ioynd their Cottages together in one common Field or Village, which the Latins call *Vicius*, of the *Greek* *oikos*, which signifieth a House, or of the word *(Pria)* because it hath diuers waies & paths leading to it. And as the first House grew into a Village, so the Village into that which is called *Pagus*, (being a society of diuers Villages) so called of the *Greek* *ωπη*, which signifieth a Fountain: because many people, hauing their habitations not far asunder, drank of one Spring or Streame of water. To this word the *English* Hundreds, or (as some think) Shires, answereth not vnfitly.

But as men and impiety began to gather strength, and as emulation & pride between the Races of the one and the other daily increased: so both to defend themselves from out-raage, and to preferre such goods as they had gathered, they began to ioyne and set together diuers of their Villages, inuironing them first with bankes and ditches, and afterwards with wals: which being so compassed were then called *Oppida*; either *ab opponendo se hostibus*, because wals were opposed against Enemies, or *ab opibus*, because thither they gathered their riches for safety and defence: as also they were called *Vrbes*, *ab urbe*, because when they were to build a City, they made a Circle with a Plough (saith *Varro*) therewith measuring and compassing the ground which they went to inclose or fortifie. And although *Vrbs* and *Civitas* be often confounded, yet the difference was anciently in this, that *Vrbs* signified no other than the very wals and buildings, and *Civitas* was taken for the Citizens, inhabiting therein: so called of *Civis*, and that, *ab eo quod multitudo ciuium, of coming together*. But all inhabitants within these wals are not properly Citizens, but onely such as are called Free-men: who bearing proportionably the charge of the City, may by turnes become Officers and Magistrates thereof: the rest goe vnder the name of Subjects, though Citizens by the same general name of Subjects are also knowne. For euery Citizen is also a Subject, but not euery Subject a Citizen: perhaps also some Citizen, as the chiefe Magistrate, if he be to be termed one of the Citizens is no Subject, but of this we need not stand to inquire. The word (Magistrate) is taken *a Magistro*, from a Master, and the word (Master) from the Aduerbe *Magis* (as also *Magisteria*, Precepts of Art) or else from the *Greek* word (*Μεγιστος*:) and so the *Greekes* call them *Μεγιστανες*, whom the *Latines* call *Magnates* or *Magistratus*.

The office and duty of euery Magistrate *Aristotle* hath written in few words. *A Magistrate or Prince* (saith hee) *is the keeper of right and equity*; but the same is best taught by *Saint Paul*, who expresth both the cause efficient, and final, (that is) by whom Magistrates and Princes are ordained, together with their duties and offices. *A Magistrate is the Minister of God for thy wealth*, but if thou dost euill, feare: for he beareth not the sword for nought. For he is the Minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doth euill. Hee also teacheth in the same place: *That euery soule ought to be subiect to the higher powers, because they are by God ordained*; and that whosoever resisteth that power, resisteth God, the giuer and fountaine thereof: and shall not onely be therefore subiect to the iudgement and condemnation of Man, but of God: *For ye must be subiect* (saith he) *not because of wrath onely, but also for conscience sake*.

The examples are not to be numbred of Gods punishments vpon those that haue resisted Authority, by God ordained and established. Neither ought any Subject therefore to resist the power of Kings, because they may be taxed with iniustice or cruelty: for it pleaseth God sometimes to punish his people by a tyrannous hand: and the Commandment of obedience is without distinction. The *Prophets* and *Christ* himselfe subiected themselves to the power of Magistracy. *Christ* commanded that all due to *Cesar* should be giuen vnto him: and he payed Tribute for himselfe and *Peter*. *Hieremy* commanded the *Israelites*; euen those that were Captiues vnder Heathen Kings) to pray for them, and for the peace of *Babylon*. So *Abraham* prayed for *Abimelech*, and *Iacob* blessed the King

of Egypt: And it is acceptable in the sight of our Saviour (saith Paul) that ye make Supplications and Prayers for Kings, and for all that are in authority: and if for such Kings as were Idolatrous, much more for Christian Kings and Magistrates. And so much did *Saint Chrysostome* in his Homily to the people preferre *Monarchicall* Government, as he rather commended the rule of Kings (though Tyrants) than that they should be wanting: *Preestat Regem tyrannum habere, quam nullum; Better a tyrannous King, than no King*: to which also *Tacitus* subscribeth: *Prestat (saith Tacitus in the first of his History) sub malo principe esse quam nullo; It is better to haue a bad Prince than none at all*. And be they good Kings (which is generally presupposed) then is there no liberty more safe, than to serue them: *Neg enim libertas tutori ubi est (saith Claudian) quam Domino seruire bono: No liberty (saith he) more safe for vs than to be seruants to the vertuous*. And certainly howsoeuer it may be disputed, yet is it safer to liue vnder one Tyrant, than vnder 100000. Tyrants: vnder a wife man that is cruell, than vnder the foolish and barbarous cruelty of the multitude. For as *Agellius* answered a Citizen of *Sparta* that desired an alteration of the Government, That kinde of rule which a man would disdain in his owne house, were very vnfit to gouerne great Regions by.

Lastly, as many Fathers erected many Cottages for their many children: and as (for the reason before remembred) many Households ioynd themselves together, and made Villages; many Villages made Cities: so when these Cities and Citizens ioynd together, and established Lawes by consent, associating themselves vnder one Government, and Government; they so ioynd, were called a Commonwealth: the same being sometimes gouerned by Kings; sometimes by Magistrates; sometimes by the people themselves.

## §. III.

Of the good Government of the first Kings.

Now this first Age after the Flood, and after such time as the people were increased, and the Families became strong and dispersed into seuerall parts of the World, was by ancient Historians called *Golden*: Ambition and Countenance being as then but greene, and newly growne vp, the seeds and effects wherof were as yet but potentiall, and in the blowth and bud. For while the Law of Nature was the rule of mans life, they then sought for no larger Territory than themselves could compass and manure: they erected no other magnificent buildings, than sufficient to defend them from cold and tempest: they cared for no other delicacy of fare, or curiosity of dyet, than to maintaine life: nor for any other apparell, than to couer them from the cold, the Raine and the Sun.

And sure if wee vnderstand by that Age (which was called *Golden*) the ancient simplicity of our Fore-fathers, this name may then truly be cast vpon those elder times: but if it be taken otherwise, then, whether the same may be attributed more to any one time than to another, (I mean to one limited time and none else) it may be doubted. For good and *Golden* Kings make good and *Golden* Ages: and all times haue brought forth of both sorts. And as the infancy of Empire, (when Princes plaied their Prizes, & did then only woo men to obedience) might be called the *Golden Age*: so may the beginning of all Princes times be truly called *Golden*. For be it that men affect honour, it is then best purchased; or if honour affect men, it is then that good deferuings haue commonly the least impediments: and if euer Liberality overflow her banks & bounds, the same is then best warranted both by policy and example. But Age and Time doe not onely harden and shrinke the openest and most *Ioniall* hearts, but the experience which it bringeth with it, layeth Princes some estates before their eyes, and (withall) perswadeth them to compassionate themselves. And although there be no Kings vnder the Sun whose meanes are answerable vnto other mens desires; yet such as value all things by their owne respects, doe no sooner finde their appetites vnanswered, but they complaine of alteration, and account the times inuious and yron. And as this falleth out in the Reigne of euery King, so doth it in the life of euery man, if his dayes be many: for our younger yeares are our *Golden Age*; which being eaten vp by time, we praise those seasons which our youth accompanied: and (indeed) the grieuous alterations in our selues, and the paines and diseases which neuer part from vs but at the graue, make

Libic. 5.

Rom. 13. 4.

Ver. 1.

2.

Mat. 23. 5.

Hierem. 2. 17.  
Gen. 10. 17. &  
27. 10.

Tacit. in Dial.  
de Oral.

Eck. 1. 7.

Arnob. lib. 1.

Wisd. 6. 7.

make the times seem so differing and displeasing: especially the quality of mans nature being also such, as it adoreth and extollet the passages of the former, and condemneth the present state how iust soeuer: *Pis humana malignitas vitio, ut semper vetera in laude, presentia in fastidio sint; It comes to passe (saith Tacitus) by the vice of our malignity, that we alwaies extoll the time past, and hold the present fastidious: For it is one of the errors of wayward Age: Quod sint laudatores temporis alii; That they are praisers of fore-past times, forgetting this aduice of Salomon: Say not then, why is it that the former dayes were better than these? for thou dost not inquire wisely of this thing: to which purpose Seneca; Maiores nostri quæsi sunt, & nos quærimur, postea quærentur, curis esse mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res hominum & in omne seculi labi: Our Ancesters haue complained, we doe complaine, our children will complaine, that good manners are gone, that wickednesse doth reigne, and all things grow worse and worse, and fall into all euill. There are the vniuersall discourses of Age and misfortune. But hereof what can we adde to this of Arnobius Noua res quandoq; vetus fiet, & vetus temporibus: quibus cepit noua sunt & repentina: what soeuer is new, in time shall be made old: and the ancientest things when they tooke beginning were also new and so daime. Wherefore not to stand in much admiration of these first times, which the discontentments of present times haue made Golden, this we may set down for certain, That as it was the vertue of the first Kings, which (after God) gaue them Crowns: so the loue of their people thereby purchased, held the same Crownes on their heads. And as God gaue the obedience of Subjects to Princes: so (relatiuely) he gaue the care and iustice of Kings to the Subjects; hauing respect, not only to the Kings themselves, but euen to the meanest of his Creatures: Nunquam particulari bono seruit omne bonum; The infinite goodnesse of God doth not attend anyone onely: for he that made the small and great, careth for all alike: and it is the care which Kings haue of all theirs, which makes them beloued of all theirs; and by a general loue it is, that Princes hold a general obedience: For, Potestas humana radicitus in voluntatibus hominum: All humane power is rooted in the will or dispositions of men.*

## §. IV.

Of the beginning of Nobility: and of the vaine want thereof without vertue.

Vetus nobilitas  
nonna citatur  
sed sit.

**A**nd with this Supreme Rule and Kingly authority began also other degrees and differences among Subjects. For Princes made election of others by the same Rule, by which themselves were chosen; vnto whom they gaue place, trust, and power. From which employments and Offices sprang those Titles, and those degrees of Honour, which haue continued from Age to Age to these dayes. But this Nobility, or difference from the Vulgar, was not in the beginning giuen to the Succession of Blood, but to Succession of Vertue, as hereafter may be proved. Though at length it was sufficient for those whose Parents were aduanced, to be knowne for the Sonnes of such Fathers: and so there needed then no endeuour of well-doing at all, or any contention for them to excell, vpon whom glory or worldly Nobility necessarily descended. Yet hereof had Nobility denomination in the beginning, That such as excelled others in vertue, were so called: *Hinc distus Nobilitas, quasi virtute præ alijs notabilis. But after such time as the deferred Honour of the Father was giuen in reward to his Posterity, Saint Hierome iudged of the Succession in this manner: Nihil aliud video in Nobilitate appetendum, nisi quod Nobiles quadam necessitate constringantur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent; I see no other thing to be affected in Nobility, than that Noblemen are by a kinde of necessity bound, not to degenerate from the vertue of their Ancesters. For if Nobility be Virtus & antiqua diuinitas; Vertue and ancient riches, then to exceede in all those things which are extra hominem, as riches, power, glory, and the like, doe no otherwise define Nobility, than the word (animal) alone doth define a reasonable man. Or if honour (according to L. Vives) bee a witness of vertue and well-doing: and Nobility (after Plutarch) the continuance of vertue in a Race or Linage: then are those in whom Vertue is extinguished, but like vnto painted and printed Papers, which ignorant men worship in stead of Christ, our Lady, and other Saints: men, in whom there remaine but the dregs and vices of ancient Vertue: Flowers, and Herbes, which by change of soile and want of manuring are turned to Weedes. For what is found praise-worthy in those waters, which had their beginning out of pure Fountains,*

if

if in all the rest of their course they run soule, filthy, and defiled: *Ex terra fertilis produnt aliquid, et ex terra sterili præciosum aurum, Out of fruitful ground ariseth sometimes possoning Henbane, and out of barren soile precious Gold. For as all things consist of matter and forme, so doth Charrou (in his Chapter of Nobilitie) call the Race and Linage but the matter of Nobilitie: the forme (which giues life and perfect being) he maketh to be Vertue, and Qualitie, profitable to the Common-weale. For he is truly and entirely Noble, who maketh a singular profession of publick Vertue, seruing his Prince and Countrey; and being defended of Parents and Ancesters that haue done the like. And although that Nobilitie, which the same Author calleth personall, (the same which our felues acquire by our Vertue and well deseruings) cannot be ballanced with that which is both naturall, by Descent, and also personall, yet if Vertue bee wanting to the naturall, then is the personall and acquired Nobilitie by many degrees to be preferred: For (saith Charrou) this Honour (to wit) by Descent, may light vpon such a one, as in his owne nature is a true Villaine. There is also a third Nobilitie which hee calleth Nobilitie in Parchment, bought with Siluer or Fauour: and these be indeede but Honours of affection, which Kings with the change of their fancies with they knew wel how to wipe off againe. But surely, if we had as much sense of our degenerating in worthinesse, as we haue of vanitie in deriuing our felues of such and such Parents, we should rather know how Nobilitie (without Vertue) to be shaine and dishonour than Noblesse, and glory to vaunt thereof. *What calamitie is wanting (saith Bernard) to him that is borne in sinne, of a Posbare body and barren minde? for (according to the same Father) Dele scum fugacis honoris huius, & male coronate nitorem gloria, &c. wipe away the painting of this fleeting honour, & the glittering of the ill-crowned glory, that then thou maiest consider thy selfe naked; for thou camest naked out of thy Mothers wombe. Camest thou thence with thy Myrr, or glistering with Jewels, or garnished with Silkes, or adorned with Feathers, or suffred with Gold? If thou scatter and blow away all these by thy consideration as veraine morning cloudes, which doe or will soone passe ouer, thou shalt meet with a naked, and poore, and wretched and miserable man, and blaspheming, because he is naked, and weeping because he is borne, and repining, because he is borne to labour, and not to honour.**

For, as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference betweene it and dust: which it thou dost not beleue (saith S. Chrysostome) looke into the Sepulchres & Monumentes of thy Ancesters, and they shall easily persuade thee by their owne example, that thou art dust, and dust thou shalt be againe: *Chrys. hom. 1. de incomposita et diuina natura. Disseruisse of his Nature, but from the cunning of his Creatour.*

For true Nobilitie standeth in the Trade  
Of vertuous life; not in the fleshy Line:  
For blood is brute, but Gentrie is Diuine.

And howsoeuer the custome of the World haue made it good, that Honors be cast by birth vpon vnworthy Issues: yet Salomon (as wise as any King) reprehendeth the same in his Fellow-Princes: *There is an euill (saith he) that I haue scene vnder the Sun, as an error, your that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth: Folly is set in great excellencie.*

## CHAP. X.

Of Nimrod, Belus, and Ninus: and of memorable things about those times.

## §. I.

That Nimrod was the first after the Flood that reigned like a Soueraigne Lord: and that his beginning seemeth to haue bene of iust authoritie.

**T**he first of all that reigned as Soueraigne Lord after the Flood was Nimrod, the Sonne of Chus, distinguished by Moses from the rest (according to Saint Augustine) in one of these two respects: either for his eminencie, and because hee was the first of fame, and that tooke on him to command others: or else in that hee was begotten by

by *Chus*, after his other children were also become Fathers; and of a later time than some of his Grand-children & Nephewes. Howsoever, seeing *Moses* in expresse words calleth *Nimrod* the Sonne of *Chus*, other mens coniectures to the contrary ought to haue no respect.

This Empire of *Nimrod*, both the Fathers and many later Writers call tyrannicall: the same beginning in *Babel*, (which is) confusion. But it seemeth to mee that *Melanchton* conceived not amiss hereof: the same exposition being also made by the Author of that worke called *Onomasticum Theologicum*, who affirms that *Nimrod* was therefore called *Amarus Dominator*, *Abster* or *seuer* *Gouverneur*, because his forme of rule seemed at first farre more terrible than Paternall authority. And therefore is hee in this respect also called a mightie Hunter: because he tooke and destroyed both Beasts & Theeues. But Saint *Augustine* vnderstands it otherwise, and conuerts the word (ante) by (contra) affirming therein, that *Nimrod* was a mightie Hunter against God: *Sic ergo intellegendum est Gigas ille, Venator contra Dominum*; So is that Giant to be vnderstood, a Hunter against the Lord.

But howsoever this word (a mightie Hunter) be vnderstood; yet it rather appeareth, that as *Nimrod* had the command of all those, which went with him from the East into *Shinaar*: so, this charge was rather giuen him, than by him vsurped. For it no where is found, that *Noah* himselfe, or any of the Sonnes of his owne body came with this troupe into *Babylon*: no mention at all being made of *Noah* (the yeeres of his life excepted) in the succeeding Story of the *Hebrews*; nor that *Sem* was in this disobedient troupe or among the builders of *Babel*.

The same is also confirmed by diuers ancient Historians, that *Nimrod*, *Suphine*, and *Isulan* were the Captaines and Leaders of all those which came from the East. And though *Sem* came not himselfe so farre West as *Shinaar* (his lot being cast on the East parts) yet from his Sonnes Nephew *Heber*, the name and Nation of the *Hebrewes* (according to the general opinion) tooke beginning, who inhabited the Southermost parts of *Chaldea* about the Citie of *Ur*, from whence *Abraham* was by God called into *Charran*, and thence into *Canaan*.

And because those of the Race of *Sem* which came into *Chaldea*, were no partners in 30 the vnblesing worke of the Towre: therefore (as many of the Fathers coniecture) did they retain the first and most ancient language, which the Fathers of the first Age had left to *Noah*; and *Noah* to *Sem* and his Issues: *In familia Heber remansit hac lingua*; In the Family of *Heber* this Language remained (saith Saint *Augustine* out of *Epiphanius*;) and this Language *Abraham* vsed; yea, it was anciently and before the Flood the generall speech: and therefore first called (saith *Cassiodorus*) *lingua humana*: the humane tongue.

We know that *Coropius Becanus* following *Theodores*, *Rabbi Moses*, *Gioppius*, *Pergara*, and others, is of another opinion; but howsoever we determine of this point, we may with good probability resolve, that none of the godly seed of *Sem* were the chiefe Leaders of this presumptuous multitude. And seeing it is not likely but that some one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that *Nimrod* rather had it by iust authoritie, than violence of vsurpation.

## §. II.

That *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, were three distinct persons.

**B**ENZO, and out of him *Nauclerus* with others, make many *Nimrods*, Enschins confounds him with *Belus*, and so doth Saint *Hierome* vpon *Ose*; and these words of *S. Augustine* seeme to make him of the same opinion: *Ubi autem Ninus regnauit post mortem patris sui Bel, qui primus illic regnauerat 65. annos; There did Ninus reign after the death of his Father Belus, who first gouerned in Babylon sixty five yeeres.* But it could not be vnknowne to Saint *Augustine*, that *Nimrod* was the establisher of that Empire; *Moses* being plaine and direct therein. For the beginning of *Nimrod's* Kingdome (saith he)

was *Babel*, *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Chalae*, in the Land of *Shinaar*; wherefore *Nimrod* was the first King of *Babel*. And certainly it best agreeth with reason, that *Ninus* was the third, and not one with *Nimrod*, as *Mercator* (led by *Clement*) supposed: for in *Ninus* time the World was maruailously replenished. And if *S. Augustine* had vndoubtedly taken *Belus* for *Nimrod*, he would haue giuen him the name which the Scriptures giue him, rather than haue borrowed any thing out of prophane Authors. And for those words of *S. Augustine* (qui primus illic regnauerat; who was the first that reigned there) supposed to be meant by *Belus*: those words do not disprove that *Nimrod* was the Founder of the *Babylonian* Empire. For although *Iulius Caesar* ouerthrew the liberty of the *Roman* Commonwealth, making himselfe perpetuall Dictator, yet *Augustus* was the first established Emperor; and the first that reigned absolutely by soueraigne authority ouer the *Romans*, as an Emperour.

The like may be said of *Nimrod*; that he first brake the rule of Eldership and Paternitie, laying the foundation of soueraigne Rule, as *Cesar* did; and yet *Belus* was the first, who peaceably, and with a generall allowance exercised such a power. *Petrus* is of opinion, that *Belus* and *Nimrod* were the same, because many things are said of them both agreeing in time: for it was about 200. yeeres after the flood (as they account) that *Belus* reigned; but such agreement of times proueth it not. For so *Edward* the third, and his grand-child *Richard* the second, were kings both in one yeere: the one dyed; the other 20 in the same yeere was crowned King.

And yet the opinion (that *Nimrod* and *Belus* were one) is far more probable than that of *Mercator*, who makes *Ninus* and *Nimrod* to be the same. For it is plaine that the beginning of *Nimrod's* Kingdome was *Babel*, and the Townes adioyning: but the first and most famous worke of *Ninus* was the Citie of *Tenne*.

Now whereas *D. Sculus* affirmeth, that *Ninus* ouercame and suppressed the *Babylonians*, the same rather proueth the contrarie, than that *Ninus* and *Nimrod* were one person. For *Ninus* established the seat of his Empire at *Nineue* in *Assyria*, whence the *Babylonians* might (perchance) in disdain thereof fall from his obedience, whom he recovered againe by strong hand, which was easie: *Babylon* being not walled till *Semiramis* began to rule.

—Dicitur aliam

Cultibus muris cinxisse *Semiramis* *Pyram*.

*Semiramis* with wals of bricke the Citie did inclose.

Further, where it is alleaged, that as the Scriptures call *Nimrod* mightie: so *Iustine* call the same of *Ninus*, which is one of *Mercator's* arguments; It may be answered, that such 49 an addition might haue beene giuen to many other Kings as well. For if wee may beleue *Iustine*, then were *Vexar* King of *Egypt*, and *Tam* of *Syria* mighty Kings: before *Ninus* was borne. And if we may compare the words of *Moses* (touching *Nimrod*) with the vndertakings of *Ninus*, there will be found great difference betwene them.

For whereas *Mercator* conceiueth, that it was too early for any that liued about the time of the confusion of languages, to haue invaded and mastered those Cities so farre removed from *Babel*, namely, *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Chalae*, which worke hee therefore ascribeth to *Ninus*, as a man of the greatest vndertaking, & consequently would haue *Nimrod* to haue beene long after the time, in which we suppose he flourished; and both those 50 names of *Nimrod* and *Ninus* to belong to one person, to wit, to *Ninus*: to these things to make some answer. First, I doe not finde that supposition true. That euer *Nimrod* invaded any of these Cities, but that he founded them and built them from the ground, being the first after the flood, that conducted the children of *Noah* into those parts: and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hands.

Besides, whereas these Cities in many mens opinions are found to stand far away from *Babylon*, I finde no reason to bring me to that beleefe. The Citie of *Accad* which the *Semites* call *Anchar*, and *Epiphanius*, *Arphalitanus* takes to be *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*: for this Region thereabout the Geomographers (saith he) call *Acadene* for *Accadene*. Others vnder-



vnderstand *Nisibu* and *Ninene* to bee one City: so do *Strabo* and *Stephanus* confound it with *Charran*, but all mistaken. For *Nisibu*, *Accad*, & *Charran* are distinct places. Though I cannot deny *Accadene* to bee a Region of *Mesopotamia*, the same which *Arim Mountain* out of *S. Hierome* calls *Achad*: and so doe the *Hebrewes* also call *Nisibu*, which seemeth to be the cause of this mistaking. As for the City of *Erec*, which the *Sepuagint* call *Orech*, *S. Augustine*, *Oreg*, and *Pagninus*, *Erec*, this place *Iunius* vnderstands for *Aracca* in *Susiana*: but there is also a City in *Comagena* called *Arace*: and indeede likelihood of name is no certaine prooffe, without the assistance of other circumstances.

Lib. 23.

Concerning the third City (called *Chaluch*) some take it for *Calinistis*: of which *Am. Marcellinus*. Saint *Hierome* takes it for *Selenicia*; *Hieronymus* for *Ctesiphon*: others doe thinke it to be the *Agram* vpon *Euphrates*, destroyed and razed by the *Persians*. But let *Moses* be the Moderator and Iudge of this dispute, who teacheth vs directly, that these Cities are not seated in so diuers and distant Regions; for these be his words: *Ana* the beginning of his Kingdome (speaking of *Nimrod*) was *Babel*, *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Chaluch*, in the Land of *Shinaar*: so as in this Valley of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*, or *Chaldea* (being all one) we must finde them. And therefore I could (rather of the two) thinke with *Pierius*, that these four made but one *Babylon*, than that they were Cities farre removed; and in severall Provinces, did not the Prophet *Amos* precisely distinguish *Chalme* from *Babylon*. *Go* you (saith *Amos*) to *Chalme*, and from thence go you to *Hamath*, and then to *Gath* of the *Philistims*. The *Grecians* translation fauouring the former opinion, to set these Cities out of *Shinaar*, hath a marginall note expressing that *Shinaar* was here named: not that all these Cities were therein seated, but to distinguish *Babylon* of *Chaldea*, from *Babylon* in *Egypt*: but I finde little substance in that conceit. For sure I am, that in the beginning of *Nimrod*'s Empire there was no such *Babylon*, nor any City at all to be found in *Egypt*: *Babylon* of *Egypt* being all one with the great City of *Cairo*, which was built long after, not farre from the place where stood *Memphis* the ancient City, but not so ancient as *Babylon* vpon *Euphrates*. Now that *Chalme* is situate in the Valley of *Shinaar*, it hath beene formerly proued in the Chapter of *Paradise*. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrary, from the remote situation of these three Cities from *Babylon*, wee may continue in our opinion, That *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, were distinct and successiue Kings.

## §. III.

That *Nimrod*, not *Assur*, built *Ninive*: and that it is probable out of *Esay* 23. 13. that *Assur* built *Ur* for the *Chaldees*.

Now as of *Nimrod*: so are the opinions of Writers different touching *Assur*, and touching the beginning of that great state of *Babylon* and *Assyria*: a controverted, vvarisomely disputed without any direct prooffe, conclusion, or certainty. But to me (of whom) where the Scriptures are silent; the voyce of Reason hath the best hearing; the interpretation of *Ninus* is most agreeable; who besides all necessary consequence doth not disioyne the sense of the Scriptures therein, nor confuse the vnderstanding thereof. For in this sort hee conuerteth the *Hebrew* Text: *Erat enim principium regni eius Babel, & Erech, & Accad, & Chaluch, in terra Shinaar: et de terra hac processit in Assyriam, ubi edificauit Ninuen*: (which is) For the beginning of his Kingdome was *Babel*, and *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chaluch*, in the land of *Shinaar*: and hee went forth of this land into *Assyria*, and built *Ninive*. So as *Iunius* takes *Assur* in this place, not for any person, but for the Region of *Assyria* (the land being so called in *Moses* time, &c. before it. For certainly, the other construction; (whereas he vvorde *Assur* is taken for *Assur* the sonne of *Sem*) doth not answer the order which *Moses* obserueth through all the Bookes of *Genesis*, but is quite contrary vnto it. For in the beginning of the tenth Chapter hee setteth downe the sonnes of *Noah*, in these vvorde: *Now these are the Generations of the Sonnes of Noah*: *Sem*, *Ham*, and *Japheth*, unto whom sonnes were borne after the flood: then it followeth immediately: *These sonnes of Japheth were Gomer, &c.* so as *Japheth* is last named among *Noah*'s sonnes, be hee eldest or youngest: because hee was first to be spoken of, with whom (having last named him) hee proceeds and sets downe his issue, and then the issue of his sonnes: first the issue of *Gomer*, *Japheth*'s eldest sonne; and then speaks of *Javan* and his sonnes: for of the rest.

rest of that Familie he is silent. Anon after he numbrell the sonnes of *Ham*, of which *Chub* was the eldest: and then the sons of *Chub* and *Misraim*; and afterward of *Canaan*, leauing *Shem* for the last, because he would not disioyne the storie of *Hebrewes*. But after he beginneth with *Sem*, he continueth from thence by *Arphaxad*, *Shela*, and *Heber*, vnto *Abraham*, and so to *Jacob*, and the Fathers of that Nation. But to have brought in one of the sonnes of *Shem* in the middle of the generations of *Ham*, had beene against order: neither would *Moses* haue past over so lightly the erection of the *Assyrian* Empire, in one of the sonnes of *Shem*, if he had had any such meaning: it being the storie of *Shem*'s sonnes which he most attended. For he nameth *Nimrod* apart, after the rest of the sonnes of *Chub*, because he founded the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Empires; and in the eleventh Chapter he returneth to speak of the building of *Babel* in particular, hauing formerly named it in the tenth Chapter with the other Cities which *Nimrod* founded in *Shinaar*. And as hee did in the tenth Chapter, so also in the eleventh hee maketh no report of *Shem*, till such time as he had finished so much of *Nimrod* as he meant to touch: and then he beginneth with the issue of *Shem*, which hee connecteth to *Abraham* and *Jacob*. And of *Iunius* opinion touching *Assur*, *Iunius* Caluim: to which I conceiue that *P. Commestor*, in his *Historia Scholastica*, gaues an entrance, who after hee had deliuered this place in some other sense, hee setteth these words: *Vel intelligendum non est de Assur filio Sem, eius sed Assur (id est, Regnum Assurorum) inde eregiturum esse, quod tempore Saragi praeui Abrahami successit*: (which is) Or else it is not to be understood of *Assur* the sonne of *Sem*; *Erec* but *Assur* (that is, the Kingdome of the *Assyrians*) came from thence (videlicet from *Babylon*) or was made out of it, which happened in the time of *Sarag*, the great-grandfather of *Abraham*. After which he reconcileth the difference in this sort: If you take the ancient *Belus* (meaning *Nimrod*) to be the first Erector of the *Assyrian* Empire, or the first Founder thereof, it is true, *Quantum ad initium*, Respecting the beginning; but others conceiue that it had beginning from *Ninus*, which is also true, *Quantum ad regni ampliationem*; Regarding the enlargement of the Empire. To this I may adde the opinion of *Epiphanius*, confirmed by *Codrenas*, who takes *Assur* to be the sonne of *Nimrod*: and so doth *Methodius*, and *Libericus*, Saint *Hierome*, and *Cyrillus*, and now lastly *Tornilius*: who (saith hee)ooke vpon him that name of *Assur* after he had beaten the *Assyrians*, as *Iactan* Gen. 10. *Scipio* did of *Africanus*, after his conquest in *Africa*: and that *Assur* was a common name to the Kings of *Assyria*, as it appeareth by many Scriptures, as *Psalm* 81. *Esay* 10. *Isa* 5. &c. but to helpe the matter, hee makes *Nimrod* of the race of *Shem*, and the sonne of *Irari*. But *Rabanus Maurus*, who was Arch-bishop of *Meitz* in the yeere of *Christ* 854, an ancient and learned Writer, vnderstands this place with *Commestor*, or *Commestor* with him, agreeing in substance with that translation of *Iunius*: to which words of *Moses* he giueth this sense: *De hac terra Assyriorum pullulauit imperium, qui ex nomine Nini, Bel filij, Ninum condiderunt, urbem magnam, &c.* One of this land grew the Empire of the *Assyrians*, who built *Ninus* the great City, so named of *Ninus* the sonne of *Belus*. On the contrary *Caluim* obiectioneth this place of *Esay*: *Behold the land of the Chaldeans, this was no people, Assur founded it by the inhabitants of the wilderness*; than which there is no one place in the Scriptures, that hath a greater diuersitie in the translation and vnderstanding, in so much as *Michael de Palatio* vpon *Esay* (though in all else very diligent) passeth it ouer. But *Caluim* conceiue hereby to inferre, that because *Assur* founded the state of the *Chaldeans*, therefore also *Assur* rather than *Nimrod* established the *Assyrian* Empire, and built *Ninive*: contrary to the former translation of *Iunius*, and to his owne opinion. Now out of the *Vulgar* (called *Hieromes* translation) it may be gathered that *Assur* both founded & ruined this Estate or Citie of the *Chaldeans*, by *Esay* remembered: vnto which Citie, People, or State, he plainly telleth the *Tyrans* that they cannot trust, or hope for reliefe thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this Citie of *Chaldea*, and that Estate, an example vnto those *Phenicians*, whom in this place he fore-telleth of their ruine: which Citie of *Chaldea* being of strength, and carefully defended, was (notwithstanding) by the *Assyrians* vtterly wasted, and destroyed: whereby he giueth them knowledge, and foretelleth them, that their owne Citie of *Tyre* (invincible, as themselves thought) should also sooner after be ouerturned by the same *Assyrians*: as (indeed) it was by *Nabuchodonosor*. And these be the words after *Hierome*. *Ecce terra Chaldaeorum, talis populus non fuit, Assur fundauit eam, in captiuitatem traduxerunt robustos eius, suffoderunt domos eius, posuerunt eam in ruinam*, (which is)

Behold the Land of the Chaldeans, such a people there were not (or, this was no people, after the Genes) *Assur* (or the *Assyrians*) founded it, they carried away their strong men captive, they undermined their houses, and ruined their Citie. The *Septuagint* expresse it but in a part of another Verse, in these words: *Et in terra Chaldeorum, & hec desolata est ab Assyris, quoniam murum eius corruit*; making the sense perfect by the preceding Verse, which all together may be thus understood: *If thou goe over to Chittim* (which is *Alcedon* or *Greece*) *yet thou shalt not rest* (speaking to the *Tyrians*) *neither in the Land of the Chaldeans, for this is made desolate by the Assyrians, because their wals fell together to the ground.* *Paginnus* and *Yatablus* conuert it thus: *Eccce terra Chasidim, iste populus non erat illic olim; nam Assur fundauit dam nauibus, exseruit arces illius; contriuerunt ades eius, posuit eam in ruinam*: which may be thus Englished: *Behold the Land of the Chaldeans, this people was not once therein inhabiting: for Assur built it a harbour for ships, they erected the Towers thereof, and againe brake downe the houses thereof, and ruinated it.* *Iunius* in the place of ships sets the word (*pro Barbaris*) that is, for the *Barbarians*: and the *Genes*, by the *Barbarians*. But this is vnderstood that the Prophet *Esay* as may be gathered by all the sense of the Chapter did therein assure the *Tyrians* of their future destruction, which (accordingly) fell on them: wherein (for the more terrour) he maketh choice to note the calamities of those Places, Cities, and Regions, by whose Trade the state and greatness of the *Tyrians* was maintained; as by the *Cilicians* from *Tharsis*; from the *Macedonians*, and other *Grecians* vnder the name of *Cittim*; also by the *Egyptians*, the *Chaldeans*, and the rest. For *Tyre* was then the Mart Town of the World most renowned. And (as it appears in our discourse of *Paradise*) not the least part of her chiefe merchandize came in by the Citie *Vr* or *Vrchoas* in *Chaldea*, where the body or chiefe streame of *Euphrates* (cuen that streame which runneth through *Babylon* & *Orra*, which now falleth into *Tygrus*) had his passage into the *Persian Gulfe*: though now it be stopped vp. For (as we haue heretofore noted) the *Arabians* (that descended from *Sheba* and *kaamah*) dwelling on the east banks of the *Persian Gulfe*, trading with the *Tyrians* (as those of *Eden*, *Charran*, and *Chalne* did) transported their merchandize by the mouth of *Tygrus*, that is, from *Teredon*, & of *Euphrates*, that is, from *Vr* or *Vrchoas*: and then by *Babylon*, and thence by Riuer and ouer Land they conueyed it into *Syria*, and so to *Tyre*: as they doe this day to *Aleppo*. So then *Vr* of the *Chaldees* was a Port Towne, and one of those Cities which had Intelligence, Trade, and Exchange with the *Tyrians*: for it stood by the great Lakes of *Chaldea*, through which that part of *Euphrates* ran, which passage is now flopt vp. *Eius cursum vetustas aboleuit* (saith *Niger*). And *Plinie*: *Locus ubi Euphrasii effluuium fuit, flumen salsum*; Time hath worne away the channell of *Euphrates*: the place where the mouth thereof was, is a Bay of salt water. These things being thus, certainly (not without good probability) we may expound the Citie of the *Chaldees*, whose calamities *Esay* here noteth for terrour of the *Tyrians*, to be the Citie anciently called *Vr*; and (by *Hecataeus*) *Camerina*; by *Ptolomie*, *Vrchoas*; and by the *Greekes*, *Chaldeopolis*, The Citie of *Chaldea*: which the sonnes of *Shem*, vntill *Abrahams* time inhabited. And whereas in all the Translations it is said, that *Assur* both founded it and ruined it: it may be vnderstood, that *Assur* the Founder was the sonne of *Shem*; and *Assur* the destroyers were the *Assyrians*, by whom those that inhabited *Vr* of *Chaldea*, were at length oppressed and brought to ruine: which thing God foreseeing, commanded *Abraham* thence to *Carran*, and so into *Canaan*. And if the Hebrew word by *Yatablus* and *Paginnus* conuerted (by ships) doe beare that sense, the same may be the better approued; because it was a Port Towne: and the Riuer so farre vp as this Citie of *Vr* was in ancient time nauigable, as both by *Plinie* and *Niger* appeareth. And if the word (for the *Barbarians*) or (by the *Barbarians*) be also in the Hebrew Text, it is no lesse manifest, that the most barbarous *Arabians* of the Desert were and are the confronting, and next people of all other vnto it. For *Chaldea* is now called *Arachaldar*, which significth desert Lands, because it ioyneth to that part of *Arabia* so called: and *Cicero* (calling those *Arabians* by the name of *Isuraens*) addeth, that they are of all other people the most salvage; calling them, *Homines omnium maxime barbaros*.

So as this place of *Esay*, which breedeth some doubt in *Caluin*, proueth in nothing the contrarie opinion, nor in any part weakeneth the former translation of *Iunius*, nor the interpretation of *Comester* and *Rabanus*. For though other men haue not conceiued (for any thing that I haue read) that *Assur* is in this place diuersly taken (as for the sonne

of

of *Shem*, when he is spoken of as a Builder of *Vr*; and when as a Destroyer thereof, then for the *Assyrian* Nation) yet certainly the euidence of the truth, and agreement of circumstances seeme to enforce it. And so this Founding of the Citie of the *Chaldees* by *Assur* (into which the most of the posteritie of *Shem* that came into *Shinaar*, and were separate for the Idolatrie of the *Chusites* and *Nimrodians*, retired themselves) hath nothing in it to proue that the same *Assur* built *Nineue*, or that the same *Assur* was all one with *Ninus*, except we will intake *Assur*, who was the sonne of *Shem*, both an Idolater, and the sonne of *Belus*. For (out of doubt) *Ninus* was the first notorious Sacrificer to Idols, and the first that set vp a Statue or Image to be honoured as god. Now if *Assur* must be of that Race, and not of the Familie of *Shem*, as he must be if he founded *Nineue*, then all those which seeke to giue him the honor thereof, doe him by a thousand parts more iniurie, by taking from him his true Parent and Religion.

Besides, if it is supposed *Assur* whom they make the Founder of *Nineue* (and so the sonne of *Belus*) were any other, and not the same with *Ninus*; then what became of him? Certainly he was very vnworthy and obscure, & not like to be the Founder of such an Empire and such a Citie, if no man haue vouchsafed to leaue to posteritie his expulsion thence, and how he lost that Empire againe or quitted it to *Ninus*: whose acts and conquests are so largely written, and (according to my apprehension) farre differing from truth. It will therefore be found best agreeing to Scripture and to Reason, and best agreeing with the storie of that age written by prophane Authors, that *Nimrod* founded *Babel*, *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalne*, the first workes and beginnings of his Empire, according to *Moses*; and that these workes being finished within the Valley of *Shinaar*, he looked farther abroad, and set in hand the worke of *Ninus*, lying neere vnto the same streame that *Babel* & *Chalne* did: which work his grand-child *Ninus* afterward amplified and finished, as *Semiramis* (this *Ninus* his wife) did *Babylon*. Hence it came to passe, that as *Semiramis* was counted the Foundresse of the Citie which she onely finished: so also *Ninus* of *Nineue*: *Quam quidem Babylonem posuit instaurare, She migis reparare & reuere Babylon*, saith *S. Augustine*. For so did *Nabuchodonosor* vaunt himselfe to bee the Founder of *Babylon* also, because he built vp againe some part of the wall, ouer-borne by the furie of the Riuer: which worke of his stood till *Alexanders* time, whereupon hee

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## §. IIII.

Of the Acts of *Nimrod* and *Belus*, as farre as now they are knowne.

But to returne to the Storie, it is plaine in *Moses*, that *Nimrod* (whom *Philo* interpreteth *transfugium*; and *Iulius Africanus* surnamed *Saturne*) was the establisher of the *Babylonian Monarchie*, of whom there is no other thing written, than that his Empire in the beginning consisted of those 4. Cities before remembered, *Babel*, *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*: and that from hence he propagated his Empire into *Assyria*, and in *Assyria* built four more Cities (to wit) *Nineue*, *Rebbooth*, *Celab*, and *Resen*. And seeing that he spent much time in building *Babel* it selfe and those adioyning, and that his trauailes were many ere he came into *Shinaar*: that worke of *Babel* (such as it was) with the other three Cities, and the large foundation of *Nineue*, and the other Cities of *Assyria* which he builded (considered with the want of materials, and with other impediments) were of greater difficultie than any thing performed by his Successors in many yeeres after: to whose vndertakings time had giuen so great an increase of people, and the examples and patterns of his beginning so great an aduancement and encouragement: in whose time (saith *Glycas*) all these Nations were called *Merores*, a *sermonis linguarum terrarum diuisione*; By reason that the earth and the speech were then diuided.

*Belus*, or *Bel*, or *Iupiter Belus*, succeeded *Nimrod*, after he had reigned 114. yeeres; of whose acts and vndertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he spent much of his time in dis-burdening the low Lands of *Babylon*, and drying and making firme ground of all those great Fennes & ouer-flowne Marishes which adioyned vnto it. For any of his Warres or conquests there is no report, other than of his begun enterprise against *Sabatus* King of *Armenia*, and those parts of *Scythia* which *Berosus* calls *Scythia Segae*, whose sonne and successor *Barzanes* became subiect and Tributarie to *Ninus*, that followed the warre to effect, which was by his Father *Belus* beginne.

§. V.

## §. V.

That we are not to marvel how so many Kingdomes should be erected about these times: and of Vexoris of Egypt, and Tanais of Scythia.

That so many Kingdomes were erected in all those Easterne parts of the World so soon after *Nimrod*, (as by the storie of *Nimrod* is made manifest) the causes were threefold (namely) Opportunitie, Example, and Necessitie. For Opportunitie being a Princesse liberal and powerfull, bestowed on her first Entertainers many times more benefits, than either Fortune can, or Wisdom ought, by whose presence alone the vnderstanding mindes of men receive all those helps and supplies, which they either want or wish for: so as every Leader of a troupe (after the division of tongues and dispersion of People) finding these faire offers made vnto them, held the power which they posselt, and governed by discretion all those people, whom they conducted to their destined places. For it cannot be conceived, that when the Earth was first divided, mankind straggled abroad like beasts in a Desert; but that by agreement they disposed themselves, & vnder-tooke to inhabit all the known parts of the world, and by distinct Families and Nations: otherwise, those remote Regions from *Babylon* and *Shinar*, which had Kings, and were peopled in *Nimrod* time; would not have bene possit in many hundreds of yeeres after, as then they were; neither did those that were sent, and traueiled far off order being the true parent of prosperous success, vnder take so difficult enterprizes without a Conduer or Gouernander. Secondly, the Example of *Nimrod* with whom it succeeded well, strengthened every humor that aspired. Thirdly, Necessitie refolued all men by the arguments of common miseries, that without a Commander and Magistrate, neither could those that were laborious, & of honest dispositions, enjoy the harvest of their owne Trauailes: nor those which were of little strength, secure themselves against forcible violence: nor those which sought after any proportion of greatness, either posselt the same in quiet, or rule and order their owne Ministers and Attendants.

That these causes had wrought these effects, the vnder takings & Conquests of *Nimrod* (the son of *Belus*) made it apparant: for hee found euery where Kings and Monarchies, what way soeuer his Ambition led him in the Warres.

But *Nimrod* (his Grand-father) had no companion King, to vsknown, when he first tooke on him Soueraignty and sole commandement of all those the children of *Noah*, which came from the East into *Babylonia*; though in his life time others also raised themselves to the same estate; of which hereafter, *Belus* (his sonne and Successor) found *Sabatus* King of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, sufficiently powerfull to resist his attempts: which *Sabatus* I take to be the same, which *Iustine* calls *Tanais*; and should coniecture, that *Mizraim* had bene his *Vexoris*, were it not that I vehemently suspect some error, (as *Iustine* placeth him) in the time of that *Vexoris*, who by many circumstances seemes to me, rightly accounted by the Iudicious and Learned *Reinceius*, all one with the great *Sesoftris*, that liued certaine Ages after *Nimrod*. This *Belus*, the second King of *Babylon*, reigned 65. yeeres, according to the common account.

## §. VI.

Of the name of *Belus*, and other names asfine vnto it.

Hence this second King and Successor of *Nimrod* had the name of *Bel*, or *Belus* question hath bene made: for it seemeth rather a name imposed, or (of addition) giuen by *Nimrod*, than assumed by *Belus* himselfe.

*Cyrollus* against *Iulian* calls the Father of *Nimrod* *Arbelus*, affirming that he was the first of all men that caused himselfe to be called a god: which were it so, then might the name of *Belus* be thence deriued. But *Bel*, as many Learned Writers haue obserued, signifieth the Sunne in the *Chaldean* Tongue; and therefore did *Nimrod*, and *Semiramis* giue that name to their Father, that he might be honoured as the Sun, which the *Babylonians* worshipped as a god. And as this Title was assumed in after-times by diuers others of the *Chaldean* Princes, and *Babylonian* Satraps: so was it vied (in imitation) by the chiefe of the *Carthaginians* and other Nations, as some Historians haue conceiued.

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To this *Bel*, or *Belus*, pertaine (as in affinitie) those voyces of *Beel*, *Baalim*, *Belphegor*, *Beelphegor*, *Belschub*, and *Beelshaphan*. Those that are learned in the Hebrew and Chaldean conuert the word *Beel* by the Latine, *Principis militie*, Chief of the warre; though *Daniel* was so called (saith *Saides*) Ob honorem explanationis arcumorum eorum. In honour of his expounding secrets. Saint *Hierome* makes *Bel*, *Beel*, and *Baal*, to haue the same signification: and saith, that the Idoll of *Babylon* was so called, which *Nimrod* in memorie of his father set vp to be worshipped: to which that he might adde the more honour and reuerence, he made it a Sanctuarie and refuge for all offenders. Hence (saith *Lyrannus*) came Idolatry, and the first vie of Images into the World. *Affidore* doth interpret *Bel* by *Vetus*, old or ancient; adding, that as among the *Affyrians* it is taken for *Saturne* and the *Sunne*: so in the *Punische* or *Carthaginian* Language it signifieth God, *Glycai* makes it an *Affyrian* name properly; and *Iosephus* a *Tyrian*. He also affirmeth that the Idoll which the *Moabites* worshipped (by them erected on the Mountaine *Phegor*, or *Pear*, and called *Baal*) is the same which the *Latines* call *Prapus*, the god of Gardens; which also was the opinion of *S. Hierome*. But that the word *Bel*, or *Beel*, was as much to say as God, appeareth by the word *Beelzebub*, the Idoll of *Ascaron*. For *Bel*, or *Beel* foundeth (God) and *Sebub* (Flies or Hornets): by which name (notwithstanding) the *Irues* expresse the Prince of Devils. But the Prophet *Ose* teacheth vs the proper signification of this word from the voice of God himselfe, And at that day (saith the Lord) thou shalt call me *Ishti*, and shalt call me no more *Baalim*: for I will take away the name of *Baalim* out of their mouths. For although the name of *Baal*, or *Babal*, be iustly to be vied towards God; yet in respect that the same was giuen to Idols; God both hated it & forbad it. And the vying of the word *Bel* among the *Chaldeans* for the *Sunne*, was not because it properly signifieth the Sun, but because the *Sunne* there was worshipped as a God: as also the *Fire* was; *quoniam Salus particula*. As for the words compounded (before rankebreed) as *Belphegor*, and *Beelshaphan*, *Belphegor* is expounded out of *Facrus*, *Dominus speculæ*, and *custodia*: The Lord of the watch-Tower, or of the Guard: the other word noteth the Idoll, and the place wherein it was worshipped. It is also written *Belphegor*, or *Baalpeor*: and *Peor* (they say) it as much as *Demoniacus*; and therefore the word ioyned expresseth a naked Image. Some there are that call this *Belus* the sonne of *Saturne*: for it was vied among the Ancients to name the Father *Saturne*, the sonne *Iupiter*, and the Grand-child *Hercules*. *Saturni dicuntur familiarum Nobilium Regumq; qui urbes considerant sensissimis springentis cornu*. *Ioues & Iunones*; *Hercules vero nepotes eorum fortissimi*. The ancientest of Noble Families and Kings which founded Cities, are called *Saturnines*; their first borne *Iupiters* and *Iunoes*; their valliant *Nepewes* *Hercules*. But this *Belus* (saith *L. Viner*) was famous by reason of his warlike sonne *Nimrod*, who caused his father to be worshipped as a God by the name of *Iupiter*. *Babyloniis*, whom the *Egyptians* (transported by the Dreams of their Antiquitie) make one of theirs. For *Nephtune* (say they) vpon *Libye* the Daughter of *Epaphus* began this *Iupiter* *Belus*, who was father to *Aegyptus*. They adde, that this *Belus* carrying a Colonie to the Riuer of *Euphrates*, there built a Citie, in which he ordained Priests after the *Egyptian* manner. But were there any *Belus* the sonne of *Epaphus* and *Isis*, or of *Nephtune* and *Libye*, or (with *Eufichius*) of *Telephus*, who after the death of *Apus* married *Isis*, (*Cecrops* then reigning in *Athenes*) the same was not this *Babylonian* *Belus* of whom wee speake, but rather some other *Belus*, of whom the *Egyptians* so much vaunted.

## §. VII.

Of the worshipping of Images begun from *Belus* in *Babel*.

As for the *Babylonian* *Belus*, hee was the most ancient *Belus*, and the Inuentor of *Astronomie*, if *Plinie* say true: from whence the *Egyptians* might borrow both the name and the Doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which his Statue or Image was honoured as a God, the same Author affirmeth that it did remaine in his time.

Of the Sepulchre of *Belus*, *Strabo* writeth thus. *Over the Riuer*. (saith he) there are Gardens, where they say the ashes of *Belus* his Tomb, which *Xerxes* brake up, are yet remaining. It was a square Pyramid made of Bricke, a furlong high, and on euery side it had a furlong in breadth. It appeareth by *Cyrollus* against *Iulian*, that hee obtained diuine worship yet living.

living: for so he writes of him (calling him *Arbelus*). *Arbelus, vir superbus & arrogans, primus hominum dicitur a subditis Deitatu nomen accepisse: Perferentem igitur Affryj, & finitima illi gentes sacrificantes ei: Arbelus, a man very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the first of all men that was ever honoured by their subjects with title of Deitie: for with the name of God.* The *Affryans* therefore, and the bordering nations have perfected, sacrificing to him. Euen *Arius* also, whom *Suidas* calls *Thurax*, who succeeded next after *Ninus*, was made an Idoll of among them, if we credit *Suidas*.

After *Ninus* (that is, after *Ninyas*) *Thurax* reigned (saith *Suidas*) whom they called after the name of the Planet *Mars*, a man of sharpe and fierce disposition, who bidding battaile to *Caucasus* of the stocke of *Iapheth*, slue him. The *Affryans* worshipped him for their God, and called him *Baal* (that is) *Mars*; thus saith *Suidas*. Neither is it unlikely but that many among Idolatrous nations were Deified in their life-times, or soon after: though I denie not but that the most of their Images and Statues were first erected without diuine worship, onely in memorie of the glorious acts of Benefactors, as *Glycas* rightly conceiue, and so afterward the Deuill crept into those wooden and brazen carcases, when Posteritie had lost the memorie of their first inuention. Hercof *Isidore* speaketh in this manner: *Quos autem Pagani Deus asserunt homines fuerant, & pro uini uisui, uisite meritis uel magnificentijs, soli apud suos post mortem ceperunt: sed Deimonibus persuadentibus: quos illi pro sua memoria honorauerunt, minores Deos exilluminant: ad ista uero magis excolenda acceperunt Poetarum figmenta: They were men (saith he) whom the Pagans ascribed to be gods: and every one for his merits or magnificence began after his death to be honoured of his owne. But as length (the Deuill perswading) they accounted them lesser gods, whose memories they honoured: and the Fictions of the Poets made the opinions (concerning the honour of the dead) much more superstitious.*

And that the worshipping of Images was brought in by the Pagans, and Heathen Nations, it is not *Isidore* alone that witnesseth; but *Gregorie*: *Gentilisma est heu inuentrix & caput est imaginum, Gentilisma est the inuentresse and ground of Images: and Ambrose*. *Gentes lignum adorant, sanguinem imaginem Dei: The Gentiles adore wood, as it were the Image of God.* *Eusebius* also affirmeth as much, and calleth the worshipping of Images a custome borrowed of the Heathen. The like hath Saint *Augustine* against *Admantus*. *Et ueretur* (saith *Lactantius*) *ne religio uana sit, si uisibilis uideant quod adorant: They feare their Religion would be vaine, should they not see that which they worship.*

And (out of doubt) the Schoolemen shifft this fearefull custome very strangely. For seeing the very workmanship is forbidden, how can the heart of a wise Christian satisfie it selfe with the distinction of *Doubla* and *Hyperdoula*, which can imply nothing but some difference of worshipping of those Images after they are made: And it is of all things the most strange, why religious and learned men should feaine their wits to defend the vse of those things, which the Scriptures haue not onely nowhere warranted, but expressly in many places forbidden, and cursed the Practisers thereof. Yet this doctrine of the Deuill was so strongly & subtilly rooted, as neither the expresse Commandement of God himselfe, *Thou shalt not make any grauen image*, nor all the threatnings of *Moses* and the Prophets after him could remoue, weed nor by feare, or by perswasions leade the hearts of men from it. For where shall we find words of greater weight, or of plainer instruction than these? *Take therefore good heed to youn felles (for yet saw no Image in the day that the Lord spake vnto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire) that ye corrupt not your faces, & make you a grauen Image or representation of any Figure, whether it be the likenesse of Male or Female.*

And besides the expresse Commandement, *Thou shalt not make thes no grauen Image*, and the prohibition in many Scriptures, so it is written in the Booke of *Wisdom*, That the inuention of Idols was the beginning of whoredome: and the finding of them the corruption of life: for they were not from the beginning, neither shall they continue for ever.

And whereas the Schoolemen affirme, that the Prophets spake against the Worshipping of the Heathen Idols, it is manifest that *Moses* spake of Images of the living God, and not of *Baal* and the rest of that nature, For you saw no Image (saith *Moses*) that day that the Lord spake vnto you in Horeb. Surely it was excellently said of *Basil*, *Noli aliquam in illa forma imaginari, ne circumfribis eum mente tua: Doe not imagine any forme to be in God, lest thou limit or circumscribe him in thy minde thou.* Now, if the great *Basil* thought it a presumption vnlawfull to represent a pattern of the infinite God to our owne

thoughts, and minde, how farre doe those men presume that put him vnder the greazie Penzell of a Painter, or the rustie Axe or other Instrument of a Carpenter or Caruer?

For as this dissolution to the infinite and incomprehensible God beganne in *Babel*: so did the Deuill transport and spread this inuention into all the Regions adioyning, and into *Egypt* and *Greece*.

The *Romans* for a while resisted the creation of these Idols and Images, refusing to set them in their Temples for 70. yeeres, observing the Law of *Numa*, who thought it impie to resemble things most beautifull, by things most base. But *Tarquinius Priscus* afterwards preuailing, and following the vanitie of the *Gracians* (a Nation of all others vnder the Sunne most deluded by Satan) set vp the Images of their gods; which (as *S. Augustine* witnesseth) that Learned *Varro* both bewailed, and vtterly condemned: and which *Seneca* thus derideth, *Simulachra deorum venerantur, illis supplicat, genus positilla adorant, & cum his supplicat, fabris qui illa fecere contemunt: The Images of the gods are worshipped, those they pray vnto, with bearded knees those they adore; and while they so greatly admire them they contemne the Handicraftsmen that made them: which alio *Sedulius* the Poet in this sort scoffed at:*

*Huiusmodi qui uana colunt, qui tunc sinistro  
Religio sibi sculptunt simulachra, suumque  
Factorem fugiunt, & quae fecere uerentur.  
Quis furor est? quae tanta animos dementia ludis?  
P' volucrem, turpemque bouem, toruuntque  
Semi-hominemque, canem supplex homo prout adorat.*

Ah wretched they that worship vanities,  
And consecrate dumbe Idols in their heart,  
Who their owne Maker (God on high) dispise,  
And feare the worke of their owne hands and art.  
What furie! what great madnesse doth beguile  
Mens mindes that man should vgly shapes adore,  
Of Birds, or Buls, or Dragons, or the vile  
Halfe-dogge-halfe-man on knees for aide implore.

And though this deuice was barbarous, and first, and many yeeres practised by Heathen Nations only, till the *Jewes* were corrupted in *Egypt*, yet it is not *Seneca* alone that laugheth to scorn the ignorant stupiditie of his Nation: but *Iustin Martyr* remembreth how the *Syrijs* inueighed against Images: and *Hospinian*, how *Sophocles* taught, that it was pernicious to the soules of men to erect and adore those Babels. *Strabo* and *Hecataeus* witnesseth, that the *Persians* did not erect or set vp any Statues of their Gods. *Augustine* neuer taught it the *Lacedaemonians*, but thought it impie to represent immortall natures by mortall Figures. *Augustine* also witnesseth in his sixt Booke de preparatione Evangelica, that it was forbidden by a Law in *Serica*, or among the *Brachmans* in *India*, that Images should be worshipped. The same doe *Tacitus* and *Crinus* report of the ancient  *Germans*. Many other Authois might be remembered that witnesseth the disdaine, which the Heathen themselves had of this childish Idolatrie: of which *Hospinian* hath written at large in his *Tract de origine imaginum*. And it was truly sayd, *Omnia mala exempla bonis inuisis uita sunt, Alii illi exempla bene, frangit frangit bona beginnings.* The Heathen at first made these Statues and Images, but in memorie of such remarkable men, as had deformed best of their Countries & Common wealthis: *Effigies hominum* (saith *Pliny*) *non solebant exprimi, nisi aliquando illis causa perperam autem mercedis: Adm uero non want to make Pictures, but of men, which merited for some notable cause to be perpetually remembered.* And though of the more ancient *Rapish*, some haue borrowed of the *Gentiles* (as appeares in *Lactantius*) that defence for Images: That *Simulachra non pro elemenis literarum, uo per ca different homines Deum inuisibilem cognoscere: Images* (say they, and so before them the Heathen said) *are in stead of Letters, whereby men might learne to know the inuisible God: in which vnderstanding perhaps they no otherwise esteemed them than pictures indeed; yet as that of *Baal* or *Dea*, set vp in memory of *Babel* the *Babylonian* became afterward the most frequented Idoll of the World, by which so many Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himselfe) were misled, and cast away) to those very stocks & stones, and*

Greg. Nectas  
Ambrosius  
Eusebius  
Augustine  
Lactantius

10

30

40

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and painted Canuaes (called the pictures of *Christ*, our *Ladie*, and others) were by thousands of ignorant people, not onely adored, but esteemed to haue life, motion, and vnderstanding. On these *stocks* we call (saith the Booke of *Wisdom*) which were passe through the raging waves, on these *stocks* were rotten than the Ship that carrieth them.

This Heathen inuention of Images became so fruitfull in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of gods, that they were forced to distinguish them into degrees and orders; as *Dij consentes*, *sem maiorum gentium*; *selecti*, *Patrii*, *insigniores*, *dij melij*; *Con-felling gods*, or gods of the mightiest Nobilitie; *selecti gods*; *Patrii*, gods of marke, and common gods (which the *Romans* called *Medioximi*) *dij infimi*, and terrestriall *Heriges*, and multitudes of other gods: of which *Saint Augustine* hath made large mention in his Booke de *Ciuitate Dei*. But (saith *Lactantius*) among all those miserable soules and rotten bodies, worshipped by men more like to their Idols, did *Epimeides Cretensis* (by what good Angell moued I know not) erect in the *Athenian* Fields; Altar to the yknowne God, which stood with the same title and dedication euen to the times of *S. Paul*: who made them first know to whom these Altars belonged, and opened their eyes which were capable of grace, that they might discern the difference betwixt that light which lighteneth every man, and the obscure and sinking mist wherein the Deuill had so manie yeeres led and misled them. And it sufficed not that the multitude of these gods was so great in generall, or that every Nation had some one which tooke particular and singular care of them, as *Iupiter* in *Creete*, *Isis* in *Egypt*, in *Athen* *Minerua*, in *Samos* *Iuno*, in *Paphos* *Venus*, and so of all other parts; but every Citie, and almost every Family had a god a-part. For, as it is written in the second of *Kings*, the men of *Babel*, made *Succoth Benoth*, and the men of *Cuth* made *Nergal*, and the men of *Hamath* made *Albima*, and the *Amies* made *Nibbaz* and *Turtak*, and the *Sephernaim* burnt their children in the fire to *Adramelech*. All which how plainly hath the Prophet *Esay* derided: *Mencut downe Trees, rinde them, burne a part of them, make reddie their meate, and warme themselves by the fire thereof, and of the residue he maketh a god; an Idol, and prayeth vnto it: but God hath shut their eyes from sight, and their heart from vnderstanding.* It is therefore safest for a Christian to beleene the Commandements of God so direct against Idolatrie, to beleue the Prophets, and to beleue *S. Paul*: who speaketh thus plainly and feelingly, *My beloued, flye from Idolatrie, I speake as vnto them which haue vnderstanding, iudge ye what I say.*

## §. VIII.

Of the warres of *Ninus*: and lastly of his warre against *Zoroaster*.

Vnto this *Belus* succeeded *Ninus*, the first that commanded the exercise of Idolatrie, the first that inuiously invaded his Neighbour Princes, and the first that without shame or feare committed adulterie in publique. But as of *Belus* there is no certaine memorie (as touching particulars:) so of this *Ninus* (whose storie is gathered out of Prophane Authors) I find nothing so warrantable, but that the same may be dispured, and in the greatest part doubted. For although that piece of *Berosus* set out and commented vpon by *Amnius*, hath many good things in it, and giueth great light (as *Chrysostom* noteth) to the vnderstanding of *Diadorus Siculus*, *Dion*, *Helicarnassensis*, and others: yet *Lodonicus Viner*, *B. Rhemans*, and others after them, haue layed open the imperfection and defects of the Fragment, prouing directly that it cannot be the same *Berosus* which lived in *Alexanders* time, cited by *Athenaus* and *Iosephus*: and whose *Strabo* the *Athenians* erected, saith *Plinius*. Yet it is from him chiefly, that many haue gathered the succession of the *Babylonian* & *Assyrian* Princes, euen from *Nimrod* to the eighteenth King *Absades*, and to the times of *Iesus*. For of *Metasthenes* an Historian, of the Race of the *Persian* Priests, there are found but certaine Papers, or some few lines of the *Chaldean* and *Assyrian Monarchies*; but he afterwards in the collection of the *Persian* Kings is not without his errors.

*Ctesias* of *Chius* Ya Citie adioyning to *Halicarnassensis* who liued together with *Cyrus* the younger, and with *Alexander* *Mnemon*, gathered his Historie out of the *Persian* Records, & reacheth as farre vponward as *Nimrod* and *Semiramis*, and though in the storie of *Cyrus* the younger, *Xenophon* approoueth him in some things, and *Athenaus*, *Pausanias* and *Tertullian* cite him; yet so beate and apparant are his flatteries of the times and Prin-

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ces with whom he liued, & so incredible are the numbers which he finds in the Armies of *Ninus*, and especially of *Semiramis*; as whatsoeuer his reports were, times haue consumed his workes, sauing some very few exceptions lately published.

And therefore in things vncertaine, seeing a long discourse cannot be pleasing to men of iudgement, I wil passe ouer the acts of this third *Assyrian*, in as few words as I can expresse them. *S. Augustine* affirmes that *Ninus* mastered all *Asia*, *India* excepted. Others say that he wanne it all, saue *India*, *Bactria*, and *Arabia*. For he made *Aricus* of *Arabia* the companion of his Conquests, with whom he entred into a straight leagne of amitie, because he commanded many people, and was his kinsman, and a *Chusite*, and the neereft Prince confronting *Babylonia*. His first enterprize was vpon *Syria*, which he might easily subdue, both because he inuaded it on the sodaine, and because it lay next him: and also because the *Arabians* and their king *Aricus* (which bordered *Syria*) assisted him in the Conquest thereof.

The king of *Armenia*, *Barzanes*, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aide him in his Warre against *Zoroaster*: for from *Armenia* he bent himselfe that way toward the East; but that euer he commanded the lesser *Asia*, I doe not beleue, for none of his Successors had any possession therein.

His third Warre was against *Pharnus*, king of the *Medes*, whom it is sayd that he ouerthrew, and cruelly murdered with his seuen Children, though others affirme, that they all died in one battaile against him. Whether he inuaded *Zoroaster* before the building or amplifying of *Nineue*, or after, it is vncertaine. It is said that he made two expeditions into *Bactria*; and that finding little or ill successe in the first, he returned, and set the worke of *Nineue* forward: and then a second time entred *Bactria* with 1700000. Foot, and 200000. Horse, and 10000. fixe hundred Chariots: being encountered by *Zoroaster* with foure hundred thousand. But *Ninus* preauyng, and *Zoroaster* being slaine, he entred farther into the Countrie, and besieged the chiefe Citie thereof, called *Bactra* or *Bactrian* (saith *Stephanus*: ) which by a passage found, and an assault given by *Semiramis* (the wife of *Menon*) he entred and possest. Vpon this occasion *Ninus* both admiring her iudgement and valour, together with her person and externall beautie, fancied her so strongly, as (neglecting all Princely respects) he tooke her from her husband, whose eyes he threatned to thrust out if he refused to consent. He therefore yeelding to the passion of loue in *Ninus*, and to the passion of sorrow in himselfe, by the strong perswasions of shame and dishonour, cast himselfe head-long into the water, and died.

## CHAP. XI.

Of *ZOROASTER*, supposed to haue beene the chiefe Author of Magick Arts: and of the diuers kinds of Magicke.

## §. I.

That *Zoroaster* was not Cham, nor the first inuenter of Astrologic, or of Magike: and that there were diuers great Magicians of this name.



*Zoroaster* King of the *Bactrians*, *Vincetius* supposeth to be Cham the sonne of *Noah*: A fancie of little probability. For *Cham* was the Paternall Ancestor of *Ninus*, the Father of *Chus*, the Grand-father of *Nimrod*, whose sonne was *Belus*, the Father of *Ninus*. It may be that *Vincetius* had heard of that booke which was called *Scriptura Cham*, deuised by some wicked Knaue, and so intitled: of which *Sextus Senensis* hath made the due mention.

It is reported by *Cassianus*, that *Serenus Abbas* gaue the inuention of Magike to Cham the sonne of *Noah*: so did *Camefort* in his *Scholasticall Historie*: which Art (saith he) vwith the 7. liberrall Sciences he writ in 14. Pillers: seuen of which were made of brasse, to resist the defacing by the waters of the Flood; and 7. of bricke against the iniurie of fire. There was also another deuised discourse, which went vnder the

*Cassian in Olla. Colepati.*

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the title of *Prophetia Cham*. *Cassianus* out of *Serenus* hath somewhat like to this of *Comellor*. These be *Cassianus* words: *Cham* (*filium* Noah) *qui* *superstitionibus* *istis* & *sacilegis* *suit* *arti*. *bus* *infelix*, *sciens* *nullum* *se* *posse* *super* *his* *memorialibus* *librum* *in* *Arca* *propria* *inferre*, *in* *qua* *erat* *cum* *patre* *in* *ista*, &c. *Cham* (the sonne of Noah) who was infected with these superstitions, and sacrilegious Arts, knowing that he could not bring any booke or memoriall of that nature into the Arke, wherein he was to remaine with his gaddly father, caus'd the precepts and Rules thereof to be grauen in metal and hard stone.

S. Augustine noteth that *Zoroaster* was said to haue laught at his birth, when all other children weepe, which prefiged the great knowledge which afterward he attained vnto: being taken for the Inuenter of naturall Magicke and other Arts; for the Corrupter, <sup>10</sup> faith *Plinie* and *Iustine*. But I doe not thinke that *Zoroaster* inuented the doctrine of the *Horoscopes* or *Natiuities*: or first found out the nature of herbs, stones, and minerals, or their Sympatheticall or Antipatheticall workings; of which, I know not what King of *Chaldea* is also made the Inuenter. I rather thinke that these knowledges were far more ancient, and left by *Nosch* to his sons. For *Abraham* who had not any acquaintance with *Zoroaster*, (as *Iosephus* reporteth) was no lesse learned heerein than any other in that age, if he exceeded not all men then liuing: differing from the wisdom of after-times in this, that he knew and acknowledged the true cause, and giuer of life and vertue to Nature and all Naturall things; whereas others (forgetting Gods infinite, dispersed, and vniuersall power) admired the instruments, and did attribute proper strength to the things themselves, (from which the effects were sensible) which belonged to that wisdom, *which being one, and remaining in it selfe, can doe all things, and reneweth all*.

Now whether this *Zoroaster* (ouer-throwne by *Ninus*) were the same which was so excellent a Naturalist, it is doubted. For *Zoroaster* the Magician, *Ctesius* calls *Oxyartes*, whom *Plinie* finds of a later time. And if *Zoroaster* were taken away by a Spirit (being in the midst of his Disciples) as some Authors report, then *Zoroaster*, slaine by *Ninus*, was not the Magician: which is also the opinion of *Scaliger*.

Again, *Iosephus* and *Cedrenus* affirme, that *Seth* first found out the Planets, or wandering Starrs, and other Motions of the Heauens: for if this Art had beene inuented by *Zoroaster*, he could not haue attained to any such excellencie therein, in his owne lifetime; but being a man (as it seemeth) of singular iudgement, he might adde somewhat to this kind of knowledge, and leaue it by writing to posteritie.

But of this *Zoroaster* there is much dispute; and no lesse iangling about the word & art of Magicke. *Arnobius* remembreth foure, to whom the name of *Zoroaster*, or *Zoroastres* was giuen: which by *Hermadorus* & *Dion* seemeth to be but a cognomen, or name of art, and was as much to say, as *astronomer*. The first, *Arnobius* calleth the *Bactrian*, which may be the same that *Ninus* ouerthrow: the second, a *Chaldean*, and the *Astronomer* of *Ninus*: the third was *Zoroaster Pampylus*, who liued in the time of *Cyrus* and his familiar: the fourth, *Zoroaster Armenius*, the Nephew of *Hystanes*, which followed *Xerxes* into *Greece*: between whom and *Cyrus* there past threecore & eightene years. *Suidas* remembreth a fifth, called *Perfomedus sapiens*: and *Plato* speaketh of *Zoroaster* the son of *Ormazdes*: which *Picus Mirandula* confirmeth.

Now of what Nation the first and chiefe *Zoroaster* was, it is doubted. *Plinie* and *Laertius* make him a *Persian*. *Gemisthius* or *Pleibo*, *Ficinus* and *Stenchius*, make him a *Chaldean*. But by those booke of one *Zoroaster*, found by *Picus Mirandula*, it appeareth plainly, that the Author of them was a *Chaldean* by Nation, though the word (*Chaldean*) was as often giuen to the learned Priests peculiarly, as for any distinguishing of Nations. *Porphyrius* makes the *Chaldean* and *Magi* diuers: *Picus* the same. But that this *Zoroaster* was a *Chaldean* both by Nation and Profession, it appeareth by his Bookes, <sup>10</sup> which (saith *Picus*) were written in the *Chaldean* tongue; and the Comment in the same language. Now that the *Magi* & they were not differing, it may be iudged by the name of those booke of *Zoroaster*, which in an Epistle of *Mirandula* to *Ficinus*, he saith, to be intituled, *Patris Ezre Zoroastris, & Melchior magorum miracula*.

## S. II.

Of the name of *Magia*: and that it was anciently farre diuers from Coniuring and Witchcraft.

**N**OW for Magicke it selfe; which Art (saith *Mirandula*) pauci intelligunt, multi reprehendant; Few vnderstand, and many reprobend; *Esicut Canes ignotos semper allatrant; As Dogs barke at those they know not*: so they condemne and hate the things they vnderstand not: I thinke it not amisse (leauing *Ninus* for a while) to speake somewhat thereof.

It is true that many men abhorre the very name and word (*Magos*) because of *Simon Magus*, who being indeede, not *Magus*, but *Goes*, (that is) familiar with euill spirits, vsurped that title. For Magicke, Coniuring, and Witchery, are far differing Arts, whereof *Plinie* being ignorant scoffeth therat. For *Nero* (saith *Plinie*) who had the most excellent Magicians of the East sent him by *Tyridates* King of Armenia, who held that Kingdom by his grace, found the art after long study and labour altogether ridiculous.

*Magus* is a Persian word primitiue, whereby is exprest such a one as is altogether Porphy & conuerfant in things diuine. And (as *Plato* affirmeth) the Art of Magicke is the Art of worshipping God. To which effect *Apollonius* in his Epistles expounding the Word (*μαγος*) saith, that the Persians called their gods *magyes*; whence he addeeth that *Magus* is either *ὁματος* *φύσιν* *θεῶν* or *δεσποεύς* *θεῶν*, (that is) that *Magus* is a name sometime of him that is a God by nature, sometimes of him that is in the seruice of God: in which latter sense it is taken, *Math. 2. v. 1*. And this is the first and highest kind: which *Piccolomini* calleth diuine Magicke: and these did the Latines newly intitle *Sapientes* or *Wisemen*: For, the feare & worship of God is the beginning of knowledge. These Wisemen the Greeks call Philosophers: the Indians, Brachmans: which name they somewhat neerly retaine to this day, calling their Priests Bramines, among the Egyptians they were termed Priests; with the Hebrewes they were called Cabalists, Prophets, Scribes, and Pharisees; among the Babylonians they were differenced by the name of Chaldeans: & among the Persians Magicians: of whom *Arnobius* (speaking of *Hystanes*, one of the ancient Magicians) <sup>10</sup> vseth these words: *Et verum Deum merita maiestate profecturus, Angelos ministros Dei, sed verius venerationi nouit assilire. Idem demonas prout terrenus, maior, maior, tatis inimicus; Sosthenes* (for so *M. Felix* calleth him, not *Hystanes*) ascribeth the due maiesty to the true God, and acknowledgeth that his Angels are ministers and messengers which attend the worship of the true God. He also hath delineated that there are Devils earthly and wandering, and enemies to mankind.

*Ihs* Maieſtie also in his first Booke of *Demonologie* c. 3. acknowledgeth, that in the Persian tongue the word (*Magos*) imports as much as a contemplator of diuine and heauenlie sciences; but vniuſtly so called, because the Chaldeans were ignorant of the true diuinitie. And it is also right which *Ihs* Maieſtie auoweth, that vnder the name of Magicke all other vnlawfull Arts are comprehended, & yet doth *Ihs* Maieſtie distinguish it from Necromancie, Witchcraft, and the rest: of all which he hath written largely and most learnedly. For the Magicke which *Ihs* Maieſtie condemneth, is of that kinde whereof the Diuelli is a partie. *Daniel* in his second chapter nameth foure kinde of those <sup>10</sup> *Wisemen*: *Arioli*, *Magi*, *Maleſci*, and *Chaldei*. *Arioli* the old Latine translation calleth *Sophists*: *Patablus* and *Pagninus*, *Genethliaci*, or *Physicos*, or *Philosophers*, or (according to the note of *Patablus*) *Naturalists*: *Nempe sunt Magi apud Barbaros, quod Philosophi apud Grecos* (saith *ſcilicet*) *diuinorum humanarumq; rerum scientiam profiteres*. For the *Magi* are the same with the *Barbarians*, as the *Philosophers* are with the *Grecians* (that is) men that proſeſſe the knowledge of things both diuine and humane. The Greeke & the English call them *Enchanters*, *Iunius*, *Magicians*, *Callalio*, *Coniellers*: in the Syrian they are all foure by one name called *Sapientes Babylonii*; The *Wise men of Babel*.

The second sort *Patablus*, *Pagnin*, *Iunius*, and our English, call *Astrologers*, *Hierome* and the *Septuagint*, *Magicians*.

The third kind are *Maleſci*, or *Venefici*; in *Hierom*, *Pagnin*, and the *Septuagint*, *Witches* or *Poyſoners*: in *Iunius*, *Præſtigatores* or *Sorcerers*, as in English.

That *Witches* are also rightly so called *Venefici*, or *Poyſoners*, and that indeed there is a kinde of *Maleſci*, which without any Art of Magicke or Necromancie vſe the helpe



of the Deuill to doe mischief, *His Maiesie* confirmeth in the first Chapter of his second Booke: speaking also in the fifth Chapter of their practice, to mixe the powder of dead bodies with other things by the Deuill prepared: and at other times to make pictures of Waxe, or Clay, or otherwise (as it were *Sacramentaliter*) to effect those things, which the Deuill by other means bringeth to passe.

The fourth, all Translators call *Chaldeans*: who tooke vpon them to foretell all things to come, as well naturall as humane, & their euents: and this they vauited to performe by the influences of the Starres by them obserued, and vnderstood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are the corruptions, which haue made odious the very name of *Magick*, hauing chiefly fought (as is the manner of all impostures) to counterfeite the highest and most noblest part of it, yet so as they haue al-  
10 so crept into the inferior degrees.

A second kind of *Magick* was that part of *Astrologie*, which had respect to sowing and planting, & all kinds of agriculture and husbandrie: which was a knowledge of the motions and influences of the Starres into those lower Elements.

*Philo Indus* goeth farther, affirming, that by this part of *Magick* or *Astrologie*, together with the motions of the Starres and other heavenly bodies, *Abraham* found out the knowledge of the true God, while he liued in *Chaldea*: *Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognovit Creatorem*, (saith *Io. Damascen*) *Who knew the Creator by the contemplation of the creature.* *Iosaphus* reporteth of *Abraham*, that hee instructed the Egyptians in *Arithmetick* and *Astronomie*, who before *Abraham* comming vnto them knew none of these sciences.  
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And to doth *Archangelus de Burgo*, in defence of *Mirandula* against *Gasias*: *Alexander & Eupolemon dicunt, quod Abraham sanctitate & sapientia omnium prestantissimus Chaldeos primus, deinde Phoenices, deumque Egyptianos sacerdotes Astrologiam & diuina docuerit.* *Alexander* (saith he, meaning *Alexander Polyhistor*) and *Eupolemon* affirme, that *Abraham* the holiest and wisest of men, did first teach the *Chaldeans*, then the *Phoenicians*, lastly, the *Egyptian Priests*, *Astrologie* and diuine knowledge.

The third kind of *Magick* containeth the whole Philosophie of nature, not the brabbings of the *Aristotelians*, but that which bringeth to light the inmost vertues, and draweth them out of Natures hidden bosome to humane vse, *Virutes in centro centri latentes*; *Virutes inuolutes in the center of the center*, according to the *Chymists*. Of this sort were *Allertius*, *Arnoldus de villa noua*, *Raymond*, *Bacon*, and many others: and before these in elder times, and who better vnderstood the power of Nature, & how to apply things that worke to things that suffer, were *Zoroaster* before spoken of: *Apollonius Tyranus* remembered by *S. Hierome* to *Paulinus*, in some mens opinion *Numa Pompilius* among the *Romans*: among the *Indians*, *Thespius*: among the *Egyptians*, *Hermes*: among the *Babylonians*, *Budda*: the *Thracians* had *Lamolxis*: the *Hyperboreans* (as is supposed) *Abbaris*: and the *Italians*, *Petrus Aponeusis*. The *Magick* which these men profest, is thus defined: *Magia est conuexio a viro sapiente agentium per naturam cum patientibus sibi conuenienter respondentibus*; *or inde opera prodeunt non sine cura ad imitatione quicquam ignorant: Magicke* 40 *is the connexion of naturall agents and patients, and verifiable each to other, wrought by a wise man to the bringing forth of such effects, as are wonderfull to those that know not their causes.* In all these three kinds, which other men diuide into foure, it seemeth that *Zoroaster* was exceedingly learned: especially in the first and highest. For in his Oracles he confest his God to be the creator of the Vniuersall: he belceueth of the *Trinity*, which he could not inueltigate by any naturall knowledge: he speaketh of Angels, and of *Paradise*: approacheth the immortallitie of the soule: teacheth Truth, Faith, Hope, and Love, discoursing of the Abstinence and Charitie of the *Magi*: Which Oracles of his, *Pyellus*, *Eicinus*, *Patritius*, and others haue gathered and translated.

Of this *Zoroaster*, *Eusebius* in the *Theologie* of the *Phenicians*, vsing *Zoroasters* owne words: *Hec ad verbum scribit* (saith *Eusebius*) *Deus primus incorruptibilis, sempiternus, ingenitus, exers partium, sibi ipsi similis, bonarum omnium auctor, munera non expectans, optimus, prudentissimus, pater iuris, sine doctrina iustitiam perdoctus, natura perfectus, sapiens, sacre nature vnicus inuentor &c.* Thus writeth *Zoroaster* word for word. *God the first incorruptible, euertlasting, vnbegotten, without parts, most like himselfe, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, the best, the wisest, the father of right, hauing learned iustice without teaching, perfect wise by nature, the only inuentor thereof.*

*Sixtus Senensis* speaking of the wisdom of the *Chaldeans*, doth distinguish those wise  
men

men into five orders, (to wit) *Chascedim*, or *Chaldeans*: *Asaphim*, or *Magicians*: *Charismim*, (which he translates *Arlotic*, or *Sophists*) *Mechasphim*, or *Malefici*, or *Venefici*, *Witches*, or *Poisoners*; and *Gazarim*, *Augures*, or *Aruspices*, or *Diminers*.

*Chascedim* were those which had the name of *Chaldeans*, which were *Astronomers*: *His calorum motus diligentissime spectarunt*; *These did most diligently contemplate the motions of the heauens*: whom *Philo* in the life of *Abraham* describeth.

*Asaphim* were in the old *Latinet* translation called *Philosophers*: of the *Septuagint* and of *Hierome*, *Magicians*: *Qui de omnium tam diuinarum quam humanarum rerum causis Philosophati sunt*; *who discoursed of the causes of all things, as well diuine as humane*: of whom *Origen* makes *Balaam* (the son of *Beer*) to be the first: but *Laetius* ascribeth the inuention of this art to *Zoroastres* the *Persian*.  
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*Chartumim*, or *Inchanters*, the Disciples (saith *Saint Augustine*, *Plinie*, and *Iustine*) of another *Zoroastres*: who corrupted the admirable wisdom of the *Magi*, which he receiued from his Ancesters.

*Mechasphim*, or *Venefici*, or *Witches*, are those which we haue spoken already out of *His Maiesies* booke of *Demonologia*.

*Gazarim*, or *Aruspices* (after *Saint Hierome*) which diuine from the entrails of beasts slaine for sacrifices: or by *Gazarim* others vnderstand *Augures*, who diuine by the flying, singing, or feeding of birds.

By this distinction we may perceiue the difference betweene those wise men which the kings of *Babylon* entertained; and that the name and profession of the *Magi* among the ancient *Persians* was most honest. For as *Peucer* truly obserueth, *Praerant religioni Persae, ut in populo Dei Leuitae, studij vera Philosophia dediti erant: nec quisquam Rex magis Persarum poterat esse, qui non antea Magorum disciplinam scientiamq; perceperat*; *The Magi* 15 *(saith he) were the chiefe Ministers of the Persian Religion, as the Leuites among Gods people, and they were giuen to the studies of true Philosophie: neither could any be King of the Persians, who had not first bene exercised in the mysteries and knowledge of the Magi.* *Sixtus Senensis* in the defence of *Origen* against *Polychronius* and *Theophilus*, hath two kinds of *Magick*, his owne words are these: *Et ne quem moueat praemissa Polychronij & Theophilij testimo-* 20 *nia, sciendum est duplicem esse Magiam, alteram vrbij, ab Origine damnatam, quae per se a-* *dera cum demonibus initia aut verè aut apparenter operatur; alteram ab Origine laudatam, quae ad praelicem naturalis philosophia pertinet, docens admirabiles res operans ex applicatione mutua naturalium virtutum ad inuicem agentium ac patientium*; *That the testimonies of Theophilus and Polychronius (saith he) may not moue any man, it is to be understood that Magick is of two sorts, the one euery where condemned by Origen; which worketh (whether truly or seemingly) by conuents made with Deuills; the other commended by Origen; which appertaineth to the practice part of naturall Philosophie, teaching to worke admirable things by the mutuall application of naturall vertues, agent and suffering reciprocally.*

This partition *Hierome* doth embrace in the first of his Commentaries vpon *Daniel*: where considering of the difference which *Daniel* makes betweene these foure kinds of wise Men formerly remembered, he vseth this distinction: *Quos nos hariclos; cateris uero magos id est incantatores interpretati sunt, videntur mihi esse qui uerbum peragunt*; *Magi, qui de singulis philosophantur, malefici, qui sanguine utuntur & uiculis, & sepe contingunt corpora mortuorum: porro in Chaldeis Genethliacos significari puto, quos vulgo Mathematicos vocant. Confectu autem communis Magos pro malefici accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gentem suam, eo quod sint Philosophi Chaldaeorum: & ad istam huius scientiam Reges quoq; & Principes eiusdem gentis omnia faciunt; unde & in nativitate Domini Saluatoris ipsi primum ortum eius intellexerunt, & venientes sanctam Bethlehem ad-* 30 *uertunt puerum, stella desuper ostendente; They whom we call Sorcerers, and others interpret Inchanters, seeme to mee such as performe things by words; Magicians, such as handle euery thing philosophically; Witches, that vse blood and sacrifices, and often lay hands on the body of the dead: further, among the Chaldeans I take them to be signified by the name of Coniectors vpon nativities, whom the vulgar call Mathematicians. But common euill takes Magicians for Witches, who are otherwise reputed in their own Nations for they are the Philosophers of the Chaldeans; yea Kings and Princes of that Nation doe all that they doe according to the knowledge of this Art: whence at the nativite of the Lord our Saviour they first of all vnderstood his birth, and comming vnto holy Bethlehem did worship the Child; the Starre from above shewing him vnto them.* By this therefore it appeareth that there is  
P 3 great

De vit. sanct.  
Cyc. Annot.  
fol. 180.

See vpon his  
Comment. in  
Aug. ciuit.  
Dei lib. 8. c. 1.

¶ Totum inueni-  
da laet. Triu-  
cuius Monas est  
principia uel  
magis, per se, et  
pater, & muni-  
triditid sit in  
de.

¶ Ipsi & iust.  
De prop. Ewang.  
lib. 1. cap. 7.

Lib. 1. fol. 15.

great difference between the doctrine of a *Magician*, and the abuse of the word. For though some Writers affirme, that *Magus hodie dicitur, qui ex facere facto vitiorum diabolica opera ad rem quamcumque*; That he is called a *Magician* now-a-days, who having entred league with the *Devill*, useth his helps to any matter: yet (as our Saviour said of *Diuorce*) it was not so from the beginning. For the Art of *Magick* is of the wisdom of Nature, other Arts which vndergoe that title, were inuented by the fallhood, subtilty, & enuy of the *Devill*. In the latter there is no other doctrine, than the vse of certaine ceremonies, *Per mala fides, by an euill faith*: in the former no other ill, than the inuestigation of those vertues and hidden properties which God hath giuen to his creatures, and how fitly to apply things that worke to things that suffer. And though by the *Jewes* those excellent *Magicians*, *Philosophers*, & *Diuines*, which came to worship our Saviour *Christ*, were termed *Mecchasephem*, or *Mecchaphim*; yet had they no other reason than common custome therein. *Consuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit*; Common custome (saith *S. Hierome*) vnderstandeth *Witches* vnder the name of *Magicians*: And antiquitie (saith *Peter Martyr*) by the word (*Magi*) vnderstood good and wise men. *Quid igitur expauescis Magi nomen formidolose, nomen Euangelio gratiosum, quod non maleficum & veneficum, sed sapientem sonat & Sacerdotem*: O thou fearefull one (saith *Cicero*) why doubtest thou to asse the name of *Magus*, a name praisious in the Gospel, which doth not signifie a *Witch* or *Coniurer*, but a wise man and a Priest? For what brought this slander to that iudice and profelion, but onely idle ignorance: the parent of causelesse admiration? *Causa fuit miriscentia quorundam operum, quae (re vera) opera naturalia sunt: verumtamen quia procuratore demonum, naturis ipsas vel coniungunt, vel commiscunt, vel aliter ad operandum expedientium, facta sunt, opera demonum credebantur ab ignorantibus hac*. De operibus huiusmodi est *Atagia naturalis, quam Necromantiam multi improprie vocant*: The marvellousnesse of some workes, which (indeed) are natural, hath bene the cause of this slander: but because these workes have bene done by procurement of *Diuels*, ioyning the natures together or mingling them, or howsoever fitting the natures to their working, they were thought the workes of the *Diuels* by the ignorant. Among these workes is natural *Magick*, which men call very improperly *Necromantie*.

*Mirandula* in his *Apologic* goeth further: For by vnderstanding (saith he) the uttermost actiue of natural agents we are assisted to know the *Diuinitie* of *Christ*: for otherwise (to vse his owne words) ignorantis terminus potentia & virtutis rerum naturalium stat nos dubitare illa eadem opera, quae fecit *Christus*, posse fieri per media naturalia: The termes or limits of naturall power and vertue not vnderstood, wee must needs doubt whether those very workes which *Christ* did, may not be done by naturall meanes: after which he goeth on in this sort: *Ideo non heretice, non superstitiose dixi, sed verissime & Catholice per salem Magiam adiuvant nos in cognoscenda diuinitate Christi*: Therefore I sayd not heretically, nor superstitiously, but most truly and Catholically, that by such *Magick* wee are furthered in knowing the *Diuinitie* of *Christ*. And seeing the *Jewes* and others the enemies of *Christian Religion*, doe impudently and impiously obiekt, that those *Miracles* which *Christ* wrought were not aboue Nature, but by the exquisite knowledge thereof performed: *Mirandula* a man for his years fuller of knowledge than any that this latter Age hath brought forth, might with good reason auow, that the vttermost of Natures workes being knowne, the workes which *Christ* did, and which (as himselfe witnesseth) no man could doe, doe manifestly testifie of themselves, that they were performed by that hand which held Nature herein but as a *Pencil*, and by a power infinitely supreme & diuine; and thereby those that were faithlesse, were either conuerted or put to silence.

## §. III.

That the good knowledge in the ancient *Magick* is not to be condemned: though the *Devill* here, as in other kindes hath sought to abridge euill things, vnder the name and colour of good things.

Seeing therefore it is confessed by all of vnderstanding, that a *Magician* (according to the *Persian* word) is no other than, *Diuinarum artu & interpretis: Astutus obseruer & expounder of diuine things*: and the Art of it selfe (I meane the Art of natural *Magick*) no other, *Quam naturalis Philosophia absoluta consummatio*; Than the absolute perfection of naturall *Philosophie*: Certainly then it proceeds from ignorance, and

no way forth with wife & learned men, promiscue & without difference and distinction, to confound lawfull & praise-worthie knowledge with that impious, and (to vse *S. Pauls* words) with those *beggerly rudiments*, which the *Diuell* hath shuffled in, & by them bewitcheth and befooleth gracelesse men. For if we condemne naturall *Magick*, or the wisdom of Nature, because the *Diuell* (who knoweth more than any man) doth also teach *Witches* and *Poysoners* the harmefull parts of Herbes, *Drugges*, *Minerals*, & *Excrements*: then may we by the same rule condemne the *Physician*, and the Art of *healing*. For the *Diuell* also in the Oracles of *Amphiarus*, *Amphilochus*, *Tryphonius*, and the like, taught men in *Dreames* what Herbes and *Drugges* were proper for such and such diseases. Now no man of iudgement is ignorant, that the *Diuell* from the beginning hath fought to thrust himselfe into the same Employment among the *Ministers* and *Seruants* of God, changing himselfe for that purpose into an *Angell of Light*. He hath led men to *Idolatrie* as a *Doctrine of Religion*; he hath thrust in his *Prophets* among those of the true God; he hath corrupted the Art of *Astrologie*, by giuing a diuine power to the *Starres*, teaching men to esteeme them as gods, and not as instruments. And (as *Bunting* hunt in curo, obserueth) it is true, that iudicial *Astrologie* is corrupted with many superstitions: but the abuse of the thing takes not away the Art: considering that heauenly bodiest as euen generall experience heweth haue and exercise their operation vpon the inferiour. For the *Sunne*, and the *Starre of Mars* doe drye the *Moone* doth moisten, and gouerne the Tides of the *Sea*. Again, the *Planets*, as they haue seuerall and proper names, so haue they seuerall and proper vertues: the *Starres* doe also differ in beautie & in magnitude; and to all the *Starres* hath God giuen also their proper names, which (had they not influences and vertues different) needed not: He counteth the number of the *Stars*, and calleth them by their names. But into the good and profitable knowledge of the celestial influences, the *Diuell* ceaseth not to shuffle in his Superstitions: and so to the knowledge of the secret vertues of Nature hath he fastened his doctrine of *Characters*, *Numbers*, & *Incantations*; and taught men to belceue in the strength of Words and Letters: (which without Faith in God are but like or common breath) thereby either to equal his own with the *Al-powerful* Word of God, or to diminish the glory of Gods creating Word, by whom all things.

Moreover, he was neuer ignorant, that both the wife & the simple obserue when the *Sea* birds forsake the shores and flye into the Land, that commonly some great storme followeth, that the high flying of the *Kite* and the *Swallow* betoken faire weather; that the crying of *Crowes* and bating of *Ducks* forebode raine: for they feele the Ayre moistened in their Quills. And it is written in *Hieremie* the Prophet, *Euen the Starke in the ayre knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle, and the Crane, & the Swallow*. Hereupon, this enemie of Mankind, working vpon these as vpon the rest of Gods creatures, long time abused the *Heathen* by teaching them to obserue the flying of *Fowles*, and thereby to iudge of good or ill successe in the War: & (withall) to look into their entrails for the same, as if God had written the secrets of vnsearchable providence in the livers and bowels of birds and beasts. Again, because it pleased God sometimes by *Dreames*, not onely to wane and teach his *Prophets* and *Apostles*, but *Heathen Princes* also; as *Abimelech* to restore *Sara* to *Abraham*; because he admonished *Ioseph*, and by *Dream* informed *Isaac*, *Isaac*, *Pharao*, *Salomon*, *Paul*, *Ananias*, the *Magi* of the East, and others. For as it is remembered in *Iob*: *In Dreames and Visions of the night when sleepe shaller upon men, &c. then God openeth the eares, that he might cause man to returne from his enterprise*: therefore, I say, doth the *Diuell* also praefise his *Diuinations* by *Dreames*, or (after *Parisien* Parisien) *diuinitatis imitationes, his mocke-diuitie*. This in the end grew so common, as *Aristides* compiled an *Ephemerides* of his owne *Dreames*: *Mithridates* of those of his *Concubines*. Yea the *Romans* finding the inconuenience hereof, because all *dreams* (without distinction of causes) were drawn to *Diuination*, forbade the same by a Law, as by the words of prohibition (aut narrandi somniis occultam aliquam artem diuinandi) it may appeare. Likewise by the Law of God in *Deuteronomie*, cap. 13. seducing *Dreamers* were ordered to be slaine. Yet it is to be contemned, not that *Mareus Antonius* was told a *re-medy* in his *Dream* for two grievous diseases that opprest him; nor that of *Alexander Macedon* for the cure of *Diabolies* poisoned wound; nor that which *Saint Augustine* reporteth of a *Millanose*, whose son (the Father dead) being demanded a debt already paid, was told by his Father in a *dream* where the *Acquittance* lay to discharge it: nor that

that of *Assages* of his Daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reason of all which, for as much as the cause is not in our felices, this place denieth dispute.

## §. IIII.

That Daniels mistaking Nabuchodonosors condemning of the Magicians, doth not iustifie all their practices.

Deut. 18. 9.  
Leuit. 19.

**B**ut it may be objected, that if such Diuinations as the Heathens commonly vsed were to be condemned in them, who tooke on them very many & strange Revelations, how came it to passe that Daniel both condemned the hasty sentence of Nabuchodonosor against the Magicians of Chaldaea, and in a sort forbad it? especially considering that such kind of people God himself commanded to be slaine. To this, diuers answers may be giuen. First, it seemeth that Daniel had respect to those Chaldeans, because they acknowledged that the Dreame of the king, which himself had forgotten, could not be knowne to any man by any Art either Naturall or Diabolicall; For there is none of her (said the Chaldeans) that can declare it before the king, except the Gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh: and herein they confessed the power of the Euer-living God.

Secondly, it may be coniectured (and that with good reason) that among so many learned men, some of them did not exercise themselves in any euill or vnlawfull Arts, but were merely Magicians and Naturalists: & therefore when the king commanded to kill all, Daniel perfwaded the contrary, & called it a hasty iudgement, which proceeded with furie without examination. And that some of those mens studies and professions were lawfull, it may be gathered by Daniels instruction: for himself had bin taught by them, and was called chiefe of the Inchanters: of which some were termed Sooth-sayers, others Astrologians, others Chaldeans, others Magi or Wise-men: and therefore of distinct professions.

Thirdly, Daniel mistaketh and forbad the execution of that iudgement, because it was vniust. For howsoeuer those men might deserue punishment for the practice of vnlawfull Arts (though not vnlawfull according to the Law of that State) yet herein they were altogether guiltlesse. For it exceeded humane power to pierce the Kings thought, which the Diuell himselfe could not know. So then in Daniels dislike, and hindering of the execution of sentence of death pronounced against the Magicians, there is no absolute iustifying of their practice and profession.

## §. V.

The abuse of things which may be found in all kinds, is not to condemne the right use of them.

**N**otwithstanding this mixture euery where, of good with euil, of fall-hood with truth, of corruption with cleanness and purity: The good, The truth, The purity in euery kind may well be embraced: As in the ancient worshipping of God by Sacrifice, there was no man knowing God among the Elders, that therefore forbore to offer Sacrifice to the God of all power, because the Diuell in the Image of Baal Ashtaroth, Chemosh, Impier, Apollo, and the like was so odored.

Euseb. Hist. lib. 8. p. 101.

Neither did the abuse of Astrologie terrifie Abraham (if we may beleuee the most ancient and religious Historians) from obseruing the motions and natures of heavenly bodies; neither can it dehort wise and learned men in these dayes from attributing those virtues, influences, and inclinations to the Starres and other lights of Heauen, which God hath giuen to those his glorious creatures.

The Sympatheticall and Antipatheticall working of Herbes, Plants, Stones, Minerals with their other vtmost virtues, sometimes taught by the Diuell, and applied by his Ministers to harmefull and vncharitable ends, can neuer terrifie the honest & learned Physician or Magician from the vsing of them to the helpe & comfort of Mankind: neither can the illufious, whereby the Diuell betrayeth such men as are fallen from God, make other men reiect the obseruations of Dreames; so farre as with a good Faith and a Religious caution they may make vse of them.

Deut. 18. 10.

Lastly, the prohibition to marke flying of Fowles (as signes of good or euill successe) hath no reference at all to the crying of Crows against Ruine, or to any obseruation not superstitious, and whereof a reason or cause may be giuen. For if we confound Arts with

with the abuse of them, we shall not only condemne all honest Trades and enterchange among men (for there are that decieue in all professions) but we shall in a short time bury in forgetfulness all excellent knowledge and all learning, or obscure & couer it ouer with a most scornfull and beggarly ignorance: and (as Plinie teacheth) we should shew our felices ingratos erga eos, qui labore curaque, lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac luce: Vntankefull we should shew our felices towards those, who with paines and care haue discovered vnto vs lights in this light.

Indeed not only these naturall knowledges are condemned by those that are ignorant; but the Mathematicks also and Professers thereof: though those that are excellently learned iudge of it in this sort: In speculo Mathematico verum illud, quod in omni scibili quæritur, clucet; non modo remota similitudine, sed fulgida quadam propinquitate; In the Glasse of the Mathematickes that Truth doth shine, which is sought in euery kinde of Knowledge; not in an obscuring image, but in a vncere and manifest representation.

## §. VI.

Of the diuers kinds of vnlawfull Magicke.

**I**t is true that there are many Arts, if we may so call them, which are couered with the name of Magicke: and esteemed abusively to bee as branches of that Tree, on whose root they neuer grew. The first of these hath the name of Necromancy or Goetia: and of this againe there are diuers kinds. The one is an Inuocation at the graues of the dead, to whom the Diuell himselfe giues answer in stead of those that seeme to appeare. For certaine it is, that the immortal soules of men doe not inhabit the dust and dead bodies, but they giue motion and vnderstanding to the living: death being nothing else but a separation of the body and soule: and therefore the soule is not to bee found in the Graues.

A second practice of those men, who pay Tribute or are in league with Satan, is that of coniuring or of raising vp Diuels, of whom they hope to learne what they list. These men are so distracted, as they beleuee that by terrible words they make the Diuell to tremble; that being once impaled in a Circle which cannot keepe out a Mouſe, they therein (as they suppose) inſconce themselves against that great Monster. Doubtlesse, they forget that the Diuell is not terrified from doing ill, and all that is contrary to God and goodnesse, no, not by the fearefull word of the Almighty: and that hee feared not to offer to sit in Gods seate, that he made no scruple to tempt our Sauour Christ, whom himselfe called the Sonne of God. So, forgetting these proud parts of his, an vnworthy wretch will yet resolute himself, that he can draw the Diuell out of Hell, and terrifie him with a Phrase: whereas in very truth, the obedience which the Diuels seeme to vse, is but thereby to possess themselves of the bodies and soules of those which raise them vp; as his Maieſtie in his Booke aforenamed hath excellently taught: That the Diuels obedience is only, secundum quid, scilicet ex pacto, respectu, that is, upon bargain.

I cannot tell what they can doe vpon those simple and ignorant Diuels, which inhabit tamblers imagination; but sure I am the rest are apt enough to come vncalled: and alwaies attending the cogitations of their seruants and vassals, do no way need any such inforcement.

Or it may be that these Coniurers deale altogether with Cardans mortall Diuels, following the opinion of Rabbi Auornathan and of Porphyrius, who taught that these kinde of Diuels liued not aboue a thousand yeares: which Plutarch in his Treatise de Oraculorum defectu confirmeth, making example of the great god Pan. For were it true that the Diuels were in awe of wicked men, or could be compelled by them, then would they alwaies feare those words and threats, by which at other times they are willingly mastered. But the Familiar of Simon Magus when hee had lifted him vp in the Ayre, cast headlong out of his clawes, when he was sure he should periſh with the fall. If this perhaps were done by S. Peters Prayers (of which S. Peter no where vaunteth) yet the same prankke at other times vpon his owne accord the Diuell played with Theodotus: who transported (as Simon Magus was supposed to haue been) had the same mortall fall that he had. The like successe had Gudas, a principall pillar of the Manichean Heretic, as S. Libanius testifies in his Ecclesiasticall History witnesseth: & for a manifest proofe hereof we see it

euery

Sunt in mundo  
genera quoddam  
potestatum: ab  
de diuinis, in  
discretum, &  
incomprehensum  
& quod neque  
verum a falsis  
neque scilicet  
diuersum ab  
impositis.  
L. P. in cap.  
11. lib. 10.  
Aug. de Ciuit.  
Dei lib. 10.  
Eusebius, l. 10.

Euseb. Hist. Eccl.  
lib. 5. c. 16.

S. Libanius, c. 12.

every day; that the Diuell leaues all Witches and Sorcerers at the Gallows, for whom at other times he maketh himselfe a *Pegasus*, to conueigh them in haste to places far distant, or at least makes them so thinke: For to those that receiued not the truth (saith Saint Paul, *God hath sent them strong illusions*). Of these their supposed transporations (yet agreeing with their confessions) His Maiestie in the second Booke & the fourth Chapter of the *Demonologie*, hath confirmed by vnanswerable reasons, that they are merely illusive. Another sort there are who take on them to include Spirits in Glasses & Crytalls; of whom *Cusanus*: *Falsi sunt incantatores, qui in vngue & vitro volunt spiritum includere; quia Spiritus non clauduntur corpore*. They are foolish Inchanters, which will shut up their spirits within their nailes or in Glasse for a Spirit cannot be inclosed by a body.

There is also another Art besides the afore-mentioned, which they call *Theurgia*, or *white Magick*; a pretended conference with good Spirits or Angels, whom by Sacrifice and Inuocation they draw out of Heauen, and communicate withall. But the administering Spirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due vnto their Creator, so seeing they are most free Spirits, there is no man to absurd to thinke (except the diuell haue corrupted his vnderstanding) that they can be constrained or commanded out of Heauen by threats. Wherefore let the professors thereof couer themselves how they please by a professed puritie of life, by the ministerie of Infants, by fasting & abstinence in generally, yet all those that tamper with immateriall substances and abstract natures, either by Sacrifice, Vow, or Inforcement, are men of euill faith, and in the power of Satan. For good Spirits or Angels cannot be constrained; and the rest are Diuels, which willingly obey.

Other sorts there are of wicked Diuinations: as by fire, called *Pyromantia*; by water, called *Hydromantia*; by the ayre, called *Meteoromantia*, and the like.

The last, and (indeed) the worst of all other is Fascination or Witchcraft: the Practisers whereof are no lesse enuious and cruell, reuengfull & bloody, than the Diuell himselfe. And these accursed creatures hauing sold their soules to the Diuell, worke two wayes; either by the Diuell immediately, or by the art of poysoning. The difference betwene *Necromancers* and *Witches*, His Maiestie hath excellently taught in a word: that the one (in a sort) commandeth, the other obey the Diuell.

There is another kind of petty Witchery (if it be not altogether deccit) which they call charming of Beasts and Birds, of which *Pythagoras* was accused, because an Eagle lighted on his shoulder in the *Olympian* fields. But if the same exceeded the Art of Falconerie, yet was it no more to be admired then *Mahomet*s Doue, vvhich he had vsed to feed with Wheate out of his care: which Doue, when it was hungry, lighted on *Mahomet*s thoulder, and thrust his Bill therein to finde his breake-fast: *Mahomet* perswading the rude and simple *Arabians*, that it was the Holy Ghost that gaue him aduice. And certainly if *Banks* had liued in elder times, he would haue shamed all the Inchanters of the World: for whoeuer was most famous among them, could neuer master or intimaunt any beast as he did his Horse.

For the drawing of Serpents out of their Dens, or killing of them in the holes by Inchantments (which the *Marsians* a people of *Italie* practised: *Colubros disrumpit Marsia cantu*: *inchanting Marsia makes the snakes to burst*.) That it hath bene vsed it appears, *Psalm* 58. 6. though I doubt not, but that many Impostures may be in this kinde; and euen by naturall causes it may be done. For there are many Fumes that will either draw them out or destroy them; as womens haire burnt, and the like. So many things may be layed in the entrance of their holes that will allure them: and therein I find no other *Magick* or Inchantments than to draw out a Moufe with a peece of toasted Cheefe.

## §. VII.

Of diuers wayes by which the Diuell seemeth to worke his wonders.

**B**Vnto the end that we may not dote with the *Manichees*, who make two powers of gods: that we doe not giue to the Diuell any other dominion than he hath (not to speake of his abilitie, when he is the Minister of Gods vengeance; as when *Egypt*, according to *Dauid*, was destroyed by euill Angels) he otherwise worketh but three wayes. The first is by mouing the cogitations and affections of men: The

second

second by the exquisite knowledge of Nature: and the third by deccit, illusion, and false semblance. And that they cannot vvorke what they would, *G. Parisiensis* giueth three causes: the first, a naturall impotency: the second, their owne reason diffusing them from daring ouermuch, or indeed (and that which is the only certaine cause) the great mercy of the Creator, *Tenens eos ligatus* (saith the same Author) *velut inmanissimis bellis*. *S. Auguſtine* vvas of opinion that the Froegges which *Pharao*s Sorcerers produced were not naturall, but that the Diuell (by betraying of their senses that looked on) made them appeare to be such. For as *Airius* obserueth, those Froegges of the Inchanters were not found corrupted as those of *Atoles* were, vvhich might argue that they were not creatures indeed. Hereof saith Saint Augustine: *Nec sancti Demones naturas creant, sed que a Deo creatæ sunt commutant, vt videantur esse quod non sunt*: The Diuels create not any natures, but so change those that are created by God, as they seeme to be that which they be not: of which in the 83. question he giueth the reason. *Demon quibusdam nebulis implet omnes creatas intelligentias, per quos aperire lumen rationis radius nientis solet*, (that is) The Diuell fills with certaine clouds all passages of the vnderstanding, by which the beame of the minde it wont to open the light of reason.

And as *Tertullian* in his Booke de anima rightly conceiueh, if the Diuell can possesse himselfe of the eyes of our mindes, and blindethem, it is not hard for him to dazell those of the body. For (out of doubt) by the same way that God passeth out, the Diuell entereh in, beginning with the fantastic, by which he doth more easily betray the other faculties of the soule: for the fantasie is most apt to be abused by vaine apprehensions.

*Aquinas* on the contrary held that those Froegges were not imaginarie, but such indeed as they seemed: not made *Magice artis Indubio*, which indeed agreeth not with the Art, but (according to *Thomas*) *per aptam & idoneam agentium & patientium applicationem*: By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients. And this I take to be more probable. For *Moses* could not be deccied by that sleight of false semblance; and Saint *Auguſtine* in another case like vnto this (to wit) of the turning of *Dionedes* his companions into Birds, *per allia cum passinibus*, inclineth rather to this opinion: though I am not perswaded that Saint *Auguſtine* beleueh that of *Dionedes*. And this opinion of *Thomas*, *G. Parisiensis* a man very learned alio confirmeth. For speaking of natural *Magick* he vseth these words: *De his quodam autem operibus est subita generatio ranarum, & pediculorum, & vermium, aliorumque animalium quorundam: in quibus omnibus sola natura operatur, verum adhibitis adiutoribus, quibus ipsa semina natura conſortant & accunt, ita vt omnes generationes tantum accelerent, vt eis qui hoc nesciunt non opus natura videatur (que tardius talia efficiere consuevit) sed potentia Demonum, &c.* to which he addeth: *Qui autem in his docti sunt, talia non mirantur, sed solum Creatorem in his glorificant: In such workes (saith he) the sodaine generation of Froegges and Lice, and Wormes, and some other creatures is: in all which Nature alone worketh, but by meanes strengthening the Seeds of Nature, and quickning them: in such wise that as they so fasten the works of generation, that it seemeth to the ignorant not to be the works of Nature, which usually worketh more leifurely, but they thinke it is done by the powers of Diuels. But they who are learned in these Arts, maruaile not at such working, but glorifie the Creator. Now by these two wayes the Diuels doe must frequently worke, (to wit) by knowing the vndermost of nature; and by illusion: for their is no incomprehensible or vnsearchable power, but of God onely.*

For shall we say, he causeth sometimes thunders, lightnings, and tempests; and can infect the ayre, as well as moue it or compress it; who knows not that these things are all so naturall? Or may it be objected that he fore-telleth things before they happen, which exceedeth nature, and is no illusion. It is true, that he sometimes doth it; but howe In elder ages he stole his knowledge out of the predictions of the Prophets: & he foretold the death of *Saul*, at such time as he vvas in his own possession & power to dispose of. And he that hath liued from the infancy of the vvorlde to this day, and obserued the successe of euery counsaile: he that by reason of his swift motions can informe himselfe of all places, and preparations; he that is of counsaile with all those that studie & practise subuersion and destruction: he that is Prince of the ayre, and can thence better iudge, than those that inhabite the earth: if he should not sometimes, yea if he should not very oftentimes guesse rightly of things to come (where God pleaseh not to giue impediment) it were very strange. For we see that wise and learned men doe oftentimes







Priests made the pollution of the statues, because this Tower out-topped the ex-  
travagant clouds, we get to know that it is to be seen in the constellation of the stars.

By beholding the ruins of this Tower, haue many Trauellers beene deceiued, who  
suppose that they haue seen a part of Nimrod's Tower, which was but the foundation  
of this Temple of Bel: (except this of Bel, which was founded on that of Nimrod.) There  
were burnt in this Temple one hundred thousand talents of frankincense every year  
(saith Herodotus.) This Temple did stand for a long time, with the spoiles of Hierusa-  
lem, and of the Temple of Salomon, all which vessels and ornaments Cyrus redeliuered.  
This Temple Xerxes enriched with the spoils, which Alexander is said to haue repaired  
by the persuasions of the Chaldeans. I deny not that it might haue beene in his desire  
to do so, but he enioyed but a few yeares after Babylon taken, and therefore could not

Proclus in Times  
lib. 1.

performe any such worke. The Egyptians (saith Proclus) inhabiting a low and leuell  
ground, and given to the same superstition of the Stars that the Chaldeans were, erected  
in imitation, and for the same seruice and vse, the Pyramides by Memphis, which were  
consistently vnderstanding, saith Pliny. Of these Pyramides, Bellonius a carefull obser-  
uer of rarities (who being in Egypt, mounted by steps to the top of the highest) maketh  
this report: Le meilleur archer qui seroit a la femme, et tirant une fleche en l'air, a

Bellon, Lib.

peine pourris l'ennemy hors de sa baste, quelle ne se tombast sur les degres; The  
best Archer standing on the top of one of these Pyramides, and shooting  
an Arrow from thence into the ayre as farre as hee can, with  
great difficulty shall be able so to force the  
same, but that it will fall upon  
some of the degrees  
or steps.

Finis Libri primi.

THE



# THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

## INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM the birth of ABRAHAM to the destruction of the Temple of Salomon.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the time of the birth of Abraham: and of the vse of this question, for the orde-  
ring of the Story of the Assyrian Empire.

S. I.

Of some of the successors of Semiramis: with a briefe transition to the question, about the time  
of the birth of Abraham.



After the death of Semiramis, Ninias or Zameit, succeeded her in  
the Empire, on whom Sereus Annianus bestowes the conquest  
of Media, and the ouerthrow of Zorobabel; contrary to Diodo-  
rus, Iustine, Orosius, and all other approved Writers. For Ninias  
being esteemed no man of vvaite at all, but altogether feminine,  
and subiect to ease and delicacy, there is no probability in that  
opinion. Now because there was nothing performed by this Ni-  
nias of any moment, other than that out of ieaousie hee every  
year changed his Prouinciall Governours, and built Colledges

for the Chaldean Priests, his Astronomers: nor by Arius his successor, whom Suidas cal-  
leth Thuras; but that he reduced againe the Babilonians & Cossians, reuolued (as it seemeth)  
in Ninias his time: nor of Aralins, the successor of Arius; but that he added sumptuosity,  
invented jewels of gold and stone, and some engines for the warre: I will for this present  
passe them ouer, and a while follow Astartes, whose vvaies are vvarrantable, (till wee  
meete these Assyrians againe in this story) by whom and by whose issues wee shall best  
giue date to the Kings of Babilon: Abraham liuing at once with Ninias, Ninias, Semiramis,  
Arius, Aralins, and Xerxes or Balamius. For otherwise if we seek to proue things certain  
by the vncertaine, and iudge of those times, which the Scriptures let vs downe, without  
error, by the reignes of the Assyrian Princes: we shall but patch vp the story, at adven-  
ture and leave it in the same confusion, in which to this day it hath remained. For where  
the Scriptures doe not helpe vs, Miram non est in rebus antiquis Babilon non conflare; Na  
mutabile est in rebus antiquis, History was ancient.

The better therefore to finde out, in what age of the World, and how long these Assy-  
rian kings reigned, as also for other good causes, we must first assure the time of Abrahams  
birth, and in what yeare the same happened after the flood. Now since all agree, that the

Priests made the oblation of the statues, because this Tower over-topped the *natyonalde*, we say to shew that the bonnyest thing in the world is but a *best* by beholding the ruines of this Tower, haue many Trauailers bene deceiued, who suppose that they haue leene a part of *Nimrod's* Tower, when it was but the foundation of this Temple of *Bel*: (except this of *Bel* were founded on that of *Nimrod*.) There were burnt in this Temple one hundred thousand talents of frankincense every year (saith *Herodotus*.) This Temple did *Nebuchodonosor* adorne with the spoils of *Iherusalem*, and of the Temple of *Salomon*, all which vessels and ornaments Cyrus redeliuered. This Temple *Xerxes* equied with the soyle, which *Alexander* is said to haue repaired by the perswasions of the *Chaldeans*. I deny not that it might haue bene in his desire to do so; but he enioyed but a few yeares after *Babylon* taken, and therefore could not performe any such worke. The *Egyptians* (saith *Proclus*) inhabiting a low and leuell ground, and giuen to the same superstition of the Stars that the *Chaldeans* were, erected in imitation, and for the same seruice and vse, the *Pyramides* by *Memphis*, which were *conspicua undiq; uanigantibus*, saith *Pliny*. Of these *Pyramides*, *Bellonius* a carefull observer of rarities (who being in *Egypt*, mounted by steps to the top of the highest), maketh this report: *Le plus haut archer qui feroit sa semence, & tirant une fleche en l'air, a peine paroit l'emauer hors de la base, qu'elle ne se tombast sur les degrez*; The best Archer standing on the top of one of these *Pyramides*, and shooting an Arrow from thence into the ayre as farre as hee can, with great difficulty shall be able to see force the same, but that it will fall upon some of the degrees or steps.

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After the death of *Semiramis*, *Ninias* or *Zameis*, succeeded her in the Empire, on whom *Berosus* *Amnianus* bestowes the conquest of *Babylonia*, and the ouerthrow of *Zorobabel*; contrary to *Diodorus*, *Iustine*, *Orosius*, and all other approved Writers. For *Ninias* being esteemed no man of vvarre at all, but altogether feminine, and subiect to ease and delicacy, there is no probability in that opinion. Now because there was nothing performed by this *Ninias* of any moment, other than that out of ieaalousie hee euery year changed his Prouinciall Gouernors, and built Colledges for the *Chaldean* Priests, his Astronomers; nor by *Arim* his successor, whom *Suidas* calleth *Thuras*; but that he reduced againe the *Babylons* & *Cassians*, revolted (as it seemeth) in *Ninias* his time: nor of *Aralius*, the successor of *Arim*; but that he added sumptuosity, inuented iewels of gold and stone, and some engines for the warre: I will for this present passe them ouer, and a while follow *Abraham*, whose vvaies are vvarrantable, (till wee meete these *Assyrians* againe in this story) by whom and by whose issues wee shall best giue date to the Kings of *Babylon*: *Abraham* liuing at once with *Nimrod*, *Semiramis*, *Arim*, *Aralius*, and *Xerxes* or *Nabonius*. For otherwise if we seek to procure things certain by the vncertaine, and iudge of those times, which the Scriptures let vs downe without error, by the reignes of the *Assyrian* Princes: we shall but patch vp the story, at aduventure, and leaue it in the same confusion, in which to this day it hath remained. For where the Scriptures doe not helpe vs, *Miramnon* of *Isenchan* *Antiqua* *Assyrian* non constare, *N. A. Plut. in Thes. miramne* if then in things very ancient, History wants assistance.

The better therefore to finde out, in what age of the World, and how long these *Assyrian* kings reigned, as also for other good causes, we must first assure the time of *Abraham's* birth, and in what yeares the same happened after the flood. Now since all agree, that the

fortieth three yeare of *Ninm* was the birth-year of *Abraham*; by prouing directly out of the Scriptures, in what yeare after the flood the birth of *Abraham* hapned, we shall thereby set all the rest in square and order. But of this time there is much iangling between those *Chronologers*, which follow the Hebrew account, and others: the most part making 292. or 293. yeares; others 352. yeares betweene *Abrahams* birth and the flood: a matter often disputed, but neuer concluded.

*Archilochus de temporibus* (as we finde him in *Annus*) makes but 250. yeares from the flood to *Ninm*: then seeing that *Abraham* was borne in the fortieth three yeare of *Ninm*, according to *Eusebius* and *S. Augustine*, it followeth by the addition of those two numbers, that the yeare of *Abrahams* birth was in the yeare after the flood 293. or as the most part of all *Chronologers* gather, the yeare 292.

Now, since I doe here enter into that neuer-resolved question, & *Labyrinth* of times, it becometh me to giue reason for my own opinion: and vith so much the greater care and circumspection, because I walk asid, and in a way apart from the multitude, yet not alone, & without companions, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather choose to endure the wounds of those darts, which Enuie casteth at nouely, than to go on safely and sleepily in the easie waies of ancient mistakings: seeing to be learned in many errors, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diuerfity.

## §. II.

*A proposall of reasons or arguments, that are brought to proue Abraham was borne in the yeare 292. after the Flood, and not in the yeare 352.*

Those which seeke to proue this account of 292. yeares, betweene the generall flood and *Abrahams* birth, ground themselves, first on these words of the Scriptures: So *Terah* lived 70. yeares, and begot *Abraham*, *Nahor*, and *Haran*: secondly, vpon the opinion of *Iosephus*, *S. Augustine*, *Beza*, *Isidore*, & many of the ancient Hebrewes before them: authorities (while they are slightly lookt ouer) seeming of great weight.

From the place of Scripture last remembered, the later *Chronologers* gather these arguments. First out of the words as they lie; That *Terah* at 70. yeares begot *Abraham*, *Nahor*, and *Haran*: and that *Abraham* being the first named, *Abraham* being the worthiest, *Abraham* being the son of the promise, ought in this respect to be accounted the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and so necessarily borne in the fuentieth yeare of his life. Secondly, it was of *Abraham* that *Moses* had respect, in whom the Church of God was continued, who was heire of the blessing; and not of *Nahor* and *Haran*: for the scope of this Chapter was to set downe the Genealogy of *Christ*, from *Adam* to *Abraham*, without all regard of *Nahor*, and *Haran*.

It is thirdly objected, that if *Abraham* were not the eldest sonne, then there can be no certainty of his age, and so are all future times made doubtfull. For it cannot then bee proued, that *Abraham* was borne more assuredly in the 130. yeare of *Terah* his age, than 40. in the 131. 132. &c. *Moses* hauing nowhere set downe precisely that *Abraham* went into *Canaan* that very yeare, in which his Father died.

Fourthly, it is thought improbable, that *Terah* begot *Abraham* at 130. yeares: seeing *Abraham* himselfe thought it a wonder to be made a Father at 100. yeares:

## §. III.

*The answer to one of the objections proposed, shewing that Abraham made but one iourney out of Mesopotamia into Canaan: and is, after his Fathers death.*

To answer all which objections, it is very easie, the way being prepared thereto, by diuers learned Diuines: long since; and to which I will adde somewhat of mine owne, according to the small talent which God hath giuen me. Now forasmuch as the state of the question cannot well be scanned, vnlesse the time of *Abrahams* iourney into *Canaan* be first considered; before I descend vnto the particular examination of these arguments, I will make bold with order and method to faire, as to search into a strange tradition concerning his trauiels, that sereth as a ground for this opinion: and a bulwark against all that can be said to the contrary.

But it is conceived that *Abraham* made two iourneys into *Canaan*; the latter after his Fathers

Fathers death, the former presently vpon his calling; which hee performed without delay, not staying for his fathers death at *Haran*: a coniecture, drawn from a place in the *Epistle to the Hebrewes*, where it is written, *By faith Abraham (when he was called) obeyed God, to goe out into a place which he should afterward receiue for inheritance: and hee went out, not knowing whither he went.* This supposition (if it be granted) serues very well to vphold the opinion, that can ill stand without it. Let vs therefore see whether we may giue credit to the supposition it selfe.

Surely, that *Abraham* first departed *Charran* or *Haran* after the death of *Terah* his Father, the same is proued, without the admission of any distinction, by these words of *St. Stephen*: And after his Father was dead, God brought him into this Land, where ye now dwell, that was, out of *Haran* into *Canaan*. Against which place so direct, & plaine, what force hath any mans fancy or supposition, perfwading, that *Abraham* made two iourneys into *Canaan*; one before *Terah*'s death, & another after: no such thing being found in Scriptures, nor any circumstance, probability, or reason to induce it? For if any man out of this place before alledged can pick any argument, prouing, or affording any strong presumption, that *Abraham* past into *Canaan*, and then returned vnto *Haran*, from whence he departed a second time: then I thinke it reason, that hee be beleued in the rest. But that hee performed the commendement of God after his Fathers death, leauing *Ur* and *Haran* for *Canaan*, it is as true as the Scriptures themselves are true. For after his Father was dead, (saith Martyr *Stephen*) God brought him into this Land. And, as *Beza* noteth, if *Abraham* made a double iourney into *Canaan*, then must it be inferred, that *Moses* omitted the one, and *Stephen* afterwards remembered the other: and whence had *Stephen*, saith *Beza*, the knowledge of *Abrahams* coming into *Canaan*, but out of *Moses*? For if *Stephen* had spoken any thing of those times, differing from *Moses*, he had offered the *Jewes*, his aduersaries, too great an occasion both of scandalizing himselfe, & the Gospell of *Christ*. Indeed we shall finde small reason to make vs thinke that *Abraham* passed and repassed those wayes, more often than he was enforced so to doe, if we consider, that he had no other guide or comforter in this long and wearisome iourney, than the strength of his faith in Gods promise: in which if any thing would haue brought him to despaire, he had more cause than euer man had to fall into it. For he came into a Region of strong and stubborne nations: a nation of valiant and resolute idolaters. Hee was besieged with famine at his first arriual, and driuen to sle into *Egypt* for reliefe. His wife was old, and hee had no sonneto inherit the promise. And when God had giuen him *Isaac*, he commanded him to offer him vp to himself for sacrifice: all which discomforts he patiently and constantly vnderwent.

Secondly, let vs consider the wayes themselves, which *Abraham* had to passe ouer; the length whereof was 300. English miles; and through Countries of which hee had no manner of experience. He was to transport himselfe ouer the great ruer of *Euphrates*, to trauell through the dangerous and barren Defarts of *Palmyrena*, and to climbe ouer the great and high mountaines of *Libanus*, *Hermus* or *Gilead*: and whether these were easie walks for *Abraham* to march twice ouer, containing, as aforesaid, 300. miles in length, let euery reasonable man iudge. For if he trauelled it twice; then was his iourney in all 1800. miles from *Ur* to *Haran*: and from *Haran* twice into *Canaan*. But were there no other argument to disproue this fancy; the manner of *Abrahams* departing from *Haran* hath more proofe (that hee had not *animum reuertendi*, not any thought of looking backe-ward) than any mans bare coniecture, be hee of what antiquity or authority foucer. For thus it is written of him, Then *Abraham* tooke *Sara* his wife, and *Lot* his brothers son, and all their substance that they possessed, and the soules that they had gotten in *Haran*: and they departed to go to the land of *Canaan*, & to the land of *Canaan* they came. Now if *Abraham* brought all with him that was deare vnto him, his wife, and kinsmen, and his, & their goods: it is not probable that he meant to walke it backe againe for his pleasure, in so warme, dangerous, and barren a Country as that was: or if hee could haue borne thereto moued, it is more likely that he would haue then returned, when he was yet vnsettled, and prest with extreme famine at his first arriual. For had his Father bene then alie, he might haue hoped from him to receiue more assured comfort and reliefe, than among the *Egyptians*, to whom he was a meere stranger both in religion and Nation.

What the cause might bee of *Abrahams* returne to *Haran*, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the Scriptures haue sent him backe thither, about the

the time of his fathers death: so they perhaps, if they were urged, could say little else, than that without such a second voyage their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reason they should do well to make plaine, if it be not over-troublesome. They say that *Abraham* was in *Haran* at his Fathers death, or some time after, being then by their account 135. yeares old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that hee left quite undone the businesse, which, as we read, was within foure or five yeares after that time his greatest, or (as may seeme) his onely care? Did not he binde with a very solemn oath his principall seruant, in whom he reposed most confidence, to trauaile into those parts, and seeke out a Wife for *Isaac* his sonne? and doth it not appeare by all circumstances, that neither hee nor his seruant were so well acquainted in *Mesopotamia*, that they could particularly designe any one woman, as a fit match for *Isaac*? Surely if *Abraham* had beene there in person so lately, as within foure or five yeares before, hee would not haue forgotten a matter of such importance; but would haue trusted his own iudgement, in choosing a woman, fit for her piety, vertue, and other desirable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his onely sonne, who was then five and thirty yeares old; before which age most of the Patriarches after the Flood had begotten children: rather than haue left all at random to the consideration of a seruant, that neither knew any, nor was knowne of any in that Country. But let it be supposed (if it may be beleued) that either *Abraham* forgot his businesse when he was there, or that somewhat hapned which no man can deuise; What might bee the reason, that *Abrahams* man, in doing his Masters errand, was faine to lay open the whole story of his masters prosperity, telling it as newes, that *Sarah* had borne to him a sonne in her old age? If *Abraham* himselfe, a more certaine Author, had so lately bene among them, vvould not all this haue bene an idle tale? It were needlesse to stand long vpon a thing so euident. Whether it were lawfull for *Abraham* to haue returned backe to *Haran*, would perhaps bee a question hardly answerable: considering how auerfe hee was from permitting his sonne to be carried thither, euen though a wife of his owne kinned could not haue bene obtained without his personall presence. *Jacob* indeed was sent thither by his parents, to take a Wife of his owne lineage; not without Gods especiall approbation, by whose blessing he prospered in that iourney; yet he liued there as a seruant; suffered many injuries; and finally was driuen to condey himselfe away from thence by flight. For although it bee not a sentence vvritten, yet out of all vvritten examples it may bee obserued, that God alloweth not in his seruants any desire of returning to the place, from whence he hath taken, and transplanted them. That briefe saying, *Remember Lots Wife*, contains much matter. Let vs consider *Mesopotamia* from whence *Abraham* was taken, and *Egypt*, out of which the whole Nation of the *Israelites* were deliuered: we shall find, that no blessing issued from either of them, to the posterity of the *Hebrewes*. When *Ezechias* was visited with an honourable Embassie from *Babel*, it seemes that he conceiued great pleasure in his minde, and thought it a piece of his prosperity; but the prophesie which thereupon hee heard by *Esay*, made him to know, that the counsaile of God was not agreeable to such thoughts: which more plainly appeared in a following generation, when by the waters of *Babylon* they fate downe and vvept. Concerning *Egypt* we read, that *Sesae* and *Neso* Kings of *Egypt* brought calamity vpon *Israel*: also that their confidence in the *Egyptian* succours vvvas the cause of their destruction. Where they were forbidden to returne into *Egypt* I doe not remember, nor can readily finde; but it is found in *Deuteronomy*, that God had said, *They should no more returne that way*; which is giuen, as the reason, why their King might not cause the people to returne to *Egypt*, for the multiplying of his Horfes. Whether the Lord had laied any such iniunction vpon *Abraham* of not returning to *Mesopotamia*, I cannot say; many things do argue it probably: That he neuer returned, all circumstances do (to my vnderstanding) both strongly and necessarily conclude.

But because this double passage of *Abraham* is but an imagination; and that imaginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can perswade those of iudgement or vnderstanding: I take it sufficient, that *S. Stephen* hath directly taught vs, that *Abraham* left *Haran*, his Father being dead. And for the rest, when they shew any one Scripture to proue it, I will beleue as they doe. For all the traualles of *Abraham* are precisely set downe in the Scriptures: as first from *Ur* or *Caldeia* in *Chaldea* to *Haran* or *Charan*; and then from *Haran* (after his Fathers death) to *Sichem*; from *Sichem*

he

thereto: to a mountaine betwene *Bethel* and *Haie*; thence into *Egypt*; from *Egypt* he returned thither againe, where hee and he parted, because their flockes and herds of Cattle were more than could be fed in that part: from thence the second time hee returned to *Mamre*; where *Abraham* and thence hauing pursued *Amraphel*, and rescued *Lot*, hee after inhabited at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumea*, vnder *Abimelec*: and after neere vnto it at *Berfabe*, at which time hee was ready to offer vp his sonne *Isaac* on the mountaine *Morish*. But this fiction of his retreat to *Haran* or *Charan*, appeareth not in any one story, either diuine or humane. Now, if it may be supposed, that *Abraham* had made any former iourney into *Canaan*, as *Lewia* his Cabale hath fained, it should in reason be therewithall beleued, that hee would in those his first traualles haue provided himselfe of some certaine seat, or place of abiding; and not haue come a second time, vvith his wife, kinsmen, family, goods and cattle, not knowing vvhercon to rest himselfe. But *Abraham* when hee came from *Charan*, past through the North part of *Canaan*, thence to *Sichem*, and the Plaine of *Morish*: where finding no place to inhabit, hee departed thence to *Bethel* and *Haie*: and so from Nation to Nation, to discover and find out some fit habitation: from vvhenne againe, as it is vvritten in *Genesis* the eleuenth, *He went forth going and sojournyng towards the South*: and alwaies vvistled. By occasion of vvich vvinding to and fro, some say, the *Egyptians* gaue him and his the name of *Hebrai*.

Further, to proue that hee had not formerly bene in the Country, we may note, that ere he came vnto *Bethel* and *Haie*, and at his first entrance into *Canaan*, God appeared vnto him, saying, *Vnto thy seede will I giue this Land*, shewing it him as vnto a stranger therein, and as a Land to him vnkowne. For *Abraham* vvithout any other prouident care for himselfe, beleued in the Word of the liuing God: neither sending before, nor comming first to discover it; but being assured, hee receiued a second promise from God, that he would giue those Countiees vnto him and his seede to inhabit and inherit.

Lastly, what should moue any man to thinke, that *Moses* would haue omitted any such double iourney of *Abrahams*, feeling hee stretcht downe all his passages else-where long and short? as when hee moved from *Sichem*, and seated betwene *Haie* and *Bethel*, the distance being but 20. miles: and when hee moued thence to the valley of *Mamre*, being but 24. miles; and when he left *Mamre*, and fate downe at *Gerar*, being lesse than sixe miles; No, *Moses* past ouer all the times of the first age with the greater breuity, to hasten him to the story of *Abraham*: shutting vp all betwene the Creation & the Flood in fixe chapters; which age lasted 1656. yeares: but he bestoweth on the story of *Abraham* fouenteene chapters, beginning with his birth in the eleuenth, and ending with his death in the five and twentieth; and this time endured but 175. yeares. It hath therefore no face of truth, that *Moses* forgot or neglected any thing concerning *Abrahams* trauels, or other actions: or that he would set downe those small remooues of five miles, and omit those of three hundred. For such a iourney in going and comming would haue misnistrd some variety of matter, or accident, vvorthy the inferring and adding to *Abrahams* storie.

## §. I. V.

The answer to another of the obiections proposed, shewing that it was not unlikely, that *Terah* should beget *Abraham* in his hundred and thirty yeere.

Now touching the obiection, where it is said, that it was very vvlikely that *Terah* should beget *Abraham* in his 130. yeare, seeing *Abraham* himselfe thought it a vvonder to haue a son at an hundred: this is hardly worth the answering. This wonder is indeede mis-cast, and mislaid: *Abraham* hauing respect onely to *Sarah* his wife, when he spake of their many yeares. For when the Angel said vnto *Abraham* in his Tent doore at *Mamre*; *Loe Sarah thy wife shall haue a Son*, it followeth in the next verse, *Now Abraham and Sarah were old and stricken in age, and it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women: therefore Sarah laughed*.

So then in that it is said, it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women, it appeareth that the wonder was vvrought on her, and not on *Abraham*. For *Abraham* by his second wife *Keturah* had many sonnes after *Sarahs* death, as *Zimron*, *Isachar*, *Midian*, *Shobak*, and *Shuah*: and the eldest of these was borne 37. yeares after *Isaac*: and the youngest

Original in  
in Gen. Aug. d.  
C. 16. c.  
34. Cuius  
Pater, in Gen.

you get 40. years after. What strangeness then, that Terah being 130. years old should beget Abraham, will they say, may be gathered from this supposed despair of Abraham at one hundred years? For Sarah died in the year of the world 2145. and Isaac was born in the year 2109; and Abraham did not marry Hagar till Sarah was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109 out of 2145. there remaineth 36. And therefore if Abraham begot 5. sons 36. years after this supposed wonder, & when Abraham was 139. years old: it is not strange that his Father Terah should beget Abraham at 130. And if Isaac, Jacob, and Jesse, who lived so many years and ages after Abraham, begot sons at 100. years, or neerer it, it cannot be manialed as that Terah begot Abraham at 130; and Abraham others at the same age and seven years after.

## §. V.

The answer to two more of the objections: shewing that we may have certainty of Abrahams age from the Scripture, though we make not Abraham the eldest Sonne; and that there was great cause, why in the story of Abraham his two brethren should be respected.

IT followeth now to speake something to the objection, which brings Abrahams age altogether in doubt, except we allow him to be the eldest son of Terah, and borne when Terah was 70. years old. For Abrahams age being made vncertaine, all succeeding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this proposition, That we cannot be certaine of Abrahams age, vnlesse we make him the eldest sonne, is false. For it is plaine in the Scriptures, that when Terah was 205. which was the year of his death, then was Abraham 75. And if you aske, how I can iudge of times, either preceding or succeeding, by knowing that Abraham departed Haran at that age: I answer, That Saint Stephen hath told vs, that Abrahams departure followed the death of his Father Terah: and Terah died at 205. so as the 75. year of Abraham was the 205. year of Terah: which knowne, there can be no error in the account of times succeeding. Now to come to the objection, where it is said, That Moses had no respect vnto Nahor and Haran, because they were out of the Church, but to Abraham only, with whom God established the Couenant, and of whom Christ descended according to the flesh, &c. I answer, that Moses for many great and necessary causes had respect of Nahor and Haran. For the succession of Gods Church is not witnessed by Abraham alone, but by the issues of Nahor and Haran, where they Idolaters or otherwise. For Nahor was the Father of Bethuel, & Bethuel of Rebecca, the mother of Israel: and Haran was the parent of Lot, Sarah, and Milcah: and Sarah was mother to Isaac, and grandmother to Jacob: Milcah also the wife of Nahor, and mother of Bethuel, was Jacobs great grandmother: and the age of Sarah the daughter of Haran is especially noted, in that it pleased God to giue her a son at 90. years, and when by nature she could not haue conceived. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themselves, yet because both Nahor and Abraham married the daughters of their brother Haran; and because Isaac married Rebecca the grand-child of Nahor; and Jacob, Lea, and Rachel, the daughters of Laban, the grand-child also of Nahor: it was not superfluous in Moses to giue light of these mens times and ages. And though sometime they worshipped strange gods, as it is 10f. 24. 2. yet I see no cause to thinke, that they still continued Idolaters. For they beleued and obeyed the calling of Abraham, leauing their naturall Countrey, and City of Ur in Chaldaea, as Abraham did, and remoued thence al, except Haran, who died before his Father Terah, ere they left Chaldaea; but Lot, his sonne, followed Abraham into Canaan; and Sarah, the sister of Lot, Abraham married. Nahor also, who remained at Charan, gaue his sonnes daughters to Isaac, and Jacob, his owne kinsmen: hee himselfe hauing also married in his owne Family, not thinking it pleasing vnto God to mixe themselves with strangers and Idolaters. And that these men at length beleued in the God of Abraham, it can no way be doubted. For when Laban had seene the seruant of Abraham standing at the Wel beside Charan, he inuited him to his Fathers house in this manner: Come in, thou blessed of Iehouah, &c. And when this seruant of Abrahams demanded an answer as touching Rebecca, then answered Laban and Bethuel, and said, This thing proceeded of Iehouah: meaning, that it was the will of the true God it should be so; wherein he acknowledged Gods providence. Likewise in the following verse it is written, Take, ye that be may be thy Masters sons wife, euen as Iehouah hath said. This their offering of

Gen. 14. 31.

Gen. 24. 50.

of the name of Iehouah, which is the proper Name of the true God, is a signe that they had the knowledge of him.

Now although it be the opinion of S. Chrysostome, and some later Writers, as Caietan, Olesius, Musculus, Calvin, Mercer, and others, that Laban was an Idolater, because hee retained certaine Idols, or household gods, which Rachel stole from him; yet that he beleued in the true God it cannot be denied. For he acknowledged the God of Abraham and of Nahor, and he called Abrahams seruant, blessed of Iehouah, as afore said: So as for my selfe I dare not auow, that these men were out of the Church, who, sure I am, were not out of the faith.

## §. VI.

That the naming of Abraham first of the three brethren, Gen. 11. v. 26. doth not proue that he was the eldest: together with diuers reasons prouing that Abraham was not the eldest son of Terah.

TO the maine objection which I answer last, because it seemeth of most strength, by which, those that strue to shorten the times, endeavour to proue that Abraham was the eldest sonne of Terah, and borne in the 70. year of Terahs life: grounding themselves first and chiefly on this place of the Scripture; And Terah lived 70. yeeres, and begot Abraham, Nahor, and Haran: To this I say, that although Abraham in this verse be first named, yet the same is no prooue at all that he was the eldest & first-borne sonne of Terah. For it is no necessary consequence, that the first named in Scriptures was therefore eldest in blood and birth, neither doth it appeare, that it pleased God to make especiall choice of the first sonnes in nature and time: for Seth was not the first-borne of Adam; nor Isaac of Abraham; nor Jacob of Isaac; nor Iuda and Joseph of Jacob; nor David the eldest of Jesse; nor Salomon of David: as is formerly remembred. But it is written of Noah: Noah was 500. yeeres old, and Noah begot Shem, Ham, and Iaphet: shewing that at the 500. year of his age hee began to beget the first of those three sonnes. For according to S. Augustine, speaking generally, Nec attendendus est in his ordo Augustinus nativitate, sed significatio futura dignitatis: in qua excellit Abraham: The order of nativity is not here to be respected, but the signification of the future dignity: in which Abraham was preferred. And therefore, as in the order of the sonnes of Noah: so is it here; where it is said, that Terah lived 70. yeeres, and begot Abraham, Nahor, and Haran: For it was late ere Terah began to beget Sonnes, himselfe being begotten by his Father Nahor at 29. as other his Ancestors were at 30. The like also happened to Noah: for whereas Adam begot Seth at 130. Enosh Kenan at 90. Kenan Mahalaleel at 70. Mahalaleel lived at 60. Noah was yet 500. yeeres old when he began to beget the first of his three sonnes, as afore said. And S. Augustine in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the opinion that Abraham was the youngest of Terahs sonnes, than otherwise: though for his excellency hee was worthily named first. His owne words are these: Fieri enim potuit ut posterior sit generatus Abraham: sed merito excellentie, quia in Scripturis valde commendatur, prior fuerit nominatus. It might be, saith he, that Abraham was begotten later: but was first named in regard of his excellency, for which in Scripture hee is much commended. So as the naming first or last proueth nothing who was first or last borne: either in those issues of Noah, or in these of Terah: Neither hath God any respect of the eldest in nature, as touching his election or spirituall blessing; for Moses nameth first the children of the promise, and the eldest & first in Gods fauour. Pietas ergo vel ipsa potius electio divina, quam comitem secum trahit pietatem, &c. Dei timorem, primas partes dat Semo in liberis Noa, &c. Abraham in liberis Thare: Piety, saith he, or rather diuine election, which doth evermore draw with it or after it, piety and the feare of God, gaue place and precedency to Sem among the children of Noah, and to Abraham among those of Thare.

For the rest it is manifest, that Abraham entred Canaan in the 75. year of his age. And it was in Canaan that Hagar bare him Isaac, when Abraham had lived 86. yeeres. It was Gen. 12. 4. at Gerar (the South border of Canaan) that Sarah bare Isaac, when Abraham had consumed 100. yeeres. It was from the valley of Mamre in Canaan that Abraham rose out, when he rescued Lot and ouerthrew Amraphel: and he had then but the age of 83. yeeres: and it is as manifest that hee parted from Haran after his Father Terah was dead. But if

Terah

Gen. 14.

Terah begat Abraham at 70. year old, then must Abraham have been 135. yeeres when he first set his foote in Canaan, seeing Terah must be dead ere he parted, and so 70. added to 135. make 205. the true age of Terah: which is contrary to all those places of Scripture before remembered. For he entred at 75. he refused Lot at 83. hee had Ismael at 86. he had Isaac at 100. proued by the former places.

Moreover, if Abraham were the eldest sonne of Terah, and borne in the 70. yeere of his age: then had Terah liued till Isaac had bene 35. yeeres old, and Ismael, 49. both which must then haue bene borne in Mesopotamia, and therein fostered to that age: velle we should either deny credit to S. Stephen, who saith that Abraham departed from Mesopotamia after his Fathers death: or else beleue the interpretation of Daniel Angelocrator, who in his *Chronologia antoptica*, saith it was about his Fathers death: because the Greek word, *νεκτα* may be transported by the Latine *sub*, as well as by *post*: which though elsewhere it may be, yet cannot it be so in this place. For it were most improperly spoken, to say that those things were done about Terahs death, which were 60. yeeres before. Wherefore supposing Abraham to haue bene borne in the seventy yeere of Terah, we must giue those times and places of birth to Abrahams children, which no authority will warrant: For Abraham had no children in *Ur* or *Chaldea*, nor in Haran, nor in ten yeeres after his arrival into Canaan. For the yeere of Terahs death, in which Abraham left Haran, was the yeere of the World 2083. and the yeere of Isaacs birth vvas the Worlds yeere 2094. which maketh 10. yeeres difference. And that Isaac vvas borne in Canaan, and was to be offered vpon the mountaine Moriah therein, 39. miles from Bersabe, where Abraham then inhabited: and that three Angels first of all appeared to Abraham in the valley of Mamre, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot bee that any of Abrahams sonnes were borne in Mesopotamia, nor while Terah liued: nor in lesse than ten yeeres after Terahs death: and then consequently was not Abraham the eldest sonne of Terah, nor borne in the 70. yeere of Terahs age.

Gen. 12.

Thirdly, whereas Abraham came into Canaan at 75. if Terah had begotten him at 70. then had Terah liued but 145. for 70. and 75. make 145. which must also haue bene the full age of Terah: but Terah liued 205. yeeres; and therefore was not Abraham borne in the 70. yeere of Terah.

Fourthly, the ages of Lot and Sarah make it manifest, that Haran was the elder, if not the eldest brother of Abraham; for Sarah or Isah wanted but ten yeeres of Abrahams age: Isaac being borne when Abraham was 100. and Sarah 90. yeeres old.

It followeth then, that if Abraham had ben the elder brother of Haran, Haran must haue begotten Sarah at nine yeeres old: for granting that Haran was borne but one yeere after Abraham, and Sarah within ten yeeres as old as Abraham, then of necessity must Haran begeth her, when he had liued but nine yeeres; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And that Isah was Sarah, Rab. Solomon affirmeth, both names, saith he, bearing the same signification, and names of principality. Again, to what end was the vvorde Isah or Isibah inserted in this place, if Sarah were not meant thereby? For to speake of any thing superfluous, it is not vsed in Gods Booke: and if Isah had not belonged to the story, it had bene but an idle name to no purpose remembered.

Now if it had bene true (as those of the contrary opinion affirme) that Moses had no respect of Nahor and Haran, who were notwithstanding the parents of Bethmel and Rebecca, the mother of Israel, and of Christ: what regard then had Moses of Isah in this place, were shee not Sarah, but otherwise an idle name of whom there is nothing else first or last?

The age also of Lot disproueth the eldership of Abraham: for Lot vvas called an old man when Abraham was but 83. yeeres old: And if Lot were of a greater age than Abraham, and Haran were Father to Lot, Sarah, and Milcah, Abraham marrying one of Harans daughters, and Nahor the other, Sarah also being within ten yeeres as old as Abraham: it may appeare to euery reasonable man (not obstinate and preiudicate) that Haran was the eldest sonne of Terah, and not Abraham: who also died first and before his Father left *Ur* in Chaldea: Also Lyra reasoneth against the opinion of Abrahams eldership, vpon the same place of Genesis, drawing argument from the age of Sarah, who was but 10. yeeres younger than Abraham him selfe. Lyra his words are these: *Si igitur Haran fuit iunior ipso*

Abraham,

Abraham, sequitur quod non habebat decem annos quando genuit Sarah: imò nec octo, &c. and afterwards, & ideo melius videtur dicendum, quod Abraham fuit ultimus natus de tribus filiis Thare, tamen nominatur primus, propter eius dignitatem: & quia ponendum erat caput stirpis & generationis sequentis: & quia primus factus est ei repromissio expressa de Christo, sicut supra dictum est de Sem, &c. If therefore (saith Lyra) Haran was younger than Abraham him selfe, it followeth that he was not ten yeeres old when he begat Sarah: And therefore it seemeth better to be said, that Abraham was the last borne of the three sonnes of Thare, neuertheless he is named first for his dignitie, both because hee was to be ordained head of the stocke and generation following, and because the promise of Christ was first made unto him, 10. as before it was said of Sem.

## §. VII.

A conclusion of this dispute, noting the Authors on both sides: with an admonition, that they which shorten the times make all ancient stories the more vnprouable.

It therefore agreeth with the Scriptures, with Nature, Time, and Reason, that Haran was the eldest sonne of Terah, and not Abraham: and that Abraham was borne in the 130. yeere of Terahs life, and not in the 70. yeere: For Abraham departing Charan after Terahs death, according to S. Stephen, and that journey by Abraham performed when he was 75. yeeres old; these two numbers added make 205. yeeres the full age of Terah: seeing that when Terah died, then Abraham entred Canaan. For my selfe, I haue no other end herein than to manifest the truth of the Worlds Story. I reuerence the iudgements of the Fathers: but I know they were mistaken in particulars: Saint Augustine was doubtfull, and could not determine this controuerfie. For whatsoever is borrowed from him out of his sixteenth Booke de Ciuitate Dei, cap. 15. the same may be answered out of himselfe in his five and twentieth question vpon Gen. But Saint Augustine herein followed Iosephus and Isidor: and Beda followed S. Augustine. And it was out of a foolish pride and vanitie, that the Hebrewes and Iosephus sought to make Abraham the first borne: as if God had had respect to the eldest in nature. So did Iosephus together with Nicholas Damascenus (thinking thereby to glorifie the Iewish Nation) make Abraham a king, entitling Sarah by the name of Quene Sarah: and said that Abraham was followed with 318. Captaines, of which euery one had an infinite multitude vnder him, *trecentos & octodecem praefectos habuit: quorum singulis infinita multitudo parebat.* And that Haran invading him with a great Armie, tooke from him his Wife Sarah: Such fables argue that Iosephus is not to bee beleued, but with discrete reuerations.

This account of times, allowing no more than 292. yeeres from the Flood to Abraham, is vspheld by many of the Hebrews. But how should we value the opinion of such Chronologers, as take Amraphel for Nimrod? Surely, if their iudgement in such matters were worthy to be regarded, it would haue appeared in setting downe the succession of the Persian Kings, vnder whom they liued, whose Historie was not so farre remote in time, as these antiquities, nor wanting the light of many good writers. Yet grossly haue they erred therein, & so familiar are their mistakings in all things of like nature, that we seldom find their opinion rehearsed without the confusion treading on the heeles of it. They of the Romane religion are also generally on the same side: it being a thing vsphall among them, to maintaine whatsoever they haue bene formerly knowne to hold and beleue. Contrariwise, of the more ancient, Theodorici, and some following him: of later times Beroaldus, Codoman, Pencer, Calvin, Iuinius, Beza, Broughton, Doct. Gibbons, and Moore, with diuers of the Protestants hold Abraham to haue bene borne in the 130. yeere of his Father Terah. From these (as in a case not concerning any point in Religion) diuers of the same Religion, and those neuertheless good Authors, as Bucholcerus, Chitraus, Funtilius and others, are very auerse heerein, especially Iosephus Scaliger with his Serus Catuifius, proclaiming Beroaldus an Arch-hereticke in Chronologie, and condemning this opinion of his as poysonous. Contrariwise, Aquilinus Tornicius a Priest of the Congregation of Saint Paul, a iudicious, diligent, and free writer, whose Annales are newly set forth, very earnestly defends the opinion, which I haue already deliuered, nor alleading Beroaldus, nor any Protestant writer, as being perhaps vnwilling to owe thanks to hereticks. For my selfe I doe neither mislike the contrary opinion, because

R

commonly





Gen. 14.

this *Amraphel* was not at this time the greatest *Monarke*: for *Chedorlaomer* commanded in chiefe, though *Amraphel* be first named by *Moses* in the first verse of the 14. Chapter of *Genesis*. For the Kings of the valley of *Siddim*, or of *Pentapolis*, or the five Cities, were the vassalls of *Chedorlaomer*, and not of *Amraphel*: as it is writtē, *Twelve yeeres were they subiect to Chedorlaomer, but in the 13. yeere they rebelled, and in the 14. yeere came Chedorlaomer and the Kings that were with him*: and therefore was *Chedorlaomer* the principall in this enterprife, who was then King of *Elam*, which is *Persia*: Now *Persia* being seated ouer *Tygrus*, and to the East of *Amraphels* Countrie; and the other two kings, which were companions with *Amraphel*, being seated to the West of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*: *Amraphel*, who held *Babylonia* it selfe, seemeth at this time to haue had no great scope or large dominion. For had *Amraphel* beene so great a Prince as prophane Historians make *Ninus* or *Semiramis* whom he succeeded, hee should not haue needed the assistance of three other Kings for this expedition. But though *Chedorlaomer* were the first and greatest of those foure Kings, (as it is manifest that he was: For these little kings of *Sodom*, *Gomorrah*, &c. were his vassalls, and not *Amraphels*;) yet this makes not the coniecture lesse probable, but that this *Amraphel* might be *Ninus*. For it may be, that the great and potent Empire of *Assyria*, had now (as we shall here more plainly in that which followeth) receiued a downe-right fall, at the time of this warre: though not long before it commanded all the Kingdomes betwene *India* and the *Phenician* Sea: to wit, in the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*.

## §. X.

Of *Arioch* another of the foure Kings, and that *Ellas*, whereof he is said to haue beene King, lies betwene *Cœlefyria* and *Arabia Petrea*.

Xenophon:

Gen. 14.

Now the two other kings ioynt with *Amraphel* and *Chedorlaomer*, were *Arioch* and *Tidal*; the one king of *Elbasar*, the other of the Nations. For *Elbasar*, *Aquila* and *Hierome* write *Pontus*: so *Tostatus* thinketh that it should be *Hellepont*: which opinion *Pererius* fauoureth. But this is only to defend the Latine translation. For as *Pontus*, so is *Hellepont* farre distant, and out of the way to send any Armies into *Arabia Petrea*, or into *Idumæa*; which Countries these foure kings chiefly invaded: Besides that, it is certaine, that the *Assyrians* (when they were greatest) had neuer any dominion in *Asia* the lesse. For at such time as the *Assyrians* feared the inuasion of the *Medes* and *Persians*, they sent not into *Asia* the lesse as commanders: but vsed all the Art they had to inuite *Craesus* to their assistance: perswading him that nothing could be more dangerous for himselfe, and the other Kings of those parts, than the successe of the *Medes* against the *Assyrians*. But examiue the enterprife what it was. These Kings (saith the Text) made warre with *Bera*, King of *Sodom*, *Birsha* King of *Gomorrah*, *Shinab* King of *Admath*, and *Shemebar* King of *Zebajim*, and the King of *Bela* which is *Zoar*. All which five Kings had not so much ground as *Middlesex*: being such a kinde of *Reguli*, as *Iofua* found in the land long after: namely, Lords of Cities and small territories adioyning, of which *Canaan* had three and thirtie, all flaine or hanged by *Iofua*. Neither can the other Countries, which in the Text they are said also to haue inuaded, bee imagined to haue beene at that time of any great power: and therefore to call in Kings from *Pontus* or *Hellepont*, had manifested a great impotence and weakenesse in the Kings of *Babylon* and *Persia*.

And though it be alleadged for an example, that diuers Kings farre off, came to assist *Pompey* against *Cæsar*: yet these same examples without like occasions and circumstances, do neither leade nor teach. For there was no cause to feare the greatnesse of these petty Kings, or of the other Countries: But the eyes of the world were fixed on *Cæsar*; and his vndertakings and intents were to all other Princes, no lesse doubtful than fearefull: But the whole Countrey by these foure Kings mastered in their passage, was afterward giuen to the halfe tribe of *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*: a narrow valley of ground lying betwene *Jordan* and the mountaines of *Seir*: inclosed by the riuer of *Arnon* on the Southside, & by *Lybannus* on the North, consisting of the two small Prouinces of *Trachonitis* or *Bajan*, & the Region of the *Maabites*: a conquest farre vnuallable, and little answering to the power of the *Assyrian Empire*, if the same had remained in any compatible estate with the times of *Ninus* & *Semiramis*, who subiected all the great kings of that part

part of the World, without the assistance of any of the Kings of *Hellepont*, or any other part of *Asia* the lesse. But as the vulgar and *Aquila* conuert *Elbasar* by *Pontus*: so *Symmachus* makes *Arioch* a King of the *Scythians*, a King indeed, as farre fetched to ioyne with the *Assyrians* in this Warre, as the World had any at that time.

The *Septuagint* doe not change the word of *Elbasar* at all, but as they keepe the word *Ararat* on the mountaines whereof the Arke did rest, so doe they in this place retaine the Hebrew word *Elbasar*, being doubtfull to giue it a wrong interpretation. And *Peterson* himselfe remembreth other opinions farre more probable than this of *Pontus* or *Hellepont*: yet he dares not auow his liking of them, because the Latin Translation hath it otherwise. For *Stephanus de Urbibus a Græciæ Cosmographus*, findeth the Citie of *Ellas* in the border of *Cœlefyria*: and *S. Hierome* calleth *Ellas* the Citie of *Arioch*, as in truth it was. Now although the same be seated by *Stephanus* in *Cœlefyria*, yet it standeth on the border of *Arabia*, of which *Arioch* was king: who formerly ioynt with *Ninus* in all his conquests, being of the same familie, and descended from *Cham* and *Cbus*: after whom the name of *Arus* was by the Hebrew written *Arioch*: and afterward againe *Aretas*: as in the *Maabites*: the kings of *Arabia* holding that name euen to the time of *S. Paul*, who was fought to be betrayed by the Lieutenant of *Aretas* commanding in *Damascus*. They were Princes for the most part confederate and depending vpon the *Assyrian Empire*. It is true that we find in *Daniel*, that in the time of *Nabuchodonosor*, one *Arioch* was General of his armie, & the principall Commander vnder him, who was a King of Kings: which makes it plaine, that *Arioch* here spoken of, the sonne of that *Arioch* confederate of *Ninus*, was no king of *Pontus*, nor of *Scythia*: regions farre removed from the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*. The name also of *Arioch* who commanded vnder *Nabuchodonosor* is mentioned in *Judith*, by the name of King of the *Elymeans*: who are a Nation of *Persians* bordering *Assyria*, according to *Stephanus*: though *Plinie* sets it betwene the *Seacost*, and *Media*: and if any brother of the *Arabian Kings* or other of that house (known by the name of *Arius*, *Arioch*, *Aretas*, or *Aretas*) had the gouernment of that *Persian Province* called *Elymaus* (as it seemeth they had by the places of *Daniel* and *Judith*) yet the same was in *Nabuchodonosors* time. But this *Arioch* here spoken of may with more reason be taken for the King of *Arabia*, the sonne of *Arius*, the confederate of *Ninus*: whose sonnes held league, as their Fathers did, being the next bordering Prince of all on that side towards the West vnto *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*: and in amitie with them from the beginning, and of their owne house, and blood: which *Diod. Siculus* also confirmeth.

Mec. x. c. v. v. 2.  
Cor. 2. 11.

Dan. 3.

Dio. Sic. l. 2. c. 1.

## §. XI.

Of *Tidal* another of the foure Kings.

The fourth King by *Abraham* ouerthrowen was *Tidal*, King of the Nations. The Hebrew writes it *Gojim*, which *Vatablus* takes to be a proper name: *Elyra* of mixt people: *Culm* of runnagates without habitation. *Pererius* out of *Strabo*, findes that *Galilee* was inhabited by diuers Nations, which were a mixt people: namely of *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Phenicians*. Nam tales sunt qui *Galileam* habitant: Such *Strabo* l. 16. §. 4. are the inhabitants of *Galilee*, saith *Strabo*: and therefore was *Tidal* called King of these Nations, as they suppose. And it may be so: but the authoritie of *Strabo* is nothing in this question. For *Galilee* was not peopled at this time, as it was in the time of *Strabo*. For when *Abraham* came into *Canaan*, the *Canaanite* was then in the Land, howe soeuer they might be afterwards mixt, which I know not. But there are many petty kingdoms adioyning to *Phenicia*, and *Palastina*: as *Palmyrena*, *Batanea*, *Leudiscene*, *Ammon*, *Chalcedice*, *Cassiotis*, *Chalibonitis*, and all these doe also ioyne themselves to *Mesopotamia*, on the North, and to *Arabia* on the East. And that these Nations gathered themselves together vnder *Tidal*, I take to be the probablest coniecture.

Gen. 11. 4.

S. XII.

That Chedorlaomer the chiefe of the foure Kings was not of Assyria, but of Persia: And that the Assyrian Empire at this time was much impaired.

**L**ASTLY, whereas it is conceived that Chedorlaomer was the Assyrian Emperor, and that Amraphel was but a Satrape, Viceroy, or Provinciall gouernour of Babilonia, and that the other Kings named were such also, I cannot agree with *Plinius* in this. For *Moses* was too well acquainted with the names of *Assur* and *Shinar*, to call the Assyrian a King of *Elam*: those Kings being in the Scriptures euermore called by the name of *Chaldea*, *Shinar*, *Babilonia*, or *Assyria*: but neuer by *Elam*; and Chedorlaomer or Chedorlaomer was so called of *Kidar*, from *Cidarim* which in the Hebrew, significth *Kegele*; for so *2. Caritiu* calleth the garment which the Persian Kings ware on their heads.

Neither doe I beleue that the Assyrian or Babylonian Empire stood in any greatness at the time of this inuasion; and my reasons are these: First, example and experience teach vs, that those things which are set vp hastily, or forced violently, do not long last. *Alexander* became Lord of all *Asia*, on this side of *Indus*, in a time of so short a life, as it lasted not to ouer-looke what it selfe had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetuall. For his Empire died at once with himselfe: all whose chiefe Commanders became Kings after him. *Tamurlaine* conquered *Asia* and *India* with a storme-like and terrible successe: but to preualent furie God hath adioyned a short life; and whatsoeuer things Nature her selfe worketh in haste, she taketh the least care of their continuance. The fruit of his victories perished with him, if not before.

*Ninus* being the first whom the madnesse of boundlesse dominion transported, invaded his neighbour Princes, and became victorious ouer them: a man violent, insolent, and cruel. *Semiramis* taking the opportunitee, and being more proud, adventurous, and ambitious, than her *Paramour*; enlarged the Babylonian Empire, & beautified many places therein with buildings vnexampled. But her sonne hauing changed Nature and Condition with his Mother, proued no lesse feiminate than she was masculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continuall smart, put the Patient in minde how to cure the one, & to reuenge the other: so those Kings adioyning/whose subiection, & calamities incident, were but new, and therefore the more grieuous) could not sleepe, when the aduantage was offered by such a successour. For, in regno Babilonico hic parum resplenduit, this King shined little (saith *Nauclerus* of *Ninias*) in the Babylonian Kingdome. And likely it is that the neckes of mortall men hauing beene neuer before galled with the yoke of forraigne dominion, nor hauing euer had experience of that most miserable and detested condition of liuing in slaerie: no long descent hauing as yet inuaded the Assyrian with a right: nor any other title being for him pretended than a strong hand: the foolish and effeminate sonne of a tyrannous and hated Father, could very ill hold so many great Princes and Nations his vassals, with a powerlesse mastering, and a minde lesse industrious than his Father and Mother had vied before him. And hee that was so much giuen ouer to licentious idlenesse, as to suffer his Mother to reigne 42. yeares, and therefore the greatest part after he came to mans estate: witnesseth thereby to the World, that hee so much preferred ease before honour, & bodily pleasures before greatnesse, as he neither indeuoured to gaine what he could not gouerne, nor to keepe what hee could not without contentions perill enioy.

These Considerations being ioyned to the storie of *Amraphel*, deliuered by *Moses*, by which we find that *Amraphel* King of *Shinar* was rather an inferiour to the King of *Persia*, than either his superiour, or equall; make it seeme probable, that the Empire of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* was at that time broken asunder, & restrained againe to *Babilonia*.

For conclusion I will adde these two arguments confirming the former: First, that at such time as it pleased God to impose that great trauaile vpon *Abraham*, from *Ur* in *Chaldea* to *Charran*, and then to *Canaan*, a passage of 700. miles, or little lesse, with women, children, and carriages: the Countries through which he wandred were then settled, and in peace. For it was in the 23. yeere of *Ninias*, when *Abraham* obeying the voyce of God, tooke this great journey in hand: in which time of 23. yeares after the death of *Semiramis*, the neighbour Princes had recouered their libertie and former estates. For *Semiramis* Attinie of foure millions, with her selfe vtterly consumed in *India*, & all heramies and

and origins of warre, at the same time lost, gaue an occasion and opportunitie euen to the poorest soules and weakest hearted creatures of the World, to repurchase their former libertie.

Secondly, it is affirmed by the best and ancientest Historians, that *Arim* the sonne of *Ninias*, or *Amraphel*, inuaded the *Bactrians* and *Cassians*, and againe subiected them: which needed not if they had not bin reuolted from *Ninias*, after *Ninias* death. And as *Arioch* recouered one part, so did *Baleu* or *Balanu*, otherwise *Xerxes*, reduce the rest reuolted to their former obedience. Of whom it is said that he conquered from *Egypte* to *India*: and therefore was called *Xerxes*, id est, *Victor & triumphator, a conquerour and triumpher*, which vntertakings had beene no other than the effects of madnesse, had not those Countries freed themselves from the Babylonian subiection. Now if we shall make any doubt hereof, that is, of the re conquest of *Arim* and *Xerxes*, both which liued after *Ninias* and *Ninias*, we may as well thinke the rest of *Ninias* and *Semiramis* to be but fained: but if we grant this re conquest, then is it true that while *Ninias* or *Amraphel* ruled, the Assyrian Empire was torne asunder, according to that which hath bin gathered out of *Moses* as before remembred.

S. XIII.

That it is not vnprobable that the foure Kings had no dominion in the Countries named, but that they had else-where with their colonies planted themselves: and fortaised the names of the Countries whence they came: which if he so, we neede not say that *Amraphel* was *Ninias*, nor trouble our selues with many other difficulties.

**T**HE consent of all writers, whose workes haue come to my perusal, agreeing as they doe, that these foure Kings, *Amraphel* of *Shinar*, *Chedorlaomer* of *Elam*, and those fellows, were Lords of those Regions, whereunto they are or seeme intitled: doth almost inforce vs to thinke that the history must so be vnderstood, as I haue deliuered. But if in this place, as often else-where in the Scriptures, the names of Countries may be set for people of those lands, or if as *Hierome* hath it; *Chedorlaomer* was king of the *Elamites*, as *Tidal* was said to be of the Nations, that is, of people either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of sundry regions: then may we otherwise conceiue of this Historie: remouing thereby some difficulties which men perhaps haue bin vnwilling to find, because they could not find how to resolute them. For as it had bin a strange coniecture to thinke that *Arioch* was drawne to assist the Persian, against the *Sodomites*, as far as from *Pentur*, where it is very vnlikely that *Chedorlaomer* was knowne, and almost impossible that the vale of *Siddim* should haue bin once named: so in true estimation it is a thing of great improbabilitie, that *Chedorlaomer*, if he were King of *Persia* alone, should passe through so great a part of the World, as the Countries of *Assyria*, *Chaldea*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and part of *Arabia*, and *Canaan*, to subdue those fure Townes whose very names how they should come to his care, being disioyned by so many great nations of different Languages, a wise man could hardly coniecture. And if all the Countries bordering *Persia* together with the Babylonian himselfe, yea the kingdome of *Ellasar* & that of *Tidal*, so far off remoued, were become his dependants, what reason can we find that might haue induced him to hearken after *Sodom* and *Gomorrab*? and when hee should haue sought the establishment of his new gotten Empire, by rooting out the posterity of *Ninias* (as *Ninias* had dealt by *Pharao* of *Media*, and *Zoroaster* of *Bactria*) then to employ the forces of *Amraphel*, & those other Kings, against fure petic Townes, leauing *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, & the great Citie of *Damofce*, with many other places of much importance, and far neerer vnto him, vnsubdued? Now as these doubts which may be alleadged against the first conquest of the vale of *Siddim*, are exceeding vehemens: so are the obiections to be made against his re conquest of these fure Cities, when they had reuolted, as forcible, yea and more, as being grounded partly vpon the Text it selfe. For first, what madnesse had it beene in that small Province to rebell against so powerfull a Monarch? Or if it were so that they dwelling farre from him, hoped rather to be forgotten, than that he should come or send to reclaime them: was it not more than madnesse in them, when his terrible armie approached, still to entertaine hope of euasion: yea to make resistance (being themselves a dissolute & therefore vnwarlike people) against the power of all the Nations betwene *Euphrates*, yea betwene themselves and the riuer of *Indus*.

*Inuasi*: Likewise on the part of *Chedorlaomer* we should find no great wisdom, if he knowing the weakenesse of this people, had raised such a world of men against them: whom by any *Lieutenant*, with small forces he might haue subdued. For the perpetual inheritance of that little Countrey, was not sufficient to counteruaile one moneths charges of so huge an armie. How small then must his valour haue bene, who with so mighty preparations effected no more than the waisting of that *Valley*, wherein he left the Cities standing, taking no one of them, but returned well contented with a few prisoners, and the pillage of the Countrey, although he had broken their armie in the field: Now the Scriptures doe not of this inuasion, (supposed so great, make any feareful matter: but compose the two armies, as equally matcht, saying they were foure kings against five: yea, if the place be literally expounded, we shall find that *Abraham* slew all these kings, of which great slaughter no Historie makes mention: Neither will the reigne of *Nimrod*, who liued foure or five yeares longer, permit that he should haue died so soone: neither would Histories haue forgotten the manner of his death, if he had so strangely perished in *Syria*. Whereby it appeares, that these foure kings were not the same that they are commonly thought: nor their forces so great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well be true, that these kings were such as many others, who in that age carried the same title: Lords and Commanders euery one of his owne company, which he carried forth as a *Colony*, seeking place where to settle himself and them, as was the vsuall manner of those times.

Neither is it improbable, that *Chedorlaomer* leading a troupe of *Persians*, *Amraphel* some people out of *Shinaar*, and *Tidal* others gathered out of sundry places, might comfort together, and make the weakest of the Countrey which lay about them, to pay them tribute. Whosoever will consider the beginning of the first booke of *Thucydides*, with the manner of discoueries, conquests and plantations, in the infancie of *Greece*; or the manner of the *Saracens* inuading *Africa* and *Spaine*, with almost as many kings as several Armies: or the proceedings of the *Spaniards* in their new discoueries, passages, and conquests in the *West-Indies*: may easily perceiue, that it was neither vnusual, for the leaders of *Colonies* to receiue title from the people whom they conducted: nor to make alliances together, and breake them againe, disturbing sometimes one the other, sometimes helping in pursuit of a conquest. That *Amraphel* and his associates were such manner of Commanders, it may seeme the more likely, by the sloathfull qualitie of *Nimrod* then reigning in *Affria*: whose vnmanlike temper was such, as might well giue occasion to such vndertaking spirits, as wanted the imployments whereunto they were accustomed in the reigne of *Semiramis*, rather to seeke aduentures abroad, than to remaine at home vnregarded: whilst others more vnworthy than themselves, were aduanced. If the consent of the whole streeme of writers vpon this place make this coniecture disagreeable to the Text, to the authoritie whereof all humane reason must subscribe, then we may hold our selues to the former coniecture, that *Amraphel* was *Nimrod*: & that the power of his Ancestors being by his sloath decayed, he might well be inferiour to the *Persian Chedorlaomer*: or if this doe not satisfie, we may say that *Amraphel* was an Vnder king or *Sarapa* of *Shinaar*, vnder *Nimrod*: who may be supposed to haue had his *Imperiall* seat in his Fathers Citie *Nimrod*: and to haue preferred it before *Shinaar* and *Babylon* the Citie of his Mother, whom he hated as an vsurper of his right. But if it were possible that in a case not concerning any mans Saluation, & wherein therefore none hath cared to take great paines, all might erre: then can I thinke that the opinion, That those foure Kings were leaders of *Colonies*, sent out of the Countreies named in the Text, and not Kings of the Countreies themselves, is most consonant both to the condition of those times, and to the Scripture. And hereto adde that *Chedorlaomer* seemes rather called a *Persian* king, than King of *Persia*: and that *Arioch* (whose kingdome vndoubtedly was betweene *Syria* and *Arabia*) hauing bene a man of action, or being a worthy mans sonne, was very well pleased, to giue passage and assistance, to these Captaines or petty Kings. These & such like things here to vrge, were but with circumstances to adorn a supposition, which either may stand without them, or if it must fall, is vnworthy to haue cost bestowed vpon it: especially considering, that it is not my intent to imploy any more time in making it good, but to leaue it wholly to the Readers pleasure, to follow any of these opinions, or any other, if he find any that shall seeme better than these. But of what Countreies or people fouer these foure were Kings, this expedition is the onely publique adition that we

Gen. 14. 17.

we know of performed by *Abraham*. And as for other things belonging to his Storie, and of his sonnes, and of his Nephews *Esaue* and *Jacob*, as they are registred by *Moses*, because it is not our purpose, either to stand vpon things generally known to all *Christians*, nor to repeat what hath bene elsewhere already spoken, nor to preuent our selues in things that may hereafter in due place be remembered, wee passe them here in silence. And because in this Storie of *Abraham* and his posteritie, there is much mention of *Egypt*: by which it appeares that euen in the time of *Abraham*, it was a settled and flourishing kingdome; it will not be amisse in the next place to speake somewhat of the antiquities and first kings thereof.

10

## CHAP. II.

Of the Kings of *Egypt* from the first peopling of it after the  
Flood, to the time of the deliuerie of the Israelites  
from thence.

## §. I.

20 A briefe of the names and times of the first Kings of *Egypt*: with a note of the causes of difficulty in resolving of the truth in these points



One after the confusion at *Nabel* (as it seemes) *Cham* with many of his issue and followers (hauing doubtlesse knowne the fertilitye of *Egypt* before the Eloud) came thither and tooke possession of the Countrey; in which they built many Cities: and began the kingdome one hundred nintie one yeeres after the deluge. The ancient *Gouernours* of this Kingdome till such time as *Israel* departed *Egypt*, are shewne in the Table following.

30

An. Mundi.	An. dil.	
1847.	191.	<i>Cham.</i>
2008.	352.	<i>Ofiru.</i>
2269.	613.	<i>Typhon</i> ?
		<i>Hercules.</i> }
		<i>Orus.</i>
2276.	620.	<i>Sesostru</i> the great.
2391.	735.	<i>Sesostru</i> the blinde.
2424.	768.	<i>Busris</i> or <i>Oris</i> the second.
2438.	782.	<i>Ascencher</i> or <i>Thermutis</i> ,
2476.	820.	or <i>Meris.</i>
		<i>Rathoris</i> or <i>Athoris.</i>
2488.	832.	<i>Chenemes</i> drowned in the
2497.	841.	red Sea.

40

The Table, and especially the *Chronologie*, is to be confirmed by probabilities & coniectures, because in such obscurity, manifest & restless truth cannot be found. For Saint *Augustine*, a man of exceeding great iudgement, and incomparable diligence, who had sought into all antiquities, and had read the bookes of *Varro*, which now are lost, yet omitted the succession of the *Egyptian* Kings: which he would not haue don, if they had not bene more vncertaine than the *Sicyonians*, whom hee remembreth, than whom doubtlesse they were more glorious. One great occasion of this obscurity in the *Egyptian* Story, was the ambition of the Priests: who, to magnifie their Antiquities, filled the Records (which were in their hands) with many leafings, and recounted vnto strangers the names of many Kings, that neuer reigned. What ground they had for these reports of supposed Kings, it shall appeare anon. Sure it is, that the magnificent workes and

and royall buildings in *Egypt*, such as are neuer found but in States that haue greatly flourished, witnesseth that their Princes were of manieus greatnesse, and that the reports of the Priests were not altogether false. A second cause of our ignorance in the *Egyptian* History, was the too much credulity of some good Authors, who beleueing the manifold and contrary reports of sundry *Egyptians*, and publishing in their owne name such as pleased them best; haue confirmed them, and as it were enforced them vpon vs by their authority. A third and generall cause of more than *Egyptian* darkenesse in all ancient Histories, is the edition of many Authors by *Iohn Anniius*, of whom (if to the censures of sundry very learned, I may adde mine) I thinke thus; That *Anniius* hauing seene some fragments of those writers, and added vnto them what hee would, may be credited, as an auoucher of true Histories, where approued writers confirme him: but otherwise is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it cometh to passe that the account of Authors, either in the *Chronologie* or *Genealogie* of the *Egyptian* Kings, runs three altogether different wayes. The Christian writers, such as are ancient, for the most part follow *Eusebius*: Many late writers follow the edition of *Anniius* his Authors: The prophane Histories follow *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and such others.

## §. II.

That by the account of the *Egyptian Dynasties*, and otherwise, it appears that *Chams* reigne in *Egypt* began in the yeere after the *Flood*, 191.

**T**O reconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the ancient Kings, about whom is most controuersie, the best meane is by helpe of the *Dynasties*: of whose continuance there is little or no disagreement. The account of the *Dynasties* (besides the authority of approued Authors) hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the most part, if not altogether, with the Histories of the *Assyrians*, *Troians*, *Italians*, &c. and others. The beginning of the 16. *Dyn.* is ioyned by generall consent, with the 43. yeere of *Ninus*: in which *Abraham* was borne. The twelue first *Dynasties* lasted each of them seuen yeeres, vnder the twelue, which were called the greater gods: so that all the yeeres of their continuance were 84. The thirteenth *Dynastie* endured foureteen yeeres: the fourteenth 26, the fifteenth 37. These three last, are said to haue bene vnder the three younger gods. So the fifteene first *Dynasties* lasted one hundred sixty one yeeres. As I doe not therefore beleue that the continuance of these *Dyn.* was such as hath been mentioned, because *Anniius* in such wise limits out their time: so I cannot reiect the account vpon this onely reason, that *Anniius* hath it so: considering that both hitherto it hath passed as currant, and is greatly strengthened by many good reasons. For, whereas *Eusebius* placeth the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynastie*, in the yeere of *Abrahams* birth, as aforesaid: the reckoning is easily cast; by which the summe of 161. yeeres, which according to our account were spent in the fifteene former, being subducted out of the sum of 352. yeeres, which were between the *Flood* & *Abrahams* birth, shew that the beginning of the first *Dynastie*, which was the beginning of *Chams* reigne in *Egypt*, was in the yeere 191. As also by other probabilities the same may appeare. For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of mankind which came into *Shinar*, arriued at *Babel*, Anno a diluuio 131. In building the Tower were consumed fourtie yeeres, as *Glycius* recordeth: whose report I haue elsewhere confirmed with diuers probabilities. That *Cham* was long in passing with his company, their Wiues, Children, Cattell, & substance, through all *Syria* then desolate, and full of Bogges, Forreites, and Bryers (which the Deluge and want of culture in one hundred seuentie one yeeres had brought vpon it) no reasonable man will doubt. To this his passage therefore, and the seating of himselfe in *Egypt*, we allow twenty yeeres: & these summes being added together, to wit, one hundred thirty one yeeres after the *Flood*, before they arriued at *Babel*, 40. yeeres for their stay there, and 20. for *Chams* passage into *Egypt*, and settling there, make vp the summe of 191. yeeres; at which time we said that *Cham* began his reigne in *Egypt*, in the beginning of the first *Dynastie*. And to this summe of 191. yeeres if we adde the 161. yeeres of the 15. first *Dynasties*, as they are numbered in common account, we shall fall right with the yeere of *Abrahams* birth which was *An. Dil.* 352. And hereto omitting many other reasons, which might be brought to proue that these first *Dynasties* must needs haue bene very short, and not containing in the whole summe of their severall times

times about 161. yeeres: Let it suffice that had they lasted longer, then either must *Egypt* haue bene peopled as soone as *Babel* after the *Flood*, or the *Dynasties* (as *Adeuicator* thinkes) must haue bene before the *flood*. That the arriuall at *Babel* was many yeeres before the plantation of *Egypt*, after the *flood*, enough hath bene said to proue: and that the *Dynasties* were not before the *flood*, the number of the long-liu'd generations between *Adam* and the *flood*, which was lesse than the number of the *Dynasties*, may sufficiently witness. Or if we will thinke, that one life might (perhaps) be diuided into many *Dynasties*, then may this haue bene as well after the *flood*, as before: considering that the sonnes of *Noah* did not in euery Countrey erect such forme of Policie; as had bene vied in the same ere the Deluge: but such, as the disposition of the people, the authoritie and power of the Conducker, together with many other circumstances, did induce or enforce them to.

## §. III.

That these *Dynasties* were not diuers families of Kings, but rather successions of Regents, oft times many vnder one King.

**T**HE short continuance of the *Dynasties*, doth shew that they were not severall races of Kings, as the vaunting *Egyptians* were wont to stile them. What they were it cannot certainly be warranted. For in restitution of decayed antiquities, it is more easie to denie than to affirm. But this may be said partly vpon good circumstance, partly vpon the surest prooffe, That it was the manner of the *Egyptian* Kings; to put the gouernment of the Countrey into the hands of some trustie Counsellor, only reseruing the Soueraignty to themselves, as the old Kings of *France* were wont to the Masters of the Palace, and as the Turke doth to the chiefe *Vizier*. This is confirmed first, by the number of the *Dynasties*, whereof many are vnder *Cham*, & more than one vnder *Osiris* or *Mizraim*; and must therefore haue bene successions, not of Kings, but rather of Counsaillors and Regents. Secondly, by custome of such Princes borderers to *Egypt*, as are mentioned in the Scriptures of whom *Abimelech* the *Philistin* in his dealing with *Abraham* and *Isaac* about confederation, did nothing without *Phicol* Captaine of his Hoste, though in taking *Abrahams* wife, and in his priuate carriage; he followed his owne pleasure. Likewise of *Abimelech* the sonne of *Gideon* it was said: it not be the sonne of *Jerubbabael*: and *Zebul* his Officer. Also *Ishobabeth* the sonne of *Saul*, feared *Abner* the Captaine of the Hoste. Yea, *Dauid* himselfe hating *Isaiah* for his crueltye, did not punish him in regard of his greatnesse, which was such, as was feared euen of *Hadad* the *Edomite* liuing then in *Egypt*. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and disposition of *Cham*, who was lewd, as appeares by the Scriptures: therefore likely both for his owne idlenesse and pleasure, to haue laid the burden of gouernment vpon others; and vpon ieaousie, the companion of vnworthinesse, to haue changed his Lieutenants often. About all other proofes is the aduancement of *Ioseph* by *Pharaoh*. For *Pharaoh* said to *Ioseph*; Only in the Kings throne wilt be about thee: behold, I haue set thee ouer all the Land of *Egypt*. *William* Archbisshop of *Tyre*, who flourished about the yeere of our Lord, one thousand one hundred eightie, affirmes that the like or very same forme of gouernment by *Viceroyes*, was in his time practised in *Egypt*, hauing there bene in vse (as he beleueed) euer since the time of *Ioseph*. He plainly shewes, that the *Soldans* of *Egypt* were not Lords of the Countrey, how euer they haue bene so deemed: but that they acknowledged and humbly performed the dutie of subiects vnto the *Caliphe*: who residing in a most magnificent Palace in *Cairo*, did commit the charge, not onely of ciuill gouernment, but the power of making warre and peace, with the whole office & authority royall into the *Soldans* hands. He that shall reade in *William* of *Tyre*, the state of the *Caliphs* or *Mulkes* *Eldhadees*, with the forme of his Court, shall plainly behold the image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, ruling by a Lieutenant, as great in authority as *Ioseph* was, though farre inferiour in wisdome.

To thinke that many names of such Regents or Lieutenants as *Ioseph* was, haue crept into the List of the *Egyptian* Kings, were no strange imagination. For *Iosephs* brethren called him, *The man that is Lord of the Land*, and *the Lord of the Countrey*: Besides, it is not vnlikely that the vain-glorious *Egyptian* Priests would as easily report him a King to posterity, as ignorant men & strangers deeme him such, vnder whose hand all dispatches

of importance, and royall managing of the State had passed, whilest that the King himselfe intending his quiet, had given his office to another. How strangers haue mistaken in this kinde, the example already cited of *Iosephs* brethren, doth sufficiently witness. The reports of Priests doe appeare in *Diodorus*, and *Herodotus*: each of whom, citing their relations, as good authority, say; *Diodorus*, that *Sesoftris* was the nineteenth King after *Menas*; *Herodotus*, that he was the 332. after *Menas*: which could not haue beene, if *Menas* had beene *Adam*. Therefore we may well conclude, That the *Dynasties* were not so many races of Kings, but successions of *Regents*, appointed by the kings of so many sundry linages or sorts of men. Now by whatsoeuer means a *Dynastie* or *Regencie* continued: whether in one familie, as being made an hereditary office: or in one order of men, as held by faction: sure it is that it was the Kings gift and free choyce, that gaue the office. But the Crowne royall alwayes passed by descent, & not by election: which (besides consent of *Authors*) the Scriptures also proue. For whereas *Ioseph* bought all the land of *Egypt* for *Pharaoh*, if the Crowne had passed by election, then should *Pharaohs* children hereby either haue beene intralled amongst the rest of the people, to the next successor: or inioying their Fathers land, though not his estate, haue beene more mighty than the king: as Land-lords of all *Egypt*, and the king himselfe their Tenant. Likewise we finde in *Exod. 12*. that God smote the first borne of *Pharaoh*, that was to sit on his Throne. And in *Esay* it is said of *Pharaoh*: I am the soune of the ancient King.

## §. III I.

Of Cham, and his soune Mizraim, or Ofiris.

THAT the succession of Kings began, and continued in such wise as the Table hath shewed from *Cham* to *Chencres*, now it followeth to shew. *Egypt* is called in the Scripture the Land of *Ham*. That this name is not given to it, because the posterity of *Cham* did reigne there, but for that himselfe did first plant it, we may gather by many circumstances. For I thinke it is no where found, that the Countries of *Cush*, *Pnt*, or *Canaan*, as well as *Egypt*, were called the Land of *Ham*. Further, it is found in *Diodorus Siculus*, that *Ofiris* calleth himselfe the eldest sonne of *Cham*, saying; *Mibi pater Saturnus deorum omnium iunior*: also, *Suns Saturni filius antiquior, germen ex pulchro & generoso ortum*: which must needs be understood of *Cham*: for this *Saturnus* *Egyptius* was *Cham*: as it is said, that on the monument of *Ninus* was an inscription, wherein *Cham* was called *Saturnus* *Egyptius*. Likewise the Temple of *Hammon*, not farre from *Egypt*, doth testifie, that *Ham* resided in those parts: And *S. Hierome* in *questionibus Hebraicis*, saith, that the *Egyptians* themselves did in his dayes call their Countrey *Ham*: as in foure severall places in the *Psalmes* this Countrey is called the land of *Cham*. And *Ortelius*, noting out of *Plutarch* in *Ofride*, that in the sacrifices of the *Egyptians* this Countrey of *Egypt* was called *Chemia*, expounds it for *Chamia*, or *pato* (saith he) *a Chamus Notus filio*, to which also he addeth out of *Isidore*, *Egyptum vsq. hodie Egyptiorum lingua Kam vocari*: that *Egypt* vnto this day in the tongue of the *Egyptians* is called *Kam*. For the beginning and continuance of *Chams* reigne, the same reasons may suffice to be alleadged, which I haue already giuen in proofe of the time spent in the 15. first *Dynasties*: Neither is it strange that the reigne of *Cham* should last so long as 161. yeeres: considering that *Sem* liued 600: *Arphachbad* and *Shelah* each about 400. But strange it had beene, if one *Saltis* created by *Manetho*, had in those long-lived generations reigned there 19. yeeres, and with *Bean*, *Apachnas*, *Apochis*, and others of the same brood, obscured the fame and glory of *Ofiris*, *Orus*, and *Sesoftris*. *Reineccius* in *hissor. Italia*, placeth *Mizraim* next, otherwise called *Ofiris* according to *Diodorus*: who, saith he, was the sonne of *Hammon*: *Krentzheimius* saith that *Mizraim* and *Ofiris* are words of neere affinitye and found in the *Hebrew* tongue. Howsoever it be, we know that *Mizraim* the sonne of *Cham*, was Lord of *Egypt*, and *Reineccius* citing good authoritie in this case, affirmeth that *Egypt* is now called by the naturals in their owne language, *Mezre*. Neither doe I see cause of doubt whether *Ofiris* were the same with *Mizraim*. It is more necessary, & hard to shew manifestly, how long *Mizraim* or *Ofiris* reigned. For whereas the yeere of his death is no where precisely set downe, we must be faine to follow probabilities. That hee is not vainly said by *Annius* his *Berosus*, to haue begun his reigne at the birth of *Abraham*, when the *Dynastie* of the *Thebes* began, it appeareth, first, by the authoritie of *Eusebius*: who

auoucheth as much; next by *Diodorus*, who saith that he inhabited *Thebes*: which habitation of *Ofiris* there, that it might be cause of that *Dynastie*, I can well beleue; affecting so farre to *Reineccius*, who thinke the *Dynasties* were named onely, according to the severall seares of the kings.

## §. V.

Of the time when *Ofiris* reigne ended: and that *Jacob* came into *Egypt* in the time of *Orus* the sonne of *Ofiris*.

THE death of *Ofiris*, when it was, none can certainly affirme. The onely conclusion that I know is made thus: *Lebabim* the sonne of *Mizraim* called *Hercules Lybius*, made warre in *Italy*, to reuenge his Fathers death, on the associates of *Typhon*, in the 41. yeare of *Baleus* King of *Affria*: before vvhich yeare hee had made many great vvarres in *Egypt*, *Phoenicia*, *Phrygia*, *Crete*, *Lybia*, and *Spaine*: and haue ended his *Egyptian* vvarres, left the Kingdom to *Orus*. Thus saith *Berosus*, or *Authors* following *Berosus*. That *Orus* last of all the gods (as they were stiled) held the Kingdom of *Isis*, *Diodorus Siculus* plainly saith: and *Plutarch* as much; to vvhich all Histories agree. *Krentzheimius* hereupon inferres, that fixe yeares may be allowed to the vvarres, vvhich *Hercules* made in so many Countries, after the *Egyptian* warres were ended: so should the death of *Ofiris* haue beene the 34. of *Baleus*, when himselfe had reigned 297. yeares. I thinke that *Krentzheimius* was a greater Scholler than Souldier. For surely in those dayes when commerce was not such as now, but all Navigation made by coasting; a farre longer time would haue beene required, to the subduing of so many Countries. An allowance of more time though it would alter his computation, yet would it vvell agree with his intent: which was (doublelesse) to finde the truth: If according to his account the death of *Ofiris* had beene the 34. of *Baleus*, then must *Israel* haue come into *Egypt* but seuen yeares before the death of *Ofiris*: and haue liued there in the reigne of *Typhon*. A thing not easily beleueed. For it was the same king who aduanced *Ioseph*, bade him fend for his Father, and gaue him leaue to goe into *Canaan*, to the performance of his Fathers Funerall: as may easily be gathered out of the booke of *Genesis*. Whereas therefore the reigne of *Ofiris* cannot be extended by any possible allowance in account of times, beyond the seventh yeare of *Israels* coming into *Egypt*: we must needs cut off 23. yeares from that number, which *Krentzheimius* coniectures his reigne to haue continued: namely seuen vvhich hee should haue liued after *Jacobs* coming into *Egypt*, nine in which *Ioseph* had there flourished, ere his fathers coming; and other seuen in which *Typhon* and *Hercules* had reigned after the death of *Ofiris*, yet before *Iosephs* aduancement.

Neither will this disagree with the time of *Hercules Lybius* his wars, For the war which *Hercules* made in *Italy*, is said to haue indured 10. yeares: After which proportion we may well giue not onely fixe yeares, as *Krentzheimius* doth, but 23. more to so many wars in so many and so far distant Countries, as are named before: by this proportion we may attribute vnto *Orus* the 13. yeares, which passed betweene the time of *Iosephs* being sold into *Egypt*, vnto his aduancement, considering that *Putiphar* who bought him, & whose daughter he may seeme to haue married, continued all that while chiefe Steward vnto *Pharaoh*: a thing not likely to haue been, if so violent alterations had hapned the whilest in *Egypt*, as the tyrannous vsurpation of *Typhon* must needs haue brought in. If citing some fragment of a lost old Author, I should confidently say, that *Putiphar* for his faithfulness to *Orus*, the sonne of *Ofiris*, vvas by him in the beginning of his reigne made his chiefe Steward: at which time buying *Ioseph*, and finding him a lust man, & one vnder whose hand all things did prosper, he rather committed his estate into *Iosephs* hands, than vnto any of his *Egyptian* followers (many of whom he had found either falchard, or weak and vnlucky in the troublsome dayes of *Typhon*) I know not what could be objected against this. Perhaps I might proceed further, and say, That when the saying of *Ioseph* pleased *Pharaoh*, and all his seruants, then *Putiphar* Priest of *On*, being chiefe Officer to *Pharaoh*, did acknowledge in *Ioseph*, the ancient graces of God, & his minious improvement: whereupon he gaue him his daughter to wife, and being old, reigned his office of chiefe Steward vnto him, who afterward in regard of *Putiphar*, did haue the Privie, when hee bought the lands of all other *Egyptians*. This might appeare to some a tale for



vntlike to the Frierly book of *Afinath*, *Putiphars* daughter: but vnto such as consider that God workes vually by meanes; and that *Putaphar* was the Steward of that King, vnder whom *Isaac* died: it would seeme a matter not probable, had it an Author of sufficient credit to auouch it. Concerning the warres of *Hercules*, in which by this reckoning hee should haue spent 42. yeares after he left *Egypt*, ere he began in *Italy*, it is a circumstance which (the length of his *Italian* warre considered, and his former enterprises & achievements proportioned to them) doth not make against vs, but for vs: or if it were against vs, yet could it not so weaken our supposition, as these probabilities collected out of the vndisputable truth of Scripture do confirm it. Neuertheless I freely grant that all these proofes are no other, than such as may be gathered out of Authors, not vuell agreeing, nor to be reconciled in such obscurity, otherwise than by likelihoods, answerable to the holy Text.

## S. VI.

Of *Typhon*, *Hercules*, *Aegyptus*, *Orus*, and the two *Sesostres*, successively reigning after *Mizraim*: and of diuers errors about the former *Sesostres*.

Concerning the reigne of *Typhon*, and of *Hercules*, I find none that precisely doth define how long either of them continued. *Daniel Angelocrotator* giueth three yeares to *Typhon*, omitting *Hercules*. But he is so peremptory without proofe, so as if his own word were sufficient authority, in many points very questionable; all eading no vnticelle, but as it were saying, *Telle me ipso*: yet herein wee may thinke him to speake probably, forasmuch as the learned *Krentzhemius* affirmeth, that *Hercules* did very soone vndertake his Fathers reuenge; and was not long in performing it: and that leauing *Egypt* to his brother, hee followed other warres, in the same quarrell, as hath bene shewed before. True it is, that I cannot collect (as *Krentzhemius* doth) out of *Berosus*, that *Hercules* reigned after *Typhon*: yet seeing *Aucutinus* a follower of *Berosus* hath it so, I will also beleue it. That in the reigne of *Typhon* and *Hercules*, seven yeares were spent, howsoeuer diuided betweene them, I gather out of *Krentzhemius* only, who placeth the beginning of *Orus* seven yeares after the death of *Osiris*: forgetting to set downe his reasons, which in a matter so probable I thinke he wanted not. Now vvhether he alloweth 90. yeares of the eighteenth *Dynastie* to *Osiris*, *Typhon*, *Hercules*, and *Orus*: it seemes that the reigne of *Orus* lasted 115. yeares. From the death of *Orus* to the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, there passed 122. yeares by our account: who (according to *Berosus* and others) thinke that *Abraham* was borne in the 130. yeare of *Terah*, and thereupon reckon thus. From the end of the Floud to the birth of *Abraham* ————— 352

From that time to the Evocation of *Abraham* ————— 75  
Departure out of *Egypt* ————— 430  
Summa ————— 857:

which summe diuers other wayes may be collected. Since therefore to the departure out of *Egypt*, there doe remaine (as is aforesaid) onely 122. yeares from the death of *Orus*: we are now to consider how many of them are to be allowed vnto *Sesostrius* or *Sesenchas*: who is placed next vnto *Orus*, by authority of the *Scholias* *Apollonius*: not without good probability. For this great king or conquerour, is by many Histories recorded to haue ouer-run a great part of *Asia*: to haue built a fleet of ships on the red Sea: and so to haue entred into *India*: likewise with another fleet on the middle-earth Seas, to haue passed into *Europe*, and subdued many Nations. This is he (as *Reineccius* iudgeth) whom *Mesime* erring in account of his time calleth *Vexoris*: For *Iustine* placeth *Vexoris* in ages before *Ninus*: whereby it would follow that *Sesostrius*, if he were *Vexoris*, was more ancient than was *Osiris* (otherwise *Mizraim*) a thing altogether vntlikely. Certaine it is that after the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, no one *Pharaoh* came into the land of *Canaan* (which lieth in the way from *Egypt* into *Asia*) till the Father in law of *Salomon*, *Pharaoh* *Vaphres*, tooke *Gerar*, and gaue it to his daughter: (as vvee may read more at large in the holy History of the Bible) after vvhich time *Scas* oppressed *Rehobams*, and *Necho* sought passage through the land of *Israel*, vvhich hee made his expedition against the *Chaldeans*. Of King *Rehobams* and *Necho* it is out of question, that neither of them was the great King *Sesostrius*. Of *Sesac* it is doubted by some, forasmuch as hee came into *Indus* with

vwith a great armie. *Reineccius* propounding the doubt, leaueth it vndecided; vnlesse it be sufficient proofe of his owne opinion, that he himselfe placeth *Sesostrius* next to *Orus*: following the *Scholias* *Apollonius*. But further answer may be made to shew that they were not one. For, as *Iustine* witnesseth, *Sesostrius*, otherwise *Vexoris*, made warre on people farre removed, abtaining from his neighbours. *Sesac* came vp purposely against *Hierusalem*. *Sesostrius*, as *Diodorus* witnesseth, had but 24000. horse; *Sesac* had 60000. *Sesostrius* had 8000. chariots, *Sesac* but 1200. *Sesostrius* made his expedition for no private purpose, but to get a great name: *Sesac*, as most agree, had no other purpose than to succour *terebams*, and giue him countenance in his new reigne; whom he had fauoured euen against *Salomon*: therefore *Sesostrius* must needs haue reigned whilst *Israel* abode in *Egypt*.

Whereas *Krentzhemius* collecteth out of *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, that one *Menas*, or *Menis*, was next to *Orus*: because those Historians affirme that he reigned next after the gods; it moueth me nothing. For *Osiris* did succede those fiftene gods, namely, the twelve greater, and three lesser: himselfe also (as the learned *Reineccius* noteth) being called *Menas*. Which name, as also *Menas*, and *Menus*, were titles of dignity; though mistaken by some as proper names. *Krentzhemius* doth very probably gather, that *Menas* was *Mercurius Ter-maximus*; the Hebrew word *Meni* signifying an *Arithmetician*, vvhich name *Ter-maximus* might vuell bee attributed to *Osiris*, vvhich was a great Conquerour, 20 Philosopher, and Benefactor to mankind, by giuing good Lawes, and teaching profitable Arts. In proweesse and great vndertakings *Sesostrius* was no whit inferiour to *Osiris*. For he sought victory not for gaine, but for honour onely: and being vuell contented, that many Nations had acknowledged his power, and submitted themselves to his will and royall disposition, leauing them in a manner to their liberty, returned into *Egypt*. Soone vpon his returne he was endangered by a great Treason, the house in vvhich he was, being by his owne brother purposely fired: vvhich neuertheless hee is said to haue escaped, and to haue reigned in all thirty three yeares: after which time he chose rather to die than to liue; because he fell blinde. Both *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, affirme that *Sesostrius* left a sonne, vvhose name was *Pheron* or *Pheronis*: who afterwards tooke the name of *Sesostrius*; but was nothing like to his Father in glory: for he shortly fell blinde. 30 The cause of his blindness *Herodotus* attributes to his assaulting the Riuier *Nilus* vwith a iaueline: which tale *Diodorus* hauing likewise heard, yet reports as a fable, saying that perhaps he tooke the disease naturally from his Father. How long this man reigned it is not where expressed: yet forasmuch as *Orus* the second, (otherwise *Busiris*) vvhich succeeded him, began 14. yeares after that this *Sesostrius* had bene king, it must needs bee that this reigned 14. yeares at least. That *Busiris* began not vntill these 14. yeares at least were expired, the very account of time from the first of *Busiris*, to the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, plainly shewes, being almost generally agreed vpon, to haue bene 75. yeares. That none came betwene *Sesostrius* the second, and *Busiris* or *Orus* the second, it stands 40 onely vpon probabilities: vvhich are these. After *Sesostrius* had reigned some while, hee fell blinde; after certaine yeares he recovered his sight, as is said: which may haue bene true, but is more like to haue bene a fable: surely the manner of his recovery as it is set downe, is very fabulous: namely, that by looking vpon a woman, or vvashing his eyes with her vwater, who had onely knowne her owne husband, hee got his sight againe. As the time of his reign, before his blindness, and when he was vuell againe (if euer he were) may haue taken vp a good part of 14. yeeres: so his vworkes which were great, do much more strongly argue, that his reigne was not very short. His works are largely set down by *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*: a part of vvhich may seeme to haue bene the finishing of that which his Father had begun, about the channels and sluices of *Nilus*: vvhom I thinke he rather frighted, (as his Father had done) with spades and shouels, than with darts, and iauelins; and by his diligent oversight of that worke, was like enough to lose both his eye-sight and his peoples loue; whom his Father had very busily employed in excessive labour about it. 50

## §. VII.

Of *Busris* the first oppressor of the *Israelites*; and of his successor *Queen Thermutis* that took up *Moses* out of the water.

AND herein (if I may presume to coniecture) *Busris*, who was afterwards king, is like to have dealt with him, as *Ieroboam* did with the sonne of *Salomon*. For that *Busris* himselfe was much addicted to magnificent workes, it vvell appeared, by the drudgery vvhether he wearied the children of *Israel* in his buildings: If therefore he were employed by the great *Sesostris*, as *Ieroboam* was by *Salomon*, in the oversight of those businesse, he had good opportunity to worke his greatnesse with the king by industry; and afterward with the people by incensing them their new king, as *Ieroboam* did. For what the multitude will endure at one Princes hands, they will not at anothers: vnlesse hee haue either an equall spirit, or a surer foundation. If moreouer he sought to deriue all the paine and labour of publique workes from the *Egyptians*, to the *Israelites*: hee surely did that which to his owne people was very plausible: who (as appears in *Exodus*) were nothing slack in fulfilling the kings cruelty. Now that *Orus* the second, or *Busris*, was the king that first oppressed *Israel*, and made the *Edict* of drowning the *Hebrew* children, which (saith *Cicero*) lasted ten moneths: it is a common opinion of many great and most learned writers; who also thinke that hereupon grew the fable of *Busris* sacrificing strangers. It is also a common interpretation of that place, *Exod. 1.* that the King who knew not *Ioseph*, was a king of a new family. That *Busris* was of a new family, *Reineccius* doth shew; who also thinke him Author of the bloody *Edict*. Neuerthelesse, true it is, that *Busris*, according to all mens computation, began his reigne five yeares after the birth of *Moses*; before whose birth it is most manifest, that the Law was made, and much more that the persecution began, which *Busris* thinks to haue lasted 87. yeares, ere the departure out of *Egypt*. Let vs therefore consider, besides the blindness of *Sesostris* the second, how great the power of the *Regents* or *Vice-Royes* in *Egypt* was; & how great confidence the kings did put in them; seeing *Ioseph* ruled with such full power, that hee bought all *Egypt*, and all the *Egyptians* for bread; giuing at the same time the best of the land to his own father and brethren, for nothing; seeing also that when the *Egyptians* cried out vpon *Pharaoh*, for bread; *Pharaoh* said to all the *Egyptians*, Go to *Ioseph*, what he saith to you, do ye. If to a stranger borne, lately fetcht out of prison, a king well able to haue gouerned himselfe, would giue such trust, & souereign authority; it is not vnlike that a blind Prince should do it to a man of especial reputation. For God often prospers, not only the good (such as *Ioseph* was) but wicked men also, as his instruments against the day of wrath. Therefore perhaps the king did (as many haue done) resigne his kingdom to him, though his reigne was not accounted to haue begun, till the death of *Sesostris*. But whether *Busris* did vsurpe the kingdom, or protection of the land by violence: or whether the blind king resigned it, keeping the title; or whether *Busris* were only *Regent*, whilst the king liued, & afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) king himselfe: it might well be said that *Pharaohs* daughter tooke vp *Adofes*, and that *Pharaoh* vexed *Israel*, seeing he both at that time was king in effect, and shortly after king in deed and title both. It were not absurd for vs to say that the blind king *Sesostris* the second oppressed *Israel*: but forasmuch as it may seeme that the wicked *Tyrant* shewed his euill nature euen when he first arose: I thinke it more likely, that *Busris* did it, vsing at first the power of a king, and shortly after the stile. Thus of the 122. yeares vvhich passed betwene the beginning of *Sesostris* his reigne, & the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, 47. being spent; the 75. which remain, are to be accounted to *Busris* or *Orus* the second, and his children. *Busris* himselfe reigned 30. yeares, according to *Eusebius*: whom very many iudicious authors herein approue. After him his daughter, who tooke *Moses* out of the water, is said by all that I haue read, to haue reigned 12. yeares. Her name was *Thermutis* *Pharai*; or *Nuthis* according to *Cicero*: *Euseb.* calls her *Acencheris*; and out of *Artabius* his History *Meris*: *Ioseph* calls her both *Acencheris*, & *Thermutis*. *Epiphanius* in *Panario* saith that there was honoured afterward of the *Egyptians*, by the name of *Thermutis*: the daughter of *Amenoph*, the son of *Pharaoh*. Of this last title question might be made, and much spoken: for the Scriptures call her not *Pharaohs* sons daughter, but *Pharaohs* daughter. *Amenophis* indeed is set next before *Busris* or *Orus* the second by *Eusebius* & others: but

but whether he were a King or onely a *Regent*, I cannot coniecture. For *Herodotus* *Diodorus*, and the ancient Historians name the sonne of *Sesostris*, *Pheron*. Perhaps his name was *Pharaoh Amenophis*: and his daughter by the *Egyptians* called rather the Neece or Grand-child, than the daughter of *Pharaoh* because of the glory of *Sesostris*, & the disreputation of his son. If so, and if that *Busris* or *Orus* the second marrying her, pretended any title by her; then is our coniecture strengthened, and then was shee both daughter, grand-child, and wife vnto *Pharaoh*: and furniuing him, *Queene* of the land, 12. yeares. But if she were daughter of *Orus* the second, and sister of *Athoris*, or *Rathoris*, as many thinke, to whose coniecture I will not oppose mine, then may it seeme, that either her brethren were degenerate, or too young to rule, when her Father died.

## §. VIII.

Of the two brethren of *Queen Thermutis*: and what king it was, under whom *Moses* was borne: and who it was that perished in the red Sea.

HEE had two brethren: the one was *Rathoris* or *Athoris*, who succeeded her; the other *Telegonus*, vvhich is onely named by *Eusebius*; but his linage and off-spring described by *Reineccius*: *Rathoris* after his sisters death reigned nine yeares: after whom *Cherres*, thought to be his sonne, reigned ten yeares, and then perished in the red Sea. During the reigne of *Cherres*, *Eusebius* saith, that *Telegonus* begat *Epaphus* vpon 18: of which History elsewhere he reporteth otherwise. After the death of *Cherres* (whom some call *Acencheris*: but all or most doe stile *Cherres*, a fighter against God) *Cherres* reigned 8. yeares, and then *Cherres* 15. This descent seems from Father to Sonne. In the 11. yeere of *Cherres* it is said by *Eusebius*, that *Epaphus* reigning in the lower part of *Egypt*, built *Memphis*. This is an argument of that which otherwise was not vnlike: viz. That *Egypt* was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had laid vpon it, and the destruction of her king and army in the red Sea: else could it not haue had two reigning in it at once; the latter of whom, or his posterity seemes to haue taken all from *Cherres* the grand-child of *Cherres*. For whereas *Armaus* is said to haue reigned 30. foure yeares after *Cherres*: and *Armesis* one after *Armaus*: these two Kings are by *Eusebius* and others accounted as one, and his reigne said to haue bene five yeares. His name is called *Armaus*, otherwise *Danaus*: and his pedigree thus described by *Reineccius* in *Historia Iulia*.

*Telegonus*:  
*Epaphus*:  
*Lybia*, who had

*Agenor*, *Belus*, and *Busris*.

T

*Egyptus* or *Ramefess* who gaue name to the Country, hauing expelled his brother *Danaus*, reigned, and begat *Lyncmus*, married to *Hypermetra*.

*Danaus* or *Armenus* expelled by his brother *Egyptus*, after hee had reigned five yeares, became king of *Argos* in Greece: was Father to *Hypermetra*.

How it might come to passe that the Nephewes sons of *Epaphus* should haue occupied the kingdom after *Cherres*, it is hard to say: considering that *Epaphus* himself is reported by *Eusebius* to haue bene borne in the time of *Cherres*. But forasmuch as the History of *Epaphus* his birth, is diuersly related by *Eusebius*; it may suffice, that *Belus* the father of *Danaus* & *Egyptus*, otherwise called *Armenus* and *Ramefess*, was equally distant from *Busris* or *Orus* the second, with *Cherres* the grand-child of *Cherres*. And that the posterity of *Telegonus* did marry very yong, it appears by the History of these two brethren, *Danaus*

and *Aegyptus*: of whom the former had 50. daughters, the latter 50. sonnes: perhaps, or rather questionlesse, by diuers Women: yet surely they began to beget children in their first youth: Ho wfoeuer it were, the generall consent of writers is, that *Armeus* or *Danaus* did succcede *Cherres*: and according to *Eusebius* and good Authors approving him) reigned fiftie yeares. *Rameffes* followed, who reigned 68. yeares. This *Rameffes* or *Aegyptus* is that *Armeffemianum* or *Armeffemianus*, vnder whom, in the opinion of *Mercator*, and of *Bunting*; that followes *Atercator*, *Moses* was borne: and the cruell *Edict* made of drowning the *Hebrew* children. The length of his reigne seemes to me the chiefe, if not the onely ground of *Mercators* opinion. For whereas the Lord said to *Moses*, *Go, returne to Egypt, for they are all dead which went aboue to kill thee*; *Mercator* hereupon conceites, that it was one and the same king vnder whom *Moses* was born, and vnder whom he slew the *Egyptians* at the 40. yeare of his age; and fled into the wilderness, and there abode for feare: all which circumstances could agree with none, but this *Rameffes*, who reigned so long: wherefore desirous rather to hold a true Paradox, than a common error, he placeth one *Alisfragmuthosis* (whose name is found in the list of *Egyptian* kings, but the time vncertaine wherein he reigned) in an age 112. or 113. yeares more ancient than others left him in: and for continuing the Catalogue of his successors from *Thumosis* (whom *Eusebius* calls *Amasis*) downewards with no other variation of the length of each mans reigne, than is the difference betweene *Manetho* and *Eusebius*, he findes *Moses* borne vnder *Armeffemianum*, and *Israel* deliuered in the days of his sonne *Amenophis*. The very name of *Alisfragmuthosis* seems to him with little alteration to sound like *Pharates*, of which name one was thought to haue flourished either as a king, or a wise man about the time of *Isaac*. For (saith he) from *Alisfragmuthosis* to *Phragmuthosis*, *Pharmuthosis*, or *Pharates*, the change is not great. *Atercator* was a man of excellent learning and industry: and one to whom the World is bound for his many notable works: yet my assent herein is withheld from him, by these reasons. First, I see all other writers agree, that *Chenores* was king who was drowned in the red Sea: Secondly, the place, *Exod. 4. all are dead*, &c. may better be vnderstood of *Busiris* and all his children, than of one King alone: Thirdly, *Saint Cyril* in his first booke against *Julian* the *Apostate*, saith that *Dardanus* built *Dardania*, when *Moses* was 120. yeares old: *Rameffes*, which was this *Armeffemianum*, being then King of *Egypt*. After *Rameffes*, *Amenophis* reigned 19. yeares: who is thought by *Mercator*, and peremptorily by *Bunting* pronounced, to be the King that perished in the red Sea: of which our opinion being already laied open, I thinke it most expedient to referre the kings ensuing to their owne times (which a

*Chronologicall Table* shall lay open) and here to speake of that great deliuerance of *Israel* out of *Egypt*: which for many great considerations depending thereupon, wee may not lightly ouerpasse.

## CHAP. III.

## Of the deliuey of Israel out of Egypt.

## §. I.

Of the time of *Moses* birth, and how long the *Israelites* were oppressed in *Egypt*.



Rule it is that the History it selfe is generally and well known: yet concerning the time of *Moses* his birth, who was the excellent and famous instrument of this and of other great workes of the Highest, the different opinions are very neere as many, as the men, that haue written of that Argument.

*L. Pius* in his annotations vpon *Saint Augustine* citeth very many of their coniectures: as that of *Porphyrie* out of *Sanchoniato*, that *Moses* lived in the time of *Semiramis*: But if hee did meane the first *Semiramis*, it was but a fond conceit: for besides that the same is contrary to all Stories Diuine and humane; while that *Semiramis* liued, shee commanded *Syria*, and all the

parts thereof absolutely: neither were the *Ammonites*, or *Moabites*, or *Edomites*, while she ruled, in *veram naturam*.

A second opinion hee remembreth of *Apion*, taken from *Ptolomy* a Priest of *Athenes*, vho saith that *Moses* was borne while *Inachis* did rule the *Argines*, and *Amasis* in *Egypt*.

The third opinion is taken out of *Polemon*, in his *Greeke* History the first Booke: that *Moses* was borne while *Apis* the third King ruled *Argos*.

A fourth is borrowed from *Tatianus Assyrius*, who though hee cite some authorities, that *Moses* lived after the *Troian* war, is himselfe of opinion, that *Moses* was farre more ancient, prouing it by many arguments.

Fifthly, he setteth downe the testimony of *Numerius* the Philosopher, who tooke *Museus* and *Moses* to be one: confirming the same out of *Artapanus*, who confesseth that *Moses* was called *Museus*, by the *Grecians*: and who farther deliuereth that he was adopted by *Chenephis*, or *Thermutis*, the daughter of *Egypt*: the same which *Eupolemus* calleth *Meris*; others (as *Rabanus Maurus*) *Thermuthes*. *Eusebius* also affirmeth, that by *Eupolemus* in his first booke de bono, *Moses*, vir Deo coniu. *Sifsimus*, is called *Museus Iudeo- rum*. *Eusebius* in his *Chronology*, findes that *Moses* was borne while *Amenophis* ruled

*Egypt*. The ancient *Manethon* calls that *Pharao*, which liued at *Moses* birth, *Thumosis* or *Thmosis*: the same perchance which *Apion* the *Grammarians* will haue to be *Amosis*, and elsewhere *Amenophis* the Father of *Sethosis*: to whom *Lysimachus* and *Cornelius Tacitus* gaue the name of *Bocchoris*. To me it seemes most probable, that while *Saphrus*, called also *Spherus* or *Iphereus*, gouerned *Affria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sicyonia*; and *Crisius* the *Argines*; that then (*Sesothris* the second ruling in *Egypt*) *Moses* was borne. For if wee beleue *S. Augustine*, it was about the end of *Cecrops* time, that *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. *Edixit Moses ex Aegypto populum Dei nouissimo tempore Cecropis Atheniensium Regis*. *Moses* (saith he) led the people of God out of *Egypt*, about the end of *Cecrops* time, King of the *Athenians*. In this sort therefore is the time of *Moses* birth, and of his departure out of *Egypt* best proued. *S. Augustine* affirms (as before remembred) that *Moses* was borne, *Saphrus* gouerning *Affria*; and that hee left *Egypt* about the end of *Cecrops* time. Now *Saphrus* ruled 20. yeares; his succesor *Amelius* 30. yeares; *Sparetus* after him 40. yeares: in whose fourth yeare *Cecrops* began to gouerne in *Attica*: *Ascatades* followed *Sparetus*, and held the Empire 41: So as *Moses* being borne while *Saphrus* ruled *Affria*; *Orthopolis* *Sicyonia*; and *Crisius* *Argos* (for these three kings liued at once at his birth, saith *S. Augustine*, as *Cecrops* did when he departed *Egypt*) it will follow that the birth of *Moses* was in the nineteenth yeare of the *Affrian* *Saphrus*: for take one yeare remaining of 20. (for so long *Saphrus* reigned) to which adde the thirty yeares of *Ma-*

*Euseb. de prep. Euang. l. 3. c. 2.*

*Aug. de ci. d. d. c. 12.*

melus, and the 40. years of *Sparatus*, these make 71. with which there were vvaisted three yeares of *Cecrops* his 50. yeares : then take nine yeares out of the reigne of *Afcatales*, who was *Sparatus* succellour, those nine yeares added to 71. make 80. at which age *Moses* left *Egypt* : and adde these nine yeares to the three yeares of *Cecrops* formerly spent, there will remaine but foure yeares of *Cecrops* his 50. and so it falleth right with *S. Auguſtines* words, affirming that towards the end of *Cecrops* his time, *Moses* led the people of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*.

Now the time in which the *Hebrewes* were opprest in *Egypt*, seemeth to haue had beginning ſome eight or nine yeares before the birth of *Moses*, & 54. yeares; or rather more, after *Ioseph* : betwene vvhole death and the birth of *Moses*, there were consumed 64. yeates : ſome of vvhih time, and 80. yeares after, they lived in great ſemitude and mltity. For as it is vvritten in *Exodus* : They ſet *tauſe-maſters* ouer them, to keepe them vnder with burdens : and they built the Cities, *Pithom* and *Ramſes*, &c. And by cruelty they cauſed the children of *Iſrael* to ſerue, and made them weary of their lines, by ſore labour in clay and bricke, and in all worke of the field, with all manner of bondage. All vvhih laid vpon them by a maſtering power and ſtrong hand, they endured to the time by the vvifedome of God appointed : euen from 54. yeares, or not much more after the death of *Ioseph*, who left the World when it had laſted 2370. yeares, to the eightieth yeare of *Moses*, and vntill he vvrought his miracles in the field of *Zaan*, vvhih he performed in the Worlds age 2514. towards the end thereof, according to *Codoman*, or after our account, 2513. And becauſe thoſe things vvhih we deliuer of *Egypt*, may the better bee vnderſtood, I thinke it neceſſary to ſpeak a few words of the principall places therein named, in this diſcouſe.

## §. II.

Of diuers Cities and places in *Egypt*, mentioned in this Story, or elſewhere in the Scripture.

THIS City vvhih the *Hebrewes* call *Zaan*, was built ſeuene yeares after *Hebron*. *Ezechiel* calleth it *Taphnes*, and ſo doth *Hieremy*, the *Septuagint*, *Tani*, *Iosephus*, *Proſaſidus* : after the name of an *Egyptian* Queene ; *Antonius* giues it the name of 30 *Thani* ; *Hegeſippus*, *Thamna* ; and *William Tyrrus*, *Tapus*. It adioyneth to the land of *Gofen*, and is the ſame, wherein *Hieremy* the Prophet was ſtoned to death, for preaching againſt the *Egyptian* and *Iewiſh* Idolatry.

*Zaan* or *Taphnes* was in *Moses* time the *Metropolis* of the lower *Egypt*, in vvhih their *Pharaohs* then commonly reſided ; & not vnlikely to be the ſame City, vvhere *Abraham* in his time found him. But *Eufebius* out of *Aritapanus* affirmeth, that *Abraham* did read *Aſtronomy* in *Heliopolis*, or *On*, to *Pharces* the King of *Egypt*. *Alex. Polyhiſtor*, out of *Eupolemus* hath it otherwiſe, ſaying, that *Abraham* inſtructed the *Egyptian* Priests, and not the King ; both vvhih authorities *Eufebius* citeth. The *Septuagint*, and the Vulgar edition, for *Zaan* write *Heliopolis*. *Pagnin*, *Vatablus*, *Iunius*, and our *Engliſh* call it *On* ; and *Proſaſidus*, *Onium*. There are two Cities of that name ; the one on the frontier of the lower *Egypt*, towards the South ; the other ſomewhat lower on the Eaſter-moſt branch of *Nilus* falling into the Sea at *Peluſium*. And it may be that *Heliopolis* to the South of the river *Tratan*, vvvas the ſame vvhih *Vatablus* and our *Engliſh* call *Auen*. Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certaine knowledge : the ſame, vvhih *Pomp. Mela*, and *Pliny* call *Salis oppidum* ; *Tyrrus* in the Holy Warre, *Malbec* ; the *Arabians*, *Bahalbeth* ; and *Simcon Setbi*, *Fons Salis*. Of this *Heliopolis*, or *On*, was *Puſaphar* Priest, or Prince, vvhoſe daughter *Joſeph* married. In the Territory adioyning *Jacob* inhabited, while hee liued in *Egypt*. In the confines of this City, *Onus*, the high Priet of the *Jewes*, built a Temple, dedicated to the eternall God ; not much inferior to that of *Hieruſalem* (*Ptolomy Philopater* then gouerning in *Egypt*) vvhih ſtood in the time of *Veſpaſian*, 333. yeares after the foundation by *Onus*, vvhiom *Iosephus* faſſly repoſiteth herein to haue fulfilled a prophecy of *Eſay* c. 19. In die illa erit Altare Domini in medio terre *Egypti* ; In that day ſhall the Altar of the Lord bee in the middeſt of the Land of *Egypt*. *Antiochus Epiphaneſ* at that time of the building tyrannizing ouer the *Jewes*, gaue the occaſion for the erecting of this Temple in *Egypt*. Laſtly, there it was that our Sauour *Chriſt Ieſus* remained, while *Ioseph* and the Virgin *Mary* feared the violence of *Herod* : neere vvhih (ſaith *Brochard*) the fountain

aine is ſtill found, called *Ieſus well*, vvhoſe ſtreames doe afterwarde water the Gardens of *Balſaminum*, no vvhere elſe found in *Egypt*. And hereof ſee more in *Brochard*, in his deſcription of *Egypt*.

There is alſo the City of *Noph*, remembered by *Eſay* and *Ezekiel*, the ſame vvhih *Hoſea* the Prophet calleth *Moph* : vvhih latter name it tooke from a Mountaine adioyning ſo called ; vvhih Mountaine *Herodotus* remembereth. And this is that great City, vvhih was called *Memphis* and ſo the *Septuagint* write it. It is knowne to the *Arabians* by the name of *Mazar*. The *Chaldaeans* name it *Alehabyr* ; and *Tudalenſis* *Mizraim*.

*Peluſium*, vvhih *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Iunius*, and our *Engliſh* write *Sin* ; the *Septuagint* call *Sais*, and *Monranus*, *Lebna* ; is northe ſame with *Damiata*, as *Gul. Tyrrus* vvittneſſeth : At the time of *Baldwin* the third, *Peluſium* vvvas called *Belbeis*. *Belbeis* (ſaith *Tyrrus*) *quondam dicta eſt Peluſium* ; *Belbeis*, ſhat in times paſt was called *Peluſium*.

The City of *No*, the *Septuagint* call *Diopolis*. Of vvhih name there are two or three in *Egypt*. *Hierome* conuerteth it *Alexandria*, by anticipation, becauſe it was ſo called in the future.

*Eubaitus*, (for ſo *Hierome* and *Zeigler* doe write it) is the ſame vvhih the *Hebrewes* call *Pibſeſeth*.

To make the ſtory the more perceivable, I haue added a deſcription of the land of *Gofen*, in vvhih the *Iſraelites* inhabited ; vvith thoſe Cities and places ſo often remembered in the Scripture : as of *Taphnes* or *Zaan*, *Heliopolis* or *Bethſemes*, *Balſophom*, *Succoth*, and the reſt ; together with *Moses* paſſage through the Deſerts of *Arabia* the *ſtrony*. For all ſtory vvithout the knowledge of the places vvherein the actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleaſure ; ſo it no way enricheth the knowledge and vnderſtanding of the Reader ; neither doth any thing ſerue to retaine, vvhat wee reade, in our memories, ſo vvell as theſe pictures and deſcriptions doe. In vvhih reſpect I am driven to digreſſe in many places, and to interpoſe ſome ſuch diſcouſe, otherwiſe ſeeming impertinent : taking for my authority, After many others more ancient, that great learned man, *Arius Montanus* ; vvho in his Preface to the Story of the Holy Land, hath theſe vvords : *Si enim abſque locorum obſervatione res geſta narrentur, aut ſine Topographia cognitione hiſtorie legantur, adeo conſuſa atq. perturbata erunt omnia, vt ex his nihil non obſcurum, nihil non difficile elici poſſit ; ſi narrationem (ſaith he) bee made of theſe things vvhih are performed, vvithout the obſervation of the places, vvherein they were done : or if Hiſtories be read vvithout Topographiſall knowledge ; all things vvill appeare ſo intricate and conſuſed, as we ſhall thereby vnderſtand nothing but obſcurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but vvith the greateſt difficulty.*

## §. III.

Of the cruelty againſt the *Iſraelites* young children in *Egypt* : and of *Moses* his preferation and education.

BEVTO returne to the ſtory it ſelfe. It appeareth that notwithstanding the labour and ſlauiery, vvhih the *Iſraelites* endured, yet they decreaſed not in numbers : inſomuch as *Pharaoh* conſidering the danger of diſcontented poerty, and the able bodies of an oppreſſed multitude, how perillous they might be to his eſtate, by ſuggeſtion of the Diuell, reſolued to ſlaughter all the male children of the *Hebrewes*, as ſoon as they ſhould be borne. To vvhih end he ſent for *Seſhora* and *Thura*, vvomen the moſt famous and expert amongſt them, *que praeſtant* (ſaith *Comellor*) *multitudinis obſtrictum, vvho had command giuen them ouer all mid-wives* ; by vvhom (as it ſeemeth) hee gaue order to all the reſt for the execution of his Ediſt. For to haue called all the Mid-wives of *Egypt* together, had beene a ſtrange Parliament. Now vvwhether theſe two (before named) were of the *Hebrewes*, or of the *Egyptians*, it is diuerſly diſputed. *S. Auguſtine* calls them *Hebrewes*, becauſe it is vvritten *Exodus* the firſt, The King of *Egypt* commanded the Mid-wives of the *Hebrew* vvomen, &c. But *Iosephus*, *Abulenſis*, and *Peterius* beleeue them to bee *Egyptians*. vvhoſeuer they were, vvhen it pleaſed God to frustrate the execution of that ſecret murder, to the end the world might vvittneſſe both the wickedneſſe of the *Egyptians*, and the iuſt cauſe, thereby made maniſeſt, of their future indignation and reuenge : *Pharaoh* finding theſe vvomen filled vvith piety, & the feare of God, commanded

commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publicly, or howsoever, to destroy all the male Hebrew children borne within his dominions.

Now besides the doubts, which Pharaoh had of the multitudes of the Hebrews, the greatest part of whom hee might haue assured, by affording them the iustice; which euery King oweth to his vassals, and the rest hee might haue employed or sent away at his pleasure; Josephus giueth another cause of his rage against them, namely, That it was propheticallie deliuered him by an Egyptian Priest, that among the Hebrews there should be borne a child; who growing to mans estate, should become a plague and terrible to his whole Nation. To prevent which, (and presuming that he could resist the ordinance of God, by a means, contrary to the lawes of heaven and of nature) he stretched out his bloody and mercilesse hand to the execution of his former intent. The same prevention Herod long after practised, when fearing the spirituall Kingdome of Christ, as if it should haue bene temporal, he caused all the male children at that time borne, to be slaughtered. And that Pharaoh had some kinde of foreknowledge of the future success, it may be gathered by these his owne words, in the tenth verse of the fifth of Exodus: Come, let us worke wisely with them, lest they multiply; and it come to passe, that if there be warre, they ioyne themselves also vnto our enemies, and fight against vs, and get them out of the Land. But wee see, and time hath told it vs from the beginning, how God derideth the wisdom of the worldly men, when forgetting the Lord of all power, they rely on the inuentions of their owne most feeble, and altogether darkened vnderstanding. For euen by the hands of the dearely beloued daughter of this tyrant, was that great Prophet and Minister of Gods maruellous vworkes taken out of Nilus, being therinto turned off, in an Arke of reedes, a sucking and powerlesse infant. And this Princesse hauing beheld the child his forme and beauty, though but yet in the blouth, so pierced her compassion, as shee did not onely preferue it, and cause it to be fostered; but commanded that it should be esteemed as her owne, and with equall care to the sonne of a King nourished. And for memory that it was her deede, she called the child Moses, as it were, *extra Nilum* or *eruptus*, taken out, to wit, out of the vvater: or after Josephus and Glycas, *Moy*, a voyce expressing vvater, and *Hise*, as much to say, as that which is drawne out of vvater, or thence taken. Clemens Alexandrinus vv as of opinion, that Moses vv as circumcised, before he vv as put into the Arke of Reedes, & that Amram his father had named him *Iachim*. In his youth he vv as carefully bred, by the care, & at the charge of Pharaohs daughter, and by men of the most vnderstanding, taught and instructed: *quoniam regio more educatus, profectus ei sapientibus Aegyptiarum Magistris, à quibus eruditur*, saith Basil: vnto whom shee gaue princely education, appointing ouer him wise masters of the Egyptians for his instructors. Thereby (say Josephus and Philo) he became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the Egyptians; vv which also the Martyr Stephen in the seventh of the Acts confirmeth; And Moses vv as learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. Which wisdom or sapience, such as it was, or at least so much thereof as Six. Senensis hath gathered, vv ee haue added, between the death of Moses, and the reigne of Iosua.

## §. IV.

Of Moses his flying out of Egypt; and the opinions of certaine ancient Historians of his warre in Aethiopia; and of his marriage there: Philo his iudgement of his Pastorall life: and that of Pterius of the Bookes of Genesis and Iob.

When Moses vv as growne to mans estate, Josephus and Eusebius, out of Artapanus, tell vs of ten yeares warre that he made against the Aethiopians: of the bedgiing of Saba, afterward by Cambyfes, called Neroe; and how he recovered that City by the fauour of Tharbu, a daughter of Aethiopia, whom hee took to vvife. So hath Comestor a pretty tale of Moses. How after the end of that warre, Tharbu resisting his returne into Egypt, Moses most skilfull in Astronomy, caused two Images to bee ingrauen in two precious stones, vv whereof the one increased memory; the other caused forgetfulness. These he set in two rings; vv whereof he gaue the one, to wit, that of obliuion, to his vvife Tharbu, referring the other of memory for himselfe: vv which ring of forgetfulness, after shee had a vv while vvorne, she began to neglect the loue shee bare her husband: and so Moses vv without danger returned into Egypt. But leaving these fancies to the Authors of them: It is true, that about the 40. yeare of Moses age, vvhen hee beheld an

Egyptian

Egyptian offering violence to one of the oppressed Hebrews, moued by compassion; in respect of his brother, and stirred vp by disdain against the other, in the contention he slew the Egyptian. Soone after which fact, finding a disposition in some of his owne Nation to accuse him, for vv whose defence he had thus greatly endangered his owne life: by the ordinance and aduice of God, vv whose chosen seruant hee was, he fled into Arabia Petraea, the next bordering Country to Egypt; vv where vvandering all alone, as a man left and forsaken, in a place vv unknowne vnto him, as among a Nation of barbarous strangers; and vv who in future times vv ere the irreconcilable enemies of the Hebrews: it pleased God (vv working the greatest things by the vv weakest worldly means) to make the vv watering of a few sheep, & the assisting of the Daughters of Raquel the Madianite, an occasion vv whereby to provide him a vv wife of one of those, & a father in law, that fed him, and vv sustained him in a Country nearest Egypt, fittest to returne from: necessary to be vv knowne, because interiacent between Egypt and Iudea, through vv which hee vv was to leade the Israelites; and vv wherein God held him, till the occasion vv which God presented, best serued. And lastly, vv where the glory of the vv world shined least, amidst mountainous Deserts, there the glory of God, vv which shineth most, couered him ouer, and appeared vnto him, not finding him as a Kings sonne, or an adopted child of great Pharaohs daughter, but as a meeke and humble shepherd, sitting at a mountaines foot, a keeper and commander of those poore beasts only.

In that part of Arabia, neere Madian, hee consumed 40. yeares. And though (as Philo in the story of Moses life obserueth) he did not neglect the care of those flocks, committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that Pastorall knowledge; yet in that solitary Desert he enioyed himselfe: and being separate from the praise of the vv world, and the trouble some affaires thereof, hee gaue himselfe to contemplation, and to make perfect in himselfe all those knowledges, vv whereof his younger yeares had gathered the grounds and principles: the same Author also iudging, that his Pastorall life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principality, vv which he afterward obtained. Eusebius (saith Philo) ars Pastorali, quasi preluadium ad regnum, hee est, ad regimen hominum, gregis mansuetissimi. Quomodo modum bellicosae ingenia praecedunt se in venationibus, experientia in feris, quod posita in militia & bello perscilara sunt, brutis praebentibus materiam exercitii, tam belli quam pacis tempore. At vero praefectura mansueti pecoris, habet quiddam simile cum regno in subditis; ideoq; Reges cognominantur Pastores populum, non contumelia sed honoris gratia. The art of keeping sheepe is, as it were, an introductory exercise vnto a Kingdome, namely, the rule ouer men, the most gentle flocks: Euen as warlike natures doe before hand exercise themselves in hunting, practising on vv wilde beasts those things, vv which after they vv will accomplish in vv warfare: those brute beasts affording matter, vv wherein to traine themselves, both in time of warre and of peace. But the gouernment of gentle castell, hath a kinde of resemblance vnto a Kingly rule ouer subiects; therefore, Kings are stiled shepherds of the people, not in vv way of reproach, but for their honour.

That Moses, in this time of his abode at Madian, vv wrote the Booke of Iob, as Pterius supposeth, I cannot iudge of it, because it is thought, that Iob vv was at that time liuing. Neither dare I subscribe to Pterius opinion, That Moses vv while hee liued in that part of Arabia, vv wrote the Booke of Genesis; although I cannot deny the reason of Pterius coniecture, That by the example of Iobs patience he might strengthen the oppressed Hebrews: and by the promises of God to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, put them in assurance of their deliury from the Egyptian slavery, and of the Land of rest, and plentie promised.

Of this calling backe into Egypt by the Angell of God, and the vv manuailes and vv wonders which he performed, thereby to persuade Pharaoh, that hee vv was the messenger of the most High, the particulars are vv written in the first fourteene Chapters of Exodus; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it vv were needlesse. But for the first, it is to be noted, that vv when Moses desired to be taught by God, by vv what name hee should make him knowne, and by vv whom he vv was sent; hee received from God so much, as man could comprehend of his infinite and euer-being nature. Out of vv which hee deliuered him in the first part of his answer, a name to be considered of by the vv wisest: and in his second, to be vv vnderstood by all. For there is nothing that is, or hath being of it selfe; but the Eternal: vv which truly is; vv which is alone all; vv which is immutable. The bodies of men are changed euery moment: their substance vv wasteth, and is repaired by nutriment;

H. 2. ad. 16.

C. 4. v. 13.

C. 14. v. 5.

Epiphanius, l. 1. c. 11. s. 1. s. 1.

ment; neuer continuing at one stay, nor being the same so long as vvhile one may say, Now. Likewise, vvhathoeuer is consumed in the longest continuance of time, the same in euery shortest piece of time suffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one state. *Vna est Dei & sola natura qua vere est: id enim quod subsistit, non habet aliunde, sed sum est. Natura qua creata sunt, etiam si videntur esse, non sunt, quia aliquando non fuerant, & potest rursum non esse, quod non fuit; it is the one and onely nature of God, which truly is: for hee hath his being of himselfe, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are created, although they seeme to be, yet they are not; for sometimes they were not: and that which hath not bene, may againe want being.* And vvith this, in respect of the Diuine nature, the saying of *Zeno Eleates* excellently agreeth: *Tota rerum natura umbra est, aut inanis, aut fallax; The whole nature of things is but a shadow, either empty or deceitfull:* in comparison of whom (saith *Esay*) all Nations are as nothing, lesse than nothing, and meeke vanity.

Of the tenne plagues vvherewith the *Egyptians* were stricken, the first was by changing the Riuer in blood: God punishing them by those waters, into which their Forefathers had throwne, and in which they had drowned the innocent children of the *Hebrewes*. To which this place of the Reuelation may bee fitly applied: *And I heard the Angel of the water say, Lord, thou art iust, which art, and which wast, and holy, because thou hast iudged these things; for they shed the blood of thy Saints and Prophets, and therefore hast thou giuen them blood to drinke.*

The rest of the plagues by Frogges, Lice, Flies, or stinging Waspes; by the death of their Cattaile; by leprous Scabbes; by Haile and Fire; by Grasshoppers; by Darknesse, after vvvhich *Pharaoh* forbad *Moses* his presence: moued the hardened heart of the vnbelieuing King, no longer, than the paine and perill lasted; till such time as his owne first-borne, and the first-borne of all his Nation perished. He then, while he feared his owne life, (a time vvherin we remember God perforce) stood vpon no condition: vvheras before, he first yeelded but to the departure of the men, then of the men, women, and children, referring their bestiall; but he was now content for the present, that the *Israelites* should not onely depart vvith all their own, but vvith a part of the Silver, Gold, and Jewels of his owne people: of vvvhich (the feare being past) hee suddainly repented him, as his pursuit after them proued. For when euery one of the *Hebrewes* had (according to<sup>39</sup>) direction from *Moses* receiued slaine a Lambe, vvithout spot or blemish, for the *Pascheuer*, (a Sacrament of the most cleane and vvorthiest Saviour, and vvith the blood thereof coloured the poste and linterne of the doores; the Angel of God in the night smote euery first-borne of *Egypt*, from the sonne of the King, to that of the Beggar and Slaue: the children of the *Israelites* excepted. At vvvhich terrible iudgement of God, *Pharaoh* being more than cuer amazed, yeelded, as before is said, to their departure. The *Egyptians* (saith *Epiphanius*) did in after-times imitate this colouring vvith blood, which the *Israelites* vsed after the *Pascheuer*; ascribing an exceeding vertue to the Red Colour: and therefore they did not onely marke their Sheepe and Cattell, but their Trees bearing Fruit, to preserve them from lightning and other harmes.

## §. V.

Of *Pharaohs* pursuit of the *Israelites*: and of their passage towards the Red Sea, so farre as Succoth.

Now, when the people were remoued, and on their way, (his heart being hardened by God) hee bethought him as well of the Honour lost, as of the shame remaining after so many Calamities and Plagues, in suffering them to depart vvith the spoils of his people, and in despight of himselfe. And hauing before this time great Companies of Souldiers in readinesse, he consulted vvith himselfe, what way the *Israelites* vsed like to take. Hee knew that the shortest and fairest passage was through the Countrey of the *Philistines*. But because these people vvere very strong, and a vvaylike Nation, and in all probability of his Allies, he suspected that *Moses* meant to finde some other out-let, to vvithstand the Defeat of *Etihum*; and there, because the Countrey was exceeding mountainous, and of hard access, and that *Moses* was pestered vvith multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattell, hee thought it impossible for the *Israelites* to escape

escape him that way. In the meane-while hauing gathered together all the Chariots of *Egypt*, and 600. of his owne, and Captaines ouer them; hee determined to set vpon them in the Plains of *Gosen*, which way sooner they turned themselves. For it vvvas the ancient manner to fight in those Chariots, armed vvith broad and sharpe Hooks on both sides, in fashion like the Mowers Sythe. Which kinde of fight in Chariots, but not hooked, the *Brittaines* vsed against the *Romans*, vvvhile they made the Warre for the Conquest of this Land. Of this Army of *Pharaoh*, *Iosephus* affirmeth, that it consisted of 50000. Horse, and 20000. Foot; which, were it true, then it cannot bee doubted but that *Pharaoh* intended long before to assaile the *Hebrewes* at their departure, or to destroy them in *Gosen*; and refused them passage, till such time as hee had prepared an Army, to set on them. For, as it is vvritten in the first of *Exodus*, hee doubted two things; either that the *Hebrewes* might ioine themselves to his enemies vvithin the Land; or being so multiplied, as they were, might leaue his seruice, and get themselves thence at their pleasure. But the plagues which God grieued him vvithall, enforce him at this time to giue an assent to their departure: perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwise, and *Iosephus* partiall in this affaie, yet by the vvords of the Text it appeareth, that he gathered all the Chariots of *Egypt*, which could not bee done in haste. For *Moses* made but three dayes march, ere *Pharaoh* was at his heeles; and yet the last day he went on sixteen miles: which, in so hot a Countrey, and to driue their Cattell and Sheepe vvith them, pestered vvith a vvorld of Women and Children, was a march vvitnessing the dread of a powerfull Enemy at hand. Now, as *Moses* well knew that hee went out vvith a mightie hand, and that God guided his vvnderstanding in all his Enterprizes: so he lay not still in the ditch crying for helpe, but vsing the vvnderstanding vvvhich God had giuen him, hee left nothing vvnpersuaded becomming a Wife man, and a valiant and skilfull Conductor; as by all his actions and counsailes from this day to his death, well appeared.

When *Moses* perceived that *Pharaoh* was entangled against him, & commanded him not to date to come thenceforth into his presence; after that he had warned *Israel* of the *Pascheuer*, he appointed a generall Assembly or *Rendezvous* of all the *Hebrewes* at *Ramases* in the Territory of *Gosen*, a City standing indifferent to receiue from all parts of the Countrey the dispersed *Hebrewes*: and gaue com mandement, that euery Family should bring vvith them such stöke as they had of Dow, and Pasture, nor staying to make it into bread, knowing then that *Pharaoh* was on foote, and on his way towards them. Which done, and hauing considered the great strength of *Pharaohs* Horse-men & Chariots, of vvvhich kind of defence *Moses* was vvterly vvnprouided (though, as it is vvritten, the *Israelites* were vv armed) he marched from *Ramases* East-ward, towards the Desarts of *Etihum*, and in-camped at *Succoth*; vvvhich hee performed on the fifteenth day of the Moneth *Abib*. Which Moneth from that time forward they were com manded to account as the first Moneth of the year. Whether in former times they had bene accustomed to begin their year in some other Moneth, following the manner of the *Egyptians*, and were now recalled by *Moses* to the rule of their Fore-fathers, it is vvncertain. Certaine it is, that they had, and retained, another beginning of their politticke year, which was not now abrogated, but rather by some solemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed, and still continued in vfe. Wherefore in referring things done, or hapning among them, vvnto the beginning, middle, or ending of the year; that distinction of the Sacred, and the Politticke year is not to be neglected. Concerning the number of dayes in euery Moneth, and the whole forme of their year, like enough it is that *Moses* himselfe in forty years space, did sufficiently instruct the Priests, to vvvhose care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was giuen in trust: but that any rule of framing their Kalender, was made publike, before the captiuitie of *Babylon*, I do not finde. Now because time and motion begin together, it vvill not, I thinke, be any great breach of order, to shew heere at their first setting forth, what vvvas the forme of the *Hebrew* year: vvith the difference betvvveen them and other Nations, in ordering the account of time.



## §. VI.

Of the Solary and Lunary yeeres; and how they are reconciled: with the forme of the Hebrew yeere, and their manner of intercalation.

The Hebrew Moneths are thus named.

The first Moneth, *Nisan*, or *Abib*.  
The second, *Iar*, or *Tiar*, *Zio*, or *Zin*.  
The third, *Suan*, or *Sinan*, or *Siban*.  
The fourth, *Tamuz*.  
The fifth, *Ab*.  
The sixth, *Ebul*.  
The seventh, *Tisri*, or *Ethanim*, or *Ethanim*.  
The eighth, *Marchesuan*, or *Mechasuan*, or *Bul*, or with *Iosaphu*, *Marfanane*.  
The ninth, *Chisleu*, or *Casseu*.  
The tenth, *Tebeth*, or *Thobeth*.  
The eleventh, *Shebeth*, or *Sabath*.  
The twelfth, *Adar*, and *Ve Adar*.

1. *March*.  
2. *April*.  
3. *Maie*.  
4. *June*.  
5. *Julie*.  
6. *August*.  
7. *September*.  
8. *October*.  
9. *November*.  
10. *December*.  
11. *January*.  
12. *February*.

**V**E *Adar* was an intercalary Moneth, added, some yeeres, vnto the other twelve, to make the Solary and Lunary yeere agree; which (besides the generall inconuenience that would otherwise haue risen, by casting the Moneths of Summer into the Winter season, to the great confusion of all account) was more necessarily to be regarded of the *Hebrewes*, because of the diuine Precept. For God appointed especial Feasts to be celebrated precisely in such a Moneth of the yeere, and withall on a set day, both of the Moone and of the Moneth; as the Feast of the first fruits; the new Moones, and the like: which could not haue so becaue kept, if either the day of the Moone had fallen in some other part of the Moneth, or the Moneth it selfe becaue found farre distant from his place in the season of the yeere.

Other Nations, the better to obserue their Solemnities in the due time, and to ascertain all reckonings and remembrances, (which is the principall commodity of time, that is the measure of endurance) were driuen in like manner to make their yeeres vnequall, by adding sometimes, & sometimes abating one or more daies, as the error committed in foregoing yeeres required. The error grew at first, by not knowing what number of daies made vp a compleat yeere. For though by the continuall course of the Sun, causing Summer and Winter duly to succeed each other, it is plaine enough euen to the most savage of all people, when a yeere hath passed ouer them; yet the necessity of ordinary occurrences, that are to be numbred by a shorter Tally, makes this long measure of whole yeeres insufficient for the smaller sort of more daily affairs. Therefore men obseru'd the Monthly conspicuous reuolution of the Moone, by which they diuided the yeere into twelve parts, subdividing the Moneth into 29. daies and nights, and those againe into their quarters and houres. But as the marks of time are sensible and easily discerned: so the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexity in the vnderstanding. Twelve reuolutions of the Moone, containing lesse time by 11. daies or thereabout, than the yearly course of the Sunne, through the Zodiacke, in the space of sixteene yeeres, euery moneth was found in the quite contrary part of the yeere, to that wherein it was placed at the first. This caused them to adde some daies to the yeere, making it to consist of twelve Moneths, and as many daies more, as they thought would make the courses of the Sun and Moon to agree. But herein were committed many new errors. For neither did the Sunne determine his yearly reuolution by any set number of whole daies; neyther did the Moone change alwaies at one houre; but the very minutes and lesser fractions were to be obserued by him, that would speake to reduce their motions (which motions also were not still alike) into any certaine rule.

Here lay much Wisedome and deep Art, which could not soone bee brought to perfection. Yet as making an estimate at random, the *Athenians* held the yeere to containe three hundred and sixty daies, wherein most of the *Greekes* concurred with them. That 360. daies filled vp the *Grecian yeere* (besides many collaterall proofes) it is manifest by that which *Pliny* directly affirmeth, telling of the *Statues*, erected in honour of

Demetrius

*Demetrius Phalerens*, which were (saith he) 360. whilst as yet the yeere exceeded not that number of daies. By this account neither did any certaine age of the Moone begin on one of their Moneths; neither could their Moneths continue many yeeres, in their owne places: but must needs be shifted by little and little from Winter to Summer, and from Summer to Winter, as the daies forgotten to be inserted into the *Almagest* by men, has not forgotten by the superior bodies in their courses, should occupy their owne rooms in their due turnes. Now, because the solemnity of the *Olympian games* was to be held at the full Moone; and withall on the 25. day of the Moneth *Theromabon* (which answered in a manner to our *June*) they were careful to take order, that this Moneth might ever begin with the new Moone; which they effected by adding some vnto daies to the last Moneth of every yeere, those Games being held once in foure yeeres. This intercalation sufficed not to make the matter euen; which caused them sometimes to omit one day in the fourth yeere, which was the second of the Moneth *Theromabon* (agating nearly with our *August*) sometimes not to omit it on (which is all one) to insert another for it in their fourth Lunary yeere, accounting by the Moone after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithstanding, their Moneth of *June* would euery yeere haue growne colder and colder, had they not sought to keep all vpright, by intercalating in each other *Olympiad*, that is, each eighth yeere one whole Moneth, which they called the second *Pisces* or *Epiphanie*; which was the denice of *Hephaestus*, who also taught them to make one Moneth of 29. daies, another of 30. daies, and so successively through the whole yeere. Thus with much labour they kept their yeeres as neare as they could, vnto the high way of the Planets; but these marks which they obserued, were found at length to be deceitfull Guides. For it was not possible for so fashion this eighth yeeres intercalation, that it should not deceiue them in 1. houre and 18. minutes at the least, or some waies in 34. houres and 10. minutes, or 36. and 4. minutes; which differences would, in few Ages, haue bred much confusion. The first that introduced a good method, likely to continue, was *Metasthenes the Athenian*, who not regarding the *Olympiads*, and the eighth yeeres intercalation; deuised a Cycle of 19. yeeres; wherein the Moone hauing 235. times runne out her circuit, met with the Sunne in the same place, and on the same day of the yeere, as in the 19. yeeres before past she had done. This inuention of *Metasthenes* was entertained with great applause, and passing from *Athens* to *Rome*, was there inserted into the Kalendar in Golden Letters, being called the Golden Number, which name it retaineth vnto this day. Hereby were auoyded the great and vncertaine intercalations that formerly had been vsed, for by the intercalation of 7. Moneths in the 19. yeeres, all was so euen, that no sensible difference could be found. Yet that error which in one yeere could not be perceived, was very apparant in a few of those Cycles; the new Moones anticipating in one Cycle 7. houres, and some minutes of the precise rule. Therefore *Calippus* deuised a new Cycle containing foure of *Metasthenes*, that is to say, 76. yeeres; and afterwards *Hipparchus*, a Noble *Astronomer*, found another, containing foure of *Calippus* his Periods, each of them finding some error in the former obseruations, which they diligently corrected. The last reformation of the Kalendar was that which *Julius Caesar* made, who by advice of the best *Mathematicians*, then to be found, examining the courses of those heavenly bodies, reduced the yeere vnto the forme which is now in vse with vs, containing 365. daies and six houres, which houres in foure yeeres make vp one whole day, that is intercalated euery fourth yeere, the 24. of February. The correction of the *Julian yeere* by *Pope Gregorie* the 13. Anno Domini 1582. is not as yet entertained by generall consent; it was indeed, but as a note added vnto the work of *Caesar*; yet a note of great importance. For whereas it was obserued, that the Sunne, which at the time of the *Nicene Council*, Anno Dom. 324. entered the *Aequinoctiall* on the 21. day of March, was in the year 1582. ten daies sooner found in that time, *Pope Gregorie* strooke out of the Kalendar ten daies, following the fourth of October, so that instead of the fifth day was written the fifteenth, by which means the moueable Feasts depending on the Suns entrance into *Aries*, were againe celebrated in such time, as at the *Nicene Council* they had been. And the better to preuent the like alterations, it was by the Council of Trent ordained, that from thence forward in euery hundred yeeres, the Leap day should be omitted, excepting still the fourth hundred; because the Sun doth not in his yearly course take vp full sixe houres aboue the 365. daies, but faileth for many minutes, as in 400. yeeres make about three whole daies.

But the Cycle of 19. years, which the Hebrews used, was such as neither did need any nice curiosity of houres, minutes, and other lesser Fractions to helpe it; neither did in summing vp the dayes of the whole year, neglect the dayes of the Moone, confounding one Moneth with another. For with them it fell out so, that alwayes the Kalends or first day of the Moneth was at the new Moone; and because that day was festiual, they were very carefull as well to observe the short year of the Moone, passing through all the 12 Signes in one Moneth, as that longer of the Sun, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. First, therefore they gaue it to *Nisan* their first Moneth, which is about our *March* or *April*, 30. dayes; to *Iar* their second Moneth 29. dayes; and so successiue 30. to one, 29. to another. Hereby it came to passe, that euery two Moneths of theirs contained somewhat euenly two reuolutions of the Moone, allowing 29. dayes, 12. houres, and odde minutes, from change to change: The spare minutes were bestowed among the superfluous or Epact dayes; which made vp 7. Moneths in 19. years; 70. 6. of which 7. were commonly giuen 30. dayes; to one of them 29. dayes, or otherwise as was found requisite. Their common year (as appeareth by the seuerall dayes of each Moneth) contained 354. dayes, which faile of the year, wherein the Sun finisheth his course, 11. whole dayes, with some fractions of time. But these dayes, and other broken pieces, howsoever they were neglected in one year, yet in the Cycle of 19. years were lo disposed of by conuenient intercalations, that still at the end of that Cycle, both the Sun and Moone were found on the same day of the year, moneth and weeke, yea commonly on the same houre of the day, where they had been at the beginning of it 19. years before.

Signe rep. Heb.  
lib. 3. 6. 4.

Genes. Chron.  
lib. 3.

Diuers haue diuersly set downe the forme of the Hebrew year, with the manner of their Intercalations. *Signinus* tells vs, that euery second year they did adde a Moneth of 22. dayes; euery fourth year a Moneth of 23. in the regard of 11. dayes and a halfe wanting in 12. Moones to fulfill a year of the Sun. But herein *Signinus* was very much deceived. For the Moone doth neuer finish her course in 22. or 23. dayes; and therefore to haue added so many daies to the end of the year, had bene the way to change the fashion of all the Moneths in the years following, which could not haue begun as they ought, with the new Moone. *Genebrard* saith, that euery third year, or second year, as neede required, they did intercalate one Moneth, adding it at the years end vnto the other 12. This I beleue to haue bene true; but in which of the years the intercalation was (if it be worthy of consideration) methinks they do not probably deliuer, who keep all farre from euennesse vntill the very last of the 19. years. For (to omit such as erre grossely) some there are who say, that after three years, when besides the daies spent in 36. courses of the Moone, 33. daies are left remaining, that is, 11. daies of each year; then did the Hebrews adde a Moneth of 30. daies; keeping three daies, as it were in plussage vnto the next account. The like, say they, was done at the end of the sixt year, at which time, besides the Intercalary Moneth, remained sixe daies, namely, three surmounting that Moneth, and the Epact of three years, besides the three formerly referred. Thus they goe on to the 18. year; at which time they haue 18. daies in hand: all which with the Epact of the 19. year, make vp a moneth of 29. daies, that being intercalated at the end of the Cycle, makes all euen.

Whether this were the practise, I can neither affirm nor deny, yet surely it must needs haue bred a great confusion, if in the 18. year euery Moneth were removed from his owne place by the distance of 48. daies, that is, halfe a quarter of the year and more; which inconuenience by such a reckoning was vnaoidable. Wherefore, I preferre the common opinion, which preuenteth such dislocation of the Moneths, by setting downe a more conuenient way of Intercalation in the 8. year. For the 6. daies remaining after the two former Intercalations made in the third and sixt years, added vnto the 22. daies, arising out of the Epacts of the 7. and 8. years, do fitly serue to make vp a Moneth, with the borrowing of one day or two from the year following; and this borrowing of two daies is so farre from causing any disorder, that indeed it helpe to make the years ensuing vary the lesse from the proper season of euery Moneth. This may suffice to bee spoken of the Hebrew Moneths and years, by which they guided their accounts.

§. VII.

§. VII.

Of the passage of Israel from Succoth towards the Red Sea: and of the diuers wayes leading out of Egypt.

FROM Succoth in the morning following, *Moses* led the *Israelites* towards the East: part of *Etham*, to recover the Mountaine foot, by the edge of that Wilderness, though he intended nothing lesse than to goe out of that way, of all other the nearest. But being assured of the multitude of Horsemeh and armed Chariots that followed him, he kept himselfe from being incompassed by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. As *Etham* he reached but one night, and then he relected backe from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the South; the distance betweene it and Succoth being about eight miles. That he forbore to enter *Arabia*, being then in sight thereof, it seemeth to proceede from three respects, the first two naturall, the third diuine. For *Pharaoh* being then at hand, and hauing receiued intelligence of the way which *Moses* tooke, perswaded himselfe, that the numbers which *Moses* led, consisting of about a Million, if not two Millions of soules, (for as it is written, *Ezech. 12. Great multitudes of sundry sorts of people went out with them*) could not possibly passe ouer those desert and high Mountaines with so great multitudes of Women, Children, & Cattel, but that at the very entrance of that saltieffe he should haue overtaken them, and destroyed the greatest numbers of them. For these his owne words: They are samped in the Land, the Wilderness bush shew them in, doe shew his hopes and intents, which *Moses*, by turning another way, did frustrate. Secondly, *Moses* by offering to enter *Arabia* that way, drew *Pharaoh* towards the East-side of the Land of *Gosen*, or *Rameses*: from whence (miffing *Moses* there) his pursuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reason of the roughnesse of the way; and howsoever, yet while the Hebrewes kept the Mountaine foot on the left hand, they were better secured from the ouer-bearing violence both of the Horfe & Chariots. Thirdly, *Moses* confidence in the Al-powerfull God was such, by whose spirit, only wise, he was directed, as he rather made choice to leaue the glory of his deliuerance & victory to Almighty God, than ether by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multitude, consisting of 600000 men, to cast the successe vpon his owne vnderstanding, wife conduction, or valour. The third day he marched with a double pace from *Etham* towards the Vally of *Pihachorath*, 16. miles distant; and late downe betweene two ledges of Mountaines adioyning to the Red Sea, to wit, the Mountains of *Etham* on the North, & *Naalephon* towards the South: the same which *Orpheus* calleth *Climax*: on the top whereof there stood a Temple dedicated to *Baal*. And, as *Phagius* noteth, the word so compounded, is as much to say, as, *Dominus specule, sine custodia*; Lord of the watch-towre. For the Egyptians beleued, or at least made their slauess beleue, that if any of them offered to escape that way into *Arabia*, this Idoll would both arrest them, and force them to returne to their Lords and Masters. For the Egyptians had gods for all turnes. *Egypti dijsseuandi*; The Egyptians were fruisfull in gods, saith Saint Hierome. But *Moses*, who encamped at the foot of this Mountaine with a million of soules, or as other conceiue, with two millions, found this Lord of the watch-towre asleepe, or out of countenance.

Now these two passages leading out of Egypt into *Arabia* vpon the firme land, *Moses* refused, as well that of *Pelufium* and *Caforia*, the fairest and shortest of all other, in respect of *Iudea*, as the other by *Etham*, from which he relected, for the reasons before remembered, and tooke the way by the Vally of *Pihachorath*, betweene the Mountaines, which made a freight entrance towards the Sea. After whom *Pharaoh* made so great speed with his Horfe-men and Chariots, as he gaue the Hebrewes no time at all to rest them after so long a march; but gate fight of them, and they of him, euen at the very brinke and wash of the Sea in so much as the Hebrewes being terrified with *Pharaohs* sudden approach, began to despair, and to mutine, at that time when it behoued them most to haue taken courage for their owne defence, laying it to *Moses* charge, that themselves foresaw those perils in which they were wrapped. And feare, which, saith the booke of *Wisdom*, is the betraying of those succours which reason offereth, made them both despair in Gods former promises, and to be forgetfull of their owne strength and multitudes.

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§. VIII.

## S. VIII.

Of their passage over the Red Sea: and of the Red Sea it selfe.

**B**UT *Moses* who feared nothing but God himselfe, perswaded them to be confident in his goodnesse, who hath neuer abandoned those, that assuredly trust in him: saying thus comfortablen and resolved for each: *Heare vs, O ye Sonnes of Israel: I haue seene this day, as shall neuer see them againe: The Lord shall fight for you.* After which *Moses* called on God for succour, requesting encouragement, and committment of good to his wordes: *wherefore crye I thus vnto the Lord: O Lord, the children of Israel haue forgotten thy good, and haue not thy strength, and haue not thy hand, and haue not thy right arm: And let the children of Israel goe on day and night through the middle of the Sea: And let *Moses* obeying the voice of God, in the darke of the night leading the flocks recovered, past on towards the other side and coast of *Arabia*: two parts of the night being spent, and the third the fourth, which it pleased God by a forcible Easterly wind, blowing by his spirit to prepare the way.*

*Pharaoh* followed him, even at the heeles; finding the same dry ground which *Moses* trod on: Therefore, as his written: *The Angel of God milch him before the Staff of Israel, remoued, and went behinde them: so the pillar of the cloud went from before them, and stood behinde them,* which is, that it pleased God therein either by his immediate power, or by the ministry of his Angel, to enterpose his defence betwene the *Hebrewes* and their Enemies, to the end that the *Egyptians* might hereby be blinded, in such sort, as they could not pursue *Israel* with any harmefull speed: But in the morning watch *Moses* seized the other bank of *Arabia* side: and *Pharaoh* (as the dawne of day began to illighten the obscure airt) finding a beginning of the Seas return, halted himself towards his own Coast: But *Moses* stretched forth his hand, and the Sea returned to his force, that is, the Sea moved by the power of God, ran backe towards the land with vnresistable fury and swiftnesse, and ouerwhelmed the whole Army of *Pharaoh*, so as not one escaped. For it is written; that God take off their Chariot wheeles, that is, when the waters began to couer the sands, the *Egyptians* being stricken with feare of death, ran one athwart another, and missing the path by which they had past on after the *Hebrewes*, their wheeles stucke fast in the mud and quick-sands, and could not be drawne out: the Sea comming against them with supernaturall violence.

*Lyranus* upon *Exod. 14.* and others, following the opinions or old Traditions of the *Hebrewes*, conceiued, that after *Moses* had by the power of God diuided the Red Sea, and that the children of *Israel* were fearefull to enter it, *Aminadab* Prince or Leader of the Tribe of *Iuda* first made the aduenture, and that therefore was that Tribe euer after honored aboue the rest, according to the prophecy of *Jacob*, *Gen. 49. 8.* *Thy fathers swordes shall be round about thee.* But *Hierome* upon the 11. of *Moses* condemnes this opinion. And though it be true, that *Iuda* had the first place in all their marches in the Desert; and, as we now call it, led the Vantgard, (whereupon it may be inferred, that he also led the way through the Red Sea) yet that *Moses* himselfe was the Conductor of *Israel* at that time, it is generally receiued. For, as it is written in the 77. *Psalme*: *Thou didst leade thy people like sheepe by the hand of *Moses* and *Aaron*.*

The *Hebrewes* haue also another fancy, that the Red Sea was diuided into twelue parts, and that euerie Tribe past quer in a path apart, because it is written in the 135. *Psalme*, according to the vulgar *Latinist* *mare rubrum in diuisiones*; *He diuided the Red Sea in diuisions.* Also that the bottome of the Sea became as a greene Field or Pasture. But *Origen*, *Eppiphanius*, *Abulensis*, and *Genebrard*, faulting this conceit; had forgotten to consider, that there were not twelue Pillars, nor twelue Armies of the *Egyptians*. It is written in *Psalme 77. v. 16.* *Thy way is in the Sea, not thy waies*; and in the last of the booke of *Wisdomes*, *Eccl. 1. 16.* *In the Red Sea there was a way.*

Now this Sea, through which *Moses* past, and in which *Pharaoh*, otherwise called *Chamers*, perished in the 16. yeare of his reigne, is commonly knowne by the name of the Red Sea, though the same differ nothing at all in naturall colour from other waters. But as *Philopstratus* in his third booke noteth, and our selues know by experience, it is of a bluish colour, as other Seas are. It entrencheth a narrow strait betwene *Arabia* the Happy and *Ethiopia*, or the land of the *Abyssinians*: the mouth of the indraught from the Cape, which *Ptolomy* calleth *Possadum*, to the other Land of *Ethiopia*, hath not about sixe

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six leagues in breadth, and the same also filled every where with Ilands, but afterwards it extendeth it selfe 58. Leagues from Coast to Coast, and it runneth vp between *Arabia* the *Happy*, and *Arabia Petraea*, on one side, and *Aethiopia* and *Egypt* on the other, as far as *Sues*, the vttermost end and indraught of that Sea: where the *Turk* now keepeth his fleet of Gallies. The Cosmographers commonly giue it the name of the *Arabian Gulfe*: but the North part towards *Sues*, and where *Moses* past, is called *Heropolites* of the City *Heropolis*; sometime *Troy*, and of later times *Sues*. *Pliny* calls it *Cambisa*, by which name it was knowne, saith he, before it was called *Hero* many yeares. The *Arabians* call this Sea towards the North *Apocopa*, *Eccant*, and *Eant*. *Artemidorus* writes it *Eleuticum*; King *Taba* *Leuiticum*, others more properly *Elaniticum*, of the Port and City *Elana*: which the *Septuagint* call *Elath*: *Ptolomy*, *Elana*: *Pliny*, *Lana*: *Iosephus*, *ilana*: and *Marinus Niger*, *Atla*: there is also *Ilalab* in *Affrya*, to which *Salmanassar* carryed the *Israelites* captiue, *2. Kings* 19. *e. 8. v. 11.* which *Ilalab* in *Affrya*, the *Septuagint* call *Elan*: and in the first of *Chron.* the *Ala*. But as for this Red Sea or the parts thereof, thus diuersly named, the *Moures* and *Arabians* (Vassals to the *Turk*) know it by no other appellation, than the Gulfe of *Meca*, after the name of *Mahomets* Towne *Meca*. The *Greekes* write it the Sea *Erythraeum*, of a King called *Erythrae*, or *Erythraeum*: and because *Erythrae* in the *Greece* signifieth Red: hence it is, that being denominated of this *Erythraeum*, the sonne of *Perseus* and *Andromeda*, yet it tooke the name of the Red Sea, as *Quintus Curtius* coniectureth: which *Arianus* confirmeth. But it seemeth to me by the view of a discovery of that Sea in the year 1544. performed by *Steuen Gama*, *Viceroy* of the East *India* for the King of *Portugall*, that this Sea was so called from a reflection of redness, both from the banks, cliffs, and sands of many Ilands, and part of the Continent bordering it. For I finde by the report of *Castro*, a principall Commandervnder *Gama* (which discourse I gaue Master *Richard Hacluit* to publish) that there is an Iland called *Dalagua*, sometime *Leques*, containing in length 25. Leagues, and 12. in breadth: the earth, sands, & cliffs, of which Iland, being of a reddish colour, serue for a foile to the waters about it: and make it seeme altogether of the same colour. Secondly, the same *Castro* reporteth, that from 24. degrees of *Septentrional* Latitude, to 27. (which make in length of Coast 180. miles, lying as it doth Northly and Southly) all the cliffs and banks are of red earth or stone, which by reflection of the Sun-beames, giue a kinde of reddish luster to the waters. Thirdly, those *Portugals* report, and we know it by many testimonies, that there are found in the bottome of this Sea towards the shore, great abundance of red stones, on which the greatest store of Corall growes, which is carryed into most parts of *Europe*, & elsewhere. There are also on the Ilands of this Sea many red Trees, saith *Strabo*, & those growing vnder water may also be a cause of such a colour. Of these appearances of redness by the shadows of these stones, sands, earth, & cliffs, I suppose that it first took the name of the Red Sea, because in so many places it seemeth to be such: which *Iohannes Barros* in his second *Decade*, eight Booke and first Chapter, confirmeth.

The breadth of this Sea from *Elana* or *Ezion* *Gaber* adioynning, now *Tora*, called by the ancient Cosmographers *Sinus Elaniticus*, which washeth the banks of *Madian* or *Midian*, is for 16. or 17. Leagues together, along Northward towards *Sues*, some three Leagues or nine *English* miles ouer, and from this Port of *Toro* to *Sues*, and the end of this Sea it is in length about 28. Leagues, of which the first 26. haue nine miles breadth, as aforesaid, and afterward the lands both from *Egypt* and *Arabia*, thrust themselves into the Sea, & streighten it so fast, as for six miles together it is not above three miles ouer; from thence vppward the land on *Egypt* side, falleth away and makes a kinde of Bay or Cune for some ten miles together, after which the land growes vpon the Sea againe, and so binds it into the very end thereof, at foure miles breadth or thereabout, in which tract it was that *Moses* past it ouer, though others would haue it to be ouer against *Elana* or *Tora*, but without iudgement; for from *Ramesses* to *Pihachereb* and *Baalzepeban*, there is not above 30. miles interuent, on 35. miles at most, which *Moses* past ouer in three dayes: and betwene the land of *Egypt* opposite to *Elana* or *Tora*, the distance is about 80. miles. For *Ramesses* to which City *Moses* came (being the Metropolis of *Gessen*) when hee left *Pharaoh* at *Euan*, and took his last leave, standeth in 30. degrees threeminutes of *Septentrional* Latitude, and *Adidol*, or the Valley of *Pihachereb*, at the foot of the Mountaine *Clemax*, or *Baalzepeban*, in nine and twenty, and a halfe, which made a difference of five and thirty *English* miles, the way lying in effect North and South.

## §. IX.

*That the passage through the Red Sea was miraculous, and not at a low Ebbe.*

**T**He Egyptians, and of them the *Memphites*, and other *Hæthen* Writers, who in hatred of the *Hebrewes* haue objected that *Moses* past over the Red Sea at a low ebbe, vpon a great spring-tyde, and that *Pharao*, conducted more by fury than discretion, pursued him so farre, as before he could recouer the coast of *Egypt*, he was ouer-taken by the flood and therein perished, did not well consider the nature of this place with other circumstances. For, not to borrow strength from that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plaine, that the Waters were diuided, and that God wrought this miracle by an Easterly winde, and by the hand & rod of *Moses* (which authority to men that beleue not therein, perswadeth nothing) I say, that by the same naturall reason vnto which they fasten themselves, it is made manifest, that had there been no other working power from above, or assistance giuen from God himselfe to *Moses* and the children of *Israel* than ordinary and casual, then could not *Pharao* and all his Army haue perished in that pursuit.

For wheresoeuer there is any ebbing of the Sea in any gulf, or indraught, there doe the waters fall away from the Land, and run downwards toward the *Ocean*, leaving all that part towards the Land as farre as the Sea can ebbe, or fall off, to be dry Land. Now *Moses* entering the Sea at *Migdol* vnder *Baalzephon* (if he had taken the aduantage and opportunity of the tyde) must haue left all that end of the Red Sea towards *Sues*, on his left hand dry and vncouered. For if a passage were made by falling away of the vpper ten or twelue miles farther into the Sea than *Sues*, and betwene it and where *Moses* past, who entered the same so farre below it, and towards the body of the same Sea: it followeth then, that if all that part of the Sleue or Strait, had been by the ebbe of a spring-tyde discovered, when *Pharao* found the flood increasing, he needed not to haue returned by the same way toward *Egypt* side, but might haue gone on in his returne before the tyde, on his right hand: & so taken ground againe at the end of that Sea, at *Sues* it selfe, or elsewhere. But the Scriptures doe truly witness the contrary, that is, That the Sea did not fall away from the Land, as naturally it doth, but that *Moses* past on betwene two Seas, and that the waters were diuided. Otherwise *Pharao* by any returne of waters could not haue perished, as he did: and therefore the effects of that great Armes destruction, proue the cause to haue bene a power above nature, and the miraculous worke of God himselfe. Again, those words of the Scriptures, that God caused the Sea to runne backe by a strong East-winde, doe rather proue the miracle, than that thereby was caused an ebbe more than ordinary: for that Sea did not lye East and West, but in effect North and South. And it must haue bene a West and North-west winde, that must haue driuen those waters away through their proper Channels, and to the South-east into the Sea. But the East winde blew athwart the Sea, and cut it asunder: so as one part fell backe towards the South and maine body thereof, the other part remained towards *Sues*, and the North. Which being vnkowne to *Pharao*: while hee was cheeke by that Sea which vsed in all times before to ebbe away, the flood prest him & ouerwhelmed him. Thirdly, seeing *Ioseph* auoweth, that *Moses* was not onely of excellent iudgement generally, but also, so great a Captaine, as he ouer-threw the *Ethiopians* in battels, being employed by *Pharao*, and vvanne diuers Cities seeming impregnable: it were barbarous to condemne him of this grossenesse, and distraction: that rather than he would haue endured the hardnesse of a Mountainous passage at hand (had not God commanded him to take that way, and foretold him of the honour which hee would there winne vpon *Pharao*) he would haue trusted to the aduantage of an ebbing vpper. For hee knew not the contrary, but that *Pharao* might haue found him, and prest him, as well when it flowed as when it ebbed, as it seemeth hee did. For the people, beholding *Pharao*s approach, cryed out against *Moses*, and despaired altogether of their safetie: and when *Moses* prayed vnto God for helpe, hee was answered by God: *wherefore cryest thou vnto mee? Speake vnto the children of Israel that they goe forward: and lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thy hand vpon the Sea, and diuide it: vvhich proues, that there was not at the time of *Pharao*s approach any ebbe at all; but that God did disperse and cut through the vveight of waters, by a strong East-winde, whereby the Sands*

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discouered themselves between the Sea on the left hand toward *Sues*, from whence the waters moued not, and the Sea which was towards the South on the right hand, *so that the waters were a wall vnto them on the right hand, and on the left hand*, that is, the waters so defended them on both sides, as the Egyptians could only follow them in the same path; not that the waters stood vpright as walls doe, as some of the Schoole-men haue fancied. For had *Pharao* and the Egyptians perceived any such buildings in the Sea, they would soone haue quitted the chase and pursuit of *Israel*. Furthermore, there is no man of iudgement, that can think, that *Pharao* and the Egyptians, who then excelled all Nations in the obseruations of heavenly Motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes & refluxes of the Sea, in his owne Country, on his owne Coast, and in his owne most traded and frequented Ports and Hauens; and wherein, his people hauing had so many hundreds of years experience of the tydes, he could not be caught, as hee was, through ignorance, nor by any foreknown or naturall accident, but by Gods powerfull hand onely; which then falleth most heauily on all men, when looking through no other spectacle but their own prosperitie, they least discern it coming, and least feare it. Lastly, if the Army of the Egyptians had been ouer-taken by the ordinary returne of the flood before they could recouer their owne Coast; their bodies drowned would haue bene carried with the flood which runneth vp to *Sues*, and to the end of that Sea, & not haue been cast ashore on that Coast of Arabia where *Moses* landed, to wit, vpon the Sea-bank ouer against *Baalzephon*, on Arabia side: where it was that the *Israelites* saw their dead bodies; & not at the end of the Red Sea, to which place the ordinary flood would haue carried them: Which flood doth not any where crosse the Channell, and run athwart it, as it must haue done from *Egypt* side to Arabia, to haue cast the bodies there; but it keeps the naturall course towards the end of that Sea: and to which their carcasses should haue been carried, if the worke had not been supernaturall and miraculous. *Apollonius* in the liues of the Fathers affirmeth, that those of the Egyptians which staid in the country, and did not follow *Pharao* in the pursuit of *Israel*, did euer after honour those Beasts, Birds, Plants, or other Creatures, about which they were busied at the time of *Pharao*s destruction: as he that was then labouring in his garden, made a god of that Plant or Root, about which he was occupied: and so of the rest. But how those multitudes of gods were erected among them, a more probable reason shall bee giuen elsewhere. *Orosius* in his first Booke and tenth Chapter against the Pagans, tels vs, that in his time, who liued some 400. years after Christ, the prints of *Pharao*s Chariot wheelles were to be seen at a low water on the Egyptian sands: and though they were sometime defaced by winde and weather, yet soone after they appeared again. But hereof I leaue euery man to his own beliefe.

## CHAP. IV.

*Of the iourning of the Israelites from the Red Sea, to the place where the Law was giuen them: With a discourse of Lawes.*

## §. I.

*A transcription, by way of recapitulation of some things touching Chronologie: with a continuance of the storie, untill the Amalekites met with the Israelites.*

**B**Vt to goe on with the storie of *Israel*, in this sort I collect the times. *Moses* was borne in the yeare of the World 2434. *Saphra* then governing *Assyria*; *Orithopolis* *Sycionia*, or *Peloponnesus*; *Crisium* the Argiues; *Orus* *Egypt*, and *Dencalion* *Thessalie*. He fled into *Midian* when he had liued 40. years, in the yeere of the World 2474. and two yeares after was *Caleb* borne. He returned by the commandment and ordinance of God into *Egypt*, and wrought

2474



25 14. his miracles in the fields of Zoan, in the year 25 14. the last moneth of that year. On the 14. day of the first Hebrew moneth Abib, or the 15. of that moneth, beginning the day (as they say) Sun setting, in the year of the world 25 14. was the celebration of the Passover: and in the dead of the night of the same day were all the first-borne slain through Egypt, or in all those parts where the Hebrewes inhabited not. The 15. day of the first moneth of the Hebrewes called Abib, being about the beginning of the year of the World 25 14. *Moses* with the children of Israel removed from the generall assembly at Ramises, and marched to Succoth.

Exod. 11.  
Num. 33.

Exod. 13.

Num. 33.

Exod. 14.

Num. 33.

Exod. 14.

Num. 33.

Exod. 15.

Num. 33.

Exod. 15.

Num. 33.

Will. 27. l. 11.  
c. 19.

Exod. 16.

Exod. 16.

And departing thence they made their third Station at Etham: and journeying from E. tham, they incamped in the Valley of Pilacheroth, or Migdol, vnder the Mountain Baalzephon; and in the same night after mid-night, they past the Red Sea: *Pharaoh* and his Army perishing in their returne, about the first dawne of the day. *Moses* hauing recovered the banks of Arabia, gaue thanks vnto God, for the deliuey of Israel; and making no stay on that coast, entred the Deserts of Arabia Petraea, called Sur. But finding no water in that passage, he incamped at Marah, in the Desert of Etham, which in *Exod. 15. v. 22.* is also called Sur, 25. miles from the Sea: where the children of Israel perit with extreme thirst, murmured against *Moses* the second time; first at *Pharaohs* approach in Pihacheroth, and now in Arabia. But *Moses* taking the branches of a tree, growing neer a Lake of bitter water, and casting the same therinto, made the same sweet: a plain Type and Figure of our Saniour; who vpon the tree of the Crosse changed the bitterness of, euellasting death into the sweetnesse of eternall life. *Plinie* remembers these bitter Fountaines in his sixth Book and 29. Chapter. From whence to *Delta* in Egypt, *Sesostris* first, *Darius* after him, and lastly *Ptolomie* the second, began to cut an artificial Riuer, therby by Boats and small Shipping to trade & navigate the Red Sea, from the great Cities vpon Nilus. From Marah he removed to Elim, the sixth Mansion, a march of eight miles: where finding twelue Fountaines of sweet water, and threescore and ten Palme trees, he rested thence dayes.

Whether this Helim were the name of a Towne or City in *Moses* time, I cannot affirme. And yet the scarcity of waters in that Region was such, as Helim, which had twelue Fountaines, could hardly be left vnpeopled. *William*, Archbishop of Tyre, in his History of the Holy Warre, found at Helim the ruines of a great and ancient City. And at such time as *Baldwine* the first past that way into Egypt. *Ingressus* (saith he) *Helim*, *Ciuitatem antiquissimam*, populo *Israhelico* aliquando familiarem; ad quam cum peruenisset, *laetissimus incole*, Regis aduentu praecognito, nauiculam ingredientiem, in mare vicinum se contulerunt, *Entring Helim* a very ancient City, well known sometime to the people of Israel; *whither, when he came, the inhabitants forewarned of the Kings approach, took Boats, and bisisted themselves into the Sea, lying neere them.* From Elim he returned again towards the South, and fare downe by the banks of the Red Sea: the seventh mansion. For it seemeth that he had knowledge of *Amalech*, who repaired to resist his passage through that part of Arabia. And *Moses* who had not as yet trained those of the Hebrewes, appointed to beare armes: nor assured the mindes of the rest, who encountering with the least milcery, were more apt to returne to their quiet slavery, than either to endure the wants and perils which euery where accompanied them in that passage, or at this time to vndertake or sustaine so dangerous an enemie: he therefore made stay at this Mansion, vntill the fifteenth of his second Moneth called Zim, or Iar: and made the eight Mansion in the Desert of Zin; where the children of Israel mutined against *Moses* the third time, hauing want of Food. In the sixteenth Chapter of *Exodus*, *Moses* omitteth this retreat from Elim to the Red Sea, but in the collection of euery fewell incamping, in the 33. of *Numbers*, so it is set down.

Here it pleased God to send so many flights of Quails, as all the Country about their incamping was couered with them. The morning following it also rained Manna, being the sixteenth of their Moneth, which serued them in stead of bread. For now was the store consumed which the people carried with them out of Egypt. And though they had great numbers of cattell and sheepe among them, yet it seemeth that they durst not feede themselves with many of those: but reserved them both for the milke to releue the children withall: and for bread to store themselves when they came to the Land promised.

From hence towards Raphidim they made two remoues of twenty miles: the one

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to *Daphsa*, the other to *Alus*, distant from *Raphidim* fixe miles. Here being againe preft with want of water, they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from Egypt, where they rather contented themselves to be fed and beaten after the manner of beasts, than to suffer a casual and sometime necessary want, and to vndergoe the hazzards and traualles which euery manly minde seeketh after, for the loue of God, and their own freedoms. But *Moses* with the same rod which he diuided the Sea withall, in the sight of the Elders of Israel, brought waters out of the rocke, wherewith the whole multitude were satisfied.

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## S. II.

Of the Amalekites, Madjanites, and Kenites, vpon occasion of the battell with the Amalekites, and Iethros coming: who being a Kenite, was Priest of Madjan.

And while *Moses* incamped in this place, the Amalekites who had knowledge of his approach, and ghesied that he meant to leade the children of Israel through their Country (which being barren of it selfe, would be vtterly wasted by so great a multitude of people and cattell) thought it most for their advantage to set vpon them at *Raphidim*: where the want of water, and all other things needfull for the life of so many infeeblled them. On the other side, *Moses* perceiving their resolutions, gaue charge to *Iosua* to draw out a sufficient number of the ablest Hebrewes, to encounter *Amalech*. Between whom and Israel, the victory remained doubtfull, for the most part of the day: the Hebrewes and Amalekites contending with equal hopes & repulcs for many hours. And had not the strenght of *Moses* prayers to God been of far greater force, and more preualent, than all resistance and attempt made by the bodies of men; that valiant and warlike Nation had greatly endangered the whole enterprise. For those bodies which are vnaquainted with scarcity of food, and those mines whom a seruile education hath dulled, being beaten, & despaired in their first attempts, will hardly, or neuer be brought again to hazzard themselves.

After this victory, *Iethro* repaired to *Moses*, bringing with him, *Moses* his wife, and his two Sons, which either *Iethro* forbore to conduct, or *Moses* to receiue, till he had by this ouerthrow of *Amalech* the better assured himselfe of that part of Arabia. For it is written in the 18. of *Exod. v. 1.* When *Iethro* the Priest of Midian, *Moses* father in Law heard all that God had done for *Moses*, &c. of which, the last deed, to wit, the ouerthrow of *Amalech*, gaue *Iethro* courage and assurance, hee then repaired to his sonne in law *Moses*, at *Sinai*, where amongst other things, he aduised *Moses* to appoint Iudges, and other Officers, ouer Israel, being himselfe vnable to giue order in all causes and controuersies, among so many thousands of people, full of discontentment and priuate controuersie.

This *Iethro*, although he dwelt amongst the Midianites, yet he was by Nation a Kenite, as in the fourth of *Judges. v. 11. & 17.* it is manifest; where it is written, Now Heber the Kenite, which was of the children of Hobab, to wit, the sonne of *Iethro*, the father in law of *Moses*, was departed from the Kenites, and pitched his Tents vntill the Plaine of Zaanaim, which is by Kedesh. Likewise in the first of *Samuel*, *Saul* commanded the Kenites to depart from the Amalekites, lest hee should destroy them with the Amalekites. For the Kenites inhabited the mountaines of *Sin Kedesh*: and the Amalekites dwelt in the Plains, according to the saying of *Balaam*, speaking of the Kenites, Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou hast put thy nest in the Rocks. And that *Saul* spared this Nation, hee giueth for cause; that they shewed mercy to all the children of Israel, when they came vp from Egypt. For these Kenites were a Nation of the Madjanites, and the Madjanites were

of the issues of *Madjan*, one of the fixe sonnes which *Abraham* begat on *Rebura*: and might also take that name of Kenites from *Kethura*, of whom they descended by the Mother, who (as it seemeth) kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they receiued from their parent *Abraham*. For *Moses*, when hee fled out of Egypt into Midian, and married the daughter of *Iethro*, would not (had he found them Idolaters) haue made *Iethros* daughter the Mother of his children. And although the Kenites are named amongst those Nations, which God promised, that the seede of *Abraham* should roote out, and inherite their lands; yet it cannot bee meant by these, who are descended from *Abraham* himselfe: but by some other Nation, bearing the

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the same name; and in all likelihood of the race of *Chim*. For in the fifteenth of *Genesis* versenineteenth, these *Kenites* or *Chusites* are listed with the *Hittites* & *Perizzites*, with the *Amorites*, *Canaanites*, *Gergesites*, and *Iebusites*, which were indeed afterwards rooted out. But these *Kenites*, descended from *Abraham*, had separated themselves from among the rest, which were altogether idolatrous. For, as it is before remembred, *Heber* the *Kenite*, which was of the children of *Habab*, was departed from the *Kenites*, that is to say, from those *Kenites* of *Canaan*, and inhabited in *Zaanaim*, which is by *Kadesh* or *Kadesb*. Again, *Moses* nameth that Nation of the *Kenites*, before *Midian*, or any of *Abraham*s other sonnes were borne: which he did (referring my self to better judgement) rather, because they were more ancient, than by anticipation.

And as of the *Kenites*, so we may consider of the *Madianites*, parted by *Moses* into five Tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and heathens; as those of *Madian* by the River *Zared*, afterwards destroyed by *Moses*. But the *Madianites* neere the banks of the *Red Sea*, where *Moses* married his wife *Zippora*, and with whom he left her and his children, till after the overthrow of *Amalech*, seeme likewise not to haue beene corrupted. For these *Madianites* with the *Kenites*, assisted *Israel*, and guided them in the Deserts. But the *Madianites* in *Moab*, and to the North of the *Metropolis* of *Arabia*, called *Petrea*, were by *Israel* rooted out, when those adioyning to the *Red Sea* were not touched.

And though it may be doubted, whether those of *Madian*, of whom *Iethro* was Priest, and the other Cities in *Moab* were the same, yet the contrary is more probable. For *Moses* would not haue sent 12000. *Israelites*, as far backe as the *Red Sea*, from the Plaines of *Moab*, to haue destroyed that *Madian*, where his wiues kindred inhabited; seeing himself comming with 600000. able men, was encountered by *Amalech*, in that passage. Neither could *Moses* forget the length of the way through those discomfortable Deserts, wherein him selfe and *Israel* had wandred 40. yeeres.

That *Iethro*, or *Iethor*, *Raguel*, or *Reuel*, and *Habab*, were but one person, the Scriptures teach vs. For the *Volgar* and *Septuagint*, which call him *Raguel*, and our *Englisb* *Reuel*, Exodus 2. 18. calls him *Iethro*, or *Iethor*, Exodus 3. 1. & v. 1. c. 4. v. 18. & c. 18. 1. & 6. 9. 10. & 12. and in *Num. c. 10. v. 29. Habab*. Others take *Iethro* & *Habab* to be the same, but not *Raguel*.

## §. III.

Of the time when the Law was giuen; with diuers commendations of the inuention of Lawes.

THE rest of the monthes of this yeere 25 15. were spent in the Desert of *Sinai*, neere the mountaine of *Sinai* or *Horeb*, the twelfth Mansion. *Eusebius* thought that *Sinai* or *Horeb* were distinct mountaines: *Hierome*, to be but one, of a double name. And so it appeareth by many Scriptures. For, in Exodus 3. v. 1. it is called *Horeb*: and in Exodus 24. v. 19. it is written *Sinai*. In the 106. *Psalme* v. 19. *Horeb*: in Exodus 19. 11. *Sinai*. And so it is called, *Galatians* 4. 24. and againe, *Deut.* 4. 10. & 15. & *Deut.* 5. 2. *Horeb*. And so it is in the first of *Kings* 8. 6. and the second of *Chron.* 5. 10. and in *Malachie* 4. 4. Finally, in *Ecclesiasticus* the 48. 7. they are named as one, which bearded (saith *Ecclesiasticus*) the rebuke of the Lord in *Sinai*, and in *Horeb* the iudgements of the vengeance. Somewhat they are disioyned at the top by the report of *Peter Belonius*; who in the yeere 1588. past out of *Egypt* into *Arabia*, with *Monsieur de Fumes* of *France*, and trauielled to the top both of *Sinai* and *Horeb*: *Sinai* being by far the higher hill. From the side of *Horeb* (saith he) there falleth a very faire Spring of water into the Valley adioyning: where he found two Monasteries of *Christian Marrites*, containing some 100. Religious persons of diuers Nations, who had pleasant gardens, delicate fruits, and excellent wine. These (saith the same Author) giue entertainment to all strangers, which passe that way.

Now that there was some such Torrent of water neere *Sinai* in *Moses* time; it is very probable: First, because hee incamped thereabout almost a yeere, and drew no water, as in other places, by miracle: secondly, because it is written, Exodus 32. 20. that when *Moses* had broken the golden Calfe to powder, which *Aaron* set vp in his absence, hee cast the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of *Israel* to drinke thereof.

On this mountaine, the Law by the Angel of God was giuen to *Moses*, where hee staied

staied a whole yeere, wanting some ten or twelue daies: for he remoued not till the 20. day of the second month of the second yeere; and hee arrived about the 45. day after the egression: the Law being giuen the 50. day.

At this Mansion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 29. Chapter of *Exodus*, to the end of that booke; and all in *Leuiticus*; and all in *Numbers*, to the 10. Chapter. Whereof (because there is no storie nor other passage) I will omit the repetition, and in place thereof speake somewhat of the Law; and the kinds and vse thereof: whereby, if the Reader finde the story any way disioyned, hee may turne ouer a few leaues; and, omitting this, finde the continuation thereof. We must first consider, that as there can bee neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any Common-wealth, without the rule, Iuell, and square of Lawes: so it pleased God to giue thereby vnto *Moses* the powerfulllest meane (his miraculous grace excepted) to gouern that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their passage, and to establish them assuredly in their conquest. For as the North starre is the most fixed directour of the Seaman to his desired Port: so is the Law of God the guide and conductor of all in generally, to the haue of eternall life: the Law of nature, from God his eternall Law deduced, the rule of all his creatures: the Law humane, depending on both these, the guard of Kings, Magistrates, and vertuous men; yea, the very spirit, & the very finewes of euery Estate in the world, by which they liue and moue: the Law, to wit, a iust law, being resembled to an Heart without affection, to an Eye without lust, and to a Minde without passion; a Treasurer, which keepeth for euery man what he hath, and distributeth to euery man what he ought to haue. This benefit the *Ancient*, though barbarous, esteemed so highly, that among them, those which were taken for the first makers of Lawes, were honoured as gods, or as the sonnes of gods: and the rest, that made either additions or corrections, were commended to all posteritie for men of no lesse vertue, and no lesse liberally beneficiall to their Countries, than the greatest and most prosperous Conquerours that euer gouerned them. The *Israelites*, the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Athenians*, receiued their Lawes from one: as the *Israelites* from *Moses*; the *Lacedemonians* from *Lycorgus*; the *Athenians* from *Solon*; the *Romanes* sometime from their first Kings, from 30 their *Decem viri*; from their *Senators*, from their *Lawyers*, and from the people themselves: others from the Prince, Nobilitie, and People; as in *England*, *France*, and in other *Christian Monarchies* and *Estates*.

## §. IIII.

Of the name and meaning of the words, Law, and Right.

THE word *Lex*, or *Law*, is not alwaies taken alike, but is diuersly, and in an indifferent sense vied. For if we consider it at large, it may bee vnderstood for any rule prescribing a necessarie meane, order, and methode, for the attaining of an end: And so the rules of *Grammar*, or other Arts, are called Lawes. Or it is taken for any private ordinance of Superiours to Inferiours: for the commandments of Tyrants, which they cause to be observed by force, for their decrees do also vspurpeth that title, according to the generall acceptance of the word *Law*: of which *Esay*, wee vnto them that deserve such head decrees, and write vniuersall things. Likewise, the word is vied for the tumultuary resolutions of the people. For such constitutions doth *Aristotle* also call Lawes, though euill and vnsufficient: *Mala lex est, quae tumultuaria posita est*: It is an ill Law, which is made tumultuously. So as all ordinances, either good or euill, are called by the name of Lawes.

The word *Law* is also taken for the morall habit of our minde, which doth (as it were) command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and fashioning them according to it selfe, as to their patterne and plat-forme. And thus the law of the flesh which the Diuines call *legem sensum*, is to be vnderstood. For euery law is a kinde of patterne of that which is done according vnto it: in which sense as 'tis elsewhere, this morall habit or disposition of the heart is called the fratie or *figmentum* of the heart: *Ioan. S. Paul* to the *Romans* is called a Law: But I see another Law in my members, rebelling against the Law of my minde: and leading me captive vnto the law of sinne. Again, the nature and inclinations of all creatures are sometime called Lawes, so far as they agree with the reason of the law eternall; as the law of a *Lyon*, to be fierce or valiant.



creature; or things created; whether necessary or contingent, naturall or morall, & humane. For the Law eternall runneth through all the vniuersall, and therefore it is the law also of things which are simple, naturall and inanimate.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praise God their Creator and Directour: as, *Praise him all ye his Angels: praise him Sunne and Moone, all bright Starres: beaues of heauens, for he hath established them for euer and euer. He hath made an ordinance which shall not passe: Praise ye the Lord from the earth ye Dragons and all Deepes: Fire and haile, snow and vapours, stormie windes, which execute his word: mountaines and hills, fruitfull trees and all Cedars: Beasts, and all Cattel, &c.* Now as the reasonable Creatures are by this eternall law bound, by the glory and felicity proposed vnto them (beatitude being both the attractiue, and the end) so all other naturall things and creatures, haue in themselves, and in their own natures, an obedience formall to it, without any proper intention, known cause, or end proposed. For beasts are led by sense, and naturall instinct: things without life by their created forme, or formall appetites, as that which is heauy to fall downward: things light to mount vpward, &c. and fire to heate whatfoeuer is appoised. This kinde of working the Aristotelians ascribe to common nature: others to fate; a difference vsed in termes only; it being no other than Gods generall providence: for as it is truly said of God, that he is *omnia super omnia*: so are all things which appeare in themselves thence deriued: there-vnder subiected: thence-from by his eternall law and providence directed, euen from the greatest to the least of his creatures, in heauen and in earth.

The Schoolemen are very curious and ample in the consideration of these lawes: and in discourse of the profit, and of the matter, and object of the eternall law. But as the profit is manifest in the good of all creatures, who haue thence-from, either reason, sense, vegetation, or appetition, to conduct them: so is the object and matter of the law, the whole creature. For according to S. Augustine, *Lex aeterna est, qua iustum est, ut omnia sine ordinatissima*; The law eternall is that, whereby it is iust, that all things should be disposed in the best and goodliest order.

Lastly, it is disputed, whether the eternall law be immutable, yea or no? But the resolution is, that it changeth, not; for which S. Augustine vseth a sufficient argument in his first Booke of *Free-will*, the sixth Chapter. For the law of *Moses* which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to last vntill the time of the Pædagogic of Gods people, or introduction to Christ should be expired; which time of expiration some thinke our Sauour noted to be come, when on the Crosse he said, *Consummatum est*. But I rather thinke these words of our Sauour to haue no other signification, than that now the prophetic of their giuing him Vinegar to drink was fulfilled. For so Saint Iohn expounds it, when hee saith v. 28. *That Christ seeing all (other) things to be fulfilled, vs consummaretur Scriptura, That the Scripture in this also might be fulfilled, said, I thirst*: though I deny not, but at the same time also the date of the Law was expired, to wit, of the law ceremoniall, and of so much of the iudiciall, as appertained peculiarly to the Iewes, and agreeth not with the law of the new Testament and Gospel of Christ. For the immutable law of God, though prescribing things mutable, is not therefore changed in it selfe; but the things prescribed, change according to this eternall ordinance, of which the Wisdom of Salomon, *And being one, see can doe all things, and remaining in her selfe renoueth all*.

## §. VI.

## Of the Law of Nature.

Of the law of Nature as it is taken in generally, I finde no definition among the Schoolemen: only as it is considered in man, it is called the *impression of diuine light*, and a participation of the eternall law in the reasonable creature. *Lex naturalis est impressio diuini luminis in nobis, & participatio legis aeternae in rationali creatura*. Plinian defines the naturall law to be the same which nature hath taught all liuing creatures: *Lex naturalis est quod Natura omnia animalia docuit*: and hee afterward addeth, *Lex ista non humani generis proprium, sed omnium animalium quae terra marique nascuntur, animi quoque commune est*; The law of Nature is not proper to man alone, but the same is common to all liuing creatures, as well to birds, as to those which the Land and Sea produceth.

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But this definition is not generall, but of the naturall Law in things of life.

The Law of nature in generally, I take to be that disposition, instinct, and formall quality, which God in his eternall providence hath giuen and imprinted in the nature of euery creature, animate, and inanimate. And as it is *diuinum lumen* in Men, enlightening our formall reason; so is it more than sense in Beasts, and more than vegetation in plants. For it is not sense alone in Beasts, which reacheth them at first sight, and without experience or instruction, to flee from the enemies of their liues: seeing that Bulles and Horses appeare vnto the sense more fearefull and terrible, than the least kind of Dogges, and yet the Hare and Deere feedeth by the one, and mereth from the other, yea, though by them neuer scene before, and that as soone as they fall from their Dammes. Neither is it sense which hath taught other Beasts to provide for Winter, Eagles to build their nests, high or low, according to the tempestuous or quiet seasons: or the Birds of India to make their nests on the smallest twiggies which hang ouer Rivers, and not on any other part of the tree, or else where: to laue their egges and young ones from the Monikes, and other Beasts, whose weight such a twigge will not beare: and which would feare to fall into the water. The instances in this kinde are exceeding many which may bee giuen. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of plants, that some trees, as the female of the *Palmitro*, will not beare any fruite except the male grow in sight. But this they doe by that Law, which the infinite and vnsearchable wisdom of God had in all eternity provided for them, and for euery nature created. In man this Law is double, corrupt, and incorrupt; corrupt, where the reason of man hath made it selfe subiect, and a Vassall to passions, and affections brutall: and incorrupt, where time and custome hath bred in men a new nature, which also, as is aforesaid, is a kinde of Law. For it was not by the Law of Nature incorrupt, which Saint Augustine calleth the Law of reason, but by a nature blinded and corrupted, that the Germans did anciently allow of theft: and that other Nations whereby Law constrained to become Idolaters; that by the Lawes of *Ergurgus* it was permitted to men to vse one anothers Wife, and to the Woman to choose them others besides their Husbands, to beget them with childe: which law in those parts hath lasted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

The *Seythians*, and the people of both *Indies*, hold it lawfull to bury with them the best beloved wiues: as also they haue many other customes remembered by *G. Valentia*, against nature and right reason.

And I know not from what authority it is, that these Lawes some men auow to be naturall: except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others) to pay giule to become faithlesse among the faithlesse: to provide for our selues by another mans destruction: that iniury is not done to him that is willing to destroy those whom we feare, and the like. For taking the definition of naturall Lawes, either out of Saint Augustine or Aquinas, (the one calling it the *impression of diuine light*; the other, the *dictate* or *enigence of practique reason*) the same can teach vs, or incline vs to no other thing, than to the exercise of Iustice and vprightnesse: and not to offer or performe any thing toward others, saue that which we would be content should be offered or performed toward our selues. For such is the Law of Nature to the minde, as the eye is to the body; and that which according to *David* heareth vs good, that is, the obseruation of those things which leade vs thereby to our last end; which is eternall life: though of themselves not sufficient without faith and grace.

Now, that which is truly and properly the law of Nature, where the corruption is not taken for the Law, is, as aforesaid, the impression of Gods diuine light in men, and a participation of the Law increated and eternall. For without any Law written, the right reason and understanding, which God hath giuen vs, are abilities within our selues, sufficient to giue vs knowledge of the good and euill, which by our gratitude to God, and distribution of right to men, or by the contrary, we prepare and purchase for our selues. For when the Gentiles (saith Saint Paul) which haue not the Law, doe by nature those things contained in the Law: they haue not the Law, are a Law vnto themselves. Now, to loue God by whom we are, and to doe the same right vnto all men, which we desire should be done vnto vs, is an effect of the purest reason: in whose highest Turrets, the quiet of conscience hath made her resting place, and habitation, *In aere altissima rationis quietis habitat*. Therefore, the Gentiles (saith Saint Paul) which shew the effects of the Law written in their hearts, haue their consciences for a witness of those effects: and there probat their thoughts to accesse them.

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And it is most true, that whosoever is not a law unto himselfe ( while hee hopeth to abuse the world by the advantage of hypocrisie) worketh nothing else, but the betraying of his owne soule, by crafty unrighteousnesse, purchasing eternall perdition. For it helpeth us not to hide our corrupt hearts from the worlds eye, seeing from him, who is an infinite eye, we cannot hide them: some Garlands we may gather in this May-game of the world, *Sed folles illi, dum loquimur, arcescit; Those flowers wither while we discourse of their colours, or are in gathering them.* That we should therefore inhabite and dwell within our selves, and become fearefull witnesses of our secrettest euils, did that reuerend Philosopher Pythagoras teach in this golden precept: *Nil turpe committis, neque coram alijs, neque tecum, maxime omnium verere teipsum; Commit nothing foule or dishonest, faith he, neither to bee knowne to others, nor to thine owne heart: but above all men reuerence thine owne conscience.* And this may be a precept of nature and right reason: by which law, men, and all creatures, and bodies, are inclined to those operations, which are answerable to their owne forme; as fire to give heate. Now, as the reasonable minde is the forme of man, so is he aptly moued to those things which his proper forme presenteth vnto him: to wit, to that which right reason offereth; and the acts of right reason, are the acts of vertue: and in the breach of the rules of this reason, is man least excusable: as being a reasonable creature. For all else, both sensitiue, growing, and inanimate, obey the Law which God imposed on them at their first creation.

Gen. 1. The Earth performeth her office, according to the Law of God in nature: for it bringeth forth the bud of the hearbe which feedeth feede, &c. and the Beast, which liueth thereon. Hee gaue a Law to the Seas, and commanded them to keepe their bounds: which they obey. Hee made a decree for the raine, and a way for the lightning of the thunders. He caused the Sunne to moue, and to giue light, and to serue for signes and for seasons. Were these as rebellious as man, for whose sake they were created, or did they once breake the law of their natures and formes; the whole world would then perish, and all returne to the first Chaos, darknesse, and confusion.

By this naturall Law, or Law of humane reason, did Cain perceiue his owne wickednesse, and offence, in the murder of Abel: for he not onely feared the displeasure of God, but the revenge of men: it being written in his reason, that whatsoeuer he performed towards others, the same by others might be done vnto him againe. And that this judgement of well and euill doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternall Law, before the Law written: *Moses* in the person of God witnesseth, Gen. 4. *If thou doe well, shalt thou not be accepted, and if thou doe not well, sinne lieth at thy doore.*

The Schoolemen are large also in this question of the naturall Law: the same being openedly by *Keimerius*, *Antonius*, and *Valentia*. But it is not my purpose to write a Volume of this subiect.

But this Law which *Thomas Aquinas* calleth an act of reason taken properly, and not a habite, as it is an euident naturall iudgement of practique reason: they diuide into indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration (as that good is to be followed, and euill eschewed) and demonstrable, which is euidently proued, out of higher and more vniuersall propositions. Again, as it answereth the naturall appetite, prescribing things to be desired as good, or to be avoided as euill (as of the first, to desire to liue, and to satisfie hunger, &c. and of the second, to eschew paines, sorrow, and death) in this consideration they diuide it, according to the diuers kinds of appetites that are in vs. For in euery man there are three sorts of appetites, which answer the three degrees of naturall Law. The first is, to be that which we are; in which is comprehended the desire, both to liue, and to preferre our being and life, also the desire of issue, with care to provide for them: for the Father after his death liues in his children; and therefore the desire of life comprehends the desire of children. And to these appetites are referred the first indemonstrable lawes of nature, for the most part. For it needs no prooffe, that all creatures should desire to be, to liue, and to be defended, and to liue in their issue, when they cannot in themselves. And as man is a being, *Ens* or *Res*: so he doth desire good, and shun euill. For it is common to all things, to desire things agreeable to their owne natures, which is, to desire their owne good. And so is Good defined by *Aristotle*, to be that which all desire. Which definition *Augustine* vpon the 44. *Psalme* approveth: *Nulli quidem Bonum desinuerunt. Quod omnia expetunt; Rightly haue some men desired Good, or Goodnesse, to be that which all things desire.*

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The second kinde of appetite is of those things which appertaine to vs, as wee haue sense. Whence, by the law of Nature, we desire the delights of euery sense, but with such moderation, as may neither glut vs with satietie, nor hurt vs with excessse. For as Sense it selfe is for the preservation of life and being: so is it meete, euen by the Law of nature, that the sensitiue appetite should not carry vs to the destruction, either of our life or being. And although (seeing both these kinds of appetites are in beasts) we may well say, that Nature hath giuen diuers Lawes vnto them: In which sense the *Civilians* define *Naturall right*, or *Ius naturale*, to be the same which Nature hath taught all liuing creatures. Yet the Schoolemen admit not, that the instincts of beasts can be properly called a Law, but only a *Ius*, or *Right*, which is the matter, and aime of euery Law. For so they distinguish it; where *Vipian* affirmeth, that *Ius naturale* is that, which Nature hath taught all liuing creatures. In this place (saith *Valentia*) *Ius* is not to be taken for a Law, but for the matter of the Law. And yet where *Vipian* also distinguisheth the right belonging to liuing creatures in generall, from the right belonging to men; calling the one *Ius naturae*, the other *Ius gentium*: the Diuines vnderstand the law of nature more largely, that is, for all euident dictates, precepts, or biddings of diuine reason: both in beasts and men; and restraints the law of Nations to a kinde of humane right.

The third appetite is of those things which appertaine properly to man, as hee is a liuing creature reasonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for our felices: and the Lawes of this appetite are the Commandements of our Religion.

Now although there are many other branches and diuisions of this law of nature answering the diuision of matter, which it prescribeth, and as manifold, as the morall actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth: yet is the law of nature but one law, according to *Aquinas*: first, because it hath one fountaine or roote in the naturall or moriue faculty, which is but one, stirring vnto good, and declining the contrary: secondly, because all is contained in that generall naturall precept, That good is to be followed, and ill auoyded: and thirdly, because all the parts are reduced to one and the same last end.

30 That this law of nature bindeth all creatures, it is manifest: and chiefly man; because he is indued with reason; in whom as reason groweth, so this band of observing the law of nature increaseth, *Postquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tunc fit quod scriptum est, Adhuc Basilius niente mandato, peccatum reuixit; When reason grew to perfection, then it came to passe, which was written by Saint Paul, when the Commandement came, sinne reuined.* Neither is it a small warrant for this law of nature, when those which breake the same, are said by Saint Paul, To be deliuered ouer into a reprobate sense (or minde) *to doe those things which are not conuenient*: and againe, that their consciences beare witness, and their thoughts accuse them. For, though this law of nature stretch not to euery particular: as to command fasting and the like: yet, it commandeth in generall all good, and whatsoeuer is agreeable to right and reason. And therefore, said *Damaschene*; *Homines facti sunt mali, declinando in id quod contra naturam est; Men (saith he) are made euill, by declining vnto that which is contrary to nature*: and Saint *Augustine*, *Omne vitium natura necat, ac per hoc contra naturam est; Euery vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrary vnto it.*

Neither yet are the rules of this law of nature so strait, but that they suffer exceptions in some particulars. For whereas by this law all men are borne Lords of the earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of portions, according to vnequall merit: by taking from the euill, and giuing to the good: and by permitting and commanding that all men shall enioy the fruites of their labours to themselves: according to the rules of iustice and equitie.

39 And though the Law of nature command, that all things be restored which are left in trust, yet in some causes, this her law shee suffereth to be broken: as to denie a mad man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while he was sober. But the vniuersall principles can no more be changed, than the decrees of God are alterable: who according to Saint Paul, abideth faithfull, and cannot denie himselfe.

## §. VII. Of the written Law of GOD.

**A**fter the eternall, and naturall, the law *Positive* or imposed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, or rather explication of the former, hath two kinds: Diuine and Humane. Again, the diuine positive law is double, the Olde and New: The Old was giuen vnto *Moses* in Mount *Sinai* or *Horeb*, at such time as the world had stood 5513. whole yeeres: and in the 67. day of this yeere, when as *Alcathades* or *Ascales* gouerned the *Affrians*, *Marathus* the *Scythians*, *Triopus* the *Argines*, *Cecrops* *Athens*, and *Acherres* *Egypt*: to wit, after the promise to *Abraham*, 430. yeeres. And this it seemes, was the first written law which the world receiued. For the very word *Nomes*, signifying a law, was not then, nor long after inuented by the *Gracians*: no not in *Homers* time, who liued after the fall of *Troy* 80. yeeres at least: and *Troy* it selfe was cast downe 335. yeeres, after *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. This Law, it pleased God to ingraue in stone, that it might remaine a lasting booke of his exprest will in the Church; and that the Priests and people might haue, whereof to meditate, till the coming of Christ: and that for these Children of *Israel*, though bred among an Idolatrous people in *Egypt*, might be without excuse: the slight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

The reason knowne to vs why this Law was not written before, is, that when the people were few, and their liues long, the *Elders* of Families might easily without any written Law, instruct their owne Children: and yet as they increased, so doubtlesse they had, besides the law of Nature, many precepts from God, before the Law written. But now at length, forasmuch as the law of Nature did not define all kinds of good, and euill; nor condemne every sinne in particular: nor sufficiently terrifie the consciences of offenders: nor so expound diuine worship, as for those after ages was required, who gaue euery day lesse authority than other to the naturall Law; In these respects it was necessary, that the Law should be written, and set before the eyes of all men: which before, they might, but would not read, in their owne consciences. The *Schoolmen*, and the Fathers before them, inlarge the causes and necessity, why the Law was written, whereof these are the chiefeft.

The first, for restraining of sinne, directly grounded vpon this place of *Dauid*, *The law of the Lord is undefiled, conuertyng soules: The testimonies of the Lord are faithfull, giuing wisdom to children.* For the humane Law, saith Saint *Augustine*, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or punishment; seeing thereby it might take away something seeming necessary, and hinder common profit: but the diuine law written, forbiddeth euery euill, and therefore by *Dauid* it is called vndefiled.

Secondly, it serueth for the direction of our mindes. For the Lawes of men can onely take knowledge of outward actions, but not of internall motions, or of our disposition and will: and yet it is required, that wee be no lesse cleane in the one, than in the other. And therefore were the words *conuertyng our soules*, added by *Dauid*: wherein are all our outward acts first generated, according to the *Cabalists*, *Altiomes hominum nulle essent, nisi prius in mente discerneretur: The actions of men (say they) would be none at all, were they not first conceived in the minde.*

Thirdly, it leadeth vs to the knowledge of truth, which by reason of diuersitie of opinion, and difference of peculiar Lawes among sundrie Nations, wee cannot be assured of; but the Law of GOD bindeth all men, and is without error: and therefore also said *Dauid*, *That the testimony of the Law of God is faithfull: giuing wisdom to children.*

## §. VIII. Of the unwritten Law of God, giuen to the Patriarkes by Tradition.

**N**O W, that in all this long tract of time, betwene the creation and the written Law, the world and people of God were left altogether to the law of reason and nature, it doth not appeare. For the *Patriarkes* of the first Age receiued many precepts from God himselfe, and whatsoeuer was first imposed by *Adam*, the same was obserued by *Seth*, who instructed *Enos*: from whom it descended to *Noah*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Joseph*, and *Moses*. Yea many particular Commandements afterward written, were formerly imposed and deliuered ouer by Tradition; which kinde of teaching the *Iewes* afterward called

called *Cabala*, or *Receptio*: precepts receiued from the mouth of their *Priests* and *Elders*: to which the *Iewes* after the law written, added the interpretation of secret mysteries, reserved in the bosomes of their *Priests*, and vnlawfull to be vttered to the people. But the true *Cabala* was not to be concealed from any; as being indeed the diuine law revealed to the *Patriarkes*, and from them deliuered to the posterity, when as yet it was vnwritten. The Commandements which God gaue vnto *Adam* in the beginning, were, that hee should impose names to all beasts, according to their natures; to whose perfection of vnderstanding they were sufficiently knowne. For finding the reason of his owne name *Adam*, or *Adamah*, Earth, orred clay, he gaue other names significant, not onely to beasts, but to his Children and Nephewes, which afterward his issues imitated; as the name of *Seth* signifieth, as some take it, one that was laid for the ground or foundation of the Church, or rather, one giuen in recompence for *Abel* that was slaine: and *Enosh* signifieth man or miserable; &c. Further, God commanded *Adam* to till the ground, and to liue by the labour thereof: God also gaue him the choise of all fruits, but the forbidden; and in *Adam* also was marriage first instituted: all men thence after being commanded to cohabit with their Wiues, rather than with their Father or Mother.

That murder and cruelty was also forbidden, both before the law written, and before the flood it selfe, it is manifest. God himselfe making it appeare, that it was one of the greatest causes of the destruction of mankind by the generall flood. For God said vnto *Noah*, *An end of all flesh is come before me: for the earth is filled with cruelty through them: and behold, I will destroy them* \* *from the earth.* That offence therefore, for which all perished, could not be vnknown to all that perished: Gods mercy and iustice interposing between the vntaught, and reuenge. This commandement God repeated to *Noah*, after the waters were dried vp from the earth: *Who so sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God hath he made man.*

Also the law of honouring and reuerencing our parents, was obserued among the Faithfull, and the contrary punished by the fathers curse: as, *Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be vnto his brethren.* Again, we finde that the vnnatural sin of the *Sodomites* was punished in the highest degree, as with fire from heauen. The sinne of Adulterie and Rausishment, was before the law no lesse detested than the rest, as appeareth by that reuenge, taken for *Dina*'s forcing: and by the iudgement which *Iuda* gaue against *Tamar*, That she should be burnt: and by the repentance of *Pharaoh* & *Amalech*, against whom this sentence was pronounced, *Thou art but dead, because of the woman which thou hast taken: for she is a mans wife.* To these we may adde the ordinance of Sacrifice, of distinction of cleane and vncleane beasts; of Circumcision, of the brother to raise vp seed to his brother that left a widow childlesse, and diuers other constitutions, partly Morall, and partly Ceremoniall, which being deliuered before the written law, were after by it confirmed. So that this Diuine Law imposed, of which the Law of *Moses* containeth that which is called *The old Testament*, may be said, not onely to haue bene written in the hearts of 40 men, before it was engrauen in stone, but also in substance to haue bene giuen in precept to the *Patriarkes*. For as *S. Paul* witnesseth of himselfe, *I knew not sinne, but by the Law*: so euer the Law naturallly preceded, and went before offences, though written after offences committed. It is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by some kinde of vnwritten law; the *Angels* intuitiue; Men by reason; Beasts by sense and instinct, without discourse; Plants by their vegetative powers; and things inanimate by their necessary motions, without sense or precept.

## §. IX. Of the Morall, Indiciall, and Ceremoniall Law, with a note prefixed, How the Scripture speaketh not alway in one sense, when it nameth the Law of Moses.

**N**O W as the word (Law) in generall, as is aforesaid, hath diuers significations, and is taken for all doctrine which doth prescribe and restraine: so the Law, called the Law of *Moses* in particular, is taken by *S. Paul* diuersly; as sometime for all the old Testament, as, *Now we know what ouer the Law* (saith it) *saith to them which are vnder the Law.* When it is opposed, or differenced from the *Prophets* and *Psalmes*, it is there taken for the five Bookes of *Moses*. For so *S. Luke* hath distinguished them, as, *All must bee fulfilled* which are written of me in the Law, in the *Prophets*, and in the *Psalmes*.

\* The common reading is *can* *terra*: but God did not destroy the earth: and why may not this exposition in this place, haue the same force, which it hath according to *Leuitus*, Gen. 4. 1. Item 4. 4. & *Deut.* 3. 4. especially, seeing these words are but a repetition of that which is said, verse 2. *Delebo hominibus superfluitatem.* Gen. 6. Gen. 9. 21. Gen. 14. 25. Gen. 38. 24.

Rom. 3. 19.

Luc. 24. 44.



When it is opposed to the *Gospel*, then it is taken for the Law Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall; as, *Therefore we conclude, that a man is iustified by Faith, without the works of the Law.*

When it is opposed to *Grace*, it signifieth the declaration of Gods wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremity of the law, and *summum ius*; as, *For ye are not under the Law, but under Grace.*

When it is opposed to the Truth, namely, where the Ceremonies or signes are taken for the things signified; as the *Sacrifice for Christ*, and the like: then it signifieth but shadowes and figures; as, *The Law was giuen by Moses, but grace & truth came by Iesus Christ.*

Lastly, when it is opposed to the time of *Christs* comming, it signifieth the whole polity of the *Jewes* Common-weale; as, *before faith came, we were kept under the Law, &c.* Or the Law of the order and institution of the *Aaronicall Priesthood*; as, *All the Prophets and the Law, or the Priests prophesied vnto Iohn.* And if the *Priesthood* be changed, the Law also, to wit, of the *Priesthood*, must needs be changed.

The word (*Law*) is sometime also taken by the Figure *Metonymia*, for Interest, Authority, and Empire, or for constraining force; as, *The Law of the Spirit of life, the law or the force of sinne and death, the enforcements of conscience, &c.*

But the *Written Law of Moses*, or the Law of the Olde Testament, of which we now speake, is thus defined: The Law is a doctrine, which was first put into the minds of men by God, and afterwards written by *Moses*, or by him repeated, commanding Holinesse and Iustice, promising eternall life conditionally, that is, to the obseruers of the Law, and threatening death to those which breake the law in the least. For, according to *S. James*, *who soeuer shall keepe the whole, and faileth in one point, is guilty of all.* The definition vsed by the *Schoolmen*, in which both the Old and New Law are comprehended, is thus giuen. *Lex diuina est diuinum decretum, hominibus prescribens modum necessarium ut apte peruenire possint ad supernaturalem beatitudinem, que est ultimus humane vite finis.* The diuine Law (say they) is the decree of God, prescribing vnto men a necessary meane, whereby they may aptly attaine supernaturall beatitude, which is the last end of mans life.

The law of *Moses* hath three parts: Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall. The Morall part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that euill to be avoided, in particular; as also it declareth, for whose sake it is to be done; as, *Do this, for I am the Lord*; whereas the law of nature commands it but in generall. Againe, the Morall law entreateth of vertue and goodnesse; the Ceremoniall of diuine seruice, and of holinesse; (for externall worship, and the order of hallowing our selues vnto God is called Ceremony) and the Iudiciall teacheth the particular government, fit for the Common-wealth of the *Jews*, and prescribeth orders for iustice and equity. And therefore was it said of *Saint Paul*, *The commandment is iust, holy, and good*: iust, or iustice being referred to the Iudiciall: holy, or holinesse to the Ceremoniall; good, or honest to the Morall. The Iudiciall part is touching the government of the Common-wealth of the *Jewes*, in which many things must needs be proper to that estate, as such as were instituted either in respect of place or persons.

The Ceremoniall is diuided into foure parts, according to the foure kindes of things of which it speaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, Holy things, Sacraments, and Obseruances. To Sacrifices belong beasts, and the fruites of the earth; to Holy things the Tabernacle, Temple, Vessels, Altars and the like; to Sacraments, Circumcision, the Passouer, and such like. For Obseruances, they consisted either in prohibition of certaine meates, as not to eate the blood and fat of beasts; or in some other outward things, as in washings, purifyinges, annointings, and attire, as not to wear mixt garments of Linnen and Woollen: as also it prohibiteth other vnaturall and vnproper commixtions, as, *Thou shalt not yoke together in a Plough an Oxe and an Asse*, or cast mingled seed in one field. It also exhorteth to naturall compulsion, and forbiddeth crueltie euen to beasts, birds, and plants, whereby the creatures of God might be destroyed without any profit to man. For so some reſerue these precepts, *Thou shalt not kill the bird sitting on her nest; nor beate downe the first buds of the tree, nor muzzell the labouring Oxe*, and the like, to the Ceremoniall Law.

Neither is there any of these three parts of the Law of *Moses*, but it hath as yet in some respects, the same power which it had before the comming of *Christ*. For the Morall liueth still, and is not abrogated or taken away: sauing in the ability of iustifying or condemning; for therein are wee commanded to loue and worship God: and to vie charitie

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one towards another: which for euershall be required at our hands. Therein also are we in particular directed, how this ought to be done: which power of directing by speciall rules and precepts of life, it retaineth still. For these things also are commanded in both Testaments to be obserued: though principally for the feare of God in the one, and for the loue of God in the other.

The Ceremoniall also liueth in the things which it fore-signified. For the shadow is not destroyed, but perfected, when the body it selfe is represented to vs. Besides, it still liueth, in that it giueth both instruction and testimony of *Christ*, and in that it giueth direction to the Church, for some Ceremonies and Types of holy signification, which are still expedient; though in a farre fewer number than before *Christs* comming, and in a far lesse degree of necessitie.

Lastly, the Iudiciall liueth in substance, and concerning the end, and the naturall and vniuersall equitie thereof.

But the Morall faileth in the point of iustification, the Ceremoniall as touching the vse and externall obseruation (because *Christ* himselfe is come, of whom the ceremonies were signes and shadowes) and the Iudiciall is taken away, as farre forth as it was peculiar to the *Jewes* Common-weale and policie.

#### §. X. A proposall of nine other points to be considered, with a touch of the five first.

AS for that which remaineth in the generall consideration of the diuine written Law, it may in effect be reduced into these nine points.

1. The dignity and worth of the Law.
2. The Maiesty of the Law-giuer.
3. The property and peculiarity of the people receiuing it.
4. The conueniency of the time in which it was giuen.
5. The efficacie and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the old and new Testament.
7. The end and vse of the Law.
8. The sense and vnderstanding of the Law.
9. The durance and continuance thereof.

1. The dignity of the Law is sufficiently proued by *S. Paul*, in these words: *Wherefore the Law is holy, and the Commandment is holy, and iust, and good*: which three attributes are referred, as aforesaid, to the Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall.

2. The Maiesty of the Law-giuer is approued in all his creatures: who as he hath giuen all things their liues and beings, so he onely gaue the Law, who could onely giue the end and reward promised to wit, the saluation of mankind: but he gaue it not to *Moses* immediately, but by the ministry of Angels: as it is said: *And the Law was ordained by Angels, in the hand of a Mediator*: and in the Acts, *He gaue the Law by the ordinance of Angels*.

3. The propriety and peculiarity of the people, receiuing the Law, is in three respects. First, in that they were prepared. Secondly, in that they were a Nation apart and disaffected: Thirdly, in that they were the children of the promise made to *Abraham*. Prepared they were, because they had the knowledge of one God, when all other Nations were Idolaters. A Nation apart and seuered they were, because of Gods choice and election. Children of the promise they were, for the promise was made by God vnto *Abraham* & his seed: not vnto his feedes, as to *Eſau* and *Jacob*, but to his seed, as to *Jacob* or *Israel* singularly, of whom *Christ*. Now to *Abraham* and his seed were the promises made: hee saith not to the seeds, as speaking of many, but to thy seed, as of one, which is *Christ*.

4. The conueniency of the time, in which it was giuen, is noted by *S. Augustine*: that it was about the middle time, betwene the Law of Nature, and Grace: the Law of Nature continued from *Adam* to *Moses*: the Law written in the Commandments receiued by *Moses* in the worlds yeere 2514. continued to the Baptisme of *Iohn*: from which time, begun the Law of Grace, which shall continue to the worlds end. Other reasons for the conueniency are formerly giuen.

5. The fit consideration is of the efficacie of this Law, the same being a disposition to,

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or signe of our Iustification: but not by it selfe sufficient, but as a figure of *Christ* in ceremonies, and a preparation to righteousness in morall precepts. For through the passion of *Christ* were finnes forgiven, who taken away the finnes of the world: and therefore *S. Paul* calleth the rudiments of the law *beggerly and weake*; beggerly as containing no grace, weake as not able to forgive and iustifie. The blood of Goats and Bulles, and the sacrifices of an Heifer could onely cleanse the body; but they were figures of *Christ*'s blood, which doth cleanse the inward soule. For if the law could iustifie, then *Christ* died in vaine.

§. XI. Of the sixt point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the Old and New Testament.

The Old and New Testament differ in name, and in the meane and way proposed for attaining to saluation; as the Olde by workes, the New by grace: but in the thing it selfe, or object and remote end, they agree: which is mans happinesse and saluation.

The Old Testament, or Law, or Letter, or the Witnesse of Gods will, was called the Old, because it preceded the New Testament, which is an explication of the Old: from which the New taketh witnesse. Yet the New of more excellencie, in that it doeth more lively expresse, and openly and directly delineate the wayes of our redemption. It is also called the Old, to shew that in part it was to be abrogated: *In that he saith the New Testament, he hath abrogated the Old.* For the Old law, though greatly extolled by the *Prophets*, and delivered with wonderfull miracles, yet was it constituted in a policy perishable: but the New was given in a promise of an everlastig Kingdome, and therefore called in the *Apocalypse*, a Testament and Gospel for ever during.

The Old Testament is called the Law, because the first and cheefe part is the Law of *Moses*, of which the *Prophets* and *Psalms* are Commentaries, explicating that Law.

The New Testament is called the Gospell, because the first and cheefe part thereof, is the glad tidings of our Redemption: the other Bookes, as the Epistles, or Letters of the *Apostles*, and the Acts or story of the *Apostles*, are plentifull interpreters thereof. The word *Evangelion*, signifying a ioyfull, happy, and prosperous message, or (as *Homer* vsed it) the reward given to the Messenger, bringing ioyfull newes. It is also sometime taken for a sacrifice, offered after victory, or other pleasing successe, as by *Xenophon*. In the Scriptures it hath three significations. First, for glad tydings in generall, as in *Esay* the 52. verse 7. concerning peace: Secondly, by an excellencie it is restrained, to signifie that most ioyfull message of Saluation, as in *Luc.* 2. 10. whence also by figure it is taken for the History of *Christ*: and so we understand the four Gospels.

Lastly, for the preaching and diuulging the doctrine of *Christ*, as *1 Cor.* 9. 14. & *2 Cor.* 8. 18.

The agreement of both Testaments (taken, I thinke, as they are diuided in volumes) is by *Darius* comprised in these foure.

In their Author.

In the substance of the Couenant, or things promised.

In the foundation, to wit, *Christ*.

In the effects, that is, in righteousness and iustification,

In the Author they agree, because both are of God, and therefore both one Testament and will of God in substance of doctrine. For as there was euer one Church, so was there one Couenant, one Adoption, and one Doctrine. As the old law doth point at *Christ*, so doth the new Law teach *Christ*: the olde proposing him as to come, the new as already come; one and the same thing being promised in both; both tending to one, and the same end: euen the saluation of our soules: which according to *S. Peter*, is the end of our Faith. For although it be said, that *Moses* did promise by obseruing the Law, an earthly Kingdome, a land flowing with milke and hony, the propagation of children, and other worldly blessings: yet all these were but figures to teach, and pledges to assure the Fathers of those spirituall blessings by *Christ*; for by the earthly, he raised their minds to the hope of heavenly. And the Fathers notwithstanding these worldly goods, did yet acknowledge themselves strangers, and pilgrims, expecting the heavenly *Hierusalem*: according to this place of the *Hebrewes*: *All these dyed in faith, and retained not the promises, but saw them a farre off, and beleueed them, confessing that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth. To which purpose also Saint Augustine: Omnia pauci veterem legem intelligunt, non attendentes*

cap. 11. c. 13.

Lib. de Ciuit.

pet. 18. c. 13.

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studentes per promissa terrena, aeterna promissi: Few (saith he) do understand the old law: not attending that by things earthly eternall are promised. And *S. Hierome*: *Noluit Deus passere In syon, cap. 10. 9.*

*Iudas: more pecorum corporalibus donis epibusque, ut Iudei somniant; God would not feed the Jews as beasts with corporal gifts and riches, as themselves dreame. And this may be gathered out of Gods owne words, Ego sum Deus tuus; & ero vobis in Deum; I am thy God; and I will be your God. For the words, I will be your God, proue that it was not for the present, or for perishable things, that God gaue them this promise, but in respect of the future: to wit, the safetie of their soules. For as God created both body and soule, so hath he of his goodness, not left the better part vncares for, which liueth euer.*

The agreement betweene the Old and New Testament in substance, inferres also the agreement in foundation. For *Christ* is called the foundation of the law, laide both by the *Apostles* and *Prophets*; in whom all the promises of God in the Olde and New, are assured: the Fathers hauing eaten the same spirituall foode, which we cate in our Sacraments.

The agreement in effects is, in that the knowledge of our sinne and miserie, which is taught vs by the law, maketh way, and as it were, serueth in subordination to the Gospell, the proper effects whereof are mercy and saluation: to which the Law serueth as an introduction (for to those which acknowledge their sin and misery, God sheweth his mercy and saluation) may be said to agree with the Gospell in the effect. For otherwise if we so seuer the Law from subordination to the Gospell, the effects are very different: the one sheweth the way of righteousness by workes, the other by faith: the Law woundeth, the Gospell healeth: the Law terrifieth, the Gospell allureth; *Moses* accuseth, *Christ* defendeth: *Moses* condemneth, *Christ* pardoneth. The Old restraineth the hand, the New the minde. *Data est lex qua non sanaret* (saith *Saint Augustine*) *sed que agrotantes probaret*: The Law was given, not to helpe, but to discover sickness: and *Saint Chrysostome*, *Data est lex, ut se homo inueniret, non ut moribus sanaretur, sed ut medicus quaeretur*: The Law was given that man might finde and know his owne imperfection: not that his disease was thereby holpen, but that he might then seeke out the Physician. For *Christ* came to saue the world, which the law had condemned. And as *Moses* was but a seruant, and *Christ* a Son; so the greatest benefit was referred to be brought, as by the worthiest person, saith *Cyril*: for this law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

Heb. 7.

§. XII. Of the rest of the points proposed.

The seuenth consideration is of the end, and vse of the law: which is to bring vs to *Christ*: for finding no righteousness in our owne workes, wee must seeke it in some other. But this is the last, and remote, and vntoost end: the next and proper end of the law, is to prescribe righteousness, and to exact absolute and perfect obedience to God. *Leuit.* 18. c. *Cursus est he which continueth not in all the things of this law.*

The second end of the Law, is to render vs inexcusable before God: who knowing so perfect a law, doe not keepe it: the law requiring a perfect and intire, not a broken or halfe obedience: but both inward and outward righteousness, and performance of duty to God and Men.

The third and cheefe end of the law is, as hath beene said, to send vs to *Christ*, and his grace, being in our selues condemned and lost. For the law was delivered with thunder, and with a most violent and fearfull tempest, threatening eternall death.

The fourth end of the law was to designe, and preserve, the place of the Church and true people of God: and to holde them in one Discipline, and awe, till the coming of *Christ*: after whom the Church was to be dispersed ouer the whole world.

These be the ends of the Morall law. The end and vse of the Ceremoniall law, is to confirme the truth of *Christ*, and the new Testament. The vse of the Iudiciall, to teach vs humilliequiry, and right, whereto we must conforme our selues.

The sense and vnderstanding of the Law is double, literall and spirituall: by the literall we are taught the worship and seruice of God: by the spirituall, the figures and my-  
thicall fore-speakings of *Christ*.

Lastly, for the durance or continuance of the Law, the same had being vntill the passion of *Christ*: before which time, and while *Christ* taught in the world, both the old and the new were in force. But after that the true sacrifice was offered vpon the Altar of the Crosse, it came

\* Gen. 49. 10. The Scepter shall not depart from Iudas, nor a Law-giver from between his feet, vntill Shiloh come.

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Crosse, then the Jewish sacrifices and ceremonies, which were Types and figures of *Christ* (*Christ* being the body of those shadows) ceased to binde the consciences any longer: the mystery of our redemption being now by *Christ* and in him finished. In token whereof, the vail of the Temple rent asunder; noting that the ceremoniall vail and shadows were now to be removed, not that the morall law of the Commandements was hereby abolished, or weakened at all: otherwise than that it had not power to condemne according to the Jewish doctrine, as aforesaid. For the obseruing of the law was by *Christ* himselfe feuerly commanded: our loue towards God being thereby to be witnessed. And herein *David* so much reioyced, as hee preferred the obseruation of the Law, before all that the world could yeeld. *In via testimoniorum tuorum delectatus sum, sicut in omnibus diuitijs: I haue bene delighted in thy law, as in all manner of riches: And againe, The law of thy mouth is good for me above thousands of gold and silver. This is the loue of God* (saith *S. Iohn*) *that we keepe his Commandement.* And that there is no excuse for the neglect of the things commanded in the law, God himselfe in *Deuteronomy* witnesseth. *This Commandement* (saith he) *which I command thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither is it farre off. It is not in heaven that thou shouldst say, who shall goe up for vs to heaven, and bring it vs, and cause vs to heare it that we may do it: neither is it beyond the Sea, that thou shouldst say, who shall gaue me the Sea for vs, and bring it vs? &c. but the word is very neere vnto thee, euen in thy mouth, and in thy heart for to do it. Behold* (saith *Moses*) *I haue set before thee this day, life and death, good and euill, in that I command thee this day, to loue the Lord thy God, to walke in his waies, and to keepe his Commandements, and his Ordinances, and his Lawes, that thou mayst liue, &c.* Neither is it said in vaine in *Saint Matthew*: *Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serua mandata; If thou wilt enter into life keepe the Commandements:* and in *S. Iohn*, *Sci quia mandatum eius vita eterna est; I know that his Commandement is life everlasting.* And if this bee the charitie of God, or of Men towards God, as *S. Iohn* hath taught, to wit, that we keepe his Commandements: certainly hee is but a lyar, that professeth to loue God, and neglecteth to obserue the word of his will, with all his power. And though I confesse it not in mans ability, without the speciall grace of God, to fulfill the law (*Christ* only as man excepted) yet if wee rightly consider the mercifull care which God had of his people in those his Commandements, we shall finde in our selues, how wee borrow liberty, and rather let slip our affections, and voluntarily loosen them from the chaines of obedience, to which the word of God and diuine reason hath fastened them, than that wee are excusable by those difficulties and impossibilities, which our minde (greedy of libertie) proposeth to it selfe. For this is the loue of God, that we keepe his Commandements; & his Commandements are not grieuous. *1 Iohn 5. 12.* and if wee examine euery precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the ballance of our consciences: it is not hard for any man to iudge, by what easie persuasions, we steale away from our owne power, as vnwilling to vse it against our pleasing desires.

§. XIII. Of the severall Commandements of the Decalogue: and that the difficulty is not in respect of the Commandements, but by our defaults.

For by the first we are commanded to acknowledge, serue, and loue one God. Now, whereby are we inticed to the breach of this precept? Seeing euery reasonable man may conceiue and know, that infinite power cannot be diuided into many infinities: and that it is of necessitie, that by this almighty Vnitie, all things haue bin caused, and are continued. And if brute beasts had this knowledge of their Creator, and how in his providence he hath also provided for euery of them, which giueth to beasts their foode, &c. there is no doubt but that they would also serue and loue him only.

The second precept is the forbidding of Idolatry, and worship of Images: the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the inuention of an ill intent in the beginning, seeing this is generally true: *Omnia mala exempla bonis inijs oria sunt; All ill examples did spring and arise from good beginnings.* For their first erection was to keep the memory of men famous for their vertue: vntill (saith *Lactantius*) the diuell crept into them, and (hauing blotted out the first intent) working in weak and ignorant foules, changed the nature of the one, and the reason of the other, to serue himselfe thereby. For what reasonable man, if he be not forsaken of God, will call on those blinde, deafe, dumbe, and dead stocks, more

worthlesse

worthlesse then the most worthlesse of those, that hauing life and reason, implore their helpe, which haue neither: yea, of more vild prize and baser, than the basest of beasts, who haue sense and estimation? For what doe we thereby (saith the Wisdome of *Salamon*) *but call to the weake for helpe, pray to the dead for life, require aide of him that hath no experience, assistance in our iourneys of him that cannot goe, and successe in our affaires of him that hath no power?* And whether the Idolater, or the blocke, to which he prayeth, bee more senselesse, *David* maketh a doubt. For (saith he) *they that make them are like vnto them, and so are all they that trust in them.* *Psalm 135. 18.*

The breach of the third Commandement, is neither perswaded by worldly pleasure, nor worldly profit: the two greatest inchanters of mortall men. No, wee are no way allured to this horrible disdain of God, vnlesse the hate of good men, and Gods curse, be accounted an aduantage. For as our corruptest nature giues vs nothing towards it, so can it satisfie no one appetite, except euilasting sorrow, and hell dwell in our desire. And therefore: this strange custome hath the diuell brought vp among men, without all subtletie of argument, or cunning perswasion, taking thereby the greatest and most scornfull aduantage ouer vs, For slaughter satisfieth hatred, Theft giues satisfaction to need; Adultery to lust, Oppression to couetousnesse: but this contemptuous offence of blasphemy, and the irruent abuse of Gods name, as it giueth no helpe to any of our worldly afflictions, so the most saluage Nations of the world doe not vse it.

The fourth Commandement, to keepe the Sabbath day holy, hath neither pain, burthen, nor inconuenience. For it giueth rest to the laborer, and consolation to their Masters. And that this law was imposed on man for his benefit, *Moses* teacheth in the reason of the law: as in *Exod. 23. 12.* *And in the seventh day thou shalt rest, that thine Oxe and thine Asse may rest, and the sonne of thy maide, and the stranger may be refreshed.*

The first of the second Table to honour our Parents, with whom wee are one and the same, is a gratitude which nature it selfe hath taught vs towards them, who after God gaue vs life and being, haue begotten vs, and borne vs, cherished vs in our weak and helpelesse infancie, and bestowed on vs the haruest and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore, in the Temporall and Iudiciall ordinances, curling of parents, or the offering of them violence, was made death.

The next is, that thou shalt not Murther, that is, thou shalt not doe the actes following the affections of hatred. For the law of God, and after it our owne lawes, and in effect the law of all Nations, haue made difference between slaughter casual, and furious. *Affectionum tuarum* (saith *Bracton*) *imponit nomen operi tuo; It is the affection and will that makes the worke such as it is.* And certainly, whofoeuer cannot forbear to commit murther, hath neither the grace of God, nor any vse of his owne will.

The third of the second Table, commands vs from Adultery. Now, if the preservation of Virginitie haue bene possible, for thousands of Men and Women, who in all Ages haue mastered their fleshly desires, and haue returned chaste to their graue: It cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbear the dishonour and iniurie, which wee offer to others by such a violation, seeing marriage is permitted by the lawes of God, and Men, to all that affect it. And there is no man liuing whom the desire of beauty and forme hath so constrained, but he might with ease forbear the prosecution of this ill: did not himselfe giue sucke to this Infant, and nourish warmth till it grow to strong heate, heat till it turne to fire, and fire to flame.

The fourth of the second Table, is, that we shall not steale. And if that kinde of violent robbery had bene vsed in *Moses* time, which many Ruffians practise now a dayes in *England*, and to the dishonor of our Nation more in *England*, than in any Region of the world among *Christians*; out of doubt, he would haue censured them by death, and not by restitution, though quadruple. For I speake not of the poore and miserable foules, whom hunger and extreme necessitie inforceth, but of those detested Theeues, who to maintaine themselves Lord-like, assault, rob, and wound the Merchant, Artificer, and Labouring man; or breake by violence into other mens houses, and spend in Brauerie, Drunkenness, and vpon Harlots, in one day, what other men sometime haue laboured for all their liues: impoverishing whole Families, and taking the bread and foode from the mowthes of their children. And that this Commandement might easily be obserued; it would soone appeare, if Princes would resolute, but for a few yeeres to pardon none. For, it is the hope of life, and the argument of sparing the first offence, that incourage

these

2. Iohn 5.

Deut. 30. 11. 12.  
13. & 14.  
Rom. 6. 10. 27.  
7. 8.

Cap. 9. 17.  
Cap. 12. 50.

Psalm 147. 9.

Gloss in vtrb.  
Caluina.

Wisd. 13. 2. 19.

Psalm 35. 18.

Nuptie replent  
terram, Viri  
nuptie parantur  
vini.

these Hell-hounds. And if every man presume to be pardoned once, there is no State or Common-wealth, but these men would in a short time impouerish or destroy it.

The fifth Commandment of this second Table, is, the prohibition of false witness; from which if men could not forbear, all surety of estate and life were taken away. And so much did God detest a false witness, and a false accuser, especially in matters criminal, that the law ordained him to suffer the same death or punishment, which he sought by falsehood to lay on his brother.

The last of the ten Commandments forbiddeth vs to covet any thing, which belongeth to another man, either the bodies of their wives for concupiscence, or their goods for desire of gain. And this precept seemeth the hardest for men to observe; so esteemed by reason of our frail affections: and yet if wee iudge hereof rightly, it may be doubted whether it extend to all our inconsiderate fancies and vaine thoughts. For, although it be not ealie to master all our sudden passions, yet we may restrain and hinder the growing, and farther increase, if we please to intend our strength, and seeke for grace. How the word *Coveting* reacheth to all those it is to bee considered. For *Concupiscencia*, according to some, *Est effrenatus habendi appetitus; An unbridled, or unrestrained appetite of having*: And as touching such an appetite, we cannot excuse our selves by any our naturall frailty, or vnadvised error; But as I suppose, the word *Concupiscence* is more largely taken, either for a determinate and vnbridled euill intent, or for some vrging inclination therunto. All the question is of the latter sort: which is, *Actus imperfectus, id est, non deliberatus ratione, que est principium proprium actus boni aut vitiosi*, Such passions, or inclinations are imperfect acts, that is, not deliberated upon by reason, which is the proper principle of a good or vicious action. And sure, it may seeme, that so long as we resist such motions, they harme vs not: as they say, *Quamdiu refragmur nihil nocent: nocent autem cum eas dominari permittimus*; As long as wee giue no assent vnto them, it is thought by some that they hurt vs not, and that then only they hurt, when we suffer them to beare sway. But these men, as it seemes, make nothing forbidden in this tenth precept, but what hath bene forbidden in the other: for in euery Commandment, not onely the outward act, but also the inward assent vnto euill, though it breake not out into acte, is forbidden: therefore, that we may know the difference between this Commandment and the rest, the distinction of desires is to be held: that some are with assent, and vnbridled; others bridled, and without assent. For to euent the Morall Philosopher can tell vs, that the Continent man hath euill desires, but without assent (for they are bridled by the strength of right reason) as on the other side the Incontinent hath good desires, but restrained and suppressed by contrary passions. The euill desires when they are accompanied with assent, are in euery Commandment forbidden, together with the outward act: and therefore, if we will haue any thing proper to this Commandment, wee must needs say, that the euill desires of the Continent man (that is, even those which wee resist and bridle) are here forbidden. For though he that bridleth his euill desires, bee much better than hee that yeeldeth vnto them: yet such a man, euen according to the Heathen Philosopher, is not worthy the name of a vertuous man. For Aristotle himselfe makes *Continencia*, not to be vertue, but onely a degree vnto it: confessing, that though the Continent man doe well in bidding his euill affections, yet he doth not all, seeing he ought not so much as to haue them at all. Neither is it much more, that true diuinity deliuereth touching this matter. For, as he saith, that in the continent man the hauiug of these euill desires, though he resist them, is the cause that he cannot be called a vertuous man: so we, that the hauiug of them is a sinne. Only in this we excell him here: that we are able out of diuinity to giue the true reason of this doctrine: which is, that euery one sinneth, that doeth not loue God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth, that the euill desires of the Continent man; that is, of him which bridleth them, must needs be sinne: seeing such desires, though bridled, are a pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleased God, to make vs know, that by our faithfull endeauours to keepe his commandments, we witnesse our loue toward himselfe; we may not safely giue libertie to our vanities, by casting backe vpon God (who is iustice it selfe) that he hath giuen vs precepts altogether beyond our power, and Commandments impossible for vs to keepe. For, as hee is accused (saith Saint Hierome) that aouges that the Law is in all things possible to be obserued: so he hath made this addition: *Maledictus qui*

*qui dicit impossibilia Deum precepisse*; Accused is hee that saith that God hath commanded things (in themselves, and not through our fault) impossible. Now, as the places are many which command vs to keepe the Law: so is our weaknesse also in the Scriptures laide before vs, and therefore it is thus safely to be vnderstood, that we should without euasione, or without betraying of our selves, doe our faithfull endeauours to obserue them: which if we doe vnfaignedly, no doubt, but God will accept our desires therein. For that there is no man iust, David witnesseth: *Enter not into iudgement with thy seruant, for in thy sight no flesh that lieth shall be iustified*. And in the first of Kings, *There is no man that sineth not*: And againe, *who can say, I haue made my heart cleane*? But seeing there is no sinne so greivous without deliberation; let euery mans conscience iudge him, whether hee giue way willingly, or restrain himselfe in all that he can; yea, or no? For when a King giues to his subiect a commandment vpon paine of losse of his loue, to performe some seruice: if the subiect neglecting the same, seeke to satisfie his *Soueraigne* with shifting excuses, out of doubt such a Prince will take himselfe to be derided therein.

## §. XIII.

*If there were not any Religion, nor iudgement to come, yet the Decalogue were most necessary to be obserued.*

And if wee consider aduisedly and soberly, of the Morall Law, or ten Commandments, which God by the hand of Moses gaue vnto his people, it will appeare that such was his mercifull prouidence in the choise of them, as were there neither paine, nor profit adioyned to the obseruing, or not obseruing of them; were there no diuine power at all, nor any Religion among men; yet if wee did not for our owne sakes stricke to obserue these Lawes, all society of men, and all endeauours, all happinesse and contentment in this life would be taken away: and euery State and common-wealth in the World fall to the ground and dissolve. Therefore, these Lawes were not imposed as a burthen, but as a blessing: to the end that the innocent might be defended, that euery man might enioy the fruites of his owne trauaile, that right might be done to all men from all men: that by iustice, order, and peace, we might liue the liues of reasonable men, and not of beasts; of free-men, and not of slaues; of ciuill men, and not of sauaiges. And hereof making our humane reason onely iudge, let vs see the inconueniences in this life which would follow by the breach and neglect of these Lawes.

As first, what would the issue be if we acknowledged many Gods? would not a farre greater hatred, warre, and bloud-shed follow, than that which the difference of ceremonies, and diuersity of interpretation, hath already brought into the World, euen among those Nations which acknowledge one God, and one Christ?

And what could it profit man-kinde to pray to Idols, and Images of gold, mettall, dead stones, and rotten wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the losse of time, and an impossibilitie to receive thence from, either helpe or comfort?

The breach of the third Commandment bringeth there-with this disadvantage, and ill to man, that whosoever taketh the name of God in vaine, shall not at any time benefit himselfe by calling God to witnesse for him, when hee may iustly vse his holy name.

The obseruing the Sabbath holy, giueth rest to men and beasts, and nature her selfe requieth intermission of labour.

If we despise our Parents, who haue giuen vs being, we thereby teach our owne children to scorne and neglect vs, when our aged yeeres require comfort and helpe at their hands.

If murder were not forbidden, and seuerely punished, the race of man-kinde would be extinguished: and whosoever would take the liberty to destroy others, giueth liberty to others to destroy himselfe.

If adultery were lawfull and permitted, no man could say vnto himselfe; This is my sonne: there could be no inheritance proper, no honour descend to posterity, no endeauour by vertue and vndertaking to raise Families: murders and poysonings betweene man and wife would be daily committed: and euery man subiect to most filthy and vncleane diseases.

If stealth and violent rapine were suffered, all man-kinde would shortly after perish,

or line as the saluages, by rootes and acornes. For no man laboureth but to enioy the fruites thereof. And such is the mischief of robbery, as where *Moses* for lesser crimes appointed restitution fourefold, policie of State and necessity hath made it death.

To pernie false witness, is to take all mens liues and estates from them by corruption: the wicked would swear against the vertuous: the waster against the wealthie: the idle beggar and loyterer, against the carefull and painfull labourer: all trial of right were taken away, and iustice thereby banished out of the world.

The couering of that which belongs to other men, bringeth no other profit than a distraction of minde, with an inward vexation: for while we couet what appertaines to others, we neglect our owne: our appetites are therein fed with vaine and fruitlesse hopes, so long as we do but couet; and if we doe attaine to the desire of the one, or the other, so win, the wiles or goods of our neighbours, we can looke for no other, but that our selues shall also, either by theft or by strong hand, be deprived of our owne.

Wherein then appeareth the burthen of Gods Commandements, if there bee nothing in them, but rules and directions for the generall and particular good of all liuing: Surely, for our owne good, and not in respect of himselfe, did the most mercifull & provident God ordaine them; without the oblation of which, the vertues of heavenly bodies, the fertility of the earth, with all the blessings giuen vs in this life, would be vnto vs altogether vnprofitable, and of no vse. For wee should remaine but in the state of brute beasts, if not in a farre more vnhappy condition.

#### §. XV. Of humane Law, written and vnwritten.

**H**umane Law, of which now it followeth to speake, is first diuided into two, (*Viz.*) Written, and Vnwritten. The vnwritten consists of vsage, approved by time: which *Isidore* calls *Mores*; and he defines *Mores* to be *Consequentes vetustate probata*; to be customes approved by antiquitie, or vnwritten lawes. Now custome differeth from use, as the cause from the effect: in that custome is by vse and continuance established into a Law: but yet there where the law is defectiue, saith *Isidore*.

And of customes there are two generall natures, containing innumerable particulars: the first are written customes, receiued and exercised by Nations, as the customes of *Burgundie* and *Normandie*, the ancient generall custome of *England*, and the customes of *Capill*, and other *Provinces*.

The second are these petty customes, vsed in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and Mannors. The generall or Nationall customes are some written, others vnwritten.

The particular or petty customes are seldom written, but witnessed by testimony of the inhabitants. The Customes of the *Duchie of Cornwall*, comprehending also the *Stannerie of Deuon*, as touching *Tin*, and *Tin* causes, are written in *Deuon*, but not in *Cornwall*. But howsoever vse and time hath made these customes as lawes, yet ought every custome to be *rationabilis*, as well as *prescripta*. *Non firmatur tractu temporis quod de iure ab initio non subsistit*; That which at first was not grounded vpon good right, is not made good by continuance of time. And (*saith Vlpian*) *quod ab initio vitiosum est, non potest tractu temporis conualescere*; Course of time abridges not that which was naught from the first beginning. For these two defences are necessary in all lawes of custome; the one, that it be not repugnant to the law diuine, and naturall: the other, that the cause and reason be strong, prouing a right birth, and necessary continuance: it being manifest, that euery custome which is against the law, had his beginning from euill deeds, and therefore not without the former considerations to be allowed. And it is true, that all customes of this nature were but tolerated for a time, by the Law-makers, though they haue bene since continued, because posterity is not bound to examine by what cause their Ancestors were thereto moued. For, *non sufficit simplex toleratio*. And it is in this sort ouer-ruled in the law; *Per populum consuetudo contra legem induci non potest, nisi de voluntate illius qui non in legem, & non in constitutionem statuere potest, qui solus Princeps est*; The people cannot bring in a new custome against law: save by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is only the Prince.

Humane Law generally taken, to wit, humane law written, is by some defined to be the decree or doome of praetique reason: by which humane actions are ruled and directed. *Papinian* calls the Law a common precept, the aduancement of wile men, and the restraint

restraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. *Isidore* calles the Law a Constitution written, agreeing with Religion, fittest for Government and common profit: And more largely, *Omne id quod ratione consistit*; All that stands with reason.

Lastly, and more precisely it is thus defined. Humane Law is a righteous decree, agreeing with the Law naturall, and eternall: made by the rational discourse of those, that exercise publike authority: prescribing necessary obseruances to the subiect. That euery Law ought to be a righteous decree, *S. Augustine* teacheth, saying, *Mibi lex esse non videtur, quae iusta non fuerit*; It seemes to be no law at all to me, which is not iust: and iust it cannot be, except it agree with the law naturall and eternall. For there is no Law iust and legitimate (*saith S. Augustine*) which the Law-makers haue not deriued from the eternall. *Nihil iustum atque legitimum est, quod non ab aeterna lege sibi homines derinauerint*.

Secondly, it ought to be constituted by discourse of reason, whereby it is distinguished from the Law naturall, to wit, the naturall, indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration, from whence the law humane is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to be made by an authorised Magistracie, it cannot be doubted, be the government of what kinde soeuer. For it falleth otherwise vnder the Title of those decrees called *Violentia*, or *iniquae constitutiones*; *Violences*, or wicked constitutions.

Of humane Law there are foure properties, especially answering these foure conditions in the former definition. First, as it is drawne out of the law of nature: so euery particular of the humane Law may be resolved into some principle or rule of the naturall.

Secondly, it is to be considered as it is referred vnto, and doth respect the common good.

Thirdly, it is to be made by publike authority.

Fourthly, concerning the matter of the Law, it prescribeth, and directeth, all humane actions. And so is the Law as large and diuers, as all humane actions are diuers, which may fall vnder it. For according to *Thomas*, *Alia lex Iulia de Adulteris, alia Cornelia de Sycarjs*; The Law of Iulian against Adultery is one, the Cornelian against Ruffians, is another. Now the humane Law, generally taken, is in respect of the first of these considerations, diuided into the Law of Nations, and the Ciuill.

The Law of Nations is taken lesse or more properly; lesse properly for euery Law which is not of it selfe, but from other higher principles deduced: and so it seemeth that *Vlpian* vnderstands it: for he defineth *Ius gentium*, or the Law of Nations, to be that which is onely common amongst Men, as Religion, and the worship of God: which is not in the very nature of this Law of Nations, but from the principles of the Scriptures, and other diuine Reuelations. But the Law of Nations properly taken, is that *dislate*, or *sententia*, which is drawne from a very probable, though not from an euident principle, yet so probable, that all Nations doe assent vnto the conclusion, as that the free passage of Ambassadors be granted betwene enemies, &c. which Nationall Law, according to diuers acceptions, and diuers considerations had of the humane Law, may be sometime taken for a species of the Naturall, sometime of the Humane.

*Ius Civile*, or the Ciuill Law, is not the same in all Common-wealths, but in diuers estates it is also diuers and peculiar, and this Law is not so immediately deriued from the Law of Nature, as the Law of Nations is: For it is partly deduced out of such principles as all Nations doe agree in, or easily assent vnto; because they depend on particular circumstances, which are diuers, and doe not fit all estates. Hereof *Vlpian*, *Ius civile, neque in totum a naturali & gentium recedit, neque per omnia ei seruit*; itag, cum aliquid addimus, vel detrahimus Iuri communi, Ius proprium, id est, Civile efficitur; The Ciuill Law (*saith he*) doth neither wholly differ from the Law of Nature, and Nations, nor yet in all points obey it: therefore when we adde ought to, or take from the Law that is common, we make a Law proper, that is, the Ciuill Law.

The Law now commonly called the Ciuill Law, had its birth in Rome: and was first written by the *Decem-viri*, 303. yeeres after the foundation of the City. It was compounded as wel out of the *Athenian*, & other *Grecian* Lawes, as out of the ancient *Roman* customes and Lawes Regall. The Regal Lawes were deuised by the first Kings; and called *Leges Regiae*, or *Papirianae*, because they were gathered by *Papirius*, *Tarquinius* then reigning. For though so many of the former Lawes as maintained Kingly authority, were abolished,

D. n. Hal.

C. Sigon. l. 1. out  
of Campanien.

shed, with the name, yet those of *Servius Tullius*, for Commerce and Contracts, and all that appertained to Religion, and common utility, were continued, and were a part of the Lawes of the twelve Tables. To these Lawes of the twelve Tables were added (as the times gave occasion) those made by the *Senate*, called *Senatus consulta*: those of the common people called *plebei-faicta*, those of the Lawyers, called *Responsa prudentum*: and the Edicts of the *Annual Magistrats*: which Edicts being first gathered and interpreted by *Julian*, and preferred to *Adrian* the Emperour, they were by him confirmed and made perpetuall Lawes, and the Volume titled *Edictum perpetuum*; as those and the like Collections of *Iustinian* afterward were.

The difference anciently between Lawes and Edicts, which the *French* call *Reglements*, consisted in this, that Lawes are the Constitutions made or confirmed by sovereign authority (be the sovereignty in the people, in a few, or in one) and are withall general and permanent: but an Edict (which is but *Iustinian* *Magistratus*, unless by authority it be made a Law) hath end with the Officer, who made the same, faith *Varro*. *Qui plurimum Edicta tribuunt, legem annuam esse dicunt*: They who ascribe the most unto an Edict, say that it is a Law for one yeere: Though *Isidore* doth also expresse by the word *Constitutions* or *Edicts*, those Ordinances called *Acts of Prerogatives*; as *Constitutio vel Edictum quod Rex, vel Imperator constituit, vel edicit*: An Ordinance or Edict is that which a King or Emperour doth ordaine or proclaime.

Lastly, the *Humane Law* is divided into the *Secular*, and into the *Ecclesiasticall*, or *Cannonicall*. The *Secular* commanding temporall good, to wit, the peace and tranquillity of the Common-weale: the *Ecclesiasticall* the spirituall good, and right Government of the Ecclesiasticall Common-weale, or Church, *Illud naturale legem, hoc divina spectat*; That respecteth the Law of Nature, this the Law of God, And so many *Ius Civile* be taken two ways; first, as distinguished from the Law of Nations, as in the first division: Secondly, as it is the same with the *Secular*, and differs from the *Ecclesiasticall*. But this division of the *Schoolmen* is obscure. For although the *Civill* be the same with the *Secular*, as the *Civill* is a Law, yet the *Secular* is more general, and comprehendeth both the *Civill*, and all other Lawes not *Ecclesiasticall*. For of *Secular Lawes*, in use among *Christian* Princes, and in *Christian* Common-weales, there are three kinds; the *Civill*, which hath every where a voyce, and is in all *Christian* estates (*England* excepted) most powerful; the Lawes of *England* called *Common*, and the Lawes of custome or *Provinciall*. In *Spain* besides the *Law Civill*, they have the customes of *Castill*, and other Provinces. In *France* besides the *Civill*, the customes of *Burgundy*, *Boys*, *Berry*, *Nivernois*, and *Lodunois*, &c. *Tout leux lieux & assés en Lodunois, seront gouvernez selon les costumes du dit pays*; All places lying within the precincts of Lodunois shall be governed according to the customes of that place. There are also in *France* the customes of *Normandy*, and these of two kinds; *Generall*, and *Locall*; and all purged and reformed by diuers Acts of the three Estates. The *Charters* of confirmation of these ancient customes, before and since their reformation have these words; *Nulla antea, re ipsorum predictorum, sive laudabiles, & consuetudines antiquas, &c. landamus, approbamus, & autoritate Regis confirmamus*; The Register aforesaid, laudable, use, and ancient customes we praise, approve, and by our Kingly authority confirme. The common Law of *England* is also compounded of the ancient customes of the same, and of certain *Maxims* by those customes of the Realme approved. Upon which customes also are grounded those Courts of Record, of the *Chancery*, *Kings Bench*, *Common Pleas*, and *Exchequer*, with other small Courts.

The ancient customes of *England* have beene approved by the Kings thereof, from age to age: as that custom by which no man shall be taken, imprisoned, diseased, nor otherwise destroyed, but he must first be put to answer by the Law of the Land, was confirmed by the *Statute of Magna Charta*. It is by the ancient customes of *England*, that the eldest Sonne should inherit without partition. In *Germany*, *France*, and elsewhere otherwise, and by partition. In *Ireland* it is the custom for all Landes (that have not beene resigned into the Kings hands) that the eldest of the House shall enjoy the Inheritance during his own life: and to the second and third eldest (if there be so many brothers) before the Heire in lineall descent: this is called the custom of *Tanistrie*. For example, if a Lord of Land have foure sonnes, and the eldest of those foure have also a Sonne, the three Brothers of the eldest Sonne, shall after the death of their Brother, enjoy their Fathers Landes before the Grand-child: the custom being grounded

grounded upon the reason of necessity. For the *first* in former times, having alwayes lived in a subdivided *Civill* Warre, not onely the greatest against the greatest, but every *Baron* and *Gentleman* one against another, were enforst to leade successors of age and ability, to defend their owne Territories. Now as in *Normandie*, *Burgundie*, and other Provinces of *France*, there are certaine peculiar and petty Customes, besides the great, and generall custome of the Land; so are there in *England*, and in every part thereof. But the greatest bulke of our Lawes, as I take it, are the *Acts of Parliament*: Lawes propounded and approved by the three estates of the Realme, and confirmed by the King, to the obedience of which all men are therefore bound; because they are *Acts of choise*, and selfe-desire. *Leges nulla alia causa nos tenent, quam quod indicio populi recepte sunt*. The Lawes doe therefore binde the subject, because they are received by the judgement of the Subject. *Tamen demum humane leges habent vim suam, cum fuerint in modo institutae, sed etiam firmatae approbatione communitatis*; it is then that humane lawes have their strength, when they shall not onely be desired, but by the approbation of the people confirmed.

*Isidore* fasteneth these properties to every *Christian* Law, that the same bee honest, that it bee possible, that it bee according to Nature, and according to the custome of the Countrey; also for the time and place convenient, profitable, and manifest, and without respect of private profite, that it be written for the generall good. He also gives foure effects of the Law, which *Ardeus* comprehends in two; to wit, *Obligation*, and *inligation*: the former bindes vs by feare, to avoid vices; the latter inligeth vs with hope, to follow vertue. For according to *Cicero*, *Legem oportet esse iustitiam emendatorem, ceterum, commendatoremque virtutum*: It behooveth the Law to be commander of vices, and a commander of vertues. The part obligatorie or binding vs to the observation of things commanded or forbidden, is an effect common to all lawes; and it is two-fold; the one constraineth vs by feare of our consciences, the other by feare of externall punishment. These two effects the law performeth, by the exercise of those two powers; to wit, *Coactive* and *Directive*.

The second of these two effects remembered by *Ardeus*, is *Inligation*, or incouragement to vertue, as *Aristotle* makes it the end of the law, to make men virtuous. For lawes being such as they ought to be, doe both by prescribing and forbidding, give vs to well doing laying before vs the good and the evil, by the one and the other purchased. And this power affirmative commanding good, and power negative forbidding evil, are those into which the law is divided, as touching the matter: and in which *David* comprehendeth the whole body and substance thereof: saying, *Declina a malo, & fac bonum*: Decline from ill, and doe good.

§. XVI. That onely the Prince is exempt from humane Lawes, and in what sort.

NOW whether the power of the humane Law bee without exception of any person, is doubtfully disputed among those that have written of this subject; as well *Divines* as *Lawyers*: and namely, whether Sovereigne Princes bee compellable; yea, or no. But whither there are two powers of the Law, as aforesaid; the one *Directive*, the other *Coactive*: to the power *Directive* they ought to be subject; but not to that which constraineth. For as touching violence or punishments, no man is bound to give a preiudiciall judgement against himselfe; and if equals have no any power over each other; much lesse have inferiours over their superiours, from whom they receive their authority and strength.

And speaking of the supreme power of lawes, simply then is the Prince so much above the lawes, as the soule and body united, is above a dead and senselesse carke. For the King is truly called, *Ius vivum, & lex animata*: An animate and living Law. But this is true, that by giving authority to lawes, Princes both adde greatness to themselves, & conferre it; and therefore was it said of *Isidore* out of *Iustinian*; *Merito debet Rex tribuere leges, quod lex attribuit ei*: namely, *quis ut ipse sit Rex*: Rightfully ought the King to attribute that to the Law, which by the Law is attributed to the King; for it is the Law that doth make Kings.

But whoso is *Ardeus* is mistaken in this power to the humane law, he is therein mistaken, for Kings are made by God, and lawes divine; and by humane lawes onely, declared to bee Kings. As for the places remembered by the *Divines* and *Lawyers*, which inferre



a kinde of obligation of Princes, they teach no other thing therein, than the bond of conscience, and profit arising from the examples of vertuous Princes, who are to giue an account of their actions to God onely.

*Tibi soli peccavi, saith David; Against thee onely have I sinned:* therefore, the Prince can not bee said to be subiect to the Law; *Principes non subijcitur legi.* For seeing according to the Schoolemen, the Law humane is but *quoddam organum & instrumentum potestatis gubernativa: non videtur posse eius obligatio ad eum se extendere, ad quem ipsa vis potestatis humane non pertinet; sed via potestatis humane non se extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa residet. Ergo neq. lex condita per talem potestatem obligare potest ipsum conditorem. Omnis enim potentia actiua, est principium transmutandi aliquid; Seeing humane Law (say they) is but a kind of Organ or Instrument of the power that governeth, it seemes that it cannot extend it selfe to binde any one whom no humane power can controll, or lay hold of: but the Governour himselfe, in whom the governing power doth reside, is a person that cannot be himselfe, or by his own power be controlled. And therefore the Law which is made by such a power, cannot binde the Law-maker himselfe: for every actiue ability, is a cause or principle of alteration in another body, not in the body in which it selfe resides. And seeing Princes haue power to deliuer others from the obligation of the Law: *Ergo etiam potest ipsemet Princeps sine legislator sua se voluntate prohibito ab obligatione legis liberare;* Therefore also may a Prince or Law-maker at his owne will and pleasure deliuer himselfe from the bond of the Law. Therefore in the rules of the Law it is thus concluded: *Subditi tenentur leges obseruare necessitate conditionis, 30 Principes vero sola voluntate sua, & intuitu boni communis;* The subditi are bound to fulfill the Law by necessity of compulsion, but the Prince onely by his owne will, and regard of the common good.*

Now concerning the politike Lawes, giuen by *Moses* to the Nation of the *Israelites*, whether they ought to be a President, from which no ciuill institutions of other people should presume to digresse, I will not presume to determine, but leaue it as a question for such men to decide, whose professions giue them greater ability. Thus much I may be bold to affirme, That we ought not to seeme wiser than God himselfe, who hath told vs that there are no Lawes so sighteous, as those which it pleased him to giue to his Elect people to be governed by. True it is, that all Nations haue their seuerall qualities, wherein they differ, even from their next borderers, no lesse than in their peculiar languages: which diffagreeable conditions to gouerne aptly, one and the same Law very hardly were able. The *Roman* ciuill Lawes did indeed containe in order a great part of the then knowne World, without any notable inconuenience, after such time as once it was receiued and become familiar: yet was not the administration of it alike in all parts, but yeelded much vnto the naturall customes of the sundry people, which it gouerned. For whether it be through a long continued perseruance; or (as *Astrologers* more willingly grant) some influence of the Heauens; or peraduenture some temper of the soile and climate, affoording matter of prouocation to vice (as plenty made the *Sybarites* luxurious: want and opportunity to steale, makes the *Arabians* to be Theeues) very hard it were to forbid by Law an offence so common with any people, as it wanted a name, whereby to be distinguished from iust and honest. By such rigour was the Kingdome of *Congo* unhappily diuerted from the Christian Religion, which it willingly at the first imbraced, but after with great fury reiected, because plurality of Wiues was denied vnto them, I know not how necessarily, but more contentiously than seasonably. In such cases, me thinks, it were not amisse to consider that the high God himselfe permitted some things to the *Israelites*, rather in regard of their naturall disposition (for they were hard-hearted) than because they were consonant vnto the ancient rules of the first perfection. So, where euen the generall nature of man doth condempne (as many things it doth) for wicked and vniust, there may the Law, giuen by *Moses*, worthily be deemed the most exact reformer of the euill, which forceth man, as neere as may be, to the will and pleasure of his Maker. But where nature or custome hath entertained a vicious, yet not intolerable habite, with so long and so publike approbation, that the vertue opposing it would seeme as vncooth, as it were to walke naked in *England*, or to weare the *English* fashion of apparel in *Turkie*: there may a wise and vpright Law-giuer, without presumption, omit somewhat that the rigour of *Moses* his Law required, euen as the good King *Hezekiah* did, in a matter merely Ecclesiasticall, and therefore the lesse capable of dispensation, praying for the people; The good Lord be mercifull vnto him, that prepareth his whole heart

to seeke the Lord God, the God of his Fathers, though hee be not cleansed according to the purification of the Sanctuary: which prayer the Lord heard and granted.

To this effect it is well obserued by Master Doctor *Willet*, that the morall Iudicials of *Moses* doe partly binde, and partly are let free. They doe not hold affirmatiuely that we are tryed to the same seuerity of punishment now, which was inflicted then; but negatiuely they doe hold, that now the punishment of death should not be adiudged, where sentence of death is not giuen by *Moses*: Christian Magistrates ruling vnder Christ the Prince of peace, that is, of Clemency and Mercy, may abate of the seuerity of *Moses* Law, and mitigate the punishment of death, but they cannot adde vnto it to make the burden more heavy: for to shew more rigour than *Moses*, becommeth not the Gospel.

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath bene the subiect of many learned discourses, neither will I take vpon me, to speake any thing definitiuely in a case which dependeth still in some controuersie among worthy Diuines. Thus much (as in honour of the Iudiciall Law, or rather of him that gaue it) I may well and truly say, that the defence of it hath alwayes bene very plausible. And surely howsoeuer they be not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a generall and onely Law: yet shall we hardly find any other ground, whereon the conscience of a Iudge may rest, with equall satisfaction in making interpretation, or giuing sentence vpon doubts, arising out of any Law besides it. Hereof, perhaps, that Iudge could haue bene witness, of whom *Fortescue* that notable Bulwarke of our Lawes doth speake, complaining of a iudgement giuen against a Gentlewoman at *Salisbury*, who being accused by her owne Man, without any other prooff, for murdering her Husband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to ashes: the Man who accused her, within a yeere after being conuict for the same offence, confest that his Mistres was altogether innocent of that cruell fact, whose terrible death hee then (though ouer-late) greiuously lamented: but this Iudge, saith the same Author, *Sapius ipse mihi falsus est, quod nunquam in vita sua animum eius de hoc facti ipse purgaret; He himselfe often confessed vnto me, that he should neuer during his life, be able to cleare his conscience of that fact.* Wherefore that acknowledgement which other Sciences yeeld vnto the Metaphysiques, that from thence are drawne propositions, able to proue the principles of 30 Sciences, which out of the Sciences themselves cannot be proued, may iustly be granted by all other politike institutions, to that of *Moses*; and so much the more iustly, by how much the subiect of the Metaphysiques, which is, *Ens quatenus Ens*; Being as it is being, is infinitely inferiour to the *Ens Entium*; The being of beings; the onely good, the fountaine of truth, whose feare is the beginning of wisdom. To which purpose well saith Saint *Augustine*, *Conditur legum temporalium si vir bonus est & sapiens, illam ipsam consulti aeternam, de qua nulli anima iudicare datum est;* The Author of temporall Lawes, if he be good and wise, doth therein consult the Law eternall, so determine of which there is no power giuen to any soule. And as well Prince *Edward*, in *Fortescue* his discourse, *Nemo potest melius aut aliud fundamentum ponere, quam posuit Dominus; Numquam can lay a better, or another foundation 40 than the Lord hath laide.*

## CHAP. V.

The Story of the *Israelites* from the receiuing of the Law to the death of *MOSES*.

§. 1. Of the numbring and disposing of the Host of *Israel*, for their marches through the wilderness; with a note of the reuerence giuen to the worship of God, in this ordering of their troupes.

When *Moses* had receiued the Law from God, and published it among the people, and finished the Tabernacle of the Arke and Sanctuary; he mustred all the Tribes and Families of *Israel*: and hauing scene what numbers of Men fit to beare armes, were found in euery Tribe, from 20. yeeres of age vpwards; he appointed vnto them, by direction from the Lord, such Princes and Leaders, as in worth and reputation were in euery Tribe most eminent. The number

number of the whole Army was 60356. able men for the wars, besides women & children; also, besides the strangers which followed them out of Egypt. This great Army was divided by Moses into foure grosse and mighty Battalions, each of which contained the strength of three whole Tribes.

The first of these containing 186400. able men, consisted of three Regiments, which may well, in respect of their numbers, be called Armies; as containing the three whole Tribes of *Judah*, *Issachar*, and *Zabulon*. In the Tribe of *Judah* were 74600. fighting men, led by *Nasasson*: in *Issachar* 54400. led by *Nathaniel*: in *Zabulon* 57400. led by *Eliab*. All these marched vnder the Standard of the Tribe of *Judah*, who held the Vantage-guard, and was the first that moved & marched, being lodged and quartered at their general incampment on the East-side of the Army, which was held the first place, and of greatest dignity.

The second Battalion or Army, called in the Scriptures the Host of *Reuben*, had joynted vnto it *Simoon* and *Gad*, in number 151450. All which marched vnder the Standard of *Reuben*. In the Tribe of *Reuben* were 46500. vnder *Elizur*: in *Simoon*: 59300. vnder *Shelumai*: in *Gad* 45650. vnder *Elisaph*: These had the second place, and incamped on the South-side of the Tabernacle.

The third Arm. marched vnder the Standard of *Ephraim*, to whom were joynted the Regiments of *Mansse* and *Beniamin*; who, joynted together, made in number 108100. able men. These marched in the third place, incamping on the West quarter of the Tabernacle. *Ephraim* had 40500. vnder *Elishama*: *Mansse* 32200. vnder *Gamliel*: *Beniamin* 35400. vnder *Abidan*.

The fourth and last Army, or Squadron, of the generall Army, containing 157600. able men, marched vnder the Standard of *Dan*; to whom were joynted the two Tribes of *Nephthali* and *Asber*. And these had the Rereward, and moved last, incamping on the North-side. *Dan* had 62700. vnder *Abiezzer*: *Asber* 41500. vnder *Pagiel*: *Nephthali* 53400. vnder *Ahira*.

Besides these Princes of the severall Tribes, there were ordained Captaines ouer Thousands, ouer Hundreds, ouer Fifties, and ouer Tens; as it may appeare by that murmur and insurrection against Moses. Num. 16. v. 1. &c. For there arose vp against Moses 250. Captaines of the Assembly, famous in the Congregation, and men of renowne: of which number were *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. Which three principall Muriners, with those 250. Captaines that followed them, were not any of the 12. Princes of the Tribes or Generall Colonels before spoken of, as by their names, Num. 1. is made manifest.

The blessing which *Israel* gave to his children, tooke place not onely in the diuision of the Land of promise, and other things of more consequence, long after following; but euen in sorting them vnder their severall Standards in the wilderness it was observed. For *Judah* had the precedence and the greatest Army, which also was wholly compounded of the Sonnes of *Leah*, *Jacob*, whose sudden having lost his birth-right, followed in the second place, accompanied with his brother *Simoon*, who had vnder-gone the Fathers curse, and with *Gad*, the sonne of his Mothers Hand-maide. *Ioseph*, who in temporal blessing had the prerogative of the first borne a double portion, was accounted as two Tribes, and diuided into two Regiments, the younger (according to *Jacob*s prophecy) taking place before the elder. He was assisted by *Beniamin*, his best beloved brother, the other son of *Rachel*. To *Dan*, the eldest son of *Leah*s Concubines, was giuen the leading of the fourth Army, according to *Jacob*s prophecy. He had with him vnder his Standard none of the children of *Leah*, or *Rachel*, but onely the sonnes of the Hand-maides.

In the middle of these foure Armies, was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, surrounded by the *Leuites*. Neere vnto which, as the Heathens and Pagans could not approach, by reason of the force of powerfull Armies which guarded the same, so was it kept for any of the children of *Israel* to come neere it, who were not of the *Leuites*, to whom the charge was committed. So sacred was the moueable Temple of God, and with such reverence guarded and transported, as 22000. persons were dedicated to the seruice and attendance thereof: of which 8380. had the peculiar charge, according to their severall offices and functions, the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of *Numbers*. And as the Armies of the people observed the same order in their incampment, so did their *Leuites* quarter themselves as in an inner square on euery side of the Tabernacle; the *Ascherites* on the West, within the Armie, and Standard of *Ephraim*, ouer whom *Elisaph* commanded, in number 7500.

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The Family of *Goshath* on the South-side guided by *Elizaphan*, within the Army of *Reuben*, and betweene him and the Tabernacle, in number 8600. The third company were of the Family of *Merari*, ouer whom *Zuriel* commanded, in number 6200. and these were lodged on the North side, within the Army of *Dan*; On the East-side, and next within those Tribes and Forces which *Judah* led, did *Moses* and *Aaron* lodge, and their children, who were the first and immediate Commanders, both of the Ceremonies and of the People; vnder whom, as the chiefe of all the other *Leuiticall* Families, was *Eleazar* the sonne of *Aaron*, his successeur in the high Priest-hood.

This was the order of the Army of *Israel*, and of their incamping and marching; the Tabernacle of God being alway set in the middle and center thereof. The reuerend care, which *Moses* the Prophet, and chosen seruant of God, had in all that belonged euen to the outward and least parts of the Tabernacle, *Arke* and *Sanctuary*, witnessed well the inward and most humble zeale borne towards God himselfe. The industry vsed in the framing thereof, and euery and the least part thereof; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expence in the provisions; the durifull obseruance in the laying vp, and preserving the holy Vessels; the solemne removing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the prudent defence of the same, which all Ages haue in some degree imitated, is now so forgotten and cast away in this super-fine Age, by those of the Family, by the *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, and other *Settaries*, as all cost and care bestowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be serued and worshipped, is accounted a kinde of *Poperie*, and as proceeding from an idolatrous disposition: inso much as Time would soone bring to passe (if it were not resisted) that God would be turned out of Churches into Barnes, and from thence againe into the Fields and Mountaines, and vnder the hedges; and the Offices of the Ministry (robbed of all dignity and respect) be as contemptible as these places; all Order, Discipline, and Church-gouernment, left to newnatie of opinion, and mens fancies: yea, and soone after, as many Kindes of Religions would spring vp; as there are Parish-Churches within *England*: euery contentious and ignorant person cloathing his fancie with the Spirit of God, and his imagination with the gift of *inspiration*; inso much, as when the Truth, which is but one, shall appeare to the simple multitude, no lesse variable than contrary to it selfe, the Faith of Men will soone after dye away by degrees, and all Religion be held in scorn and contempt. Which distraction gaue a great Prince of *Germany* cause of this answer to those that perswaded him to become a *Lutheran*, *Siue adiungo vobis, tunc condemnor ab alijs: si me alijs adiungo, à vobis condemnor: quid fugiam video, sed quid sequar, non habeo: If I adioyne my selfe to you, I am condemned by others: If I ioyne with others, I am condemned by you: what I should auoid I see, but I know not what I should follow.*

#### §. II. The offerings of the twelue Princes: the Passouer of the second yeere: The departing of Iethro.

Now when *Moses* had taken order for all things necessary, provided for the seruice of God, written the Lawes, numbered his Army, and diuided them into the battailes and troupes before remembred, and appointed them Leaders of all sorts; The twelue Princes or Commanders of the Tribes brought their offerings before the Lord, to wit, sixe couered Chariots, and twelue Oxen to draw them, therein to transport, as they marched, the parts of the Tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto: the *Sanctuary* excepted, which for reuerence was carried vpon the shoulders of the sons of *Korah*, to whom the charge was committed; and the Chariots in which was conueyed the other parts of the Tabernacles and Vessels thereto belonging, were deliuered to the *Leuites* for that seruice, namely to the Sonnes of *Gershan* and *Merari*.

Besides these Chariots, each of these Commanders, Princes, or Heads of Tribes, offered vnto God, and for his seruice in the Temple, a Charger of fine siluer, weighing 130. sheckles; a siluer Boll of 70. sheckles; after the sheckle of the *Sanctuary*; and an Incense-Cup of gold, of ten sheckles, which they performed at the same time when the Altar was dedicated vnto God by *Aaron*: and before they marched from *Sinai* towards

half-pence sterling: the Sicle of the Sanctuaty (as it is expounded, Exod. 28. 3.) containeth 20. Gerahs, so a Sanctuaty Sicle of Siluer is about three times as much as a common Sicle; but half as much, to wit ten Gerahs: as it is vasily expounded; though *Philopandus* labours to prove that the common and the Sanctuaty Sicle were all one, Num. 9. verse 5. Num. 10. 11. Exodus. 28. 3. Numbers 9. 27.

their

their conquest, besides the Beasts which they offered for sacrifice, according to the Law Ceremoniall, the weight of all the twelve siluer Chargers, and twelve siluer Bolles, amounted vnto 2400. sheckles of siluer; and the weight of gold in the Incense-Cuppes, to 120. sheckles of gold; which makes of sheckles of siluer 1200. euery sheckle of gold valuing ten of siluer, so that the whole of gold and siluer which they offered at this time, was about foure hundredth and twenty pound sterling. This done, *Moses*, as in all the rest by the Spirit of God conducted, gaue order for the celebrating of the *Passeouer*, which they performed on the foureteenth day of the second moneth of the second yeare: and on the twentieth day of the same, the cloude was lifted vp from aboute the Tabernacle, as a signe of going forward; *Moses* beginning his march with this inuocation to God: *Rise* 10 *up Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee, flee before thee.* Then all the people of *Israel* remoued from their incamping at the foote of the Mountaine *Sinai*, towards *Paran*, the Armie, or great Squadron of *Juda*, led by *Naabson*, taking the Vaunt-guard, followed by *Nethanael* and *Eliab*, Leaders of the Tribes of *Issacar* and *Zabulon*: after whom the rest marched, as in the figure exprest. And because the passage through so many deserts and mountaines, was exceeding difficult: *Moses* leauing nothing vnforethought which might serue for the aduancement of his enterprize, he instantly intreated his Father in Law, whom in the tenth of *Numbers* he calleth *Hobab*, to accompany them in their journey towards *Canaan*; promising him such part and profit of the enterprize, as God should bestow on them: for this man, as he was of great vnderstanding & iudge- 20 ment (as appeared by the Counsell hee gaue to *Moses* for the appointing of Iudges ouer the people) so was he a perfect guide in all those parts, himselfe inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at *Midian*, or *Madian*: and (as it seemeth) a man of great yeeres and experience; for he was then the Priest or Prince of *Madian*, when *Moses* fled first out of *Egypt*, and married his Daughter, which was 42. yeeres before this request made. And though *Moses* himselfe had liued 40. yeeres in these parts of *Arabia*, through which he was now to trauell: yet the better to assure his passage, and so great a multitude of foules, which could not be so few as a Million, it was necessary to vse many guides, and many conducters. To this request of *Moses*, it may seeme by the places, *Exod.* 18. 27. and *Num.* 10. 30. that *Iethro*, otherwise called *Hobab*, yeelded not: for it is euident, that he went backe from 30 *Moses* into his owne Countrey. But because it appeareth by other places of Scripture, that the posterity of this *Hobab* was mingled with the *Israelites*, it is most likely that this his returne to his owne Countrey, was rather to fetch away his Family, and to take his leaue of his owne Countrey, by setting things in order, than to abide there.

## §. III.

*The voyage from Horeb to Kades: the mutinies by the way: and the cause of their turning backe to the Red Sea.*

**A**FTER this dismissal of *Hobab*, *Israel* began to march towards the Deserts of *Paran*: 40 and after three daies wandering, they fate downe at the Sepulchers of lust, afterward called *Tabera*, or *Incensio*: by reason that God consumed with fire those Mutiners and Murmurers which rose vp in this remoue, which happened about the 23. day of the same Moneth. And from this 23. day of the second Moneth, of the second yeere, they rested and fed themselves with Quailes (which it pleased God by a Sea-winde to cast vpon them) to the 24. day of the third moneth, to wit, all the moneth of *Sinan* or *Iume*: whereof surfsaiting there dyed great numbers: from whence in the following moneth, called *Thamus*, answering to our *Iuly*, they went on to *Hazereth*, where *Miriam* the sister of *Moses* was stricken with the leprosie, which continued vpon her seven dayes, after whose recovery *Israel* remoued toward the border of *Idumaea*; and incamped at *Rithma*, 50 neere *Kades Parnea*, from whence *Moses* sent the twelve discoverers into the Territory of *Canaan*, both to informe themselves of the fertility and strength of the Countrey; as also to take knowledge of the Wayes, Passages, Riuers, Lords, and Mountaines. For *Arad* king of the *Canaanites* surprized diuers companies of the *Israelites*, by lying in ambush neere those wayes, through which the discoverers and searchers of the Land had formerly past. Now, after the returne of the discoverers of *Kades*, the wrath of God was turned against *Israel*, whose ingratitude and rebellion after his so many benefits, so many remissions, so many miracles wrought, was such, as they esteemed their deliuerance from the

the *Egyptian* slavery, his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and terrible wilderness (for so *Moses* calleth it) with the victory which he gaue them against the powerfull *Amalekites*, to be no other than the effects of his hatred, thinking that heeled them on and preferred them, but to bring them, their wiues, and children to be slaughtered, and giuen for a prey and spoyle to the *Amorites* or *Canaanites*. For it was reported vnto them, by the searchers of the Land, that the Cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many strong Towers and Castles; that many of the people were *Giant-like*, (for they confest that they saw the sonnes of *Anac* there) who were men of fearefull stature, and so farre ouer-topped the *Israelites*, as they appeared to them, and to themselves, but as Grasshoppers in their respect. Now, as this mutiny exceeded all the rest, wherein they both accused God, and consulted to chooſe them a Captaine (or as they call it now adayes, an *Eleſto*) to carry them backe againe into *Egypt*; so did God punish the same in a greater measure, than any of the former. For he extinguished euery soule of the whole multitude (*Iosua* and *Caleb* excepted) who being confident in Gods promises, perswaded the people to enter *Canaan*, being then neere it; and at the mountaine foote of *Idumaea*, which is but narrow, laying before them the fertility thereof; and assuring them of victory. But as men, whom the passion of feare had bereaued both of reason and common sense, they threatned to stone these encouragers to death; accounting them as men either desperate in themselves, or betrayers of the liues, goods, and children 20 of all their brethren, to their enemies; but God resisted these wicked purposes, and interposing the feare of his bright glory between the vnadvised fury of the multitude, and the innocency and constancy of his seruants, preferred them thereby from their violence; threatening an intire destruction of the whole Nation, by sending among them a consuming and mercilesse pestilence. For this was the tenth insurrection and rebellion, which they had made, since God deliuered them from the slavery of the *Egyptians*. But *Moses* 30 (the mildest or meekest of all men) prayed vnto God to remember his infinite mercies; alledging, that this so seuer a iudgement, how deseruedly soeuer inflicted, would increase the pride of the Heathen Nations, and giue them occasion to vaunt, that the God of *Israel*, failing in power to performe his promises, suffered them to perish in these barren and fruitlesse Deserts. Yet as God is no lesse iust than mercifull, as God is slow to anger, so is his wrath a consuming fire; the same being once kindled by the violent breath of mans ingratitude: and therefore, as with a hand lesse heauy than hoped for, he scourged this iniquity, so by the measure of his glory (euermore ialous of neglect and derision) he suffered not the wicked to passe unpunished; reseruing his compassion for the innocent: whom, because they participated not with the offences of their Fathers, he was pleased to preferre, and in them to performe his promises, which haue neuer bene frustrated.

## §. III.

*Of their unwillingnesse to returne: with the punishment thereof, and of diuers accidents in the returne.*

**N**OW when *Moses* had reuealed the purposes of God to the people, and made them know his heauy displeasure towards them, they began to bewaile themselves; though ouer-late: the times of grace and mens repentance, hauing also their appointment. And then when God had left them to themselves, and was no more among them, after they had so often plaid and dallied with his mercifull sufferings; they would needs amend their former disobedience by a second contempt: and make offer to enter the Land contrary againe to the aduice of *Moses*; who assured them, that God was 50 not among them; and that the Arke of his couenant should not moue, but by His direction, who could not erre; and that the enemies sword which God had hitherto benedicted and rebated, was now left no lesse sharpe than death; and in the hands of the *Amalekites*, and *Canaanites* no lesse cruell. But as men from whom God hath with-drawne his grace, doe alwayes follow those counsels which carry them to their owne destructions: so the *Hebrewes*, after they had forsaken the opportunity by God and their Conductors offered: and might then haue entered *Judea* before their enemies were prepared and ioy-ned, did afterward, contrary to Gods commandement, vnderake the enterprize of themselves; and ranne head-long and without aduice into the mountaines of *Idumaea*. There the

*Indic.* 1. 16. &  
4. 11. *Allo*  
1 Sam. 15. 6.  
And 2. Reg. 10.  
15.  
1 Chron. 12. 55.  
Ier. 35.

*Num.* 11. 8. 13  
*Num.* 12.

*Num.* 21.

the *Canaanites* and the *Amalekites* being ioynded, and attending their advantage, set on them, brake them: and of their numbers slaughtered the greatest part: and following their victory and pursuit, consumed them all the way of their flight, even vnto *Hormah*: the *Amalekites* in reuenge of their former losse, and ouerthrow at *Raphidim*: the *Canaanites* to preuent their diplantation and destruction threatned. Of which powerfull assembly of those two Nations (assisted in all likelihood with the neighbour Kings ioynded together for their common safetie) it pleased God to forewarne *Moses*, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For he commanded him to returne by those painefull passages of the Deserts, through which they had formerly trauelled, till they found the banks of the red Sea againe: in which retraite before they came backe to passe *Iordan*, there were consumed 38. yeeres; and the whole number of the 600. and odd thousand, which came out of *Egypt* (*Moses*, *Ishua*, and *Caleb* excepted) were dead in the Wildernesse, the stubborne and carelesse generations were wholly worne out, and the promised Land bestowed on their children; which were increased to 600000. and more. For besides the double fault both of refusing to enter the Land vpon the returne of their discouersers, and the presumption then to attempt it, when they were countermaunded: it seemeth that they had committed that horrible Idolatry or worshipping *Moloch*, and the Host of Heauen. For although *Moses* doth not mention it, yet *Amos* doth, and so doth the Martyr *Stephen*; as also that the *Israelites* worshipped the Sunne and Moone in after-times, it is proued out of sundry other places.

Amos 5. 15.  
Acts 7. 41.  
1 Kin. 17. 16.  
& cap. 17. v. 3.  
& c. 2. v. 45. 5.  
11.  
2 Chron. 33. 3.  
Hierem. 6. 19.  
v. 13. & c.

Num. 33.

Now after the broken Companies were returned to the Campe at *Cades*, *Moses* according to the commandment receiued from God, departed towards the South from whence hee came, to recouer the shoares of the *Red Sea*. And so from *Cades* or *Rithma* hee remoued to *Remmonparez*, so called of abundance of Pomegranates there found and diuided among them. From whence he went on to *Libnah*, taking that name of the Frankincense there found. From *Libnah* he crost the Valley, and fate downe at *Kessa*, neere the foote of the mountaine. And after he had rested there, he bended towards the West, and incamped at *Ceclata*; where one of the *Hebrewes*, for gathering broken wood on the *Sabbath*, was stoned to death. After which, *Moses* alwayes keeping the Valley, betwene two great ledges of mountaines, (those which bound the Desert of *Sinne*, and those of *Pharan*) crost the same from *Ceclata*, and marched Eastward to the mountaine of *Saphir*, or *Sepher*: this making the Twentieth mansion. From thence hee passed on to *Harada*; then to *Maccloth*; and then to *Thahab*, and so to *Thara* or *Thare*; the foure and twentieth mansion. Where *Moses* rested, the people began that insolent and dangerous mutiny of *Korah*, *Dathan*, &c. *Abiram*; who for their contempt of God & his Ministers, were some of them swallowed vp aliue, and by the Earth opening her mouth deuoured; others, euen two hundred and fifty which offered incense with *Korah*, were consumed with fire from Heauen; and 14700. of their party, which murmured against *Moses*, stricken dead with a sudden pestilence: one of the greatest maruailes and iudgements of God, that hath been shewed in all the time of *Moses* his gouernment, or before. For among so great a multitude, those lay-men who would haue vsurped Ecclesiasticall authority, were suddenly swallowed vp aliue into the Earth with their families and goods; euen while they sought to ouerthrow the Order, Discipline, and power of the Church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliously contending against the High Priest and Magistrate, to whom God had committed the gouernment both of his Church, and Common-weale of his people. And the better to assure the people, and out of his great mercy to confirme them, it pleased him in this place also to approue by miracle the former election of his seruant *Aaron*, by the twelue rods giuen in by the Heads of the twelue Tribes; of which *Moses* receiued one of eury Head, and Prince of his Tribe: which being all withered and dried Wands, and on eury rod the name of the Prince of the Tribe written, and *Aarons* on that of *Leui*, it pleased God, that the rod of *Aaron* receiued by his power a vegetable spirit, and hauing laine in the Tabernacle of the Congregation, before the *Arke* one night, had on it both Buddes, Blossomes, and ripe Almonds.

From *Tharah* the whole Army remoued to *Methra*; and thence to *Esmona*; and thence to *Moseroth*, (or *Masurit*, after Saint *Hierome* and from *Moseroth* to *Bencianan*; and so to *Gadgad*, which *Hierome* calleth *Gadgata*; thence to *Ietabata*, the thirtieth Mansion; where from certaine fountaines of water gathered in one, *Adrichomius* maketh a Riuer, which falleth into the *Red Sea*, betwene *Madian* and *Asiongaber*.

Now

Now although it be very probable, that at *Asiongaber*, where *Salomon* hatched his Fleets for the East India, there was store of fresh water; and though *Herodotus* maketh mention of a great Riuer in Arabia the *Sumit*, which he calleth *Corya*, from whence (saith he) the inhabitants conueigh water in pipes of leathard to other places, by which deuice the King of Arabia reioiced the Army of *Cambyses*: yet is *Adrichomius* greatly decciued, as many times since is, in finding these Springs at *Gadgad*, or *Ietabata*, being the nine and twentieth or thirtieth Mansion. For it was at *Punon*, that those Springs are spoken of, which in *Democritus* the tenth, and the tenth Verse, is also called *Asiongaber* or *Sabbar*; a Land of running waters, and which by all probability fall into the *Red Sea*, the next adioyning. And that those Springs should fall into the *Red Sea*, at *Asiongaber*, or *Eloth*, I cannot beleue, for the way thither is very long. And this I finde in *Belonius*, that there are diuers Fontaines of fresh water in those parts of Arabia: which though they continue their course for a few miles, yet they are drunke vp by the hot and thirsty Land, before they can recouer the banks of the *Red Sea*.

From *Ietabata*, *Moses* directed his journey towards the *Red Sea*, and incamped at *Hebron*, and from thence to *Esiogaber*: which City in *Iosephus* time had the name of *Beronic*; and in *Hierome*, *Esiu*. From thence, keeping the Sea, and *Eloth* on his right hand, hee turned towards the North, as hee was by God commanded: *Esiogaber* being the farthest place towards the South East; that *Moses* trauielled in that passage.

It seemeth that *Esiogaber* or *Asiongaber* or *Adrichomius* and *Madian*, were not at this time in the possession of the Kings of *Edom*. For it is said, That the Lord spake vnto *Moses* and *Aaron* in the *Mount Sinai* in the East of the Land of *Edom*; so as the Mount *Sin* was at this time in the South border of *Idumaea*. And if *Asiongaber*, and the other places neere the *Red Sea*, had at this present beene subiect vnto the *Idumaeans*, *Moses* would also haue demanded a free passage through them. It is true, that in the future the *Idumaeans* obtained those places; for it is said, And they arose out of *Adiabab*, and came to *Paran*; and took men with them; which were those companies that followed young *Adad* of *Idubab*, vnto *Egypt*, when he fled from *Isaac*. Likewise it is said of *Salomon*, that hee made a Navy of shippes in *Esiogaber* besides *Eloth*, in the Land of *Edom*.

Num. c. 20.

v. 13.

1 Kings 11. 18.

Of *Moses* arrivall at *Zin* Kades: and of the accidents which that they abode there.

From *Esiogaber* hee turned againe towards the North, and pitched in the wilderness of *Zin*, which is *Kades*; or in *Beroth* of the children of *Isaac*; where they fate downe in the first Moneth of the fortieth yeere after they came out of *Egypt*. For at the next Mansion *Aaron* died in the first day of the fifth Moneth of the fortieth yeere: the nine and thirtieth yeere taking end at *Esiogaber*. And at this City of *Kades* (for so it was thought to be) or neerer, died *Miriam*, or *Mary*, *Moses* sister, whose Sepulcher was to be seene in *Saint Hieromes* time, as himselfe auoweth. From hence ere they departed to the Mountaine *Hor*, all the people murmured most violently against *Moses*, by reason of the scarcity of water. For neither the punishments by fire from Heauen; by being deuoured and swallowed vp by the earth; by the sudden pestilence, which often seized them; nor any miracle formerly shewing, either the loue or wrath of God, so could preuaile with this Nation any longer, than while they were full fed and satisfied in eury of their appetites: but in stead of seeking for helpe and relief at Gods hands, when they suffered hunger, thirst, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed estates, and casting vngreatfully on *Moses* all their misaduentures; yea, though they well knew that their owne Fathers had left their bodies in the Deserts, and that they were now entred into the fortieth yeere, wherein all their miseries were to take end. And being, as it were, in the sight of the Land promised, they againe as obstinately tempted God as in former times, and neither trusted his promises, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purposes of

Num. 20. 1.

Num. 20. 3.

C c

God

God are without beginning; so his mercies being without end, he commanded *Moses* to strike a Rocke adioyning with his rod; and the waters issued out in a great abundance, with which both themselves and their cattell were satiated. Neuertheless, because God perceived a kinde of diffidence both in *Moses* and *Aaron*, at this place; therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promised, whereto perchance their worldly desires might inuite them. But it pleased him to end the trauailes of *Aaron* at the Mountaine *Hor*, being the next, and foure and thirtieth Station. At which Mountaine of *Hor*, *Aaron* was despoyled of the garments of his Priest-hood, and the same put on *Eleazar* his sonne, as God had commanded. Which done, *Moses* and *Eleazar* descended the Mountaine; but *God* receiued *Aaron* on the top thereof, and he was no more, scene: he.

Of this Mountaine called *Hor*, otherwife *Mosira*, as in *Deuteronomy* 10. Verse 6. those *Horites* tooke name, which the *Idumeans* had formerly vanquished. Some there are which make *Mosera*, which was the seauen and twentieth Mansion; and *Mosera* which they write *Mosroth* for difference, which was the foure and thirtieth Mansion, and is also called *Hor*, to be two distinct places: because *Moses* in passing from *Cadesbarne* towards *Egypt*, incamped at *Mosera*, after hee departed from *Hesmon*, and before he came to *Beniamin*. And this *Mosera*, which is also called *Hor*, he came vnto after he left *Cades*, where *Miriam*, *Moses* sister dyed; the first being the seauen and twentieth, and the second being the foure and thirtieth Mansion. But for *Hor*, which is also called *Mosera*, it should haue bene written, *Hor iuxta Mosera*; *Hor neere Mosera*: for it is but one roote of a Mountaine, diuided into diuers tops, as *Sinai* and *Horeb* are: Whereof the West part *Moses* calleth *Mosera*, and the East part *Horeb*. By the West part *Moses* encamped, as hee past towards the *Red Sea*, on his left hand; by the East part, as hee went backe againe North-wards towards *Moab*: as in the description of *Moses* his passage through *Arabia*, the Reader may perceiue.

Now it was from *Cades*, before they came to *Hor*, because *Hor* belonged to *Edom*, that *Moses* sent messengers to the Prince of *Idumea*, praying him that he might passe with the people of *Israel* through his Territory into the Land of *Canaan*, which bordered it. For it was the neereest way of all other from the City of *Cades*, where *Moses* then encamped; whereas otherwise taking his iourney by the Riuer of *Zared*, *Arnon*, and *Jordan*, he might haue runne into many hazards in the passage of those Riuer, the farre way about, and the many powerfull Kings, which commanded in those Regions. Now the better to perswade the Prince of *Idumea* hereunto, *Moses* remembered him, that hee was of the same race and family with *Israel*: calling him by the name of brother, because both the *Edomites* and *Israelites* were the sonnes of one father, to wit, *Isaac*; inferring thereby that hee had more reason to fauour and respect them, than hee had to assilt the *Canaanites*; against whom *Esau* his Ancestor had made warre, and driuen out the *Horites* (who were of their ancient races descended of *Cham*) out of the Region of *Seir*, calling it by his owne name *Edom*, or *Edumaea*. He also making a short repetition of Gods blessings bestowed on them, and of his purposes and promises; assured *Edom*, or the King thereof, that he would not offend his people, or waste his Countrey, but that hee would restrain his Army within the bounds of the Common, and Kings high wayes, paying money for whatsoever he vsed, yea, even for the water, which themselves or their Cattell should drinke. For *Moses* was commanded by God, not to prouoke the children of *Esau*. But the King of *Edumaea* knowing the strength of his owne Countrey, the same being neere *Canaan*, rampard with high and sharpe mountains: and withall suspecting, as a naturall wise man, that 600000. strangers being once entred his Countrey, it would rest in their wills to giue him law, resolutely refused them passage, and deliuered this answer to the Messengers: That, if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them for enemies, and resist them by all possible meanes. And not knowing whether such a deniall might satisfie or exasperate, hee gathered the strength of his Countrey together, and shewed himselfe prepared to defend their passage. For, as it is written; Then *Edom* came out against him (to wit, *Moses*) with much people, and with a mighty power. Whereupon *Moses* considering, that the end of his enterprise was not the conquest of *Seir* or *Edumaea*, and that the Land promised was that of *Canaan*: like vnto himselfe who was of naturall vnderstanding the greatest of any man, and the skilfullest man of warre that the world had,

hee refused to aduerture the Army of *Israel* against a Nation, which being overcome, gaue but a passage to invade others; and which by reason of the feate of their mountainous Countrey, could not but haue endangered, or (at least) greatly enfeebled the strength of *Israel*, and rendred them lesse able, if not altogether powerlesse, to haue conquered the rest.

§. VI.

Of their compassing *Idumea*, and traueilling to *Arnon*, the border of *Moab*.

10. Therefore leauing the way of *Idumea*, turned himselfe towards the East, and marched towards the Deserts of *Moab*. Which when *Arad* King of the *Canaanites* vnderstood, and that *Moses* had blanchd the way of *Idumea*; and knowing that it was *Canaan*, and not *Edom*, which *Israel* aimed at, he thought it safest, rather to finde his enemies in his neighbours Countrey, than to be found by them in his owne: which he might haue done with a farre greater hope of victory, had *Moses* bene enforced first to haue made his way by the Sword through *Idumea*, and thereby though victorious, greatly haue lessened his numbers. But although it fell out otherwise than *Arad* hoped for, yet being resolved to make triall, what courage the *Israelites* brought with them out of *Egypt*, before they came neerer his owne home; leading the strength of his Nation to the edge of the Desert, he set vpon some part of the Army; which, for the multitude occupied a great space, and for the many heards of Cattell that they draue with them, could not encampe so neere together, but that some quarter or other was cuermore subiect to surpris. By which aduantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance v unexpected, he slew some few of the *Israelites*, and carried with him many prisoners.

Now it is very probable, that it was this *Canaanite*, or his Predecessour, which ioynd his forces with the *Amalekites*, and gaue an ouerthrow to those mutinous *Israelites*, which without direction from God by *Moses*, would haue entred *Canaan* from *Cadesbarne*. For it seemeth that the greatest number of that Army were of the *Canaanites*, because in the first of *Deuteronomy*, 44. the *Amorites* are named alone without the *Amalekites*, and are said to haue beaten the *Israelites* at that time. And this *Arad*, if he were the same that had a victory ouer *Israel*, neere *Cadesbarne*; or if it were his Predecessour that then preuailed, this man finding that *Moses* was returned from the *Red Sea*; and in his way towards *Canaan*, and that the South part of *Canaan* was first to be invaded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of *Moses* purpose to compass *Moab*, determined while hee was yet in the Desert, to trie the quarrell. And whereas it followeth in the third verse of the twelfth Chapter of *Numbers*, that the *Israelites* utterly destroyed the *Canaanites* and their Cities, they are much mistaken that thinke, that this destruction was presently performed by the *Israelites*. But it is to be vnderstood, to haue bene done in the future, to wit, in the time of *Iosua*. For had *Moses* at this time entred *Canaan* in the pursuit of *Arad*, he would not haue fallen backe againe into the Deserts of *Zin* and *Moab*, and haue fetcht a wearisome and needlesse compass, by the Riuer of *Zared* and *Arnon*.

Neither is their coniecture to be valued at any thing, which affirme, that *Arad* did not inhabit any part of *Canaan* it selfe, but that his Territory lay without it, and neere the Mountaine *Hor*. For *Hor* and *Zin* *Cades* were the South borders of *Edom*, and not of *Canaan*. And it was in the South of the Land of *Canaan*, that *Arad* dwelt: which South part of *Canaan* was the North part of *Edom*.

Againe, *Horma* (for so farre the *Israelites* after their victory pursued the *Canaanites*) is so seated in the South of *Judea*. There is also a City of that name in *Simeon*. But there is no such place to the South of *Edom*. And were there no other argument, but the mutiny which followed presently after the repetition of this victory, it were enough to proue, that the same was obtained in the future, and in *Iosua* his time, and not at the instant of *Arads* assault. For had the *Israelites* at this time sackt the Cities of *Arad*, they would not the next day haue complained for want of water and bread. For where there are great Cities, there is also water and bread. But it was in the time of *Iosua*, that the *Israelites* tooke their reuenge, and after they had past *Jordan*: *Iosua* then governing them; who in the twelfth Chapter and fourteenth Verse, nameth this *Arad* by the name of his

Citie so called; and with him the King of *Horma*: to which place the Israelites pursued the Canaanites. And he nameth them amongst those Kings, which he vanquished, and put to death.

Now after this assault and surprize by *Arad*, *Moses* finding that all entrance on that side was defended, he led the people Eastward to compass *Idumaea* and the *Dead Sea*, and to make his entrance by *Arnon* and the Plains of *Moab*, at that time in the possession of the Amorites. But the Israelites, to whom the very name of a Desert was terrible, began againe to rebell against their Leader; till God by a multitude of fiery Serpents, (that is, by the byttag of Serpents, whose venom inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made them know their error, and afterward, according to his plentifull grace, cured them againe by their beholding an artificiall Serpent, by his Commandement set vp.

From the *Mount Hor*, *Moses* leaving the ordinary way which lyeth betwene the *Red Sea*, and *Calofris*, encamped at *Zalmona*: and thence hee remoued to *Phunon*, where hee erected the Brazen Serpent; making these iourneys by the edge of *Idumaea*, but without it. For *Phunon* was sometime a principall City of the Edomites. Now where it is written in *Numbers* 21. *Verse* 4. *That from Mount Hor they departed by the way of the Red Sea, which grieved the people*, it was not thereby meant that the Israelites turned back towards the *Red Sea*; neither did they march (according to *Fonsca*) *per viam que habet à latere mare rubrum*; By the way that sided the *Red Sea*, but indeed they crost, and went athwart the common way from *Galaad*, *Traconitis*, and the Countreys of *Moab*, to the *Red Sea*, that is, to *Eziongeber*, *Eloth*, and *Midian*: which way, as it lay North and South, so *Israel* to shunne the border of *Edom*, and to take the utmost East part of *Moab*, crost the common way towards the East, and then they turned againe towards the North, as before.

From *Phunon* he went to *Oboth*; where they entred the Territory of *Moab*, adioyning to the Land of *Supha*, a Countrey bordering on the *Dead Sea*; and from thence to *Abarim*, the eight and thirtieth Mansion, that is, where the Mountaines so called take beginning, and are as yet but small Mounreys of Hills, on the East border of *Moab*. From thence they recovered *Dibon Gad*, or the Riuer of *Zared*, which riseth in the mountaines of *Arabia*, and runneth towards the *Dead Sea*, not farre from *Petra* the Metropolis thereof, being the nine and thirtieth Station. And hauing past that Riuer, they lodged at *Dibon Gad*, and from thence they kept the way to *Diblathaim*, one of the Cities of *Moab*; which *Hieremie* the Prophet *Chap.* 48. *Verse* 22. calleth the *House of Diblathaim*, the same which afterward was destroyed among the rest by *Nabuchadnezzar*. From thence they came to the Riuer of *Arnon*, and encamped in the mountaines of *Abarim*: though in the 22. of *Numbers*, *Moses* doth not remember *Helmondiblathaim*, but speaketh of his remoue from the Riuer of *Zared*, immediately to the other side of *Arnon*, calling *Arnon* the border of *Moab*, betwene them and the Amorites: speaking, as he found the state of the Countrey at that time. For *Arnon* was not anciently the border of *Moab*, but was lately conquered from the Moabites, by *Sehon*, King of the Amorites: euen from the Predecessour of *Bilac Pear* then reigning. From *Diblathaim*, *Moses* sent messengers to *Sehon*, King of the Amorites, to desire a passage through his Countrey: which though he knew would be denied him, yet he desired to giue a reason to the neighbour Nations, of the warre he undertooke. And though *Edom* had refused him as *Sehon* did, yet he had no warrant from God to enforce him. *Moses* also in sending messengers to *Sehon*, obserued the same precept, which he left to his posterity and successours, for a law of the warre; namely in *Deut.* 20. *Verse* 10. in these words; *when thou comest neere vnto a Citie to fight against it, thou shalt offer it peace, which if it doe accept of, and open vnto thee, then let all the people found therein be tributaries vnto thee, and serue thee; but if it refuse, etc. thou shalt smite all the males thereof with the edge of the sword.* Which ordinance all commanders of Armies haue obserued to this day, or ought to haue done.

## §. VII.

Of the booke of the battailes of the Lord, mentioned in this Story, and of other Bookes mentioned in Scripture, which are lost.

Num. c. 21. v. 14.

Now concerning the Warre betwene *Israel* and *Sehon*, *Moses* seemeth to referre a great part of this Story to that Booke intituled, *Liber bellorum Domini*; The booke of Gods battailes: and therefore passeth ouer many encounters, and other things memor-

memorable, with greater breuity in this place. His words after the *Geneus* Translation are these: *wherefore it shall be spoken in the booke of the battailes of the Lord, what things he did in the Red Sea, and in the Riuers of Arnon.* The *Vulgar* copie differeth not in sense from this: But the *Greeke Septuagint* vary. For the *Greeke* writes it to this effect; *For thus it is said in the booke: The warre of the Lord hath burnt (or inflamed) Zoob, and the brookes of Arnon.* Iunius for the *Red Sea*, which is in the *Geneus* and *Vulgar Edition*, names the Region of \* *Supha*, a Countrey bordering the *Dead Sea* towards the East, as he coniectureth. The Text he readeth thus. *Ideirō dici solet in recessione bellorum Ichoua, contra Vahebim in Regione Suph: & contra flumina, flumina Arnonis.* Therefore it is spoken in repeating of the battailes of *Ichoua*, against *Valheb*, in the Countrey of *Supha*; and against the Riuers, the Riuers of *Arnon*. In which words he vnderstands, that among the warres which the Lord disposed for the good of the Israelites, there was in those times a famous memory in the mouth of most men, concerning the warre of *Sehon* against *Valheb*, the King of the Moabites, and of his winning the Countrey neere *Arnon*, out of the possession of the Moabites. For this *Valheb* was the immediate predecessor of *Bilac*, who liued with *Moses*: though it be written that this *Bilac* was the son of *Zippor*, and not of *Valheb*. For it seemes (as it is plaine in the succession of the Edomites) that these Kingdomes were electiue, and not successiue. And as *Iunius* in this Translation vnderstandeth no speciall Booke of the battailes of the Lord: so others, as *Verabius* in his Annotations, doubt whether in this

20 place any speciall Booke be meant; and if any, whether it be not a prediction of warres in future ages, to be waged in these places, and to be written in the Book of *Judges*, *Syracides* c. 46. tells vs plainly, that those battailes of the Lord were fought by *Iosua*, whom he there (saith he) before him like to him? for he fought the battailes of the Lord. But seeing the Histories of the Scripture elsewhere often passe ouer matters of great weight in few words, referring the Reader to other Bookes, written of the same matter at large: therefore it seemeth probably, that such a Booke as this there was; wherein the severall victories by *Israel* obtained, and also victories of other Kings, making way for the good of the Israelites, were particularly and largely written. And that the same should now be wanting, it is not strange, seeing so many other Volumes, filled with diuine discourse, haue perished 30 in the long race of time, or haue beene destroyed by the ignorant and malicious Heathen Magistrate. For the Bookes of *Henoch*, how soeuer they haue beene in later ages corrupted, and therefore now suspected, are remembered in an Epistle of *Thaddaeus*, and cited by *Origene*, *Jerome*, and by *Tertullian*.

That worke also of the Patriarch *Abraham*, of *Formation*, which others bestow on *Rabbi Achiba*, is no where found. The Bookes remembered by *Iosua* c. 10. v. 13. and in the second of *Samuel*, c. 1. v. 18. called the *Booke of Iaher*, or *Iastorin*, is also lost; wherein the stay of the Sunne and Moone in the midst of the Heauens is recorded, and how they stood still till *Israel* had auenged themselves of their enemies: out of which also *Daniell* tooke the precept, of teaching the children of *Iuda*, to exercise their bowes against their enemies.

Some thinke this to be the Booke of eternall Predestination, in which this iust are written, according vnto the sixty and ninth *Psalme*, *Verse* 28. where it is said; *Let them bee put out of the booke of Life, neither let them bee written with the righteous.* *Hierome* thinke, that *Dauid* by this Booke vnderstood those of *Samuel*; *Rabbi Salomon*, that the Bookes of the Law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the iust *Abraham*, of *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and *Moses*, are written; Others, that it was the Booke of *Exodus*; others, as *Theodoresus*, that it was a Commentary vpon *Iosua*, by an vknowne Author.

The booke of *Chozai*, concerning *Manasse*, remembered in the second of *Chron.* 33. v. 18. & 16. Of this booke, also lost, *Hierome* conceiues that the Prophet *Isay* was the Author.

The same mischance came aswell to the Story of *Salomon*, written by *Abia*; *Salomon*, who met with *Ieroboam*, and foretold him of his obtaining the Kingdome of *Israel* from the sonne of *Salomon*; as to the bookes of *Nathan* the Prophet, and to those of *Isidore* *Seer*, remembered in the second of *Chron.* c. 9. v. 29. With these haue the bookes of *Shemai* and of *Ado*, remembered in the second of *Chron.* c. 12. v. 15. perished; and that of *Iehu* the sonne of *Hamani*, of the acts of *Iehozaphat*, cited in the second of *Chron.* c. 20. v. 34. Also that booke of *Salomon* which the Hebrewes write *Hosfaim*, of 52000 verses,



of which that part called *Canticum Canticorum*, onely remaineth, 1. *Kings* 4. 32. and with this diuers others of *Salomons* works haue perished, as his Booke of the naturcs of Trees, Plants, Beasts, Fishes, &c. 1. *Kings* 4. 33. with the rest remembred by *Origen*, *Iosephus*, *Hierome*, *Cedrenius*, *Ciccius Asculanus*, *Picrus Miranula*, and others.

Of these and other Bookes many were consumed with the same fire, wherewith *Nabuchadnezzar* burnt the Temple of *Hierusalem*. But let vs returne thither where wee left.

## §. VIII.

Of *Moses* his sparing the issue of *Lot*: and of the *Giants* in those parts: and of *Sehon* 10 and *Og*.

**W**hen *Moses* had past *Arnon*, he incamped on the other side thereof at *Abarim*, opposite to the City of *Nebo*, leaving the City of *Midian* on the left hand, & attempting nothing vpon the *Moabites* on that side. For *Moab* did at this time inhabit on the South-side of *Arnon*, hauing lost all his ancient and best Territory, which was now in the possession of *Sehon* the *Amorite*. For *Moses* was commanded by God not to molest *Moab*, neither to prouoke them to battaile, God hauing giuen that Land to the children of *Lot*: the same which was anciently posselt by the *Emims*, who were men of great stature, and comparable to those *Giants* called *Anakims*, 10 or the sonnes of *Anac*.

God also commanded *Moses* to spare the *Ammonites*, because they likewise were descended of *Lot*: who had expelled from thence those *Giants*, which the *Ammonites* called *Zamzummims*. For it seemeth that all that part, especially to the East of *Jordan*, euen to the Desert of *Arabia*, as well on the West, as on the East-side of the Mountaines of *Gilead*, was inhabited by *Giants*. And in the plantation of the Land promised, the *Israelites* did not at any time passe those Mountaines to the East of *Basan*, but left their Countrey to them, as in the description following is made manifest. We find also, that as there were many *Giants* both before and after the flood: so these Nations, which anciently inhabited both the border of *Canaan*, and the Land it selfe, had among them many Families of Giant-like men. For the *Anakims* dwelt in *Hebron*, which sometimes was called the City of *Arbah*, which *Arbah* in *Iofus* is called the father of the *Anakims*, and the greatest man of the *Anakims*. There had also bene *Giants* in the Land of the *Moabites*, called *Emims*: and their chiefe City was *Arocr* or *Ar*, neere the Riuer of *Arnon*. To the *Giants* of the *Rephaims*, the *Ammonites* gaue the name of *Zamzummims*; which were of the same ancient *Canaanites*: and their chiefe City was *Rabba*, afterward *Philadelphia*. They were also called *Zuzims*, which is as much to say, as *Viri robusti, horrendi, Gigantes, Strong men, and fearefull Giants*, who inhabited other Cities of *Ham*, or *Hom*, in the same Prouince, and not farre to the North of *Arocr*.

Now *Moses* hauing past *Arnon*, and being encamped at *Abarim*; and hauing (as before) 10 sent to *Sehon*, as he had done to *Edom*, to pray a passage through his Countrey, was denied it. For *Sehon* being made proud by his former conquest vpon *Phaleg* the *Moabite*; which Nation the *Amorites* esteemed but as strangers and vsurpers, (themselves being of the sonnes of *Canaan*, and the *Moabites* of *Lot*) refused to grant *Israel* any entrance that way, and withall prepared to encounter *Moses* with as much speed as he could, because *Moses* encamped in the Countrey of his new conquests, to wit, the Plaines of *Moab*, the two and fortieth and last Mansion: which *Moses* waited with the multitude of his people, and cartell. Towards him therefore hauing himselfe, they encountered each other at *Jabath*, where *Sehon* with his children and people were broken and discomfited: and the victory 10 pursued by *Moses*, as few or none of the *Amorites* escaped. He also slaughtered all the Women and Children of the *Amorites*, which he found in *Essebon*, and all the other Cities, Villages, or Fields; they being of the race of *Canaan*, as those of *Basan* also were: and defended of *Phogoreus* or *Amoreus*: for *Moses* calleth the *Basantes* also *Amorites*. And although *Israel* might now haue taken a ready way and passage into *Iudea*: being at this time, and after this victory at the banks of *Jordan*: yet he knew it to be perillous to leaue 10 so great a part of that Nation of the *Amorites* on his backe, as inhabited all the Region of *Basan* or *Tracoinis*: and therefore he led on his Army to invade *Og*: a person of exceeding strength and stature: and the onely man of marke remaining of the ancient *Giants* 10 of

Deut. 1. v. 9. & 10. 11. & 12.

Iof. 15. v. 13. c. 14. v. 15.

Deut. 1. v. 8.

of those parts, and who at that time had 60. Cities walled and defended: lying betwene the Mountaine of *Herman* (which Mountaine, saith *Moses*, the *Sidonians* call *Shtirion*; and the *Amorites* *Shenir*) and the Riuer of *Jordan*. And it befell vnto the King of *Basan* (who attended *Moses* coming at *Edrei*) as it did vnto *Sihon*: for he and his sonnes perished, and all his Cities were taken and posselt. After this, *Moses* with-drawing himselfe backe againe to the Mountaines of *Abarim*, left the prosequition of that warre vnto *Jair* the sonne of *Manasse*: who conquering the East parts of *Basan*, to wit, the Kingdome of *Argob*, euen vnto the Nations of the *Gessurim* and *Machath*, 60. walled Cities: called the same after his owne name *Huath Jair*: of all which conquests afterward the halfe Tribe of 10 *Manasse* posselt the North part as farre as *Edrei*, but the East part that belonged to *Sihon* the *Amorite*, with the Mountaines of *Gilead* adioyning, was giuen to *Reuben* and vnto *Gad*.

## §. IX.

Of the troubles about the *Medianites*, and of *Moses* his death.

**A**fter these victories, and while *Israel* sojourned in the valley of *Moab*, the *Medianites* and *Moabites* (our both which Nations it seemeth that *Balaam* King of the *Moabites* then commanded in chiefe) fought, according to the aduice of 10 *Balaam*, both by alluring the Hebrewes to the loue of their daughters, and by perswading them to honour and serue their Idols, to diuide them both in Loue and Religion among themselves: thereby the better both to defend their owne interest against them, as also to beate them out of *Moab*, and the Countreys adioyning. The *Israelites* as they had euer bene inclined, so were they now easily perswaded to these euill courses, and thereby drew on themselves the plague of pestilence, whereof there perished 24600. persons: besides which punishment of God, the most of the offenders among the Hebrewes, were by his commandement put to the Sword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that *Phineas* the sonne of *Eleazar* had pierced the bodies of *Zimri*, a Prince of the *Simeonites*, together with *Cosbi* a daughter of one of the chiefe of the *Midianites*, the plague ceased, and Gods wrath was appeased. For such was the loue and kindnesse of his all-powerfulnesse, respecting the ardent zeale of *Phineas* in persecuting of *Zimri* (who being a chiefe among the Hebrewes, became an Idolater) as he forgave the rest of *Israel*, and stayed his hand for his sake.

In this valley it was that *Moses* caused the people to be numbred the third time: and there remained of able men fit to beare armes, 601730. of which as his last enterprife, he appointed 12000. to be chosen out, to invade the Cities of *Midian*, who together with the *Moabites* practised with *Balaam* to curse *Israel*: and after that sought to allure them (as before remembred) from the worship of the true God, to the seruice of *Beth-Peor*: and to the rest of their barbarous Idolatry.ouer which companies of 12000. 10 *Moses* gaue the charge to *Phineas*, the sonne of *Eleazar* the high Priest: who slew the five Princes of the *Medianites*, which were, or had lately bene, the vassals of *Sehon*, as appeareth by *Iofuah*. These five Princes of the *Medianites* slaine by *Eleazar*, were at this time but the vassals of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, to wit, *Eui*, *Rekem*, *Zur*, *Hur*, and *Reba*, the Dukes of *Sehon* saith *Iofuah*. He slew also all the men, male-children, and women: sauing such as had not yet vsed the company of men, but those they slaued, and disperst them among the children of *Israel* to serue them.

And *Moses* hauing now liued 120. yeeres, making both his owne weakenesse of body knowne to the people, and his vnability to traualle: and also that he was forewarned of his end by the Spirit of God: from whom he receiued a new commandement to ascend the Mountaines of *Abarim*, and thereon to render vp his life: He hastned to settle the Government in *Iofus*: whom he perswaded with most liuely arguments to prosecute the conquest begun, assuring him of Gods fauour and assistance therein. And so hauing spent these his later dayes after the Conquest of *Og* and *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*, in the repetition and exposition of the Law, (or an iteration of the Law, according to Saint *Augustine*) vsing both arguments, prayers, and threats vnto the people: which he often repeated vnto them; thereby to confirme them in knowledge, loue, feare, and seruice, of the all-powerfull God: He blessed the twelue Tribes, that of *Simcon* excepted, with severall and most comfortable blessings: praying the greatnesse and good- 10 nesse

Num. 25. v. 9.

Num. 16. v. 51.

Num. 31. v. 8.

Iof. 13. v. 12.

Cap. 13. v. 21.

Deut. 31. v. 1.

Ddut. 31. v. 2.

Aug. 1. 4. de Mirab. fact. script.

Deut. 33.

nesses of him, vnto whom in his prayers he commended them: He also commanded the Priestes lay vpon the Booke of the Law, by the side of the Arke of God: The last that he indited was that Prophetickall Song, beginning: *Hearken ye Heauens and I will speake, and let the Earth heare the words of my mouth:* and being called by God from the labours and sorrowes of this life, vnto that rest which neuer afterward hath disquiet, hee was buried in the Land of *Moab*, ouer against *Beth-Peor*: but no man knoweth of his Sepulcher to this day; which happened in the yeere of the World 2554.

## §. X.

Observations out of the Story of Moses, how God disposeth both the smallest occasions, and the greatest resistances, to the effecting of his purpose.

**N**ow let vs a little, for instruction, looke backe to the occasions of sundry of the great euents, which haue beene mentioned in this Story of the life of *Moses*, for (excepting Gods miracles, his promise, and fore-choise of this people) hee wrought in all things else by the medium of mens affections, and naturall appetites. And to we shall finde that the feare which *Pharaoh* had of the increafe of the *Hebrewes*, multiplied by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next naturall cause of the sorrowes and losse, which befell him selfe, and the *Egyptian* Nation: which numbers when he fought by cruell and vngodly policies to cut off and lessen, as when he commanded all the male-children of the *Hebrewes* to be slaine, God (whose providence cannot be resisted, nor his purposes preuented by all the foolish and saluage craft of mortall men) moued compassion in the heart of *Pharaohs* owne daughter, to preserve that childe, which afterward became the most wise, and of all men the most gentle and milde, the most excellently learned in all Diuine and Humane knowledge, to be the conductor and deliverer of his oppressed brethren, and the ouerthrow of *Pharaoh*, and all the flower of his Nation; euen then, when he fought by the strength of his men of Warre, of his Horse, and Chariots, to tread them vnder, and bury them in the dust. The griefe which *Moses* conceived of the iniuries, and of the violence offered to one of the *Hebrewes* in his owne presence, moued him to take reuenge of the *Egyptian* that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his owne Nation, by threatening him to discover the slaughter of the *Egyptian*, moued him to lie into *Midian*: the contention betweene the Shepherds of that place, and *Lehrs* Daughters, made him knowne to their Father: who not onely entertained him, but married him to one of those Sisters: and in that solitary life of keeping of his Father in lawes sheepe, farre from the presse of the World, contenting himselfe (though bred as a Kings Sonne) with the lot of a poore Heards-man, God found him out in that Desert, wherein he first suffered him to liue many yeeres, the better to know the wayes and passages through which he purposed that he should conduct his people, toward the Land promised: and therein appearing vnto him, he made him know his will and diuine pleasure for his returne into *Egypt*. The like may be said of all things else, which *Moses* afterward by Gods direction performed in the Story of *Israel* before remembered. There is not therefore the smallest accident, which may seeme vnto men as falling out by chance, and of no consequence: but that the same is caused by God to effect somewhat else by: yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greatest worldly importance, either presently, or in many yeeres after, when the occasions are either not considered, or forgotten.

CHAP.

## CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the Israelites had dealing after their coming out of *Egypt*: and of the men of renoune in other Nations, about the times of *Moses* and *Iosua*, with the summe of the History of *Iosua*.

## §. I.

How the Nations with whom the Israelites were to haue warre, were diuers wayes, as it were, prepared to be their enemies.



**I**N like manner if we looke to the quality of the Nations, with whom the Israelites, after their coming out of *Egypt*, had to doe, either in the wilderness, or afterward: we shall finde them long before-hand, by the disposing providence of God, as it were prepared for enmity: partly in respect that they were most of them of the issue of *Canaan*, or at least of *Ham*: and the rest (as the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, & *Israelites*) were mingled with them by mutuall marriages: whereas the Israelites still continued strangers, and separate from them: and so partly in this respect, and partly by ancient iniuries or enmities, and partly by reason of diuersity in Religion, were these Nations, as it were prepared to be enemies to the Israelites: and so to serue for such purposes as God had reserved them for. To make these things more manifest, wee must vnderstand that this part of *Syria*, bounded by the mountaines of *Libanus*, and *Zidon* on the North, by the same mountaines continued as farre as the Springs of *Arnon* on the East: by the way of *Egypt*, and the *Red Sea*, on the South: and by the *Mediterran Sea* on the West: was inhabited and peopled by two Nations, the one springing from the sonnes of *Cham*, the other from *Sem*: but those of *Sem*, were but as strangers therein for a long time, and came thither in effect but with \* one Family, to wit, that of *Abraham*, and a few of his kindred. The other for the greatest part were the *Canaanites*, the ancient Lords and possessors of those Territories, by proceesse of time diuided into seuerall Families and names: whereof some of them were of eminent stature and strength, as the *Anakims*, *Zamzummins*, or *Zuzi*, *Enims*, *Horites*, and others: These (as men most valiant and able commonly doe) did inhabit the vtter borders and mountaines of their Countries: the rest were the *Zidonians*, *Iebusites*, *Amorites*, *Henites*, *Hetites*, and others, who tooke name after the sonnes of *Canaan*, and after whom the Countrey in generall was still called.

As for the *Hebrewes* which descended of *Shem* by *Abraham*, they were of another Familie, and strangers in that Countrey, especially the *Israelites*: and this was some cause that the *Canaanites* did not affect them, or indure them: no more than the *Philistines* did, who descended also of *Cham* by *Mizraim*. For though *Abraham* himselfe being a stranger, was highly esteemed and honoured among them: especially by the *Amorites* inhabiting the West part of *Jordan*: yet now euenthey which descended from *Abraham*, or from his kindred, abode and multiplied in those parts, were alienated in affections from the *Israelites*: as holding them strangers and intruders: making more account of their alliance with the *Canaanites*, and the rest of the issue of *Cham*, with whom they daily conversed, than of their old pedigree from *Abraham*.

True it is, that these Nations descended of *Abraham*, or of his kindred, who had singled themselves and matched with the *Canaanites* and others, had so farre posset themselves of the borders of those Regions, as they began to be equall in strength to the bordering *Canaanites*, if not superiour. For of *Lot* came those two great Families of the *Moabites*, & *Ammonites*: of *Esaue* the *Idumians*: of *Madian* the *Madianites*: of *Ismael* the eldest sonne of *Abraham*, came the *Ismaelites*, with whom are ioyned as of the same Nation, the *Amalekites*, whom though the more common opinion thinketh to haue beene a Tribe of *Edom*, because *Esaue* had a grand-childe of that name, yet manifest reason con-

\* It seemeth also that *Hur*, the Sonne of *Nahoi*, and *Bur* his Brother, planted themselves in the East side of *Jordan*, about *Babylon*: where they finde the Land of *Israel* in which *Iob* dwelt as one of the issue of *Sem* the Sonne of *Noah*, and *Eliab*, his friend which is called a *Ben-Amite*. See hereafter *chap. 10. §. 7. Exod. 17. 16.*

Deut. 1. 5.

uinceth

unceth it to haue beene otherwise. For the Israelites were forbidden to prouoke the Edomites, or doe them any wrong, whereas contrariwise *Amalek* was cursed, and enlesse waite decreed against him: but hereof more elsewhere, Chap. 8. §. 3. Of *Ismaels* eldest sonne *Nabob* sprung the *Arabians* of *Petrea*, called *Nabatheis*. Now euen as *Abraham* befought God to bleesse *Ismael*, so he pleased him both to promise and performe it. For of him thotwelve Tribes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that Tract of Land betwene *Hanilah* vpon *Tigris*, and *Sur* which is the West part of the *Desert of Arabia Petrea*. Yet howsoever the strength of these later named Nations, which descended from *Abraham*, were great; it is not vnlikely, but that some reason which moued them not to fauour the entrance of the Israelites into *Canaan*, was in respect of feare: because all Princes and States doe not willingly permit any stranger or powerfull Nation to enter their Territories. Wherefore, though all these Families before named, were not so vnited, in and among themselves, but that they had their ieaousies of each other, and contended for dominion: yet fearing a third more strong than themselves, whether they stood apart or vnited, they were taught by the care of their owne preservation, to ioyne themselves together against *Israel*: though they did it nothing so maliciously and resolutely as the *Canaanites* did. For the *Edumians* onely denied the Hebrewes a passage: which the *Moabites* durst not denie: because their Countrey lay more open, and because themselves had lately beene beaten out of the richest part of their Dominions, by the *Amorites*: and as for the *Ammonites*, their Countrey lay altogether out of the way, and the strength of *Sehon* and *Og* Kings of the *Amorites*, was interiaent: and besides that, the border of the *Ammonites* was strong, by reason of the mountains which diuided it from *Bassan*. Again, that which moued the *Moabites* in their owne reason not much to interrupt *Israel*, in the conquest of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, and of *Og* his confederate, was that the *Moabites* might hope after such time as the *Amorites* were beaten by *Moses*, that themselves might recouer againe their owne inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Plaines lying betwene the mountains of *Arabia* and *Jordan*: But as soone as *Sehon* was slaine, and that the King of *Moab*, *Balac*, perceived that *Moses* allotted that valley to the Tribes of *Gad* and *Ruben*, he began to practise with *Balaam* against *Israel*, and by the daughters of *Midian* as afore said, to allure them to Idolatry: and thus at the length the *Moabites* by speciall occasion were more and more stirred vp to enmity against *Israel*. And as for diuers of the rest that were defended from *Abrahams* kindred, we may note, how in the beginning, betwene the Authors of their Petigrees, God permitted some enmities to be as it were prefaces of future quarrels, which in the posterity might be the easier incensed, by the memory of old grudges: and withall by some dislaine from the elder in nature to the younger. For the *Ismaelites* being descended from the eldest sonne of *Abraham*, and the *Edomites* from the eldest sonne of *Isaac*, *Jacob*, being but a second sonne, of a second brother; those Princes which were defended of the elder Houses, being naturall men might scorne to giue place, much lesse to subiect themselves to their inferiours, as they tooke it: and for a more aggravation, the issues of *Esaus* Princes of *Edumaea*, might keepe in record that their Parent was bought out of his birth-right by *Jacobs* taking his aduantage, and that he was deceived of his fathers blessing also by him: and that *Jacob* after reconciliation came not vnto him as he promised, into *Seir* or *Idumaea*.

So also in the posterity of *Ismael*, it might remaine as a seed or pretence of enmity, that their fore-father was by the infatigation of *Sara*, cast out into the *Desert*, with his mother *Hagar*; and had therein perished, but that it pleased God by his Angell to relieue them. *Ismael* also had an Egyptian both to his mother and to his wife: and *Amalec* was also an Horite by his mother: which Horites were of the ancient *Canaanites*. The *Edumians* also, or *Edomites*, were by their Maternall line descended of the *Canaanites*. For *Esaus* tooke two wiues of that Nation: one of them was *Adath*, the daughter of *Elon*, the Hittite, and the other *Abolitanah*, the grand-child of *Ziboen* the Heuite, Lord of *Seir*, before the same was conquered by *Esaus*, and called after his name, *Edom*, or *Edumaea*.

Lastly, it appeareth that all those Families of the *Ismaelites*, *Amalekites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, &c. were in proceesse of time corrupted, and drawne from the knowledge and worship of God, and became Idolaters, infected and seduced by the conuersation of those people among whom they dwelt, and by those wiues of the *Canaanites* which they had married: only a few of the *Kenites* and those *Madianites*, which inhabited on the edge of the Red Sea, whereof *Iethro* was Priest, or Prince, or both, worshipped the true and euer-living God.

§. 11.

## §. 11.

Of the Kings of the *Canaanites* and *Madianites*, mentioned in the ancient Warrs of the *Israelites*.

IF the Kings of the *Canaanites*, descended of *Cham*, (for *Melchizedek* may be thought to be of a better Petigree) we finde foure named by *Moses*: and one and thirty remembred by *Iosias*; though few of these named, otherwise than by the Cities ouer which they commanded: to which each of them had a small Territory adioyning, and no other Dominion. These *Canaanites* in a generall consideration are to be vnderstood for all those Nations, descended of *Cham* by *Canaan*, as the *Hittites*, *Iebusites*, *Amorites*, *Gergesites*, *Heuites*, &c. and so here we vnderstand this name in speaking of the Kings of the *Canaanites*: and so also we call the Countrey of their habitation, the holy Land, or the Land of promise: for God hath appointed that the seven principle Families should be rooted out: and that his owne people should inherit their Lands and Cities. But if we consider of the name and Nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by *Jordan*, on the East, and by the *Mediterranean* Sea on the West: in which narrow Countrey, and in the choiest places thereof, those *Canaanites* which held their Paternall name chiefly inhabited.

20 The first King of these Nations, named in the Scriptures, was *Hamor* or *Hemer*, of the *Heuites*, whom *Simeon* and *Leui* slew, together with his sonne *Sichem*, in reuenge of their sisters rauishment.

*Araad* was the second King which the Scriptures haue remembred, who had that part of *Canaan* towards the South, neighbouring *Edom* and the dead Sea; the same which surprised *Israel*, as they encamped in the wilderness in the edge of *Edumaea*.

The third named was *Sehon* King of *Essebon*, who before *Moses* arrivall had beaten the *Moabites* out of the West part of *Arabia Petrea* or *Nabathaea*, and thrust them out *Arnon* into the *Deckers*, the same whom *Moses* ouerthrew in the plaines of *Moab*: at which time he tooke *Essebon*, and all the Cities of the *Amorites*.

30 Precisly after which victory, *Og* was also slaine by *Israel*, who commanded the North part of that Valley betwene the Mountains *Traconis* or *Galaad* and *Jordan*, who was also a King of the *Amorites*.

The fifth was *Adonizedek* King of the *Iebusites*, and of *Hierusalem*, with whom *Iosias* nameth foure other Kings.

*Hoham*, King of *Hebron*.

*Piram*, King of *Iarmuth*.

*Japia*, King of *Lachis*: and

*Deber*, King of *Eglon*, who were all *Amorites* ouerthrowne in battell: and hanged by

*Iosias*. *Adonizedek* ouerthrow *Iosias* nameth *Iabin*, King of *Hazor*, and

40 *Iobab*, King of *Madon*: whom he also slaughtered, and tooke his Cities: and this *Iabin* seemed to haue some dominion ouer the rest; for it is said in the Text, For *Hazor* be- fore times was the head of all those Kingdomes.

After these *Adonizedek* that notorious Tyrant is named: who confest that he had cutt off the thumbs of the hands and feete of feuenty Kings, inforcing them to gather crummes vnder his Table: who, after *Isaiah* and *Simeon* had vied the same execution vpon himselfe, acknowledged it to be a iust reuenge of God: this King was carried to *Hierusalem* where he died.

The last King named is *Iabin* the second, who as it seemeth had rebuilt *Hazor*, burnt by *Iosias*. For at such time as he employed *Sisara* against *Israel*, whom he oppressed twenty yeeres, after the death of *Ehud*, He inhabited *Hazor*. This *Iabin*, *Barac* (encouraged by *Debra*) ouerthrew; and his Captaine *Sisara* had by *Iael*, the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, a nail driven into his head while he slept in her Tent: *Iabin* himselfe perishing afterward in that warre.

The *Madianites* had also their Kings at times, but commonly mixt with the *Moabites*: and they held a corner of Land in *Nabathaea*: to the South-east of the Dead Sea. They descended from *Madian*, *Abrahams* sonne, by *Cethura*. *Raguel* surnamed *Getheglus* or *Le-thures*, laith *Iosephus*, called *Iethro* in *Exodus*, *Kenis* in the first of *Judges*, the sonne of *Dathan*, the grand-child of *Iexann*, or *Iokham*, the great grand-child of *Abraham* by *Cethura*.

thura, was Priest or Prince of the *Madianites* by the Red Sea: whose Daughter or Niece, *Moses* married: and of whom I have spoken elsewhere more at large. This *Iethra* ~~who were not the same with Nobab, must be his father: and this Nobab had leauen daughters.~~ He guided *Moses* in the *Wildernesse*: and became one of the *Israelites*: of him descended the *Kenites*, so called of his father *Raguel* surname, of which *Kenites* was *Heber*, whose wife was *Leah* the second, euen now remembered.

At such time as *Saul* invaded the *Amalekites*, he knowing the good affection of the *Kenites* to *Israel*, gave them warning to separate themselves: and yet the *Kenites* had strong faith, and lived in the mountaines by the Desert.

The Kings of the *Canaanites* and *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, as many as I finde, thus were the so:

1. *Homer* the Heite of *Sichem*
2. *Arad* of the South parts
3. *Sehon* of *Essebon*
4. *Og* of *Basan*
5. *Adonizedek* the Jebusite, King of *Hiernsalem*
6. *Hobam* of *Hebron*
7. *Pirao* of *Jarmuth*
8. *Iapia* of *Lachis*
9. *Debir* of *Eglon*
10. *Jabin* of *Hazor*
11. *Iobab* of *Medon*
12. *Adonibezek* of *Bezek*, and
13. *Jabin* the second King of *Hazor*.

#### Of the *Madianites* these:

\* These five were first all at one time Kings of the whole parts of the *Madianites*: flaine by *Phineas*: and the 13000. which hee led against them: Num. 31. v. 8. \* These foure last were likewise at one time, flaine by the pursuit of *Gideon*: vid. story: Ind. 67. v. 23 & cap 8. v. 12.

- Eni Or Enit.
- Rekam or Reken who built *Petra* the Metropolis of *Petra*, so called by the *Greekes*: and by *Esa*. cap. 16. verse 1. and *Selah*, which is as much as *Petra*: and so also it is called a *Rock* 14. 7. where it is also called *Iokthael*.
- Enr
- Hur and
- Raba
- \* Oreb
- Zeb
- Zebah
- Zalmunna.

After the death of *Barac*, Judge of *Israel*, the foure last named of these *Madianite* Kings, vexed *Israel* leuen yeeres: till they being put to flight by *Gideon*, two of them, to wit, *Oreb* and *Zeb*, were taken and flaine by the *Ephraimites*, at the passage of *Jordan*, as in the 6. 14. and 8. of *Judges* it is written at large. Afterward in the pursuit of the rest, *Gideon* himselfe laide hands vpon *Zebah* and *Salmuna*, or *Zalmunna*, and executed them, being prisoners, in which expedition of *Gideon* there perished 120000. of the *Madianites* and their confederates. Of the *Idumeans*, *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, I will speake hereafter in the description of their Territories.

#### §. III. Of the *Amalekites*, and *Ismaelites*.

Gen. 17. 20. Ind. 67. OF the Kings of the *Amalekites* and *Ismaelites*, I finde few that are named, and though of the *Ismaelites* there were more in number than of the rest (for they were multiplied into a greater Nation, according vnto the promise of God made vnto *Abraham*) yet the *Amalekites*, who together with the *Midianites* were numbered among them, were more renowned in *Moses* time than the rest of the *Ismaelites*. So also were they when *Saul* gouerned *Israel*. For *Saul* pursued them from *Sur* vnto *Hauilah*, to wit, ouer a great part of *Arabia Petraea*, and the Desert. The reason to me seemeth to be this: That the twelue Princes which came of *Ismael*, were content to leaue those barren Deserts of *Arabia Petraea*, called *Sur*, *Paran*, and *Sin*, to the issue of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, that

that ioyned with them (for so seeme the *Amalekites* to haue been, and so were the *Madianites*): themselves taking possession of a better soyle in *Arabia* the Happy, and about the Mountaines of *Galaadin* *Arabia Petraea*. For *Nabataeth* the eldest of those twelue Princes planted that part of *Arabia Petraea*, which was very fruitfull though adioyning to the Desert, in which *Moses* wandered, afterward called *Nabathaea*: the same which neighboureth *Iudea* on the East-side. They also peopled a Prouince in *Arabia* the Happy, whereof the people were in after-times called *Napathaei* (B) changed into (P).

*Kedar*, the second of *Ismaels* sonnes, gaue his own name to the East-part of *Basan*, or *Basania*, which was afterward posselt by *Manasse*, so much thereof as lay within the mountaines *Traconi*, or *Gilead*. Which Nation *Lampridius* calleth *Kedarens*, & *Plinie* *Cedreans*.

Abbeel laye downe in the Desert *Arabia*, neere the Mountaines which diuide it from the Happy: and gaue nameto the *Adubens*, which *Ptolomy* calleth *Agubens*.

*Misbam* was the Parent of the *Masamaneuses*, neere the Mountaine *Zamar*, in the same *Arabia* the Happy.

The *Rabens* were of *Misbama*: who ioyned to the *Orchens*, neere the *Arabian* gulfe, where *Ptolomy* setteth *Zagmais*.

Of *Duma* were the *Dumeans*, betweene the *Adubens* and *Rabens*: where the Citie *Dumeth* sometimes stood.

Of *Massa* the *Massani*, and of *Hadar*, or *Chadar* the *Athritae*, who bordered the *Napathans* in the same Happy *Arabia*.

*Thema* begat the *Themaneans*, among the *Arabian* Mountaines, where also the Citie of *Thema* is seated.

Of *Ietur* the *Itureans*, or *Chamathens*: of whom *Tobu* was King in *Dauid* time.

Of *Nabari* the *Nubecian Arabians*: inhabiting *Syria Zoba*: ouer whom *Adad* & *ez* commanded, while *Dauid* ruled *Israel*.

*Cadma*, the last and twelfth of *Ismaels* sonnes, was the Ancestor of the *Cadmoneans*: who were afterward called *Asite*: because they worshipped the Fire with the *Babylonians*.

The *Amalekites* gaue their Kings the name of *Agag*, as the *Egyptians* the name of *Pharaoh* to theirs, and the ancient *Syrians* *Adad* to theirs, and the *Arabian Nabatheans* *Aretas*, as Names of Honour.

The *Amalekites* were the first that fought with *Moses*, after he past the Red Sea: when of all times they flourished most, and yet were vanquished.

Afterward they ioyned with the *Canaanites*, and beate the *Israelites* neere *Cadesbarne*. After the gouernment of *Othoniel*, they ioyned them with the *Moabites*: after *Barac* with the *Madianites*: and invaded *Israel*. God commanded that as soone as *Israel* had rest, they should roote out the name of the *Amalekites*: which *Saul* executed in part, when he wasted them from the border of *Egypt*, to the border of *Caldea*: from *Hauilah* to *Shur*.

In *Dauids* time they tooke *Siklag* in *Simcon*: but *Dauid* followed them, and surprised them, recouering his prisoners and spoiles. And yet, after *Dauid* became King, they againe vexed him, but to their owne losse.

In *Ezekias* time as many of them as ioyned to *Edumae* were wasted and displanted by the children of *Simcon*.

#### §. IIII.

Of the inflammation of *Ciuility* in *Europe* about these times; and of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*.

HERE lived at this time, and in the same age together with *Moses*, many men exceeding famous, as well in bodily strength, as in all sorts of learning. And as the World was but euen now enriched with the written Law of the liuing God, so did Art and *Ciuility* (bred and fostered farre off in the East, and in *Egypt*) begin at this time to discover a passage into *Europe*, and into those parts of *Greece*, neighbouring *Asia* and *Iudea*. For if *Pelagius* besides his bodily strength, was chosen King of *Aegadia*, because he taught those people to erect them simple Cottages, to defend them from raine and storme: and learned them withall to make a kinde of Meale, and bread of Acornes, who beforeliued for the most part, by Hearbes and Rootes: wee may thereby iudge how poore, and wretched those times were, and how falsely those Nations haue vaunted of thole their antiquities, accompanied not onely with ciuill learning, but with all other kindes of knowledge. And it was in this age of the World, as both

Luc. 18. c. 8.  
de Civit. Dei.

Aeschyl. in  
Tro. m. c. 1.  
Luc. 8. l. 15. c. 8.  
de Civit. Dei.

Luc. 1. c. 1.  
ex  
lib.

both *Eusebius* and *Saint Augustine* have observed, that *Prometheus* flourished: *Quem propterea ferunt de suo formasse homines, quia optimus sapientia doctor fuisse perhibetur; Of whom it is reported that he formed men out of clay, because he was an excellent teacher of wisdom: and to Theophrastus expoundeth the invention of fire ascribed to Prometheus, Ad inuenta sapientia pertinere; To have reference to wise inventions: and Aeschylus affirmeth, That by the stealing of Jupiters fire, was meant, that the knowledge of *Prometheus* reached to the Starres, and other celestiall bodies. Again, it is written of him, that he had the art so to use this fire, as thereby he gaue life to the Images of Wood, Stone, and Clay: meaning that before his birth, and being, those people among whom hee liued, had nothing else worthy of men, but externall forme and figure. By that fiction of *Prometheus*, being bound on the top of the Hill *Caucasus*, his entrailes the while deuoured by an Eagle, was meant the inward care and restless desire he had to inuestigate the Natures, Motions, and Influences of Heauenly bodies; for so it is said: *Ideo altissimum ascendisse Caucasum, ut sereno celo quam longissimè astra, signorum obitus & ortus spectaret; That he ascended Caucasus, to the end that he might in a cleere skye discern the settings and risings of the Starres: though Diodorus Siculus expounds it otherwise, and others diuersly.**

### Of this Mans knowledge Aeschylus gines this testimonie.

*Ast agebant omnia  
Vis forserebat: donec ipse repperi  
Signorum obitus, ortusq; quimortalibus  
Sunt vitas: & multitudinem artium.  
His repperi: componere inde literas;  
Matremq; Musarum auxi ego Memoriam  
Perantem cunctis, &c.*

But Fortune govern'd all their workes, till when  
I first found out how Starres did set and rise:  
A profitable art to mortall men:  
And others of like use I did deuise:  
As letters to compose in learned wile  
I first did teach: and first did amplify  
The Mother of the *Muses* *Memorie*.

Luc. 18. c. 8.  
de Civit. Dei.

*Africanus* makes *Prometheus* farre more ancient, and but 94. yeeres after *Ogyges*. *Porphyrius* sayes that he liued at once with *Inachus*, who liued with *Isaac*.

There liued also at once with *Moses*, that famous *Atlas*, brother to *Prometheus*, both being the sonnes of *Iapetus*, of whom though it be said, that they were borne before *Moses* dayes, and therefore are by others esteemed of a more ancient date: yet the advantage of their long liues gaue them a part of other ages among men, which came into the World long after them. Besides these sonnes of *Iapetus*, *Aesculus* findes two other, to wit, *Oceanus* and *Hesperus*, who being famous in the West, gaue name to the Euening, and so to the euening Starre. Also besides this *Atlas* of *Lybia*, or *Mauritanie*, there were others which bare the same name: but of the *Lybian*, and the brother of *Prometheus*, it was that those Mountaines which crosse *Africa*, to the South of *Marocco*, *Sas*, and *Hera*, with the Sea adioyning, tooke name, which memory *Plato* in *Critias* bestowes on *Atlas*, the sonne of *Neptune*.

*Cicero* in the fifth of his *Tusculan* questions, affirmeth that all things written of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*, were but by those names to expresse diuine knowledge. *Ne uerò Atlas sustinere celum, nec Prometheus affixus Caucas, nec stellatus Cepheus cum uxore tradere-tur, nisi diuina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabulæ raduxisset; Neither should Atlas be said to beare up Heauen, nor Prometheus to be fastened to Caucasus, nor Cepheus with his wife to be stelled; unless their diuine knowledge had raised upon their names these erroneous fables.*

*Orpheus* sometime exprest Time by *Prometheus*, sometime he tooke him for *Saturne*, as *Rhea* comixt alme *Promethen*. But that the story of *Prometheus* was not altogether a fiction:

a fiction: and that he liued about this time, the most approued Historians and Antiquaries, and among them *Eusebius* and *Saint Augustine* haue not doubted; For the great iudgement which *Atlas* had in *Astronomy*, saith *Saint Augustine*, were his daughters called by the names of constellations, *Pleiades* and *Hyades*: Others attribute vnto him the finding out of the Moones course, of which *Archas* the sonne of *Orchomenus* challengeth the invention. Of this *Archas* *Arcadia* in *Peloponnesus* tooke name; and therefore did the *Arcadians* vaunt that they were more ancient than the Moone: *Et Luna gens prior illa fuit*: which is to be vnderstood, saith *Natalis Comes*, before there had been any obseruation of the Moones course: or of her working in inferior bodies. And though there be so that bestow the finding out thereof vpon *Endymion*: others (as *Xenagoras*) on *Typhon*: yet *Isacius Tetzels*, a curious searcher of antiquities, gaue it *Atlas* of *Lybia*: who besides his gifts of minde, was a man of vnequall and incomparable strength: from whom *Thales* the *Milesian*, as it is said, had the ground of his *Philosophy*.

Lib. 18. cap. 8.  
de Civit. Dei.

Ouid de festo  
L. 1.

### §. V.

#### Of Deucalion and Phaeton.

And in this age of the World, and while *Moses* yet liued, *Deucalion* reigned in *Thessalie*, *Crotopus* then ruling the *Argives*. This *Deucalion* was the son of *Prometheus*, saith *Herodotus*, *Apollonius*, *Hesiodus*, and *Strabo*. *Hesiodus* gaue him *Pandora* for mother, the rest *Clymene*: *Homer* in the fifteenth of his *Odysses*, makes *Deucalion* the sonne of *Minos*: but hee must needs haue meant some other *Deucalion*; for else either *Vlysses* was mistaken, or *Homer*, who put the tale into his mouth. For *Vlysses* after his returne from *Troy*, faired himselfe to be the brother of *Idomeneus*, who was sonne to this later *Deucalion*, the sonne of *Minos*: but this *Minos* liued but one age before *Troy* was taken: (for *Idomeneus* serued in that warre) and this *Deucalion* the sonne of *Prometheus*, who liued at once with *Moses*, was long before. In the first *Deucalions* time happened that great inundation in *Thessalie*: by which in effect euery foule, in those parts, perished, but *Deucalion*, *Pyrrha* his wife, and some few others. It is affirmed that at the time of this flood in *Thessalie*, those people exceeded in all kinde of wickednesse and villany: and as the impiety of men is the forcible attractive of Gods vengeance, so did all that Nation for their foule sinnes perish by waters: as in the time of *Noah*, the corruption and cruelty of all man kinde drew on them that general destruction by the flood vniuersall. Onely *Deucalion*, and *Pyrrha* his wife, whom God spared, were both of them esteemed to be louers of Vertue, of Iustice and of Religion. Of whom *Ouid*:

Cem. Alex.  
Istom lib. 1.  
Strabo lib. 9.

*Non illa melior quisquam, nec amantior aequi  
Vir fuit: aut illa reuerentior vlla deorum.*

No man was better, nor more iust than he:  
Nor any woman godlier than shee.

It is also affirmed that *Prometheus* fore-told his sonne *Deucalion* of this ouer-flowing; and aduised him to provide for his safety: who hereupon prepared himselfe a kinde of Vessell, which *Lucian* in his *Dialogue* of *Timon* calles *Cleptum*, and others *Larnax*. And because to these circumstances, they afterward adde the sending out of the Dove, to discover the waters fall and decrease, I should verily thinke that this Story had been but an imitation of *Noahs* flood deuised by the *Greekes*, did not the times so much differ, and *Saint Augustine* with others of the Fathers and reuerent Writers approue this Story of *Deucalion*. Among other his children *Deucalion* had these two of note, *Hellus* of whom *Greece* had first the name of *Hellas*, and *Melanthe*, on whom *Neptune* is said to haue begot *Delphus*, which gaue name to *Delphes*, so renowned among the Heathen for the Oracle of *Apollo* therein founded.

August. de ci-  
uit. Dei. l. 18.  
c. 10. ex Euse-  
bio & Hiero-  
nimo.

And that which was no lesse strange and maruailous than this flood, was that great burning and conflagration which about this time also happened vnder *Phaeton*; nor onely in *Ethiopia*, but in *Libria*, a Region in *Italy*, and about *Cuma*, and the Mountaines of *Vesunius*: of both which the *Greekes*, after their manner, haue inuented many strange fables.

## §. VI.

## Of Hermes Trismegistus.

**B**Vt of all other which this age brought forth among the Heathen, *Mercurius* was the most famous, and renowned; the same which was also called *Trismegistus*, or *Ter Maximus*, and of the *Greekes*, *Hermes*.

Many there were of this name; and how to distinguish, and set them in their owne times, both *S. Augustine* & *Lactantius* finde it difficult. For that *Mercury* which was esteemed the God of Theeues, the God of Wrestlers, of Merchants, and Sea-men, and to the God of Eloquence (though all by one name confounded) was not the same with that *Mercury*, of whose many workes some fragments are now extant.

*Cicero*, *Clement Alexandrinus*, *Arnobius*, and certaine of the *Greekes* reckon five *Mercuries*. Of which, two were famous in Egypt, and there worshipped; one, the sonne of *Nilus*, whose name the Egyptians feared to utter, as the Jewes did their *Tetragrammaton*; the other, that *Mercury*, which flew *Argus* in Greece, and flying into Egypt, is said to have deliuered literature to the Egyptians, and to have giuen them Lawes. But *Diodorus* affirmeth, that *Orpheus*, and others after him, brought learning and letters out of Egypt into Greece: which *Plato* also confirmeth, saying; That letters were not found out by that *Mercury* which flew *Argus*, but by that ancient *Mercury*, otherwise *Themet*; whom *Philosophy* witteth *Taautus* the Egyptians *Thoth*; the Alexandrians *Thot*; & the *Greekes* (as before) *Hermes*. And to this *Taautus*, *Sanconiatas*, who liued about the war of Troy giues the inuention of letters. But *S. Augustine* making two *Mercuries*, which were both Egyptians, calles neither of them the son of *Nilus*, nor acknowledgeth either of them to haue slain *Argus*. For he findes this *Mercury* the slayer of *Argus*, to be the grand-child of that *Atlas*, which liued while *Moses* was yet young. And yet *L. Vines* vpon *S. Augustine* seemes to vnderstand them to be the same with those, whom *Cicero*, *Alexandrinus*, and the rest haue remembered. But that coniecture of theirs, that any *Gracian Mercury* brought letters into Egypt, hath no ground. For it is manifest, (if there be any truth in prophane antiquitie) that all the knowledge which the *Greekes* had, was transported out of Egypt or Phoenicia, & not out of Greece, nor by any *Gracian* into Egypt. For they all confesse, that *Cadmus* brought letters first into Boeotia, either out of Egypt, or out of Phoenicia: it being true, that betweene *Mercurius*, that liued at once with *Moses*, and *Cadmus*, there were these descents cast; *Crotopus* King of the Argiues, with whom *Moses* liued, and in whose time about his tenth yeere *Moses* died; after *Crotopus*, *Sthenelus*, who reigned eleuen yeeres; after him *Danaus* fifty yeeres; after him *Lanceus* in whose time, and after him in the time of *Minos* King of Crete, this *Cadmus* arriued in Boeotia. And therefore it cannot bee true, that any *Mercurius* about *Moses* his time, flying out of Greece for the flight of *Argus*, brought literature out of Greece into Egypt. Neither did either of those two *Mercuries* of Egypt, whom *Saint Augustine* remembereth, the one the grand-father, the other the Nephew or grand-child, come out of Greece. *Euolenus* and *Artapanus* note, that *Moses* found out Letters and taught the vie of them to the Jewes; of whom the Phoenicians their neighbors receiued them; & the *Greekes* of the Phoenicians by *Cadmus*. But this inuention was also ascribed to *Moses*, for the reason before remembered; that is, because the Jewes & the Phoenicians had them first from him. For euery Nation gaue vnto those men the honour of first Inuentors, from whom they receiued the profit. *Ficinus* makes that *Mercury*, vpon part of whose workes hee Commenteth, to haue bene foure descents after *Moses*; which he hath out of *Virgil*, who calles *Atlas*, that liued with *Moses*, the maternall grand-father of the first famous *Mercury*, whom others, as *Diadormus*, call the Counsellor and Instructer of that renowned *Isis*, wife of *Osiris*. But *Ficinus* giue no reason for his opinion herein. But that the elder *Mercury* instructed *Isis*, *Diadormus* siculus affirmeth, and that such an inscription was found on a pillar erected on the Tombe of *Isis*. *Lod. Vines* vpon the sixe and twentieth Chapter of the eight Booke of *Saint Augustine*, de Ciuitate Dei, conceiueth, that this *Mercury*, whose workes are extant, was not the first which was entituled *Ter maximus*; but his Nephew or grand-child, *Sanconiatas*, an ancient Phoenician, who liued shortly after *Moses*, hath other fancies of this *Mercury*; affirming that he was the *Scribe* of *Saturne*, and called by the Phoenicians *Taautus*; and by the Egyptians *Thoth*, or *Thoyt*. It may be, that the many yeeres which he is

said to haue liued, to wit, three hundred yeeres, gave occasion to some Writers to finde him in one time, and to others in other times. But by those who haue collected the grounds of the Egyptian Philosophie and Diuinitie, he is found more ancient than *Moses*: because the Inuentor of the Egyptian wisdom; wherein it is said, that *Moses* was excellently learned.

It is true, that although this *Mercurius* or *Hermes* doth in his Diuinitie differ in many particulars from the Scriptures, especially in the approving of Images, which *Moses* of all things most detested: yet whosoever shall read him with an euen iudgement, will rather resolue, that these workes which are now extant, were by the *Greekes* and Egyptian Priests corrupted, and those fooleries inserted, than that ever they were by the hand of *Hermes* written, or by his heart and spirit deuiled. For there is no man of vnderstanding, and master of his owne wits, that hath affirmed in one and the same Tract, those things which are directly contrary in doctrine, and in nature: For out of doubt *Moses* (excepted) there was neuer any man of those elder times that hath attributed more, and in a stile more reuerend and diuine, vnto Almighty God, than he hath done. And therefore if those his two Treatises, now among vs, the one conuerted by *Apuleius*, the other by that learned *Ficinus*, had bene found in all things like themselves: I thinke it had not bene perillous to haue thought with *Euolenus*, that this *Hermes* was *Moses* himselfe; and that the Egyptian Theologie hereafter written, was deuiled by the first, and more ancient *Mercurius*, which others haue thought to haue bene *Moseph*, the son of *Iacob*: whom, after the exposition of *Pharaonis* dreames, they called *Sapientiphane*, which is as much to say, as *absconditorum reperor*; A finder out of hidden things. But these are ouer-venturous opinions. For what this man was, it is known to God. Enuy and aged time hath partly defaced, and partly worne out the certaine knowledge of him: of whom, whosoever he were, *Lactantius* writeth in this sort: *Hic scripsit libros, & quidem multos, ad cognitio-nem diuinorum rerum pertinentes, in quibus Maiestatem summi ac singularis Dei asseruit, & idem nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem: Hic habet written many bookes belonging to, or expressing the knowledge of diuine things, in which he affirmeth the Maies-ty of the most High and one God, calling him by the same names of God and Father, which wee* 30 *call: The same Father also feareth not to number him amongst the Sybils and Prophets. And so contrary are these his acknowledgements to those Idolatrous fictions of the Egyp-tians and Gracians, as for my selfe I am perswaded, that whatsoeuer is found in him con-trary thereto, was by corruption inserted. For thus much himselfe confesseth: Deum enim Dominum, & Patrem, & Pater, & vita, & potentia & lux, & mens, & spiritus; & om-nia in ipso, & sub ipso sunt. Verbum enim ex eum esse prodiens, perfectissimum existens, & generator & opifex, &c. God (saith he) the Lord and Father of all things, the fountaine, and life, and power, and light, and minde, and spirit: and all things are in him and vnder him. For his word out of himselfe proceeding, most perfect, and generative, and operative; falling vpon fruitfull nature, made it also fruitfull and producing. And hee was therefore (saith* 40 *Suydas) called Ter maximus, quia de Trinitate loquutus est: in Trinitate vnum esse Deum asserens; Because hee spake of the Trinity, affirming that there is one God in Trinitie: Hic rursus (saith Ficinus) praeiudicis praeiudicis, licetorum noue fidei, hic aduentum Christi, hic futurum iudicium, resurrectionem seculi, beatorum gloriam, supplicia peccatorum; This is Prof. Mer- curie foresaw the ruine of the old or superstitious Religion, and the birth of the new faith, and of the coming of Christ, the future iudgement, the resurrection, the glory of the Blessed, and the torment or affliction of the wicked or damned.*

To this I will onely add his two last speeches reported by *Calcidius* the Platonic, and by *Volterran* out of *Suydas*. *Haecenus sili pulvis a patria, vixi peregrinus & exal, nunc inco-lumis repto: cumq; post paulum a vobis corporeis vinculis absolutus discessero, videtote me* 50 *quasi mortuum lugentis: Nam ad illam optimam beatamq; Cinitatem regredior, ad quam vni-uersi cives mortis condicione venturi sunt. Ibi namq; solus Deus est summus Princeps: qui cives suos replet suauitate misericordia: ad quam hac, quam multi vitam existimant, mors est potius di-cenda quam vita; Hitherto, O Sonne being driven from my Country, I haue liued a stranger and banished man: but now I am repaired home-ward againe in safety. And when I shall after a few dayes (or in a short time) by being loosed from these bonds of flesh and blood depart from you, see that you doe not bewaile me as a man dead, for I doe but returne to that best and blessed Citie, to which all her Citizens (by the condicon of death) shall repaire. Therein is the only God, the most high and chiefe Prince, who filleth or feedeth his Citizens with sweetnesse more than*



marvellous: in regard whereof; this being, which others call a life, is rather to be accounted a death than a life. The other, and that which seemeth to be his left, is thus converted by others, agreeing in sense but not in words with *Suydas*: O *calum magni Dei sapientis opus*, *teq* O vox patris quam ille primam emisit, quando uniuersum constituit mundum; *indiviso per unigenitum eius verbum, & Spiritum cuncta comprehendentem, miseremini mei*. I addresse thee O beauen, thou wise worke of the great God, and thee O voyce of the Father, which he first uttered, when he framed the whole world, by his only begotten word, and spirit, comprehending all things. Have mercy vpon me.

But *Suydas* hath his inuocation in those words: *Obtestor seculum magni Dei sapientis opus, obtestor te vocem Patris quam loquutus est primam, cum omnem mundum firmavit, obtestor te per unigenitum sermonem omnia continentem, propitius, propitius esto*. I beseech thee O beauen, wise worke of the great God, I beseech thee O voyce of the Father, which he spake first when he established all the world, I beseech thee by the only begotten word containing all things, be favourable, be favourable.

## §. VII.

Of Iannes and Iambres, and some other that liued about those times.

L'Vines. in l. 8.  
Augull. de Civ.  
Dei. l. 16.



Here were also in this age both *Asculapius*, which after his death became the God of Physicians, being the brother of *Mercurius*, as *Vines* thinks in his Commentary vpon *Augustine*, de *Ciuitate Dei*. lib. 8. and also those two notorious Sorcerers, *Iannes* and *Iambres*, who in that impious art excelled all that euer had been heard of to this day: and yet *Moses* himselfe doth not charge them with any familiarity with Diuels, or ill Spirits: words indeed that seldome came out of his mouth; howeuer by the *Septuagint* they are called *sophista* or *Penefici* and *Incantatores*, *Sophists* Poysoners and Inchanters: by *Hierome*, *Sapientes* & *malefici*; Wife men, and euill doers: and so by *Platobius*, who also vseth the word *Magi*. The Greeke it selfe seemes to attribute somewhat of what they did to naturall Magick: calling them, *operantes*, workers by drugs. The *Genetian*, Sorcerers and Inchanters: *Iunius*, *Sapientes*; *præficiatores* & *Magi*. Magicians; and Wife men here by him are taken in one sense: and *Predigatores* are such as dazzle mens eyes, and make them seeme to see what they see not: as false colours, and false shapes. But as some vertues and some vices are so nicely distinguished, and so resembling each other, as they are often confounded, and the one taken for the other: (Religion and Superstition hauing one face and countenance) so did the workes and workings of *Moses*, and of *Pharaos* Sorcerers appeare in outward shew, and to the beholders of common capacities, to be one and the same art and gift of knowledge. For the Diuell changeth himselfe into an Angel of light: and imitateth in all he can the waies and workings of the most High. And yet on the contrary euery worke which surmounteth the wisdom of most men, is not to be condemned, as performed by the helpe or ministry of ill Spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath giuen to naturall things, are such as where he also bestoweth the knowledge to vnderstand their hidden and best vertues, many things by them are brought to passe, which seeme altogether impossible, and about nature or art: which two speculations of workes of nature, and of miracle, the *Cabalists* distinguished by these names; *Opus de Deo*, *sic*, & *opus de mercana*: the one they call *Sapientiam nature*; The *Wisedome of nature*: the other *Sapientiam diuinitatis*; The *Wisedome of diuinity*: the one *Iacob* practised in breeding the pied Lambes in *Mesopotamia*, the other *Moses* exercised in his miracles wrought in *Egypt*, hauing receiued from God the knowledge of the one in the highest perfection, to wit, the knowledge of nature: of the other so farre as it pleased God to proportion him, both which he vied to his glory that gaue them: assuming to himselfe nothing at all, either in the least or most. Also Saint *Augustine* noteth, that from the time that *Moses* left *Egypt*, to the death of *Isaiah*, diuers other famous men liued in the World, who after their deaths for their eminent vertues and inuentions, were numbred among the Gods: as *Dionysius*, otherwise *Liber Pater*, who taught the *Grecians* the vse of the Vine in *Attica*: at which time also there were instituted Musickall playes to *Apollo Delphicus*: thereby to regaine his fauour, who brought barrenesse and scarcity vpon that part of *Greece*, because they resisted not the attempts of *Dæmons*, who spoiled his Temple and set it on fire: so did *Erichonius* imitate the like games

to *Minerva*: wherein the *Victor* was rewarded with a present of *Oyle*, in memory of her that first prest it out of the *Oliue*.

In this age also *Xanthus* rauished *Europa*: and begat on her *Radamantus*, *Sarpædon* and *Minos*, which three are also giuen to *Iupiter* by other Historians. To these Saint *Augustine* addeth *Hercules*; the same to whom the twelue labours are ascribed, natie of *Syrinthia* a City of *Peloponnesus*: for as others say, only nursed and brought vp there) who came into *Italy*, and destroyed many Monsters there; being neither that *Hercules*, which *Eusebius* surnameth *Delphin*, famous in *Phœnicia*; nor that *Hercules*, according to *Philistratus*, which came to *Gades*, whom he calleth an *Egyptian*: Manifestum est, non *Thebanum* *Herculem*, sed *Egyptinum ad Gades peruenisse*, & ibi finem statuisse terra (saith *Philistratus*). It is manifest that it was the Egyptian *Hercules*, and not the *Theban*, which traualled as farre as the streights of *Gades*, and there determined the bounds of the earth. In this time also while *Moses* wandered in the Deserts, *Dardanius* built *Dardania*.

But whosoeuer they were, or how worthy fouer they were that liued in the dayes and age of *Moses*, there was neuer any man, that was no more than man, by whom it pleased God to worke greater things; whom he fauoured more, to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) he so often appeared; neuer any man more familiar and conuerfant with Angels; neuer any more learned both in Diuine and Humane knowledge; neuer a greater Prophet in *Israel*. He was the first that receiued and deliuered the Law of God entire; the first that left to posterity by letters, the truth and power of one infinite God; his creating out of nothing the World vniuersall, and all the creatures therein; that taught the detestation of Idolatry, and the punishment, vengeance, and eradication, which followed.

*Syracides* calleth *Moses* the beloued of God and Men, whose remembrance is blessed. Hee made him (saith the same Author) like to the glorious Saints; and magnified him by the feare of his enemies, made him glorious in the sight of Kings, shewed him his glory, caused him to heare his voyce; sanctified him with faithfullnesse and meekenesse, and chose him out of all men.

Hee is remembred among prophane Authours; as by *Clearchus* the *Peripateticke*; by *Megasthenes*, and *Namenius* the *Pythagorian*. The long liues which the Patriarchs enioyed before the flood, remembred by *Moses*, *Eliens*, *Hieronymus* *Egyptius*, *Hecateus*, *Elanicus*, *Asculapius*, *Ephorus*, and *Alexander* the Historian, confirme. The vniuersall flood which God revealed vnto *Moses*, *Berosus*, *Nicolaus Damascenus*, and others haue testified. The building of the Tower of *Babel*, and confusion of tongues, *Abydenus*, *Eliens*, and *Sybilis* haue appoued. *Berosus* also honoureth *Abraham*. *Hecateus* wrote a Booke of him. *Damascenus* before cited, speaketh of *Abrahams* passage from *Damascus* into *Canan*, agreeing with the Bookes of *Moses*. *Eupolemon* writeth the very fame of *Abraham*, which *Moses* did. For beginning with the building of *Babel*, and the ouerthrow thereof by diuine power, he saith that *Abraham*, borne in the tenth generation, in the City called *Camerind*, 40 or *Vrien*, excelled all men in wisdom: and by whom the Astrologic of the *Caldæans* was inuented. *Is istius pietateq; sua* (saith *Eusebius* out of the same Author) *sic Deo gratus fuit, ut diuino præcepto in Phœnicem ueniret, ibiq; habitauerit*; For his iustice and piety he was so pleasing vnto God, as by his commandment he came into *Phœnicia*, and dwelt there. Likewise *Diadorus Siculus*, in his second Booke and fift Chapter, speaketh reuerently of *Moses*: There are many other among prophane Authours, which doe confirme the Bookes of *Moses*, as *Eusebius* hath gathered in the ninth of his *Preparation to the Gospel*. Chapter the third and fourth, to whom I referre the Reader. Lastly, I cannot but for some things in it commend this notable testimony of *Strabo*, who writeth of *Moses* in these words. *Moses enim affirmant, docebatq; Aegyptios non redde sentire, qui bestiarum*

*& pecorum imagines Deo tribuerunt: itemq; Afros & Græcos, qui Djs hominum figuram assignerunt: id verò solum esse Deum, quod nos & Terram & mare continet, quod cælum & mundum, & rerum omnium naturam appellamus: cuius profecto imaginem, nemo sane mentis, dicuius earum rerum, quæ penes nos sunt, similem adeat effingere. Proinde (omni simulachrorum effusione repudiata) dignum ei Templum ac Delubrum constituendum, ac sine aliqua figura colendum*. *Moses affirmed and taught, that the Egyptians thought amisse, which attributed vnto God the Images of beasts and cattell: Also that the Affricans and Greekes greatly erred in giuing vnto their Gods the shapes of men: whereas that only is God indeed, which containeth both vs, the Earth and Sea, which we call Heauen, the World, and the nature of all things, whose*

image, doubtlesse, no wife man will dare to fashion out vnto the likenes of those things, which are amongst vs: That therefore (all deuising of Idols cast aside) a worthy Temple and place of prayer was to be erected vnto him, and he to be worshipped without any figure at all therein.

All. 7. v. 21.

Now concerning the Egyptian wisdom, for which the Martyr Stephen commended Moses, saying, That Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in his works and words: the same is corrected (how truly I know not) by Diodorus, Diogenes, Laertius, Iamblicus Philo Iudeus, and Eusebius Casariensis, and diuided into foure parts, viz. Mathematicall, Naturall, Diuine, and Morall.

In the Mathematicall part, which is distinguished into Geometrie, Astronomie, Arithmetick, and Musick; the ancient Egyptians excelled all others. For Geometrie which is by interpretation measuring of grounds, was vnto them: because it consisting of infallible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper Lands, and Territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of Nilus, were yeerely overflowne and confounded, so as no man could know what in right belonged vnto him.

For the second part, to wit, Astronomie, the site of the Country being a lenell and spacious Plaine, free and cleere from the clouds, yielded them delight with ease, in observing and contemplating the risings, fallings, and motions of the Starres.

Arithmetike also, which is the knowledge of numbers, they studied; because without it, in Geometrie and Astronomie, nothing can be demonstrated or concluded. But of Musick they made no other account, nor desired farthar knowledge, than seemed to them sufficient to serue and magnifie their Gods, their Kings, and good Men.

The Naturall part of this Wisdom, which handleth the principles, causes, elements, and operations of naturall things, differs little from Peripateticall Philosophie; teaching, that *Materia prima* is the beginning of all things; that of it all mixt bodies & liuing creatures haue their being; that Heauen is round like a Globe, that all Starres haue a certain fouent heate, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that raines proceed and be from mutations in the ayre; that the Planets haue their proper soules, &c.

The Diuine part of this wisdom, which is called Theologie, teacheth and beleueth that the world had a beginning, and shall perish; that men had their first originall in Egypt; partly by means of the temperatenesse of that Country, where neither Winter with cold, nor Summer with heate are offensive; and partly through the fertility, that Nilus giueth in those places; That the soule is immortal, and hath transmigration from body to body; That God is one, the Father and Prince of all Gods; and that from this God, other Gods are, as the Sunne and Moone, whom they worshipped by the names of Osiris and Isis, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and diuers Images, because the true similitudes of the Gods is not known; that many of the Gods haue bene in the estate of mortall men, and after death, for their vertues, and benefits bestowed on mankind, haue bene Deified; that those beasts, whose Images and formes the Kings did carrie in their Armes, when they obtained victory, were adored for Gods: because vnder those Emblemes they prevailed ouer their enemies. Moreouer the Egyptian Diuines had a peculiar kinde of writing, mysticall and secret, wherein the highest points of their Religion and worship of God, which was to be concealed from the vulgar sort, were obscured.

Clem. Strom. 1.

Clement distributed the whole summe of this later Egyptian learning into three seuerall sorts, viz. Epistolary, which is vsed in writing common Epistles; Sacred, which is peculiar to their Priests; and Sacred, which Sacred contained Scripture of two kinds: the one proper, which it expressed by letters Alphabetically in obscure and figurative words; as for example, where it is written: The *Libby* the Horne participateth the beauty of the Hawke; which is read thus: The Moone doth by the Sunne borrow so part of the light of God: because Light is an Image of Diuine beauty; the other symbolically, or by signatures, which is threefold, viz. Imitatiue, Tropical, and Anymaticall: Imitatiue, which designeth things by characters, like to the things signified, as by a Circle the Sun; and by the Hornes of the Moone, the Moone it selfe: Tropical or transferent, which applies the diuers formes and figures of naturall bodies or creatures, to signifie the dignities, fortunes, conditions, vertues, vices, affections, and actions of their Gods, and of men. So with the Egyptian Diuines, the Image of an Hawke signifieth God, the figure of the Horne signifieth the Sunne, the picture of the Bird *Ibu* signifieth the Moone: by

by the forme of a Man, Prudence and Skilfulnesse: by a Lion, Fortitude: by a Horse, Libertie: by a Crocodile, Impudency: by a Fish, Hatred is to be vnderstood: Anymaticall is a composition or mixture of Images or Similitudes: in which sense, the monstrous Image of a Lions body hauing a Mans head, was grauen on their Temples and Altars, to signifie, that to men all diuine things are Anymaticall and obscure. So the Image of the Sun set on the head of a Crocodile, (which liueth aswell in the Waters, as on Land) expresseth that the Sun nourisheth Meteors in the Aire, aswell from the Waters as from the Earth. So a Scepter, at the top wherof is made an Eye, and an Eare, signifieth God, Hearing, Seeing, and gouerning all things. The Scythians are thought to haue been delighted with this kinde of writing. For *Phereides Syrius* reporteth, That when *Darius* sending letters, threatned *Idanthura*, King of the Scythians, with ruine & destruction of his Kingdome, unless he would acknowledge subiection: *Idanthura* returned to him a Moule, a Frog, a Bird, a Dart, and a Ploughshare: which *Orontopages*, Tribune of the Souldiers, interpreted to signifie, that by the moule, their dwellings: by the Frog, their waters: by the Bird, their ayre: by the Dart, their weapons: by the Plough, their landes: were signified to bee ready to be deliuered to *Darius*, as their Soueraigne Lord. But *Xyphodes* made another construction, viz. that the King meant, That except *Darius* with his men did hasten away, as a Bird through the Ayre, or creep into holes as a moule, or runne into the waters which they had passed as a Frog, they should not escape his armes, but either be slaine, or being made Captiues, Till his groundes. The same History is with little difference reported by *Herodotus*.

Herod. 1. 4

The fourth and last part, which is Morall and Politique, doth containe especially the Lawes, which (according to *Laertius*) *Mercurius Trifmegistus*, or *Ter Maximus* deuised: who in his Bookes or Dialogues of *Pimander* & *Asclepius*, hath written so many things of God, worthy of admiration; aswell (saith *Sixtus Senensis*) of the Trinity, and of the coming of *Christ*, as of the last and fearefull day of Iudgement: that (as saith the same Author, the opinion being alto ancient) he is not onely to be accounted a Philosopher, but a Prophet of things to come.

*Iamblicus* in his Bookes of Mysteries of the Egyptians, taking two very ancient Historians for his Authors, to wit, *Seleucus* & *Menatus*, affirmeth that this *Mercury* was not onely the Inuentor of the Egyptian Philosophy, but of all other learning, called the Wisdom of the Egyptians before remembred: and that he wrote of that subiect 365 5. Books, or Pages. Of which there were numbered, of Fiery Spirits, one hundred Books, of Aerall Spirits as many, and of Spirits Celestiall a thousand; which because they were out of the Egyptians language conuerted by certaine learned Philosophers into the naturall *Græcke*, they seemed to haue bene first written in that Tongue. *Clement Alexandrinus* writeth, that among the Bookes of *Hermes*, to wit, of the Wisdom of the Egyptians, there were extant in his time 36. of Physick sixe Bookes; of the orders of Priests ten; and of Astrology foure.

Clem. Strom. 1. 6.

## §. VIII.

A Briefe of the History of Iosua; and of the space between him and Othoniel: and of the remainders of the Canaanites; with a note of some Contemporaries to Iosua: and of the breach of Faith.



After the death of Moses, and in the one and fortieth yeere of the Egression, in the first moneth called *Nisan*, or *March*, Iosua the son of *Nun*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, being filled with the Spirit of wisdom, tooke on him the gouernment of Israel: God giuing him comfort, and encouraging him to passe the Riuer of Iordan, and to possesse, and diuide among the Israelites the Land promised.

The beginning of Iosua's rule, Saint *Augustine* dates with the raigne of *Amyntus*, the eighth King in *Affrya*; with *Corax* the sixteenth King in *Sicyonia*, when *Danaus* gouerned the *Argines*; and *Erichonius*, *Athens*.

Lib. 18. de ci. nit. Dec. 11.

Iosua imitating in all things his Predecessor, sent ouer Iordan certaine discoverers to view the feate and strength of *Ierico*, the next City vnto him on the other side of the Riuer, which hee was to passe ouer. Which discoverers being laued, and sent back by *Rahab*, a woman of ill fame, because she kept a Tauerne or Yiding-house, made Iosua know that the inhabitants of *Ierico*, and those of the Country about it, hearing of the approach

Ios. 1. 14.

of

Iof. 2. 11. of *Israel*, had lost courage. Whereupon the day after the returne of the Spies, which was the sixth day of the one and fortieth yeere after the Eggeſſion, *Iofua* remoued from Sitim in the plaines of Moab, and drew down his Army to the bankes of the Riuer Iordan; and gaue them commandement to put themselves in order to follow the *Arke of God*, when the Leuites tooke it vp, and moued towards the Riuer; giuing them withall this forcible encouragement, That they should thereby assure themselves of his fauour and preſence who is Lord of all the world, when the Riuer of Iordan should be cut off and diuided, and the waters comming from aboue should stand still in a heape, whereby those below towards the *Dead Sea* wanting supply, they might passe ouer into the land of Canaan with dry feet.

Iof. 1. 11. Hee also commanded *Reuben, Gad*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, to prepare themselves (according to their Couenane made with *Moses*) to march in the head of the rest, and as we call it in this age, to leade in the Vanguard, which through all the Deserts of Arabia, from the Mount Sinai to this place, those of the Tribe of Iuda had performed. For these Tribes being already provided of their habitations, and Countrie and Cities of the Amorites, by the helpe of the rest, conquered for them: It agreed with iustice and equality, that *Reuben, Gad*, and the halfe of *Manasse* should also assist their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies possession.

On the banks of Iordan they rested themselves from the sixth day to the ninth; and on the tenth day of the first moneth *Nisan*, or *March*, they past ouer to the other side, taking with them twelve stones from the drie ground in the middelt of the Riuer: which, for a memory of that miracle by God wrought, they set vp at Gilgal, on the East side of the Citie of Ierico, where they encamped the first night. At which place *Iofua* gaue commandement, that all born in the last fortieth yeere in the Deserts should be circumcised, which ceremonie to that day had bene omitted. Of the neglect whereof *S. Augustine* giueth for cause, The peoples contempt of their superiours, *Thomas* excuseth it in this sort; That the Israelites knew not the certaine time of their remouing from one place to another: *Damascen*, That it was not needfull by circumcision to distinguish them from other Nations, at such time as they liued by themselves, and a-part from all Nations.

Iof. 4. 19. Iof. 5. 1. Aug. 9. 3. in Iof. Thom. part 3. quat. 10 art. 4. ad. 3. On the fourteenth day of the same Moneth, the children of Israel celebrated the *Passover* now the third time; first, at their leauing Egypt; secondly, at Mount Sinai; and now at Gilgal. After which being desirous to taste of the fruits of the Countrie, and hauing, as it were, surfeited on *Mann*, they parched of the Corne of the land, being not yet fully ripe, and ate thereof.

Iof. 5. 10. And as *Moses* began to distribute those Regions beyond Iordan, to wit, the Lands of the Amorites, which *Og* of Basan, and *Sehon* held, so did *Iofua* performe the rest; and after a view and partition made of the Territories, hee gaue to each Tribe his portion by lot. But this partition and distribution was not done at once, but at three severall times; first, by *Moses* to *Gad, Reuben*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, of the Lands ouer Iordan; secondly, by *Iofua*, to the Tribe of *Iuda, Ephraim*, and the other halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, about the fift yeere of his government; proued in the 14. of *Iofua*, v. 10. and a third distribution was made to the other seuen Tribes, at Shilo, where *Iofua* feared the *Tabernacle* of the Congregation.

Iof. 14. 3. Iof. 18. The victories of *Iofua* against the Kings of the Canaanites, are so particularly set down in his own bookes, as I shall not need to lengthen this part by their repetition. In whose storie I chiefly note these particulars. First, how in the beginning of the warre, those little Kings or *Reguli* of the Canaanites, had not so much vnderstanding, as to vnite themselves together against the Israelites; but according to the custome of those estates, from whose Governours God hath taken away all wisdom and fore-sight, they left those of their owne Nation, which were next the invaders, to themselves, and to their owne defences; hoping that the fire kindled somewhat farre off, might againe haue been quenched, ere it could spread it selfe so farre as their owne Territories and Cities. But after such time as Ierico and Ai were entred, and the Kings, People, and Cities consumed; sue of those 31. Kings/all which at length perished in that warre/joynded themselves together, first attempting the Gibeonites, who had rendred themselves to *Iofua*. Onely sue (the rest looking on to the successe, namely, the King of the Iebusites, in Iebus, or Hierusalem, the Kings of Hebron, *Iarmoth*, *Lachis*, & *Eglon*., addrest themselves for resistance: whose Armie being by *Iofua* surprisid and broken, themselves despairing to escape by flight,

flight, and hopelesse of mercy by submission, creeping into a Caue vader ground, were thence by *Iofua* drawne forth and hanged. In the prosecution of which victory hee also tooke *Makkedah*, and *Libnah*, and *Lachis*. To the reliefe whereof *Hiram* King of *Gexar* hastened, and perished. After which *Iofua* posselt himselfe of *Eglon*, *Hebron*, and *Debir*, destroying the Cities with their Princes.

In the end, and when the South Countreies were posselt, the Cities thereof conquered, and their Kings and People made dust: the rest of the *Canaanites*, guided by the ouerlate counsailes of necessity, vnited themselves, to make one grosse strength and body of an Armie: which *Iabin*, King of *Hazor*, praetised and gathered together, by *Iofua* discovered, as the same rested neere the Lake of *Merom*, he vsed such diligence as he came on them vnwarres; and obtaining absolute victory ouer them, he prosecuted the same to the utmost effect. And, besides the slaughter of the defendants, he entred their Cities, of which he burnt *Hazor* only, reseruing the rest for *Israel* to inhabite and enioy.

Secondly, I note, that *Iofua* shewed himselfe a skillfull man of Warre, for that in those ancient times he vsed the stratagem of an ambush in taking of *AI*; and in that hee broke the Armies of the first siue Kings of the *Amorites*, which attempted *Gibeon* by surprise. For hee marched all night from his campe at *Gilgal*, and set on them early the next day; when he ouerthrew *Iabin* and his confederates. After which, making the best profit of his victory, he assaulted the great Citie of *Hazor*.

Thirdly, the miracles which God wrought during this warre, were exceeding admirable; as the stay of the Riuer *Iordan* at the Springs, so as the Armie of *Israel* past it with a drie foote; the fall of *Ierico* by the found of the Hornes; the shewres of Haile-stones, which fell vpon the *Amorites* in their flight from *Gibeon*, whereby more of them perished than by the sword of *Israel*: againe, the arrest of the Sunne in the firmament, whereby the day was so much the more lightened, as the *Israelites* had time to execute all those which fled after the ouerthrow: a wonder of wonders, and a worke only proper to the all-powerfull God.

Fourthly, out of the passage betweene *Iofua* and the *Gibeonites*, the Doctrine of keeping Faith is so plainly and excellently taught, as it taketh away all euasion, it admitteth no supposition, nor leaueth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perfidiousnes, and horrible deceit of this latter age, called *Equivocation*. For, notwithstanding that these *Gibeonites* were a people of the *Leuites*, expressly and by name, by the commandement of God to be rooted out, and notwithstanding that they were liars, and deceiuers, and counterfeiters; and that they did ouer-reach, and as it were, deride *Iofua*, and the Princes of *Israel*, by faining to bee sent as Embassadors from a farre Countrey, in which trauaile their clothes were worne, their bread mouldie, which they auowed to haue been warme for newnesse when they first set it out; their barrs and bottels of wine broken; their shoes parcht; and their sacks rent and ragged: Yet *Iofua* hauing sworn vnto them by the Lord God of *Israel*, hee durst not, though urged by the multitude of the people, to laye violent hands on them; but hee spared both their Lioes, and the Cities of their inheritance.

Now if euer man had warrant to breake Faith, and to retract his promise made, *Iofua* had it: For first, the commandement which hee receiued from God to roote out this Nation among the rest, preceded by farre the peace which he had granted them. Secondly, he might iustly haue put these men to the sword, and haue sackt their Cities; if there be any euasion from a promise made, whereof the liuing God is called to witness. For it was not to the *Gibeonites* hee gaue peace, because hee knew them to be a people hated of God. He told them, that if they were of the *Heuites*, it was not in his power to make a league with them. But it was to a strange people that he gaue faith, & to a Nation which so came from farre, who hearing of the wonders which the God of *Israel* had done in Egypt and ouer *Iordan*, sought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, the accord, which *Israel* made with these crafty *Canaanites*, was without warrant. For it is written in the same place, That the *Israelites* accepted their tale, that is, beleeued what they had said, and counsailed not with the mouth of the Lord. Fourthly, these men who were knowne Idolaters, and serued those Puppets of the Heathen, men of an Apish Religion, as all Worshippers of Images are, could not challenge the witness of the true God, in whom they beleeued not. I say therefore, that if euer man might haue serued himselfe by any euasion or distinction, *Iofua* might iustly haue done it. For hee needed not

not in this case the helpe of *Aquino* or *Mentall Reservation*. For what he swaie, he swaie in good Faith; but he swaie nothing, nor made any promise at all to the *Gibeonites*. And yet, to the end that the faithlesse subtiltie of man should borrow nothing in the future from his example, who knowing well, that the promises hee made in the name of God, were made to the liuing God, and not to the dying Man, hee held them firme, and inuolable, notwithstanding that they, to whom he had sworne it, were worshippers of the Deuill.

For it is not, as faithlesse men take it, that he which sweareth to a Man, to a Societie, to a State, or to a King, and sweareth by the name of the liuing Lord, and in his presence, That this promise (if it bee broken) is broken to a man, to a Societie, to a State, or to a Prince; but the promise in the name of God made, is broken to God. It is God, that we therein neglect: we therein professe that we feare him not, and that we set him at naught and defie him. If he that without Reservation of honour giueh a lie in the presence of the King, or of his Superiour, doth in point of Honour giue the lie to the King himselfe, or to his Superiour: how much more doth he breake Faith with God, that giueh Faith in the presence of God, promiseth in his name, and makes him a witnesse of the Couenant made?

Out of doubt, it is a fearefull thing for a Sonne to breake the Promise, Will, or Deed of the Father; for a State, or Kingdome, to breake those Contrasts which haue beene made in former times, and confirmed by publike faith. For though it were 400 yeeres after *Iosua*, that *Saul*, euen out of deuotion, slaughtered some of those people descended of the *Gibeonites*: yet God, who forgat not what the Predecessors and Fore-fathers of *Saul* and the *Israelites* had sworne in his name, afflicted the whole Nation with a consuming famine; and could not be appeased, till seven of *Sauls* Sonnes were deliuered to the *Gibeonites* grieued, and by them hanged vp.

And certainly if it be permitted by the helpe of a ridiculous distinction, or by a God-mocking equiuocation, to sweare one thing by the name of the liuing God, and to reserve in silence a contrary intent: the life of man, the estates of men, the faith of Subjects to Kings, of Seruants to their Masters, of Vassals to their Lords, of Wives to their Husbands, and of Children to their Parents, and of all trials of right, will not only be made vncertaine, but all the chaines wherby free men are tied in the world, be torne asunder. It is by oath (when Kings and Armies cannot passe) that we enter into the Cities of our enemies, and into their Armies: it is by oath that warres take end, which weapons cannot end. And what is it or ought it to be that makes an oath thus powerfull, but this; That he that sweareth by the name of God, doth assure others that his words are true, as the Lord of all the World is true whom he calleth for a witnesse, and in whose presence he that taketh the oath hath promised? I am not ignorant of their poore euasions, which play with the severity of Gods commandements in this kinde: But this indeed is the best answer, That hee breakes no faith, that hath none to breake. For whosoeuer hath faith and the feare of God, dares not doe it.

The *Christians* in the *Holy Land* when they were at the greatest, and had brought the *Caliph* of *Egypt* to pay them tribute, did not onely lose it againe, but were soone after beaten out of the *Holy Land* it selfe: by reason faith *William* of *Tyre*, a reuerend Bishop which wrote that storie) that *Americk* the fiftieth King after *Godfrey* brake faith with the *Caliph Elhadech*, and his Vicegerent. The *Soldan Samar*, who being suddenly invaded by *Americk*, drew in the *Turke Syracoon* to their aide: whose Nephew *Seladine*, after he had made *Egypt* his owne, beat the *Christians* out of the *Holy Land*; neither would the wooden Crosse (the very *Crosse*, say they, that *Christ* died on) giue them victorie ouer *Seladine*, when they brought it into the field as their last refuge: seeing they had forsworne themselves in his name, that was crucified thereon: And if it be a direction from the holy Ghost, That he that speaketh lies shall be destroyed, and that the mouth which uttereth them, slayeth the soule: how much more perillous is it (if any perill be greater than to destroy the soule) to sweare a lie? It was *Eugenius* the Pope, that perswaded, or rather commanded the King of *Hungarie* after his great victory ouer *Amurath* the *Turk*, & when the said King had compelled him to peace, the most aduantageous that euer was made for the *Christians*, to breake his Faith, and to prouoke the *Turke* to renew the warre. And though the said King was farre stronger in the field than euer; yet hee lost the battle with 30000 *Christians*, and his owne life. But I will say my hand: For this first

volume

volume will not hold the repetition of Gods iudgements vpon faith-breakers; bee it against Infidels, Turks, or Christians of diuers Religions. Iudgement it is, that the taking of oathes now-a-dayes, is rather made a matter of custome than of conscience.

It is also very remarkable; That it pleased God to leaue so many Cities of the *Canaanites* vnconquered by *Israel*, to scourge and afflict them, by force-seeing their Idolatrie, and as it is said in the scriptures, *To be Thornes in their eyes to proue them, and to teach them to make warre*. For these Cities hereafter named did not onely remaine in the *Canaanites* possession all the time of *Iosua*; but soone after his death the Children of *Dan* were beaten out of the plaine Countries, and enforst to inhabite the Mountaines, and places of hard access. And those of *Iuda* were not able to be Masters of their owne Vallies; because, as it is written in the *Iudges*, *I the Canaanites had Chariots of Iron*. And those principall Cities which stood on the Sea-side, adioyning vnto *Iuda*, were still held by the remainder of the *Anakims*, or *Philistines*: as *Azzah*, *Gath*, *Asdod*; out of one of which Cities came *Goliath*, remembered in *Samuel*.

Neither did the children of *Manasse* ouer *Iordan* expell the *Geshurites*, nor the *Maacharites*: which inhabited the North parts of *Basam* afterward *Traconitis*.

Nor the *Nephthalims* possesse themselves of *Bethshemish*, nor of *Bethanah*; but they inforst those *Canaanites* to pay them tribute. Neither did *Asher* expell the *Zidonians*, nor those of *Acho*, or *Acon*, *Athlab*, *Achizib*, *Heblah*, *Aphike*, & *Rehob*, nor enforce them to tribute.

No more could *Zabulon* enioy *Kiron*, and *Nahalol*, but received tribute from them.

Also the *Canaanites* dwelt in *Gezer* among the *Ephraims*: and among the children of *Manasse*, on the West of *Iordan*, the *Canaanites* held *Bertheban*, *Taanach*, *Dor*, *Ibleam*, and *Megaddo*; yea, *Hierusalem* it selfe did the *Iebulites* defend about foure hundred yeeres, euen till *Danids* time.

Now *Iosua* liued one hundred and ten yeeres, eightene of which he gouerned *Israel*, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expressed in the Scriptures, which causeth diuers to coniecture diuersly of the continuance. *Iosephus* giues him fise and twenty yeeres: *Seder Olam Rabbi* the Authors of the *Hebrew Chronologie* eight and twentie; and *Massius* fixe and twentie: *Maimonius* cited by *Massius*, foure and twentie: *Iohannes Lucius*, seuentee: *Caicannus* ten: *Eusebius* giueh him seuen & twentie: and so doth *S. Angustine*: *Melancthon*, two and thirtie: *Codaman*, fixe and twentie. But whereas there passed 480. yeeres from the deliuey of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, vnto the building of the Temple: it is necessary that we allow to *Iosua* onely eightene of them; as finding the rest supplied otherwise, which to mee seemes the most likely, and as I thinke, a well approved opinion.

The same necessity of retaining precisely 480. yeeres from the departure out of *Egypt* vnto the building of the Temple, continueth of errors, such as haue inserted yeeres betwene *Iosua* and *Orthoniel*, of whom *Eusebius* findes eight yeeres, to which *Arius Montanus* addeheth; and for which hee giueh his reason in his foure and twentieth and last Chapter vpon *Iosua*: *Bunting* reckons it nine yeeres: *Bucholzer* and *Kreuser* but one; *Codaman* twentie, and *Nicphorus* no lesse than thre and thirtie: whereas following the sure direction of these 480. yeeres, there can be no void yeeres found betwene *Iosua*, and *Orthoniel*, vnlesse they be taken out of those eighreene ascribed vnto *Iosua* by the account already specified. The prayes and acts of *Iosua* are briefly written in the fixe and fortieth Chapter of *Exchiasius*, where among many other things it is said of him, who was there before him like to him, for he fought the battels of the Lord?

That he wrote the booke called by this name, it was the opinion of *Arius Montanus*, because it is said in the last Chapter of *Exchiasius*, And *Iosua* wrote these words in the booke of the Law of God, which seemeth rather to haue beene meant by the couenant which *Iosua* made with *Israel* in *Sichem*, where they all promised to serue & obey the Lord: which promise *Iosua* caused to be written in the booke of the Law; and of this opinion were *Caicannus* and *Abelensis*. *Theodoris* doth likewise conclude that the booke of *Iosua* was collected out of an ancient Volume, intitled *Abulphurum*, remembered by *Iosua* himselfe; and others, that it was the work of *Samaritob*; whereas *Adrianus* groundeth his opinion vpon these words of the 26. verse, And *Iosua* wrote these words &c. this place hath nothing in it to proue it: for when the people had answered *Iosua*; *The Lord said* God will be true, and his voice will be obeyed; it followeth that *Iosua* made a couenant with the people, and wrote the same in the booke of the Law of God.

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There liued at once with *Iofua*, *Erichonius* in Attica, who taught that Nation to yoke beafts together, thereby to till the ground with more ease and speed: And about the same time the fiftie Daughters of *Danai* (as it is said) slew the fiftie Sonnes of *Aegyptus*, all but *Lyncus*, who succeeded *Danai*, if the tale be true. There liued also with *Iofua*, *Phoenix*, and *Cadmus*, and neere the end of *Iofua's* life, *Iupiter* is said to haue rauished *Euro* the Daughter of *Phenix*, (afterward married to *Asterius* King of Creta) and begot on her *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. But *S. Augustine* reports this rauishment to be committed by *Xanthus*, and yet they are more commonly taken for the Sons of *Iupiter*. But it may be doubted whether *Minos* was father to *Deucalion*, & *Deucalion* to *Idomenus*, who was an old man at the warre of Troy, and *Sarpedon* was in person a young or strong man at the same Trojan war. And so doth *Nestor* reckon vp in the Councell of the Greeks, *Theſeus* and *Perithous* for men of Antiquitie, and of Ages past: *Minos* being yet more ancient than any of these. But hereof else-where.

## CHAP. VII.

Of the Tribes of *Iffrael*, that were planted in the borders  
of Phœnicia, with sundrie Stories depending  
vpon those places.

## §. I.

The Proeme to the description of the whole Land of Canaan, with an Exposition of the name of Syria.



THE Story of the *Iudges* ought to follow that of *Iofua*, after whom the Common-wealth of the Iewes was gouerned by Kings, of which so many of them as ruled the tenne Tribes, shall be remembered when we come to the description of Samaria: but because the Land of Canaan, and the borders thereof, were the Stages and Theaters, whereon the greatest part of the Story past, with that which followeth, hath beene acted, I thinke it very pertinent (for the better vnderstanding of both) to make a Geographical description of those Regions: that all things therein performed by the places knowne, may the better be vnderstood, and conceiued. To which purpose (besides the addition of the Neighbour Countreys) I haue bestowed on euery Tribe his proper portion: and doe shew what Cities and Places of strength were by the Iewes obtained: and what numbers it pleased God to leaue vnconquered; by whom he might correct and scourge them, when vngratefull for his many graces, they at sundry times forgot or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored those deafe and dead Idols of the Heathen. *Diuina bonitas* (saith *Augustine*) *ideo maxime irascitur in hoc seculo, ne irascatur in futuro: & misericorditer temporalem adhibet seueritatem, ne eternam iuste inferat ultionem*; The *Diuine* goodnesse is especially therefore angry in this world, that it may not be angry in the world to come, and doth mercifully use temporall severity, that it may not iustly bring vpon vs eternall vengeance.

To the Cities herein described, I haue added a short Story of the beginnings and ends of diuers Kingdomes and common-wealthes: and to helpe my kisse herein, I haue perused diuers of the best Authors vpon this subiect: among whom because I finde so great disagreement in many particulars, I haue rather in such cases aduentured to follow mine owne reason, than to borrow any one of their old paterne.

And because Canaan, with Palestina of the Philistines, and the Lands of *Og* and *Sehon* Kings of Basan, and the Arabian Amorites, were but small Provinces of Syria: it shall be necessaie, first to diuide and bound the generally, and so to defend to this particular, now called the holy Land.

Syria, now Soria, according to the largest description, and as it was anciently taken, embraced all those Regions from the Euxine Sea, to the Red Sea: and therefore were the Cappadocians, which look into Pontus, called *Leucosyrians* or white *Syrians*. But taking it shorter,

shorter, and from the coast of Cilicia, which is the North border, vnto Idumæa, towards the South, Tigris towards the Sunne rising and the Mediterran Sea Westward: it then containeth besides Babylonia, Chaldaea, Arabia the Desert, & Arabia Petrea, that Region also which the Greekes call Mesopotamia, the Hebrewes Syria, of the two Riuer, to wit, Tigris and Euphrates, for so *Aran Nahairajm* is expounded: also *Padan Aram*; that is, *Iugum Syria*, because the two Riuer goe along in it as it were in a yoke.

Edeffa, sometime Rages, now Raga, was the Metropolis of this Region of Syria. In Syria taken largely, there were many small Prouinces, as Coeleſyria which the Latines call Syria *Cana*, because it lay in that fruitfull Valley betweene the Mountaines of Lybanus, and Anrylibanus, in which the famous Cities of Antioch, Laodicea, Apamea, with many others were seated. Then Damascena, or Syria Lybanica, taking name of the Citie Damascus, and the Mountaines of Lybanus, the Regall seat of the *Adades*, the first Kings of Syria. Adioyning to it was the Prouince of Sophene, or Syria Soba, Choba, or Zohal: ouer which *Adadazer* commanded in *Salomons* time. Then Phœnicia and the people Syraphœnicies: and lastly Syria Palestina bordering Egypt: of which *Ptolomie* maketh Idumæa also a part: and to that Prouince which *Moses* calleth Seir and Edom, *Ponponius* Melagiueth the name of Syria Iudæa.

## §. II.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan, and of the promises touching this Land.



VE that Land which was anciently Canaan, taketh a part of Phœnicia, and stretcheth from behinde Lybanus to the great Deserts betweene Idumæa and Egypt: bounded by the Mid-land Sea on the West, and the Mountaines of Hermon: Galaad and Arnon towards the East: the same Hills which *Strabo* calleth *Tracconi* or *Tracomite*, and *Ptolomie* *Hippus*. The name of Canaan it had from Canaan the sonne of Cham, & lingua appellata suit Canaan; The language was also called Canaan, saith *Montanus*: and after *Iheron* of the Hebrewes: who tooke name from *Hiebr*, the sonne of Sale, according to *S. Augustine*. But *Arim Montanus* not so well allowing of this derivation, makes it a common name to all those of *Noahs* Sonnes, which past ouer Euphrates towards the West Sea. For the word *Heber*, saith hee, is as much as *transiens* or *transmittens*, of going; or passing ouer. And because the children of Abraham had for a long time no certaine abiding: therefore as he thinks, they were by the Egyptians called *Hebraei*, as it were passengers, which is also the opinion of *C. Sigonius*, and of *Eusebius* long before them both. It had also the name of Iudæa from *Iuda*, and then afterwards intitled the holy Land, because therein our Saviour Christ was borne and buried. Now this part of Syria was againe diuided into foure; namely, into Edom, (otherwise Seir, or Idumæa) Galilee, Samaria, and Iudæa. Galilee is double, the superior called *Gentium*, and the inferior: and that Galilee and Iudæa are distinguished, it is plaine in the *Euangelists*, though both of them belong to Phœnicia.

Now besides these Prouinces of Phœnicia, and Palestina (both which the Riuer of Jordan boundeth; sauing that Phœnicia stretcheth a little more Easterly towards Damascus) that part also to the East of Jordan, and within the Mountaines of Hermon Gilead, and Arnon, otherwise *Tracconi*, fell to the possession of halfe Manasse, Gad, and Reuben, and therefore are accounted a part of Canaan also: as well because anciently possesed by the Amorites, as for that they were conquered and enioyed by the Israelites, which Eastermost parts are againe diuided into *Bisan* or *Batanea*, into Gilead, Moab, Midian, Ammon, and the Territories of the *Macbati*, *Gessari*, *Argobe*, *Haz*. They are knowne to the latter Cosmographers by the name of Arabia in generall: and by the names of *Tracomitis*, *Pieria*, *Batanea*, &c. of which I will speake in their proper places.

But where *Moses* describeth the Land of Canaan in the tenth of *Genesis*, hee maketh no mention of the later Prouinces, which fell to Manasse, Gad, and Reuben, for these be his words, *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidan, and thou comest to Gezar vntill Azab* (which is Gaza) and this was the length of the Countrey North and South: then it followeth in the Text; *And as thou goest vnto Sodome and Gomorah, and Admah, and Seboym, euen vnto Lasha*: by which words *Moses* setteth downe the breadth, to wit, from the Dead Sea to the Mediterran. But in *Denteronomie* it seemeth to be far more large: For it is therein written; *All the places whereon the sole of your feet shall tread, shall bee yours*: Deut. 11.24.

your coast shall be from the wilderness, and from Libanon, and from the River Perab, unto the uttermost Sea. Now for the length of the Countrie North and South, this description agreeth with the former: only Libanon is put for Zidon: and the wilderness for Gerar and Azab, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent East and West, if Perab be taken for Euphrates: then the Land promised stretcheth it selfe both ouer Arabia Petraea, and the Desert, as farre as the border of Babylon: which the Israelites neuer possessed, nor at any time did so much as invade or attempt. And therefore Radianus doth conceiue, that by the River Perab, was meant Jordan, and not Euphrates: taking light from this place of Iosua: Behold, I haue diuided vnto you by lot these Nations, that remaine to bee an inheritance according to your Tribes: from Jordan with all the Nations that I haue destroyed, euen vnto the great Sea westward.

Radianus Epist.  
lib. 1. c. 1. p. 1.  
lib. 1. c. 1. p. 1.  
lib. 1. c. 1. p. 1.

And though it be true that David greatly enlarged the Territorie of the Holy Land: yet as Radianus well noteth, if Perab in the former place be taken for Euphrates: then was it purper gentes in amicitiam receptas. For David did not at any time enter so farre to the East as Assyria, or Babylon. Neither doth the not possessing of all these Countries giue advantage to those that would make any irreligious cauil, as touching the promise of God to the Israelites vnperformed: For when both their Kings, Magistrates, and People, fell from his worship and seruice, it pleased him not onely to inclose them within that Territorie, which was for so many people exceeding narrow; but therein and elsewhere to subiect them vnto those Idolatrous Nations, whose false and foolish gods themselves also serued and obeyed. And sure the promise by which the Hebrewes claimed the inheritance of Canaan, and the lasting inioying thereof, to wit, as long as the heavens were above the earth, was tied to those condicions, both in the Verses preceding, and subsequent; which the Israelites neuer performed. And therefore they could not hope for other than all mankind could or can expect; who knew that all sorts of comforts from the mercifull goodness of God looked for, as well in this life as after it, are no longer to be attended, than while we perseuere in his loue, seruice, and obedience. So in the eight Verse of the eleuenth of Deuteronomy, the keeping of Gods Commandements was a condition ioyned to the prosperity of Israel. For therein it is written, Therefore shall ye keepe all the Commandements which I command you this day: that ye may be strong, and goe in, and possess the Land, whither ye goe to possess it. Also that you may prolong your dayes in the Land which the Lord swore vnto your Fathers, &c.

Deut. 11. v. 11.

Deut. 11.

Deut. 11.

The like condition was also annexed to the enioying of the Land conquered, and the possession thereof, so long as the heavens were above the earth. For if ye keepe diligently, saith he, all these commandments, which I command you to doe, that is, to loue the Lord your God, &c. then will the Lord cast out all these Nations before you, and ye shall possess great Nations, & mightier than you. And here, though it be manifest, that by reason of the breach of Gods Commandements, and their falling away from the worship of his all-powerfull Mielitie, to the Idoltry of the Heathen, the conditionall promises of God were absolutely void, as depending vpon obedience vnperformed: yet I cannot mislike that exposition of Aetianthom: For, saith he, Osiendit promissionem praecipuam non esse de hoc Politico regno; sed foveret ut his eiusque promissio non sit de ciuili Regno. To which agrees that answer which S. Hierome made to a certaine Heretique in his Epistle ad Dardanum, who accused S. Hierome: that he could throw the reputation of the Iewes Storie, & brought the truth thereof in question, by drawing it altogether into an Allegorie, and ad illam Aetianthom vniuersum terram que in circuitu est; (that is) Onely to that Land of the living which is in Heauen. Quoniam tota Iudeorum Regio adeo angusta sit ambitu, & brevis longitudinem habeat 160. milium, latitudinem vero 40. & in his ciuitatem regiones, loca, urbes & oppida sunt plurima, nunquam civitas occupata, sed tantum diuina pollicitatione promissa; Because the whole Countrey of the Iewes is so narrow in compass, that it scarce hath 160. miles in length, & 40. miles in breadth: and in these are Countreys, places, Cities, & many Townes, which the Iewes neuer possessed, but were onely granted by diuine promise. In like manner the same Father speaketh vpon Esay touching the blessings promised vnto Hierusalem: where hee hath these words: De quo distans Hierusalem nequaquam in Palestina Regione petendam: quia totius Provinciae deterrimus est, & saxa, & montibus asperatur, & penuriam patitur sitis: ita ut celestibus delectat pluuies, & raritatem fontium, & thermarum extruione solatur: sed in Dei manibus, ad quam dicitur, festinauerunt praedicatorum, & non vobis, saith he, we learne, that Hierusalem is not to be sought in this region of Palestina, which is the worst of the whole Province, & raised with

Gen. 49. 14.

with craggie Mountaines, and suffereth the penurie of thirst: so as it preserveth raine water, and supplieth the scarcitie of wells by building of Cisternes; but this Hierusalem is in Gods hands, & which it is said, Thy builders haue hastened: so farre S. Hierome, where also to prevent mistaking, he thus expoundeth himselfe. Neg, hoc dico in suffragationem terra Iudae, ut hereticus Scycopphant amenitur: aut quo asseram historia veritatem: qua fundamentum est intelligentie spiritualis, sed ut decus supercilium Iudeorum: qui Synagoga angustias latitudinis Ecclesie praeferrunt. Si enim occidentem tantum sequuntur literam, & non spiritum viuificantem: ostendant terram promissionis lacte & melle manantem; Neiber (saith hee) say I this to disgrace the Land of Iudaea (as the Hereticall Scycopphant doth belie me) or to take away the truth of the Historie, which is the foundation of spirituall understanding, but to beat down the pride of the Iewes, which enlarge the straits of the Synagoga farther than the breadth of the Church: for if they follow onely the killing letter, and not the quickening spirit, let them shew the Land of promise, flowing with milke and honey.

By this it may also be gathered, howeouer it be vnlike (seeing the West-bound in the place, Deut. 11. 24. had his truth in the literall sense, that Euphrates or Perab, which is made the East-bound, should be taken onely in a spirituall sense); yet neuertheless that Hieroms opinion inclineth to this, as if this Perab were not to be understood for Euphrates, and that the promise it selfe was neuer so large: much lesse the plantation and conquest of Israel.

And now for a more particular description of this Holy Land, because Asher, Nephthaim, and Zabulon, held the North-east part, and were seated in Phoenicia, I will begin with these three, taking Asher for the first: of which Tribe yet before I speake, I must admonish the Reader touching the names of places in this, and the other Tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many names by reason of the diuers fancies of Translators, are diuersly expressed, so that to the vnskillfull they may seeme diuers, when they are one and the same: the reason of this diuerfity (as by those learned in the Hebrew I am taught) is, partly because the ancient Editions of the Hebrew want vowels, the old Translators imagined other vowels than now the Hebrew Editions haue; and partly because the Ancient expressed or omitted diuers consonants, otherwise than the latter doe so thinke fit.

### §. III.

## THE TRIBE OF ASHER.

### †. I.

#### The bounds of the Tribe of Asher.

The Asherites descended of Asher the Sonne of Iacob by Zelpha, the handmaid of Lea, were increased while they abode in Egypt, to the number of 41500. and odde persons, all men about twenty yeeres of age, and able to beare armes, at the time when they were mustered by Moses at Mount Sinai: all which number perishing in the Deserts, there remained of their issues, besides women and children 53400. bodies fit for the warres: which past the River of Arnon, into the Plaines of Moab, and after the Conquest of Canaan, had for their portion that part of Phoenicia, from Zidon and the fields of Libanon, vnto Ptolomais Acon alongst the Seacoast: containing thirtie English miles or thereabout: and from the Mid-land sea to the East border some twelue miles: though Antoninus makes it somewhat larger. This part of Canaan was very fruitfull, abounding in Wine, Oyle, and Wheate, besides the Balsamm, with other pleasant and profitable commodities: according to that Prophecie, Asher pinguis panis: Concerning Asher, his bread shall be fat: And hee shall give pleasures for a King.

Ant. lib.

Gen. 49.

### †. II.

#### Of Zidon.

The first City seated on the North border of the Territorie of Asher, was Zidon, which Iosua calleth the great Zidon, both for strength and magnitude. The Greekes and Ec 3 Q. Curtius



Isaiah 13.

Gen. 10. 10. 11.

Isaiah 13. Hier. 41. 10. 11. 12. 13.

Psal. 137. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.

Strabo 16. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.

Psal. 137. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.

Psal. 137. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.

Psal. 137. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.

Psal. 137. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.

Psal. 137. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.

Psal. 137. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.

Psal. 137. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.

Psal. 137. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.

Psal. 137. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.

Psal. 137. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.

Psal. 137. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.

Psal. 137. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.

Psal. 137. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.

Psal. 137. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.

Psal. 137. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.

Psal. 137. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.

Psal. 137. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.

Psal. 137. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.

*Q. Curtius* make *Agenor* the founder thereof: and *Iulius* derives the name from the abundance of fish found on those shores: whereof it hath beene called *Zidona*. But that it was farre more ancient, *Moses*, *Iosua*, and *Ioseph* witness, the same being founded by *Zidon* the eldest of *Canaan's* Sonnes: and so strong it was in *Iosua's* time, as neither did himselfe attempt it, neither could the *Asierites*, or any of their successors master it: but it continued all the time of the *Judges* and *Kings*, even unto the coming of *Christ*, a Citie interchangeably governed, by their owne *Princes* or other *Magistrates*: though according to the warnings and threats of the Prophets, *Esaie*, *Jeremie*, *Ezechiel*, and *Zacharie*, it was often afflicted both by the enemies sword, and by the pestilence.

*Zidon* is seated on the very wath of the Phœnician Sea, which is a part of the Mediterran or Mid-land Sea. It hath to the North the Citie of *Berythus*, and the Riuer *Leontis*: and to the South *Sarepta*, or *Sarpath*: which standeth betwene it and *Tyre*, the distance betwene which two great and famous Cities, to wit, *Zidon* and *Tyre*, is 14. thousand paces, saith *Seiglerus*: but *Adrianus* makes it two hundred furlongs, and so doth *weisimburie* in his description of the holy Land, and both from *Strabo*: which two hundred furlongs make five and twentie miles. This difference of distance as well betweene these two knowne Cities, as all the rest, make it over-difficult to devise any new scale to the Mappe and description of the holy Land.

What Kings it had till *Agenor's* time there is no memorie: The story which *Zeno* the Philosopher, who was a Zidonian, wrote thereof, being by time consumed and lost. It seemeth to bee more ancient than *Tyre*, which was also built by the Zidonians. For as *Strabo* noteth, *Homer* speaking of *Zidon*, neglecteth the memorie of *Tyre*, because it was but a member of *Zidon*, and a Citie subiect to the Kings thereof: though it be true that in after-times it contended with *Zidon* for Primacie, and became farre more renowned, opulent, and strong: From *Zidon* had *Salomon* and *Zorobabel* their principall workemen, both in Timber and Stone, for the building of the Temple. For as it flourished in all sorts of learning, so did it in all other Mechanicall Arts or Trades: the Prophet *Zacharie* calling them the wife Zidonians. The Citie was both by nature & Art exceeding strong, having a Castle or Citadell on the North-side, standing vpon an vnaccessible Rocke, and compassed by the Sea, which after the Citizens became Christians, was held and defended by the Knights of the Dutch Order: and another Castle it hath on the South side by the Port of *Egypt*, which the Templers guarded. It also had many other Colonies beside that of *Tyre*, into places remote: as vnto *Thebes*, and *Sephrya*, Cities of *Beotia* in Greece. *Strabo* and *Plinie* giue the Zidonians the inuention of \* Glasse, which they vsed to make of those sands which are taken out of the Riuer *Belus*, falling into the Mediterran Sea, neere *Protonis* or *Acon*: and from whence the Venetians fetch the matter of those cleere Glasses which they make at *Aturana*: of which *S. Hierome* and *Plinie*: *Zidon insignis artificum utri: Zidon utrarq; officinis Nobilis*; *Zidon a famous Glassemaker, or a skilfull worker in Glas*: houses.

They were in Religion Idolaters (as the rest of the Canaanites) worshippers of *Baal*, and *Astaroth*: which Idols though common to the other of the issue of *Canaan* (as *Vindex* gathers out of 1. Sam. 3. 10. and *Iudg.* 10. 6.) yet especially and peculiarly were accounted the Gods of the Zidonians: as appears 1. Kings 11. 5. in the story of *Salomons* Idolatrie: where *Astaroth* is called the God of the Zidonians: and 1. Reg. 16. 33. in the story of *Achab*, the chiefe worshipper of *Baal*, where it is said that hee marrying *Iezabel* the Daughter of the King of the Zidonians, worshipped their *Baal*. Diuers *Baals* & diuers *Astaroths* in their Idolatries they acknowledged: as it appears by the plural names of *Baalim* and *Astaroths*, 1. Sam. 12. 10. and elsewhere: for euent the name *Astaroth*, as I am informed by a skilfull *Hebristian*, is plural: the singular being *Astareth*: whence *Iudg.* 2. 13. the *Septuagint* reads *idolatriam istam adspice*: They worshipped the *Astaries*. The occasion of this their multiplying of their *Baals*, & *Astareths*, may be diuersly vnderstood: either in respect of the diueritie of the formes of the Images, or of the worship in diuers places, or of the Idols depending vpon them: which (as fables vs to be) were doubtlesse in diuers Cities diuers. *Angustine quest.* 19. in *Iudg.* thinks *Baal* and *Astareth* to be *Iupiter* and *Iuno*. For the *Carthaginians* (which were *Tyrians*) call *Iuno* by such a name as *Astarte*, *Tullie lib.* 3. de *Nat. D. orum*, making diuers Goddesses of the name of *Venus*, expounds the fourth to bee *Astarte*: whom hee makes to be borne of *Tyrrus* and *Syria*, and to haue beene the Wife of *Adonis*: as also *Macrob.* 2. *Saturn.* cap. 2. 1. saies that *Adonis* was with great veneration

eneration commonly worshipped of the Assyrians: and *Hierome* vpon *Ezek.* 8. 44. notes that *Thammuz* (whom there the Idolatrous women are noted to bewaile) is the name of *Adonis* among the Syrians. So that it may seeme that in the worship of *Astarte* or *Venus*, they did bewaile her Husband *Adonis*: as also the Græcians did in their songs of *Adonis*: *Mourne* for *Adonis the faire*, dead is *Adonis the faire*. Howbeit others in that place of *Ezekiel* not without good probability, expound the mourning for *Thammuz*, to be the mourning for *Osirus* in the sacrifice of *Isis*: whose losse of her Husband *Osirus*, was as famous in the Egyptian Idolatrie, as with the Græcians, *Venus* losse of *Adonis*. And to this agreeeth that which *Plutarch* hath, de *Iside & Osiride*; that *Osirus* with the Egyptians is called *Ammuz*: which word may seeme to be the same with *Ezekiels* *Thammuz*. But howsoever the Zidonians were thus anciently fostered with the milke of *Idolatry*: yet they were more apt to receiue the Doctrine and Gospell of *Christ* after his Ascension, than the Iewes: who had beene taught by *Moses* and the Prophets to many yeeres, whereof our Sauour in *Mathew* and *Luke*: *Woe be to thee Corazin, &c. for if the great works which were done in thee, had beene done in Tyrrus and Zidon, they had repented long agoe, &c. but I say vnto you, it shall be easier for Tyrrus and Zidon, at the day of Iudgement, than for you.*

It receiued a Christian Bishop with the first: who was after ward of the Diocesse of *Tyre*. But in the yeere of our Redemption 636. it fell into the hands of the Saracens: and continued in their possession till *Balawinus* the first, then King of *Iherusalem*: in the yeere 1011. by the helpe of the Danes and Norwaies, who came with a Fleet to visite the holy Land, and tooke Port at *Ioppa*, it was againe recovered, the commandement thereof being giuen to *Eustace Gremer*, a Noble man of that Countrey. And againe in the yeere 1250. it was reedified and strengthened by *Lodowicke* the French King: while hee spent foure yeere in the Warre of the holy Land: Lastly, in the yeere 1289. it was reconquered by the Saracens: and is now in possession of the Turke, and hath the name of *Zai*.

## t. III.

## Of Sarepta, with a briefe History of Tyre in the same Coast.

*Sarepta*, or after the Hebrew, *Sarpath*, is the next City Southward from *Zidon*, between it and the Riuer called *Naar*, or *Fons hororum Libani* (of which more hereafter) standing in the way towards *Tyre*, a City very famous for the excellent wine growing neere it: of which *Sidonius*:

*Vina mihi non sunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna.*  
*Quaę, Sareptano palmitum missa bibas.*

I haue now wine of *Gaza*, nor *Falerna* wine,  
Nor any for the drinking of *Sarepta's* vine.

This City had also a Bishop, of the Diocesse of *Tyre*: after it came to the Saracens and Turkes, as the rest: and is now called *Saphet*, saith *Postellus*.

Nor farre from *Sarepta* was situate that sometime famous City of *Tyre*, whose fleets of shippes commanded, and gaue the law ouer all the *Mediterran* Sea, and the borders thereof: during which time of greatnesse and power, the *Tyrians* erected *Vtica*, *Leptis*, and *Carthage* in *Africa*, of which *Virgil*. *Vrbis antiqua fuit, Tyrrigenæ Colonæ, Carthago.* *Virgil.*  
*Carthage* was therefore called *Punica quasi Phœniæ*, a Colonie of the Phœnicians. In 50 *Spain* they founded *Gades*, now *Caliz*. In *Italie*, *Nola*: in *Asia* the lesse, *Dromos A-chillis*, which Citie the *Scholias*t of *Apollonius* placeth neere the Riuer *Phyllis*, in *Bythina*.

It had anciently the name of *Zor*, or *Tzor*: and so it is written in *Iosua* the 19. taking name from the situation; because built on a high Rocke, sharpe at one end. The *Latines*, as it seems, knew it by the name of *Sarra*, for *Virgil* calleth the purple of *Tyre*, *Osrum Sar-ranum*, by which name *Inuenat* and *Silius* remember it. The Zidonians built it vpon a high hill, whereof many ruines remaine to this day; the place being still knowne by the name of the ancient *Tyre*: and because it was a Colonie of the Zidonians, the Prophet

Esaie

*Esay* calleth it the Daughter of *Zidon*, which *Trogus* also confirmeth, though *Berosus* by affinity of name makes *Thirus* the sonne of *Iaphet* to be the Parent thereof: and though no doubt it was very ancient (for so much the Prophet *Esay* also witnesseth, *Is not this your glorious Citie, whose antiquity is of ancient daies?*) yet, that *Thirus* is the sonne of *Iaphet* set him selfe in the bosome of the *Canaanites* who built *Zidon*, and peopled all that Region: I see nothing to perswade me.

But that new *Tyre* in after-times so renowned, seemeth to bee the worke of *Agenor*: and of this opinion was *Curtius*: and *Iosephus*, and *Eusebius* make this City elder than *Salomon's* Temple 240. yeeres: *Cedrenus* 361. who also addeth that *Tyris* the wife of *Agenor* gaue it her name: but of *Agenor* I will speake more at large in the story of their Kings.

For strength and for the commodity of the harbour, and the better to receiue Trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an Iland, 700. paces from the continent; and therefore *Ezekiel* placeth it in the midst of the Sea, as some read, or as others in the inner-most part of the Sea, whence he calleth it *situate at the entry of the Sea*, as also the same Prophet calleth it *the Mart of the people for many Iles*; and *Esay*, *a Mart of the Nations*: and so Proude, Wealthy, and Magnificent was this City, as the Prophet *Esay* calleth the Merchants thereof Princes, and their Chapmen the Nobles of the World.

It excelled both in learning, and in manu-facture: especially in the making and dying of Purple, and Scarlet-cloth: which, saith *Iulius Pollux*, was first found out by *Hercules* Dogge, who passing along the Sea-coast, and eating of the Fish *Conchilis* or *Purpura*: the haire of his lippes became of that colour. It worshipped the same Idols that *Zidon* did: sauing that *Hercules* became their Patron in after-times. For *Alexander* Macedon, when the *Tyrians* presented him with a Crowne of gold, and other gifts, desiring to remaine his friends and allies, answered them, that he had vowed a sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Defender of their City, and the Ancestor of the Macedonians Kings: and must therefore enter it. Whereupon they sent him word, that *Hercules* his Temple was in the Mountaine of old *Tyre*: where he might performe that ceremony. But this auailed not: For *Alexander* was not so superstitious, as ambitious; he desired to enter the Towne, which being denied, he as one whom no perill could feare, nor labour weary, gathered together as many ships as he could, and brought from *Libanus* so great a number of Cedars, and so many weighty stones, from the old City of *Tyre* adioyning, as notwithstanding that his materials were often washt away with the strength of the Sea and the Tydes, yet he neuer rested, till hee had made a foote passage from the Continent to the Iland: and hauing once approached their Walls, he ouer-topt them with Turrets of wood, and other frames: from whence (hauing filled the body of force with the violent mouing spirit of resolution) he became Lord thereof, putting all to the Sword that resisted; after which, he cauled 2000. more to be hung vpon a ranke all alongst the Sea-shore: which execution vpon cold blood hee performed (as some Authours affirme) vpon the issues of those slaues which had formerly laine all their Masters, taking their Wiues, Children, Riches, and power of Government to themselves. This victory of *Alexander* ouer the *Tyrians*, *Iosephus* remembreth: and how *Sanaballat* revolted from *Darius*, and came to *Alexander* with 8000. Souldiers: who was the last *Satrapa* or Prouinciall Governour, which *Darius* seated in *Samaria*: the same who hauing married his Daughter to *Manasse*, brother to *Iaddus* the high Priest of *Hierusalem*, obtained of *Alexander* that a Temple might be built on the Mountaine *Gazara* ouer *Samaria*: that the forces of the Iewes being diuided, *Alexander* might the better hold them in obedience. The honour of which Priesthood hee bestowed on his son in law *Manasse*, whom the Iewes oppugned, for that he had married out of their Tribes, and with a Gentile: but while *Alexander* besieged *Gaza*, *Sanaballat*, whom *Guil. Tyrius* calleth *Sanabula*, died.

Long before this desolation of *Tyre* by the cruelty of *Alexander*, it was attempted by *Salmanassar* the *Assyrian* King: when the growing pride of the *Assyrians*, after that they had conquered the ten Tribes, with the rest of *Syria*, became enuious of the beauty, riches, and power of that City. He besieged it both on the Land-side, and with three score shippes of Warre held the Port: to the end that neither any victuals nor any supply of men might enter it: but the *Tyrians* with twelue saile scattered that fleet, and tooke 500. prisoners of the *Assyrians*: notwithstanding, the *Assyrian* continued his resolution, and lay before

before it by his Lieutenants sixe yeeres, but with ill successe. And this siege *Menander Euphrates*, cited by *Iosephus*, made report of in his *Chronicles*, as hee found the Story among the *Annals of the Tyrians* (which the said *Menander* conuerted into *Greece*), adding, that *Elulais*, whom *Tyrius* calleth *Helihaus*, was then King of *Tyre*, hauing gouerned the same sixe and twenty yeeres. Soone after this repulse of *Salmanassar*, and about 200. yeeres before the victory of *Alexander*, *Nabuchodonosor* at such time as he destroyed *Hierusalem* with the Temple, came before this City: who indeed gaue to *Alexander* the example of that despairfull worke, of ioyning it to the Continent. For *Nabuchodonosor* had formerly done it: though by the diligence of the Citizens, and the strength of the Sea, the same cawley and passage was againe broken downe, and demolished.

Against *Nabuchodonosor*, for many yeeres, the *Tyrians* defended themselves: for so long did those *Babylonians* continue before it, As every head was made bald, and every shoulder made bare, saith *Ezekiel*, who with the Prophet *Esay* had manifestly foretold the destruction of this proude place. In the end and after thirteene yeeres siege or more, the *Tyrians* despoiled of all their hopes, and remembering ouer-late the predictions and threatnings of Gods Prophets, hauing prepared a convenient number of shippes, abandoned their City, transporting with themselves the ablest of all that remained: and with their wiues, children, and portable riches, sayled thence into *Cyprus*, *Carthage*, and other Maritime Cities of their Tributaries, or Confederates: so as the *Babylonians* finding nothing 20 therein, either to satisfie so many labours and perils, or any person vpon whom to auenge themselves for the losse of so many bodies in that Warre: it pleased God in recompence thereof, (who strengthened this resolution, as in worke of his owne) to make *Nabuchodonosor* victorious ouer the *Egyptians*: and gaue him that Kingdome and the spoile thereof, as it were in wages for his Army. Whereupon *Saint Hierome* noteth, that God leaue not the good deeds of the Heathen vnrwarded: who though they cannot hope by any laudable worldly action, to attaine vnto that eternall happinesse reserved for his Seruants and Saints: yet such is the boundlesse goodnesse of God, as he often repayeth them with many worldly gifts and temporall blessings.

Now of this enterprise of *Nabuchodonosor* against *Tyre*, profane Historians haue 30 not bene silent. For both *Diodorus* and *Philostratus* (as *Iosephus* citeth them) the one in his second Booke, the other in his *Phanician* Histories, remember it.

After these two great *Catastrophes* by the Kings of *Babylon* and *Macedon*: this City of *Tyre* repaired and recovered it selfe againe: and continued in great glory about 300. yeeres, euen to the coming of our Saviour Christ: and after him flourished in the *Christian* Faith neere 600. yeeres: the Archbishop whereof gaue place to none but to the Patriarke of *Hierusalem* onely, who within his owne Diocese and foureterne great Cities, with their Bishops and suffragans: namely *Caipha*, otherwise *Porphyria*, *Acon*, or *Ptolomais*, *Sarepta*, *Zi-* 40 *don*, *Casarea*, *Philippi*, *Berytus*, *Syblus*, *Botrys*, *Trispolis*, *Orthosia*, *Archis*, *Aradus*, *Antaradus*, *Cestus*, *Tortosa*, and *Maraclea*. But in the yeere 636. it was with the rest of that beautifull Region of *Phanicia* and *Palestina*, subiected to the cruell and faithlesse *Saracens*. Vnder the burthen and yoke of whose tyranny it suffered, with the other *Palestine* Cities, 488. yeeres.

In the yeere 1112. it was attempted by *Baldwine* King of *Hierusalem*; but in vaine: yet in the yeere 1124. by *Guaremonde*, Patriarke of *Hierusalem*, Viceroy to *Baldwine* the second, with the assistance of the *Venetians*, and their fleet of Gallies, it was againe recovered, and subiected to the Kings of *Hierusalem*, and so it remained 165. yeeres.

Finally, in the yeere 1189. *Saladine* hauing first taken *Hierusalem*, remoued his whole Army and sate downe before *Tyre*: drawing his fleet of shippes and Gallies from *Alexandria* into the Port, this City at then onely remaining in the *Christian* power.

50 The Citizens finding themselves reduced into great famine, and many other miseries, they at once with certaine rafters of timber, fiered, burnt, and brake the *Saracens* fleet, and sallied out resolutely vpon his Army, slew so great numbers of them, and followed their victory with such fury, as that the *Saracens* forsaking their Trenches and Tents, remoued in great disorder and dishonour. Two yeeres after which victory the body of that famous *Fredrick* *Barbarossa* (who by the lamentable accident of following the *Christians* enemies ouer a Riuer vntoordably perished by the weight of his armour therein) was brought and interred in the Cathedrall Church of *Tyre*, neere vnto that glorious Sepulchre of *Origen*, garnished and graven with guile pillars of Marble, 940. yeeres before

before therein buried : but in the yeere 1289. the Saracens againe attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth subiect to the Turkes.

## †. IIII.

Of Ptolomais or Acon.

**T**he third City alongst the coast of the Sea, which the Asserites could not obtaine, on the South bound of Asfer was Acho, which was the ancient name thereof after Hierome, though other good Authours affirme that it tooke name from Acon the brother of Ptolomy. Plinie calleth it Ace : and otherwise the Colonie of Claudius. It had also the name of Coth, or Cod, and by Zeiglerus it is called Hapipos.

But lastly, it was intituled Ptolomais after the name of one of the Egyptian Ptolomies : which City also as it is, 1 Mac. 11. another of the Ptolomies, infideliouly wrested from his sonne in law Alexander, which called himselfe the sonne of Antiochus Epiphanes : the same Alexander hauing married Cleopatra daughter of the said Ptolomie not long before. Therein also was Jonathan Maccabees treacherously surprisid and slaine, as it is 1 Mac. 12. 48. by the perfidiouseffe of Tryphon, whom soone after Antiochus pursued, as it is in the Story ensuing : and by like reason about the same time was the aforefaid Alexander in the warre against Demetrius, one of the sonnes of Antiochus the great with whom Ptolomie ioyned, ouerthrowne & treacherously murdered by Zabdiel the Arabian : to whom he fled for succour : and his head presented vnto his father in law Ptolomie : who enioyed not the glory of his victory and treason about three dayes, for God stricke him by death.

For the beauty and strength of this City, this Alexander made it his regall seate; two parts of the same being inuironed by the Sea, and the port for safety and capacity not inferior to any other in all that Tract. This Citie is distant from Hierusalem some foure and thirty miles : foure miles to the North from the Mountaine Carmel, and as much to the South from Castrum Lamberi : from Tyre, Antonius maketh it two and thirty Italian miles. In the midst of the City there was a Tower of great strength, sometime the Temple of Belzebub : and therefore called the Cattle of Flies, on the top whereof there was maintained a perpetuall light, like vnto that called Pharos in Egypt : to giue comfort in the night to those shippes, which came neere and fought that part. It had in it a Bishops seate, of the Diocesse of Tyre, after it became Christian : but in the yeere 636. (a fatal yeere to the Christians in those parts) it was forced and taken by Haumarus the Saracen. In the yeere 1104. it was regained by Baldwin the first, by the helpe of the Gallies of Genoa : to whom a third of the renew was giuen in recompence. Again, in the yeere of our Lord God, one thousand one hundred fourescore and feuen, Saladine King of Egypt, and Syria, became Lord thereof. In the yeere of Christ, one thousand one hundred and ninety one, by Richard King of England, and Philip King of France, it was recovered and redeliuered to the Christians. Lastly, in the yeere 1291. it was by the fury of the Saracens besieged with an Army of 150000. entred, sackt, and vterly demolished : though in some sort afterward reedified, and it is now Turkish.

## †. V.

Of the Castle of Saint George.

**F**ive miles from Ptolomais towards the East, is the Castle of Saint George seated, in which he was borne : the Valley adioyning bearing the same name. And though for the credit of Saint Georges killing the Dragon, I leaue euery man to his owne beliefe : yet I cannot but thinke, that if the Kings of England had not some probable record of that his memorabile act, among many others : it was strange that the Order full of Honour, which Edward the third founded, and which his Successours royally haue continued, should haue borne his name, seeing the World had not that scarcity of Saints in those dayes, as that the English were diuen to make such an erection vpon a fable, or person fained. The place is described by Adrichomius in his description of Asfer, to haue bene in the fieldes of Libanus : betweene the Riuer Adonis, and Zidon : his owne words are these :

these : *Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, non longe à Beryte, memorant inelytum Christi Adiletem D. Georgium, Regis filium ab immanissimo Dracone asseruasse : eamq. matrem a bestia parenti restituisse. In cuius rei memoriam Ecclesia postmodum suis edificata : in this place, which by the inhabitants is called Cappadocia, not far from Berytus, men say that the famous Knight of Christ, Saint George, did rescue the Kings Daughter from a huge Dragon, and hauing killed the beast, deliuered the Virgin to her Parent. In memory of which deed a Church was after built there : Thus farre Adrichomius. His Authours he citeth Lodouicus Roman, Patrie. Navigationum l. 1. c. 3. and Bridenbach l. 1. c. 5. The Valley vnder this Castle sometime called Asfer, was afterward called the Valley of Saint George. If this authority suffice not, we may rather make the Story allegoricall, figuring the victory of Christ, than except of George the Arrian Bishop, mentioned by Am. Marcellinus.*

## †. VI.

Of Acziba, Sandalium, and others.

**B**etweene Ptolomais and Tyre alongst the Sea coast, was the strong City of Acziba, or Achazib, which Saint Hierome calleth Achziph, and Iosephus Ecdippas, Plinie Ecdippa, one of those which defended it selfe against the Asserites. Belsorrest findes Acziba and Sandalium, or the Cattle of Alexander to be one, but I know not whence he had it.

The twelue searchers of the Land which Moses sent from Cadesbarne, trauielled as far to the North as Roob, or Rechob, in the Tribe of Asfer, which Rechob, as also Berotha, which by Ezekiel cap. 47. verse 16. is placed in these North borders, belonged in Dauids, 10f. Beil. Iud. l. 1. c. 11. time to the King Hadarbezec, as it may be gathered out of the second of Samuel the 8. chapand 8. verse, and cap. 10. verse 6. and it defended it selfe against the Asserites, as Zidon, Tyre, Achziph, Ptolomais, Alab, Helbah, and Aphck did.

This Aphck it was, whose wall falling downe, slew feuen and twenty thousand of Benhadads Souldiers, after that a hundred thousand had bene slaughtered by the Israelites, vnder the conduct of Ahab. Here Iunius findes that the Philistims encamped a litle before the battaile at Gilboa, though in his note vpon the first of Samuel, the 9. and 1. he takes Aphck there mentioned (at which battaile the Arke was taken) to haue bene in Iuda. 1 Kings 20. 19. which 10f. 15. and 33. and in the second of Kings 13. 17. he teades, Fortiter, for, in Aphck. Where others conuert it, Percutiens Syros in Aphck.

The next place alongst the coast is Sandalium, first called Schandalium of Schander, which we call Alexander, for Alexander Macedon built it, when he besieged Tyre : and set it on a point of Land which extendeth it selfe into the Sea, betweene Acziba and Tyre : which Castle Baldwin the first rebuilt and fortified, in the yeere of Christ 1157. when he undertooke the recovery of Tyre.

Not much about a mile from this Castle, there ariseth that most plentiful Spring of water, which Salomon remembreth, called the Well of living waters : from whence not onely all the fields and plaines about Tyre are made fruitful by large pipes hence drawn : but the same Spring, which hath not about a bow-shot of ground to trauiell till it recover the Sea, driueth sixe great Milles in that short passage, saith Brocard.

Within the Land, and to the east of Acziba, and Sandalium, standeth Hofa : and beyond it, vnder the Mountaines of Tyre, the City of Achlaph, or Axab, or after Saint Hierome Aclapa, a City of great strength, whose King amongst the rest was slaine by Iofua, at the waters of Merom.

## †. VII.

Of Thoron, Gifcala, and some other places.

**F**urther into the Land towards Iordan, was seated the Castle of Thoron, which Hugh de Sancto Abdemare built on the Easter-most Hills of Tyre, in the yeere 1107. therby to restrain the excursions of the Saracens, while they held Tyre against the Christians : the place adioyning being very fruitfull, and exceeding pleasant. From this Castle the Lords of Thoron, famous in the Story of the Warres for the recovery of the Holy Land, deriue their names, and take their Nobility. It had in it a curious Chappell, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, in which Hunfrey of Thoron, Constable to Baldwin the 3. King of Hierusalem, lyeth buried : There were five Castles besides this within the Territory of Asfer : where

whereof foure are seated almost of equal distance from each other: to wit, Castrum, Lami, Montfort, Indin (or Saron) Castrum Regium, and Belfort; The first neere the Sea vnder the Hills of Saron: the next three, to wit, Indin, Montfort, and Regium, stand more within the Land, and belonged to the Brotherhood and fellowship of the *Tentonies*, or *Dutch-Knights*, by which they defended themselves, and gaue succour to other Christians at such time as the Saracens possessed the best part of the vpper Galilee: the chiefe of which Order was in Ptolomies Achaon. The first fortresse was for beaury, and strength called Belfort, seated in the high ground vpon the Riuer Naar, neere the Cicie Rama: of which in this Tribe *Isa. 1. 9. 2. 101* which the Vulgar reade Horma: making the article a part of the word, and mistaking the vowels: from the siege of this Cattle of Belfort, the great Saladin King of Syria and Egypt, was by the Christians Army raised, and with great losse and dishonour repulsed.

To the East of Belfort, is the strong City of Alab (or Achlab) which Saint Hierome calleth Chabai, one of those that defended themselves against *Affer*, as Roob (or Rechob) not farre thence did.

Towards the South from Roob they place Gabala (which Herod furnished the Ascalonite rebuilt) making it of the Territory of *Chabul*, *Quod Syrorum lingua dispicere significat* (saith *Weissenburg*) so called, because *Hiram* of Tyre was ill pleased with those twenty Cities, seated hereabout, which *Salomon* presented vnto him in recompence of those provisions sent him for the building of the Temple. Others think this Chabul (or Cabul) containing a circuit of those twenty Cities given to *Hiram*, to haue bene without the compass of the holy Land: though bordering *Affer* on the North side: as it is said, *1. Reg. 9. 11*. That they were in *Regione limitis*: that is, in *limite Regionis*, in the border of the Countrey: for it was not lawfull, say they, to giue to strangers any part of the possessions allotted to the Israelites: howsoever, that after *Hiram* had refused them, they were peopled by the Israelites, it appeares, *2. Chron. 8. 14*. And it seemes they were conquered by *Dauid* from the *Syri Rechabae*, whose City Roob, or Rechob, was in these parts.

Almost of equal distance from the Cattle of Thoron, they place the Cities of Giscala, and Gadara: of which Gadara is rather to be placed ouer Jordan: Giscala was made famous by *Iohn* the sonne of *Lui*, who from a meane estate gathering together foure hundred & twene, greatly troubled all the vpper Galilee: at such time as the Romans attempted the conquest of Iudaea: by whose practice *Iosephus*, who then commanded in the vpper Galilee, was greatly endangered: whereof himselfe hath written at large, in his second Booke of those Warres. This *Iohn* betraying in all hee could the City of Giscala (whereof he was native) to the Roman State: and finding a resistance in the City, gaue opportunity, during the contention, to the Tyrians and Gadarims, to surprize it: who at the same time fort it, and burnt it to the ground: but being by *Iosephus* authority rebuilt, it was afterwards rendered to *Titus* by composition. They finde also the Cities of Cana Maior, and *Cades*, (or Cadesla) of the first was that *Syro-phoenician*, whose Daughter Christ deliuered of the quill Spirit. Nere the other, they say, it was that *toothis Achabae* overthrew the Army of *Demetrius*.

There are besides these thirtynine Cities within the Tribe of *Affer*, diuers others: as on the South border, and neere the Sea, Mefall, or Misheal: within the Land, a Befara, Berbedagon, and Bethmea, standing on the South border betwene *Affer* and Zabulon: on the North side keeping in by *Phoenicia*, is the City of Chelodon, or Chelchon, the vmoost of the holy Land that way: vnder which towards the Sea is Chali, and then *Enoch* supposed to be built by *Cain*, and named of his sonne *Enoch*, but without probability, as I haue formerly proued. There are others also besides these, as Ammon or Chammon, of which *Isa. 1. 9. 2. 8*, where also we reade of *Nehiel* Rama, Alamelec, and Betton: the Cities of Aleath, or Chelcath, Haddon, and Rechob, and Misheal, which we haue already mentioned, were by the *Afferines* giuen to the *Leuites*. Of others held by the *Caenianes*, mention is made, *Iudg. 1. 30*, to which one of *Isa. 1. 2* we may adde *Babab*, *Amthal*, and others, on which the most dependeth: and therefore I will not pester the description with them.

Of the Riuer and Mountaines of *Affer*.

He Riuer to the North of *Affer* are *Amnis*, after ward called, to which *Ziegler* ioyneth *Lycus*, *Ptolomy*, *Leontis*: both which fall into the Sea neere *Berytus*, which Riuer of *Leontis*, *Montanus* drawes neere vnto *Zidon*: finding his head notwithstanding, where *Ptolomy* doth betwene *Zidon* and *Tyre*. It hath also a Riuer called *Pons hororum Libani*, which *Adrichome* out of *Archeard* intitleth *Eleutherus*: for which he al- so citeth *Plinie*, and the first of *Machabees* the 11. Chapter, but neither of those authorities proue *Eleutherus* to be in *Affer*: for this Riuer falleth into the Sea at the Ile of *Arados*: not farre from *Balanea*, witnesseth *Ptolomie*: and therefore *Pinerus* calleth it *Palania*, and *Possellus* *Velana*: which Riuer boundeth *Phenicia* on the North-side: to which *Strabo* also agreeth: but this principall Riuer of *Affer*, *Arius Montanus* calleth *Gabatas*. *Christianus* *Cyrot* out of the mouth and Papers of *Peter Laicstan* (which *Laicstan* in this our age both viewed and described the Holy Land) calleth the maine Riuer: *Pons hororum Libani*: and one of the streames which runneth into it from the North-side, *Naar*, and another from the South-west *Chabul*: of the City adioyning of the same name: for *Eleutherus* it cannot be. There is also another Riuer described by *Adrichome*, named *Iephael*, which I finde in no other Author; and for which he citeth the thirteenth of *Isa. 17*, but the word *Ghe* which is added there to *Iephael*, is not taken for a Riuer, but for a Valley: and for a Valley the Vulgar, the *Geneua*, and *Arius Montanus* turne it. There is also found in *Affer*, the Riuer of *Belus*, remembered by *Iosephus* and *Tacitus*, which is also called *Pagidas*, saith *Plinie*: out of the sands of this Riuer are made the best Glasse, which sometime the *Zidanians* made: and now the *Venetians* at *Murana*. *Arius Montanus* makes *Belus* to be a branch of *Chedunim*, which it cannot be: for *Belus* is knowne to flow from out the Lake *Cendena*, as all *Cosmographers*, both Ancient and Moderne, and the later Trauailers into these parts, witnesseth. It is true that the Riuer of *Chisan* taketh water from *Chedunim*: but not in that fashion which *Montanus* hath described it: neither doth it find the Sea at *Ptolomais* 30 *Asae*, according to *Montanus*: but farther to the south betwene *Caiphas* and *Sicanim*, witnesseth *Ziegler*, *Adrichomius*, and *Schroter*.

Besides these Riuer there are diuers famous Springs and Fountaines, as that of living waters adioyning to *Tyre*: and *Maferophot*, or after Saint Hierome, *Maferophotanus*, whose Well filled by the flood of the Sea adioyning, (they say) the Inhabitants by seething the water make salt thereof, as at *Nannwich*.

The Mountaines which bound *Affer* on the North, are those of *Anti-libanus*, which with *Libanus* bound *Calesyria*: two great ledges of Hills, which from the Sea of *Phenicia* and *Syria*, extend themselves farre into the Land East-ward: foure hundred stadia or furlongs, according to *Strabo*: for that length he giueth to the Valley of *Calesyria*: which those Mountaines inclose: but *Plinie* giues them 1500. furlongs in length from the West (where they begin at *Thiophylon*, or *Desfacies*, neere *Tripolis*) to the Mountaines of *Arabia* beyond *Damascus*: where *Anti-libanus* turneth towards the South. These ledges where they begin to part *Tracosis* and *Basan*, from the Desert *Arabia*, are called *Herman*: which *Moses* also nameth *Sion*, the *Phoenicians* *Syrian*, and the *Amorites* *Samir*, neither is this any one Mountain apart: but a continuation of Hills: which running farther fourtherly, is in the Scriptures called *Galaad* or *Gilead*: the same being still a part of *Libanus*, as the Prophet *Isa. 17. 1. 2* proueth: *Galaad summi caput Libani*: noting that this *Galaad* is the highest of those Hills of *Libanus*. *Strabo* knowes them by the name of *Tracosis*: and *Ptolomie* by *Hippus*. *Arius Montanus* calleth these Mountaines bordering *Affer*, *Libanus*, for *Anti-libanus*, contrary to all other *Cosmographers*, but he giueth no reason of his opinion.

They take the name of *Libanus* from their white tops, because according to *Tacitus*, the highest of them are couered with Snow all the Summer: the Hebrew word *Libanos* (saith *Weissenburg*) signifieth whitenesse. Others call them by that name of the Franks, because which those Trees yeeld: because *Libani* is also the Greeke word for that Gumme.

*Niger* out of *Aphrodisens* affirmeth, that on *Libanus* there falleth a kinde of hony dew, which is by the Sunne congealed into hard Sugar, which the Inhabitants call *Sacchar*, from whence came the Latine word *saccharum*.

The Rivers which *Libanus* bestoweth on the neighbour Regions, are, *Chrysorrhoas*, *Jordan*, *Elentherus*, *Leontes*, *Lycus*, *Adonis*, *Fons hortorum Libani*, and others.

The rest of the Mountaines of *Affer*, are those Hills about *Tyre*, and the Hills of *Saron*, both exceeding fruitfull: but those are but of a low stature, compared with *Libanus*: for from *Nebus*, or the Mountaine of *Abarim* in *Reuben*, *Mogis* beheld *Libanus* threescor mikes distant.

## §. III.

## THE TRIBE OF NEPHTALIM.

## ¶. I.

Of the bounds of *Nephtalim*, and of *Heliopolis*, and *Abila*.

**T**He next Portion of the Land of *Canaan* bordering *Affer*, was the vpper *Galilee* the greatest part whereof fell to the lot of *Nephtalim*, the sonne of *Isaac* by *Billa*, the hand-maide of *Rachel*: who while they abode in *Egypt*, were increased to the number of 53400. persons, able men to beare armes, numbered at Mount *Sinai*: all which leauing their bodies in the Deserts, there entered the Holy Land of their sonnes 45400. besides Infants, Women, and Children, vnder twenty yeares of age. The Land of *Nephtalim* tooke beginning on the North part, from the Fountaines of *Jordan*, and the Hills of *Libanus* adioyning, as farre South as the Sea of *Galilee*, bounded on the West by *Affer*, and on the East and South-east by *Jordan*.

On the North-side of *Libanus*, and adioyning to this Territory of *Nephtalim*, did the *Amorites* (or *Emorites*) also inhabit, in which *Tract* and vnder *Libanus*, was the City of *Heliopolis*: which the height of the Mountaines adioyning shadowed from the Sunne, the better part of the day. *Postellus* calls it *Balbec*, *Niger*, *Marbech*, and *Leontanius*; *Beallbeca*.

Of this name of *Heliopolis*, there are two great Cities in *Egypt*: the first called *On*, by the *Hebrewes*, and the *Chaldean* Paraphrast, otherwise *Bethfemes*, or after the *Latines*, *Sola oppidum*, or *Domus Solis*; The City of the Sunne: into which, faith *Plipian*, *Scuerus* the Roman Emperour sent a Colonie: the other *Gestilum* nameth *Dealmarach*: and of this name *Stephanus* also findeth a City in *Thrace*, and *Glycas* in *Phrygia*.

There is also in the same Valley adioyning to *Nephtalim*, *Chalcis*, and *Abila*. *Chalcis*, of whom the Region towards *Palmyrena* hath the name of *Chalcidica*, ouer which *Herod*, *Agrippa*, and *Brenice* the Queene commanded.

*Abila* also gaue name to the Region adioyning, of which *Lysanias* the sonne of *Herod* the elder, became *Tetrarch* or Gouvernour: whereof *Ptolomie* gaue it the addition of *Lysanij*, and called it *Abila Lysanij*. *Volaterran* names it *Aphila*, of which he notes that one *Diogenes*, a famous *Sophister*, was natieue, who by *Volaterran* is intituled *Aphileus*, not *Abileus*. After that this City of *Abila* or *Aphila*, had receiued the *Christian* Faith, *Prisillianus* became the Bishop thereof: slaine afterward by our *Brittish* *Maximus* at *Treuer*. For distinction of this Citie (if it be not the same, as it may be thought to be the same) it is to be remembered, that in the Tribe of *Manasse*, ioyning vpon the bounds of the Tribe of *Nephtalim*, there is another City of the same name, sauing that it is written with an (E) for an (I) and called *Abela*, remembered in the 20. Chapter of the second of *Samuel*. The same *Iosephus* calls *Abelmacha*, and *Hierome* *Bethmacha*. In the place of *Samuel* for distinction sake, it is written *Abel Beth-Mahaca*, (for belike it was the Towne of *Mahaca*, the wife of *Maacir*, the sonne of *Manasse*, the Father of *Gilead*) in the *Chronicles* it is called *Abel-Manim*. This City *Isaiah* besieged: because *Seba* the sonne of *Bichri*, who rebelled against *Dauid*, fled thierinto for succour: but a certaine wife woman of the Citie perswading the people to cast *Seba* his head ouer the wall, *Isaiah* retired his Army. The same Citie was afterward taken by the King of *Damascus*, *Bennadad*: and after a while by *Teglatphalasar*.

The word *Abel* may be expounded, either to signifie bewailing, or a plaine ground; and therefore no maruell that many Townes (with some addition for distinction sake) were thus called: for euen of bewailing, many places tooke name; as *Bechim*, *Iudg.* 2. 4.

and so doubtlesse \* *Abel-Misraim*, *Gen.* 50. 11. and yet *Iunius* in his notes vpon *Num.* 33. 49. thinks that *Abel-Sittim* was so called, rather by reason of the plaine ground there (to wit, in the Land of *Moab*), and so perhaps *Abel-Meholah* in the Tribe of *Ephraim*: the Towne of *Elisba* the Prophet: also *Abel-Vincarum* of the *Ammonites*, whither *Iephtha* pursued them.

¶. II.  
Of Hazor.

**I**N the Tribe of *Nephtalim*, was that famous City of *Labin*, in *Iosua*'s time called *Afor* (or after the *Chaldean* Paraphrast, *Hazor*) by *Iosephus*, *Afora*, by *Iunius* \* *Chazar*: which *Laifan* names *Hefron*; the Regall City, and Metropolis of *Canaan*: seated in the West part of *Nephtalim*, towards *Affer*. In this City was that great *Renduous*, and assembly of those foure and twenty Kings against *Iosua*: who being all ouerthrowen, slain, and scattered, this their powerfull City was by *Iosua* taken and burnt to dust. But in proceffe of time the same being rebuilt by the *Canaanites*, a second King *Labin*, 137. yeares after the death of this first *Labin*, invaded the *Israclites*: and being ordained of God to punish their Idolatry, he prevailed against them, and held them in a miserable seruitude twenty yeares: till *Deborah* the Prophetesse ouerthrew *Sisera*, *Tabins* Leutenant, and his Army, neere the Mountaine *Tabor*. This City *Salomon* restored at such time as hee also reedified *Gezar*, burnt by *Pharao* of *Egypt*, with \* *Megiddo*, *Bethoron*, and other Cities; but about 260. yeares after, it fell into the hands of *Teglatphalasar*, King of the *Assyrians*. It is now, faith *Adrichomius*, called *Antiochia*: it was one of the principall Cities of *Decapolis*. There is another Citie of this name in the Territory of *Beniamin*, seated on the confines of *Ascalon*, called the new *Hazor*, b faith *Hierome*.

*Num.* 34. 8. also in *Shimon*, *Chasir-Sufima*, of which, 1 *Chron.* 4. 38. which also is called *Chasir-Sufa*, and *Chasir-Gadde*, and lastly *Chasir-Sbubis*, another City of *Shimon*. *Isaiah* 33. 21. King 7. b *Iheronimus*, *Iher.* 14. out of *Nehem.* 11. 33. as it seemes.

## ¶. II.

Of *Cesarea Philippi*.

**T**Here was also on the border, and within the Territory of *Nephtalim*, that renowned City of *Lais*, or *Laisch*, as *Iunius* writes it, or *Leschen*, which City the children of *Dan* (being strained in their Territory vnder *Iuda*) invaded and mastered; and gaue it the name of their owne parent *Dan*: and by that name it is written in *Genesis* the foureteenth, at which place *Abraham* surprized *Chedorlaimor* and his confederates, and followed his victory as farre as *Sobab*, formerly remembered in the diuision of *Syria*, otherwise called *Suphena*. And after the possession of the *Danites*, it had the ioynt name of *Leschem-Dan*. *Weissenburg* writes it *Lacis*, the *Genens* *Laisch*, *Iosephus*, *Dana*; *Beniamin*, *Balina*; *Breidenbach*, *Belena*: but the now Inhabitants know it by the name of *Belina* to this day: witness *Neubrigensis*, *Tyrius*, *Volaterranus*, *Erhardus* the *Monke*, and *Postellus*: who also taketh this City to be the same, which in *Mathew* the 15. verse 39. in the *Vulgar* is called *Magedan*, for which the *Greeke* Text hath *Magdala* in that place, and in *Saint Marke* speaking of the same story, *Dalmanutha*. At such time as the children of *Dan* obtained this place, it seemeth that it was either a free City, of the alliance & confederacy of the *Zidonians*, or else subiect vnto the Kings thereof; for it is written in the eighteenth of *Iudges*, And there was none to helpe, because *Lais* was farre from *Zidon*: and they had no businesse with other men, for it was about thirty English miles from the *Mediterranean* Sea, and from *Zidon*.

In after times when these Regions became subiect to the state of *Rome*, it had the name of *Panias*, from a Fountaine adioyning so called: and therefore *Ptolomie* calls it *Cesarea Panie*. *Hegesippus* calls it *Parnium*, faith *Weissenburg*: but hee had read it in a corrupt copy: for in *Hegesippus* set out by *Badus*, it is written *Pancum* without an (R): and at such time as *Philip* the sonne of the elder *Herod*, brother to *Herod*, *Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, became Gouvernour of *Traconitis*, sometime *Basani*; this City was by him amplified and fortified; and both to giue memory to his owne name, and to flatter *Tiberius Caesar*, he called it \* *Cesarea Philippi*: and so it became the Metropolis, and head City of *Traconitis*: and one of the first Cities of *Decapolis*. And being by *Agrippa* in the succeeding age greatly adorned: by him in honour of *Nero*, it was called *Neronia*, or *Neroniada*. But as the former part of

Of the same  
see in the  
Liber 1. c. 1.  
Liber 1. c. 1.  
Liber 1. c. 1.

a. 10. p. 1. in  
the booke of  
the Jewell  
war. 18. faith  
that 1. 1. 1. 1.  
the search cast  
chaffe into a  
Fountaine cal-  
led 1. 1. 1. 1.  
distant 120. li-  
from 1. 1. 1. 1.  
which chaffe  
being carried  
under ground  
was call'd 1. 1. 1.  
gaine at 1. 1. 1.  
or 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.  
whereby it is con-  
firmed that the  
first Spring of  
Jordan is from  
this Fountaine  
called 1. 1. 1. 1.  
from whence  
1. 1. 1. 1. 1.  
recieve their  
waters.

nothing remained with that Emperour, but the memory of his impiety: so in Saint Hieromes time the Citizens remembered their former *Panem*, and so recalled it, with the Ter-  
rity adorning by the ancient name. Of this City was that woman whom Christ heal-  
ed of a bloody issue, by touching the hemme of his Garment with a constant Faith:  
who afterward, as there was a woman of great wealth and ability, being mindfull of Gods  
goodnesse, and no lesse gratefull for the same, as *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* report, caused  
two Statues to be cast in pure Copper: the one representing Christ, as neere as it could be  
moulded: the other made like her selfe, kneeling at his feet, and holding vp her hands to-  
wards him. These three mounted vpon two great Bases or Pedestals of the same Metall,  
which three placed by a Fountaine neere her owne house: both which (saith *Eusebius*)  
remained in their first perfection, euen to his owne time: which himselfe had seene, who  
liued in the Raigne of *Constantine* the Great. But in the year after Christ 363. that Mon-  
ster *Iulian Apostata*, caused that worthy Monument to be cast downe, and defaced: set-  
ting vp the like of his owne in the same place: which Image of his was with fire from  
Heauen broken into fitters: the head, body, and other parts, lundered and scattered, to the  
great admiration of the people at that time liuing. The truth of this accident is also con-  
firmed by *Sozomenus Salaminus*, in his first booke and twentieth Chapter.

This City built by the *Danites*, was neere the ioyning together of those two Rivers,  
which arising from the springs of *Ior* and *Dan*, the two apparant Fountaines of *Jordan*,  
in a foyle exceeding fruitful, and pleasant; for, as it is written, *Iudges* 18. it is a place  
which doth want nothing that is in the world. In the fields belonging to this Citie it was  
that Saint Peter acknowledged Christ to be the Sonne of God: whereupon it was answer-  
ed, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram, &c.* After this City receiued the Christian faith,  
it was honoured with a Bishops seate: and it ranne the same fortune with the rest, for it  
was after taken and retaken by the *Saracens*, and *Christians*: vnder *Fulch* the fourth King  
of *Hierusalem*, and after the death of *Gosfrey of Bullion*, the King of *Damascus* wrested it  
from the *Christians*; and shortly after by them againe it was recovered. Lastly, now irre-  
maineth with all that part of the World subiect to the *Turke*.

## t. IIII.

Of Capernaum, and the Cities of Decapolis.

**A**Mong the remarkable Cities within this Tribe, *Capernaum* is not the least: so of-  
ten remembered by the *Euangelists*. This City had the honour of Christs presence  
three yeares: who for that time was a Citizen thereof, in which he first preached  
and taught the doctrine of our saluation: according to that notable Prophecy of *Esay*,  
*The people that walked in darknesse, haue seene a great light: they that dwelt in the Land of  
the shadow of death, vpon them hath the light shined.*

*Capernaum* was seated on *Jordan*, euen where it entrench into the Sea of *Galilee*: in an  
excellent and rich foyle: of whose destruction Christ himselfe prophecied in these words,  
*And thou Capernaum which art lifted vp vnto heauen, shalt be brought downe to Hell, &c.*  
which shewed the pride and greatnesse of that City: for it was one of the principall Ci-  
ties of *Decapolis*, and the Metropolis of *Galilee*. And although there were some markes  
of this Cities magnificence in Saint Hieromes time, as himselfe confesseth, it being then  
a reasonable Burge or Towne: yet those that haue since, and long since seene it, as *Brochard*,  
*Breidenbach*, and *Salinac* affirme, that it then consisted but of six poore Fisher-mens  
houfes.

The Region of ten principall Cities called *Decapolitana* or *Decapolis*, is in this descrip-  
tion often mentioned, and in Saint *Mathew*, *Marke*, and *Luke* also remembered, but I finde  
no agreement among the *Cosmographers*, what proper limits it had: and so *Plinie* himselfe  
confesseth, for *Marius Niger*, speaking from others, bounds it on the North by the moun-  
taine *Casius* in *Casioti*: and endeth it to the South at *Egypt* and *Arabia*; by which de-  
scription it imbraceth *Phoenicia*, a part of *Calesyria*, all *Palestina*, and *Iudea*.

*Plinie* also makes it large, and for the ten Cities of which it taketh name, hee numb'reth  
four of them to be situated towards *Arabia*: to wit, first these three, *Damascus*, *Opotus*,  
*Raphana*, then *Philadelphus* (which was first called *Amana*, saith *Stephanus*, or as I ghesse  
*Amana* rather; because it was the chiefe City of the *Ammanites*, knowne by the name of  
*Rabbah*, before *Prolo*. *Philadelphus* gaue it this later and new name.) Then *Seythopolis*,  
sometime

Math. 4.  
Marke 7.  
Luke 8.  
Niger. c. 1.  
Alia 4. f. 103.

Plin. l. 5. c. 18.  
Opotus a City  
standing in the  
Valley of Ca-  
lesyria, watered  
by Chorobanus  
as Damascus in  
Plin. 5.

sometime *Nysa*, built (as is said) by *Bacchus*, in memory of his Nurse, who died therein,  
anciently knowne by the name of *Bethsan*; for the first he setteth *Gadara* (not that *Gada-  
ra* in *Calesyria*, which was also called *Antioch* and *Seleucia*;) but it is *Gadara* in *Basan*,  
which *Plinie* in this place meaneth, seated on an high hill, neere the Riuer of *Hieromax*.  
This Riuer *Ortelius* takes to be the Riuer *Iaboc*: which boundeth *Gad* and *Manasse* ouer  
*Jordan*: but he mistaketh it; for *Hieromax* falleth into the Sea of *Galilee*, betwene *Hippos*  
and *Gerasa*, whereas *Iaboc* entrench the same Sea betwene *Ephron* and *Phanuel*. For the se-  
uenth he nameth \* *Hippos*, or *Hippion*, a City so called of a *Colonie* of Horsemen there gar-  
risoned by *Iherbd*, on the East-side of the *Galilean* Sea, described hereafter in the Tribe of  
10 *Manasse* ouer *Jordan*. For the eighth *Pella*, which is also called *Butis*, and *Berenice*, seated  
in the South border of the Region ouer *Jordan*, called *Perea*. For the ninth *Gelasa*, which  
*Iosephus* takes to be *Gerasa*: and *Gerasa* is found in *Calesyria* by *Iosephus*, *Hegeppus*, and  
*Stephanus*: but by *Ptolomie* (whom I rather follow) in *Phoenicia*. The tenth and last, *Plinie*  
nameth *Canatha*, and so doth *Suetonius* and *Stephanus*, which *Volaterran* calls *Gamala*,  
but *Hegeppus* rightly *Canatha*, a City in the Region of *Basan* ouer *Jordan*, so called, because  
those two Hills on which it is seated, haue the shape of a Camell. But the collection of  
these ten Cities, whereof this Region tooke name, is better gathered out of *Brochard*,  
*Breidenbach*, and *Salinac*, which makes them to be these; *Casarea Philippi*, and *Asor*, be-  
fore remembred, *Cedes Nephtalim*, *Sephet*, *Corazin*, *Capharnaum*, *Bethsaida*, *Iotapata*, *Ti-  
berias*, and *Seythopolis*, or *Bethsan*. For all other Authours disagree herein, and giue no  
reason for their opinion. One place of the *Euangelist* Saint *Mathew* makes it manifest,  
that this Region called *Decapolitana*, was all that Tract betwene *Zidon*, and the Sea of  
*Galilee*. For thus it is written: *And he departed againe from the coasts of Tyros and Zidon,  
and came vnto the Sea of Galilee, through the midst of the coasts of Decapolis*: so that it  
was bounded by *Damascus* and *Libanus* on the North: by the *Phoenician* Sea, betwene  
*Zidon* and *Ptolomais* on the West: by the Hills of *Gelbe* and *Bethsan* on the South: and  
by the Mountaines *Trachones*, otherwife *Hermon*, *Sanir*, and *Galaad*, on the East: which is  
from East to West the whole breadth of the Holy Land: and from the North to the  
South, neere the same distance, which may be each way forty English miles.

## t. V.

Of Hamath.

**B**Ut to looke backe againe towards *Libanus*, there is seated neere the foot thereof the  
City of \* *Hamath* or *Chammath*, of which (as they say) the Countrey adioyning  
taketh name: the same which *Iosephus* calleth *Amathitis*, and *Amathensis*: \* *Iacobus*  
*Zeigler*, *Ituraea*. *Ituraea* Regio tunc borealis tribus Nep-  
thali, per montem Libanum effi; Trachones. The Countrey  
of *Ituraea*, faith hee, containeth the North parts of the  
40 Tribe of *Nephthali*, along the Mount *Libanus* to *Trachones*. But herein following *Strabo*, who calls *Trachonitis*,  
*Ituraea*, hee mistaketh the seate of this Region: and so the other *Chammath*, being in *Syria* *Soba*, a *Zeigler*, in  
doth *Mercator*. For indeed were *Ituraea* (which *Hege-  
ppus* calls *Perea*, and *G. Tyrius*, *Baccar*) the same with *Trachonitis*, yet *Trachonitis* it selfe  
is farre more to the East than *Hamath* in *Nephtalim*: for *Trachonitis* lyeth betwene *Cas-  
aria Philippi*, and the Mountaines *Trachones*: which the Hebrews call *Gilead*: and this  
*Hamath* or *Chammath* is seated vnder *Casarea*, towards the Sea West-ward. And it seemeth  
that this mistaking grew by confounding *Emath* or *Hamath* the great in *Calesyria*, with  
beyond the Mountaines *Trachones*, which \* *Hermon* vpon *Amos* calls *Antichia*, with  
50 *Hamath* or *Hamath* the lesser in *Phoenicia*, and *Nephtalim*, which hee calleth *Epiphania*:  
for this *Hamath*, or in our Translation *Hamath*, (and not that which is commonly called  
*Emath*, which 2 *Chron.* 8. 3. is set farre from the North border of *Canaan* in *Syria* *Soba*) is remem-  
bered in *Numbers* 34. verse 8. and *Numbers* 13. ver-  
22. and in *Ezekiel* 47. 16. In the first of which places it bordereth the Land of promise, these being  
the words: *From Mount Hor you shall point (that is,  
direct or draw a line) vntill it come to Hamath*: In  
the other in *Nephtalim*, though *Matt. Beroldus* reiecting  
*Ituraea*, rather follow the opinion of *Zeigler* about mentioned,  
as indeed it cannot easily be mislaid, that either one or other of  
these is either *Antichia* or *Phoenicia*, howbeit that the same City  
which *Iofua* 19. 35. is called *Chammath*, and placed in *Nephtalim*,  
was also called *Chammath* (whence the word *Hamath* and the  
other *Hamath*, a *Zeigler* 10. 3. for distinction is called *Chammath*  
Tiberias, as this (as it may seene by *Iof. 21. 31.*) was *Chammath* Dor,  
So *Hirsh* in his Comment on *Amos*, c. 6. v. 2. where there is mention  
of *Hamath* the great, as it  
seemes for distinction



and *Ch. Math. n. c.*, as we have noted, § 2 Reg. 24. Secondly, because *Nun*, 4, 9, 8, also = *Egheal* 47, 10, *Bama* 10, the North side of the holy Land; placed so near the old corner, that it *Ch. n. 10* 161; i. for the line which should make the North border which begins at the great Sea; they make *Ajef*s to name new a place Eastward along all the breadth of the holy Land, & until we come to *Hermoa*) for so they expound Mount *Pisra*, *Simeas*, 2, 4; & beyond *Herman* Eastward in this North side, they make him to name *Dunes Towers*, first *Cumath*, then *Jed-ah*, then *Zph* 2<sup>d</sup> and lastly, (*bashar-be an*, a thing most violently feared) *Jafel* had little or nothing Eastward beyond *Nomen*. Therefore we must needs expound: or be one of the Hills near *Zido*, and to those *Towers*, as they are named to be in order on the North side of *Ay*, *Nephthim*, and *Mazaffer*; and in like manner those in *E-gheal*: first, *Ch. b. c.*, then *Chemath*, and to Order, *Rewiba*, *Sikram*, *Lif-lad*, *Chauran*, *Crafur* h. *nin. c.* Of which ord. 1, 3, 3; in which *Rebub*, or *Rebub*, in *Israhel* 28, is placed in *Affar* towards *Zidu*, in the confines of *Nephthalia*.

proove it: the other *Hamath* or *Emath* (being farre removed and beyond the renowned mountaines, which incloſe all thoſe Lands which *Iſrael* euer had poſſeſſion of) is that *Emath*, which is alſo called *Hurea*, witneſſe \* *Stella* and *Lacſan*; and not that in *Nephthim*, where † *Jonathas* *Macchabæus* attended the Army of *Demetrius*, who fled from him, and removed by night.

Forthough *Trachonitis* be comprehended within *Ituræa* (and therefore it is said to bee <sup>20</sup>*finimita Galilee Gentium*) yet it hath beginning ouer the mountaines *Tracopsi*, and so it stretcheth into the plaines of the Territory of *Ituræa*; whence *Philip* the brother of *Herod* was *Tetrarch* or *President* both of *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis*: both which are ouer *Jordan* towards the Eaft. But *Chemath* in *Nephthalim*, is on the West fide of *Jordan* towards the *Mediterran* Sea.

The Country *Ituraa* was so called of *Iethur* one of the sonnes of *Ismael*, it is placed in the bounds of *Calefyria* and *Arabia* \* the Defart.

The people *Ituræi* were valiant and warlike men, and excellent Archers : Of whom *Virgil* :

*Iturxos Taxi torquentur in arcus.*

Of Eugh the *Itureans* bowes were made.

This City *Chamath* or *Hamath* in *Nephtalim* seems to have been as ancient as the other in *Issachar*, both built by *Amathites* the eleventh son of *Canaan*. Whether in the time of *David*, this, or the other had *Tobus* for King, it is not certain; for *Hamath* or *Emath* beyond the Mountains, and *Hamath* in *Nephtalim*, were both neighbours to *Damascus*: of whose subjugation *Tobus* rejoiced, because *Hadadezer* whom the *Damasceni* came to help, was his enemy. This *Tobus* fearing the strength and prosperity of *David*, hearing of his approach towards his Territory, bought his peace with many rich presents, and with many ancient vessels of gold, silver, and brass.

e But it seemeth that *David* in such great successe would not haue had peace with *Tob,* if he had bene King of any place in *Nephtholim*, and therefore it is probable that he ruled in *Tjoba*: which City *Salomon* after his Fathers death made himselfe Master of, as a part of the lands (\* in the larger and conditional promise ) allotted by God to the children of *Israel*.

But this *Hamath* of *Nephthalim*, in the end, and after diuers mutations and changes both of name and fortune, being, as it hath beene said, possessed by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, it was called *Epiphania*.

While Saint *Hierome* liued, it remained a City well peopled, knowne to the *Syrians* by the name *Amathe*, and to the *Greekes* by *Epiphania*.

†. VI.

*Of Reblatha and Rama, and diuers other Townes.*

**I**N the border of *Hamath* or *Emath* towards *Jordan* standeth the Citie *Reblasha*, or *Ribla*, watered from the fountaine *Daphnis*: which falleth into the lake of *Merom*. Hercunto

was *Zedekias* brought prisoner, after his surprize in the fields of *Ierecho* : and delivered to *Nabuchadanofor* : who to be avenged of *Zedekias*'s infidelity, beyond the proportion of piety, first caused the Princes his children to be slain in his presence: and to the end that this miserable spectacle might be the last that euer he should behold in this world, and so the most remembered, he commanded both his eyes presently to be thrust out : and binding him in Iron chaines, he waded a slave to *Babylon*, in which estate hee ended his life. Of which feldome-exempld calamity, though not in expresse words, *Jeremie* the Prophet fore-told him in *Ierusalem* not long before : But *Ezechiel* thus directly speaking in the person of God, *I will bring him to Babel to the Land of the Chaldeans, yet shall he not see it, though he shall die therein.*

There are besides these before remembered, many other strong Cities in *Nephthalim*, as that which is called \* *Cedes*: there are two other of the same name, one in *Isachar*, another in *Juda*, of which *Iof. 15. 23*. and therefore to distinguish it, it is known by the addition of \* *Nephtalim*, as *Judg. 4*. It is seated on a high hill, whences *Iof. 20. 7*. *Kedes* in *Galilee* in monte *Nephthali*: *Iosephus* calls it *Cedes*, and in Saint *Hieromes* time it was called *Cidifus*. *Belforeſt* greatly mistakes this *Cedes*, and confounds it with *Cades* in the *Deſart* of *Pharan*.

After the King thereof among other of the *Canaanites* perished by the hand of *Iofua*, it was made a City of refuge, and given to the *Leuites*. Herein was *Barac* borne; who overthroweth the Armie of the second *Abim* of *Hazor*, at the Mount *Tabor*. It was sometime possesst by *Teglapthalasers*, when he waisted all *Nephtalim*: afterward by the *Romans*, and numbered for one of the ten Cities of the *Decapolis* Region: When it had embraced the Christian faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seat, but in time it fell with the rest into the power of the *Saracens* and *Turkes*, and by them it was demolished.

From *Cedes* some four Italian miles towards the South-west, standeth *Sephet*, otherwise *Zephet*, which was also one of the ten *Decapolis* Cities: a place exceeding strong, and for many yeares the inexpugnable Fortresse of the *Christians*, and afterward of the *Saracens*; for from hence they conquered all the neighbour Cities of those regions, both In-land and Maritimate neerer it. Touching *Rama* of *Nephtalim*, leated Northward neerer  
 30 *Sephet*: this is to be noted that there are (1) diuers places of this name in *Palestine*, all situation on Hills: and therefore called *Rama* (*Rama* *Hebraeis* *excelsum*; *Ramath* with the *Hebrewes* is high.) Altho that from this *Rama* *Iof.* 19. 36. they read *Arama*, making the article (which is hath in the *Hebrew*, as being a name of diuers Townes) to be a part of the word: whence casting away the aspiration, they read *Arama*. From *Sephet* towards the West they place \* *Bethfemes*, of which *Iof.* 19. 38. which defended it selfe against *Nephtalim*, *Iud.* 1. 3., but paid them tribute. On the other side of *Sephet* towards the East was *Bethanath*, who also kept their Citie from the *Nephtalims*.

Adioyning to which standeth *Cartham* <sup>4</sup> or *Kiriathayma* a Citie of the *Lewites*, not farre from the Mountaine out of which the Springs of *Capharnaum* arise, called *Mons Chrijfi*: a  
40 place by our Sauour often frequented: as also then when calling his Disciples together, he made choise of twelue, which he called and ordained to be his *Apostles* or Messengers: of which place or the acts therein done, there is often mention in the <sup>4</sup> *Euangilists*.

Adjoining to these are *Magdalen*, a place of strength, <sup>1</sup> and *Mefaloth*, of which we read that it was forced by *Rachabees* in the time of the 5 *Macchabees*: also (according to *Adrichomius*) one of the two *Berothas* of *Neptalim*. For *Adrichomius* maketh two of this name in this Tribe, <sup>2</sup> one neere *Chamath* in the North border, of which *Ezek.* 47.6. another (upon a weake conjecture out of *Ioseph. ant.* 1.5.c.2.) he therefore placeth in this tract neere the waters of *Merom*: because the Kings that ioyned with *Isabab* against *Iofia*, which incamped at the waters of *Merom*, <sup>3</sup> *Iof. i. 5.* are by *Iosephus* said to have incamped at the 50 Citiē *Berotha* in *Galilee*, not farre from *Cedes* *superiour*, which is also in *Galilee*: all which may be true of that *Berotha* of which *Ezek.* seeing it is in that *Galilee* which is called the vpper *Galilee* or *Galilee* of the *Gentiles*. The same *Adrichomius* placeth the Region of *Berim* neere *Abela* (of which *Abel* or *Abel-beth Mahabach* we have spoken already) this he doth upon a conjecture touching the place 2 *Sam.* 20.14. where some read *Abel* & *Beth-mahabach*, & omnia loca *Berim*: but the better reading is, & omnes *Berim*, that is, with all the *Berai*: for *Shebah* being of *Beniamin* (in which Tribe also there is a Citiē called *Berotha* or *Berothi*) drew the men of that Citiē after him.

To the North of *Berotha* of *Nephthalim* standeth *Sebarim* vnder *Libanus*, remembered by Ezech

Ezek. 47. and *Arofeth gentium*, neere the waters of *Acrom* or *Samochon*, tu, the Citie of *Sifura* Lieutenant of the Army of the second *Isabn*: from whence not farre off towards the Sea of *Galilee*, is *Edrai*, or *Edrebi*, a strong Citie: besides many others, whereof I finde no particular storie of importance: as *Ser* in *Iofua* 6. 19. v. 35. called *Triddim-Tzer*, and named for the first of their fenced Cities: whence they maketwo Cities, *Affedim* & *Ser*. Then *Adami*, which they call *Edama*: also *Ilion* which they call *Ablion*, of which in the Bookes of *Kings*. When the strong Citie of *Cinnereth* after called *Genezareth*, whence we read of the Land and Lake of *Genezareth*, the same Lake which is also called the Sea of *Tiberias*. In the body of the Land they place *Galgala* to the South border: of which \* *Mac*. 1. 9. 2. also diuers others named, *Iof*. 19. as *Vuca* or *Chukok Horem* and *Azanoth*. 11. *taber* (which they place towards the East parts) and out of the same place of *Iofua*, *Ierzon*, *Lakkun* *Ipnad*, *Heleb*, and \* *Raccath*, which two last they place neere *Cefaraa* *Philippi*: To these they adde out of *Iofua*, *Nekeb*, and *Adami*: for which two *Iunius* readeth *Foffa* *Afamer*, making it no Towne but a Ditch cast by some of *Adameth*, as it seemes; or at least the custodie of which March or Limit belonging to the Towne. To these out of *Nun*. 3. 10. they adde *Sephana*, which *Iam*. 30. 2. 1. seemes to be called *Sipmoth*. As for *Tichan* and *Helon*, whereof the former they fetch out of *Ezek*. 47. 16. and the later out of *Iofua* 19. 33. it may appear by *Iunius* his Translation, that neither are to be taken for Cities: for the former hee readeth *Mediana*, and for the later *Quercetum*. The Citie of \* *Nephthali* in which they make the native place of *Tobie*, and *Naafon* neere vnto it, they fetch out of the *Valgar* Translation, *Tob*. 7. 7. but in the *Greeke* Text there is no signe, neither of the one nor of the other.

## §. V.

## THE TRIBE OF ZABULON.

**Z**abulon or Zebulon, another of the sonnes of *Iacob* by *Lea*, there were mustered at Mount *Sinai*, 57400. able men, besides women, children, and aged vnable persons: all which dying in the Deserts, there entered the Holy Land of their issues 65000. fit to beare armes: who inhabited that part of *Canaan*, from *Asber* to the Riuer *Chifon* Southward, and from the Sea of *Galilee* to the *Mediterran*, East and West. The Cities within this Tribe which border *Asber*, are *Sicaminum* on the Sea shore, of which *Iofeph*. *Act*. 1. 13. c. 19. *Debbafet* of \* which *Iof*. 19. 11. *Iekonam* or *Iokneham* (whose King was \* *Isaie* by *Isa*, and the Citie was given to the *Leuites*;) and *Gaba* after called *Ab* of the Citie of *Hof* men, of a Regiment there Garrisoned by *Herod*. Then the Citie which beareth the name of *Zabulon*, or the Citie of *men*, exceeding ancient and magnificent, burnt to the ground by *Cestius*, Lieutenant of the *Romane* Armie. *Adrichomius* makes it the birth Citie of \* *Elon* Iudge of *Israel*, because he is called *Zabulonita*: not marking this in the same place, he is said to be buried at *Aialon*. To the East of this Citie of *Zabulon* is *Cesteth*, of which *Iof*. 19. 15. on the border of *Asber*: and beyond it the lesser \* *Cana* of *Galilee*, where *Christ* conuerted Water into Wine: the native Citie of *Nathaniel*, and as it is thought, of *Simon Zelotes*. Beyond it begin the Mountains of *Zabulon*: and then the Citie of *Cethron* (in *Zeigler*, *Ghiltson*) which defended it selfe against *Zabulon*. Then *Perfabe* which standeth in the partition of the vpper and nether *Galilee*, fortified by *Iosephus* against the *Romanes*. Not farre from hence standeth *Shimon* of *Meron*, whose King was slaine by *Iofua*. Then *Denna* or *Dimna*, a Citie of the *Leuites*: then *Nos* or rather *Neba*, of which *Iof*. 19. 13. Then *Dothan* or *Dothain*, where *Ioseph* found his brethren feeding their flocks: the same wherein *Elizans* besieged by the *Syrians*, brooke them all blinde. Beyond it towards the East they imagine \* *Amshar* or *Amathar*: then *Remmon* of the *Leuites*. The last of the Cities on the north border of *Zabulon* is *Bethsaida*, one of the ten Cities of *Decapolis*, situate on the *Galilean* Sea, and watered by the springs of *Capharnum*, the native Citie of the Apostles, *Peter*, *Andrew*, and *Philip*. Herein *Christ* did many miracles, but these people being no lesse incredulous than the *Capharnaïms*, and others,

thers, received the same Curse of threatened *Miseries*, as, *Woe bee vnto thee Bethsaida*, &c.

Alongst the West border of *Galilee*, towards the South from *Bethsaida*, was the strong Castle of *Magdalah*, the habitation of *Marie Magdalen*, not long since standing.

And beyond it the strong and high seated Citie of *Totapata*: fortified by *Iosephus* in the *Roman* Warre: but in the end after a long siege surpris'd by *Vespasian*, who slaughtered many thousand of the Citizens, and held 1200. prisoners, whereof *Iosephus* the Historian was one.

The last and greatest of the Cities on that \* Sea, and the Lake of *Genezareth* within \* The names of the Citie *Tiberias*, from whence afterward the *Galilean* Sea also changed name, and was called the Sea of the Citie *Tiberias*, so named in the honour of *Tiberius Cesar*; and was one of the ten Cities, and the Metropolis of the Region *Decapolitan*, and the greatest and last of the lower *Galilee*. From hence our *Sauour* called *Matthew*, from the toll or custome house, to be an Apostle, and neere vnto it raised the daughter of *Iairus* from death: it was built (as *Iosephus* reports) by *Herod* the Tetrarch, the brother of *Philip*, in the beginning of the raigne of *Tiberius Cesar*, in the most fruitfull part of *Galilee*, but in a ground full of Sepulchers: *Quam iuxta nostras leges* (saith hee) *ad septem dies impurus habet, quin talibus locis habitat*: whereas by our law hee should be seven daies held asuncleane, who inhabited in such a place: by which words, and by the whole place of *Iosephus* it appears, that this *Tiberias* is not (as some haue thought) the same as the old *Cinnereth*, which was seated, not in *Zabulon*, but in *Nephthali*.

Neere vnto this *Tiberias*, at *Emaus*, there were hot baths, where *Vespasian* the Emperour encamped against *Tiberias*. More into the Land toward the South-west is *Bethulia*, seated on a very high Hill, and of great strength, famous by the storie of *Holofernes* and *Judith*, such as it is. Neere which standeth *Bethleem* of *Zabulon*: and adioyning vnto it *Capharnath*, fortified by *Iosephus* against the *Romanes*: and *Iapha* an exceeding strong place, afterward forced by *Titus*: who in the entrance, and afterward in furie flew 15000. of the Citizens; and carried away about two thousand prisoners.

On the South side are the Cities of *Cartha* of the *Leuites*, and *Gabara*, of which *Iosephus* in his owne life, then *Iafte* according to *Adrichomius* (of which *Iof*. 19. 12.) for hee thinkes that it is not that *Iapha* of which wee spake but now out of *Iosephus*. *Iadela*, of which *Iof*. 19. 15. *Hierome* calls it *Iadela*: vnder it Westward, *Legio*, (afterward a Bishops seate) and the Citie *Belma*, in ancient times exceeding strong, remembered *Judith* 7. 3. otherwise *Chelma*. Betweene *Legio* and *Nazeret* is the Citie *Saffa* or *Saffra*, the birth Citie of *Zebedeus*, *Alpheus*, *James* and *Iohn*: Then *Sephoris*, or *Sephora*, according to *Iosephus*: *Sephorum* according to *Brochard*: which afterward, saith *Hegesippus* and *Hierome*, was called *Diocæsarea*; the Citie of *Isachim* and *Anna*, the Parents of the Virgin *Mary*; it was called by *Herod* the Tetrarch, and by him, as *Iosephus* speakes, made the head and defence of *Galilee*: in another place he saith, *Vrbium Galilearum maxime Sephoris & Tiberias*. This *Sephoris* greatly vexed *Vespasian* ere he wanne it. *Herod Antipas* when he made it the Regall seate of the nether *Galilee*, and surrounded it with a strong wall, called it *Antiochastida*, which is as much to say as Imperiall, saith *Iosephus*; and it is now but a Castle called *Zapher*.

To the South-west of this *Sephoris* or *Diocæsarea* was that blessed place of *Nazareth*, the Citie of *Mary* the Mother of *Christ*; in which hee himselfe was conueined; it standeth betweene Mount *Tabor*, and the *Mediterran* Sea. In this Citie hee abode chiefly foure and twenty yeares, and was therefore called a *Nazarite*, as the *Christians* afterward were for many yeares. It was erected into an Archbishopsrick in the following age. Neere vnto it are the Cities *Buria* (afterward well defended against the *Turkes*) and *Nahalal*, of 50 which *Iof*. 19. 15. and *Iud*. 1. 30. where it is called *Nahalal*: and *Iof*. 2. 1. 35. where it is a Citie of the *Leuites*, neere the Sea, adioyning to the Riuer of *Chifon* is *Saria*, noted in *Iofua* for the vnto of *Zabulon*.

In this Territorie of *Zabulon* there are diuers small Mountaines: but *Tabor* is the most renowned, by the Aparition of *Moses* and *Elia*: and by the Transfiguration of *Christ* in the presence of *Peter*, *James*, and *Iohn*: vnto whom *Moses* and *Elia* appeared; in memorie whereof on the top of the Mountaine, the Emperesse *Helen* built a sumptuous Chappell.

The chiefe Riuer of *Zabulon* is *Chifon*, which rising out of *Tabor*, runneth with one streame

Itream: Eastward to the Sea of *Galilee*, and with another Itream Westward into the great Sea. This Riuer of *Chifon* where it riseth, and so farre as it runneth Southward, is called *Chedunim* or *Cadunim*: and for mine owne opinion, I take it to be the same which *Ptolomie* calleth *Chosru*: though others distinguish them, and set *Chosru* by *Casaria Palestine*. There is a second Torrent or Brooke that riseth in the Hills of *Bethsaida*, and falleth into the Sea of *Galilee* by *Magdalum*: and the third is a branch of a riuer rising out of the Fountaines of *Capbarnum*, which falleth also into the same Sea, and neere *Magdalum*; which Torrent they call *Doshim*, from the name of the Citie, from which it passeth Eastward to *Bethsaida*, and so ioyning with *Jordanis parvus*, which runneth from the Valley of *Sephthael*, which *Iofua* reckoneth in the bounds of *Zabulon*, it endeth in the Sea of *Galilee*.

See *Lacistan*;  
Map in *Ortelius*.  
10<sup>th</sup> ed., 14.

## 6. VI.

THE TRIBE OF ISACHAR.

**T**He next adioyning Territory to *Zabulon*, to the South and Southwest, was *Issachar*, who inhabited a part of the nether *Galilee*, within *Jordan*: of whom there were increased in *Egypt*, as appeared by their musters at Mount *Sinai*, 54400. able and warlike men, who leaving their bodies with the rest in the *Deserts*, were entered the Holy Land, 64300.

Тариха и  
Знаење.

The first Citie of this Tribe neere the Sea of *Galilee*, was *Tarichea*, distant from *Tiberias* eight English miles, or somewhat more; a City wherein the *Jewes* (by the practice of a certaine malicious vsparit, *Iohn* the sonne of *Leui*) tooke armes against *Iosephus* the Historian, then Gouvernour of both *Galilees*. This Citie was first taken by *Cassius*, and 3000. *Jewes* carried thence captiue; and afterward with great difficultie by *Vespasian*, who entered it by the Sea side, having first beaten the *Jewes* in a sea-fight vpon the Lake or Sea of *Galilee*; he put to the sword all sorts of people, and of all ages: sauing that his furie being quenched with the Riuers of blood running through euery street, he reserued the remainder for slaues and bond-men.

Next to *Tarichea* is placed *Cission*, or *Cission*, of the *Leuites*, and then *Isachar*, remem-  
bered in the first of *Kings* c.4. v. 17. then *Aber* or *Ebets*, *Iof*. 19. 20. and *Remeth*, of which  
*Iof*. 19. 21. otherwise *Ramoth*, *1 Chron*. 6. 73. or *Iarmush*, *Iof*. 21. 29. this also was a City  
of the *Leuites*, from whose Territorie the Mountaines of *Gilboa* take beginning; and range  
themselves to the *Mediterran* sea, and towards the West as far as the Citie of *Iezreel*,  
between which and *Ramoth*, are the Cities of *Bethshefes*, or *Bethpassef*, according to *Zeig-  
ler*; and *Enadda*, or *Hem ebadda*, neere which *Saul* leue himselfe: vnder those, *Abie* or  
*Apheca*, which *Adrielomius* placeth in *Isachar*: betweene which and *Suna*, hee saith, that  
the *Philistines* incamped against *Israel*, & afterward against *Saul*: a Land thirke of blood,  
for herein also, saith he, the *Syrians* with two and thirty *Regals* assisting *Benhadad*, encount-  
ered *Achab*: and were ouerthrowne and slaughtered: to whom the King of *Israel* made  
a most memorable answer, when *Benhadad* vaunted before the victory: which was, Tell  
*Benhadad*, Let not him that girdeth his harness, boast himselfe as he that putteth it off: mean-  
ing, that glorie followed after victory, but ought not to precede it. In the yeere fol-  
lowing, in the fields, as they say, adioyning to this Citie, was the same vaine glorious *Sy-  
rian* utterly broken and discomfited by *Achab*: and 100000. footmen of the *Arames* or  
*Syrians* slaine: before which ouerthrow the seruants and Counsaillors of *Benhadad* (in  
derision of the God of *Israel*) told him, That the Gods of *Israel* were Gods of the Moun-  
taines: and therefore if they fought with them in the plaines, they should ouercome them.

Under *Aphce* towards the Sea they lie the Citie of *Ejfelron*; in the plains of *Galilee*, so called also the great field of *Ejfelron*, and *Magedda*: in the border whereof are the ruins of *Aphce* to be seene, faith *Brochard*, and *Breidenbach*. After these are the Cities of *Carloth*, of which *1. Machab. 9. 2.* *Adnem* or *Hem-Gannim* of the *Leuites*, and *Sessima* or *Shahassims*, the W. it border of *Isachar*, of which *Job. 19. 22.* From hence ranging the Sea coast, there is found the Castle of *Pilgrims*: a strong Castle inuironed with the Sea, sometime the store-house and Magasine of the *Christians*, and built by the Earle of *S. Giles* or *Tolose*.

From the Castle of *Pilgrims* the Seamaketh a great Bay towards the North, and the farthermost

farthermost shore beginneth Mount *Carmel*, not farre from the River *Chifon*, where *Elijah* assembled all the Prophets and Priests of *Beal*, and prayed King *Achab* and the people assembled, to make triall whether the God of *Israell*, or the Idol of *Beal* were to be worshipped, by laying a sacrifice without fire on the Altar : which done, the Priests of *Beal* prayed, and cut their owne flesh after their manner, but the fire kindled not, while *Elijah* in derision told them that their God was either in purgation of his enemies, as at *Leysure*, or persistence at *Jerpe*, &c. but at the prayer of *Elijah* his fire kindled, notwithstanding that he had taunted the people to call many Vessellfull of water thereon : by which miracle the people incensed, slew all those Idolaters on the banks of *Chifon*, adioyning.

10 The foot of this Mountain to the North standeth *Caipha*, built, as they say, by *Caipha* the high Priest. It is also known by the name of *Porfina* and *Perphrya*, sometime a *Suffragane* Bishops seat. Returning againe from the Sea-coast towards *Tiberias* by the banks of *Chifon*, there are found the City of *Hapharaim* or *Aphraim*, and the Castles of *Mezra*, and *Saba*: of which *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*: and then *Naim* on the River *Chifon*: a beautiful Citie while it stood, in the Gates whereof *Christ* raised from death the widowes onely sonne.

Then *Seon* or *Shion* named, *Jaf. 19.* between the two Hills of *Hermion*, in *Isachar*: beyond it standeth *Endor*, famous by reason of the Inchantresse that undertooke to raise up the body of *Samuel* at the instigation of *Saul*.

10 Beyond it stands *Anaharath* and *Rabbith*, named *Iof. c. 19. v. 19. 20*. Then *Dabarath*, as it is named, *Iof. 21. 28*. or *Dabrath*, as it is named, *1 Chron. 6. 71*. This *Citie* (which stretcheth it selfe over *Chison*) was a *Citie* of refuge belonging to the *Leuites*.

Next to *Daberath* is *Arbela* situate, neere the *Cauces* of those two *Theeues* which fo-  
greatly molested *Galilee* in *Herods* time. It lieth on one side to the Mountaine of *Is-  
char* or *Hermom*, and in the other to the Valley of *Israhel*: which valley continueth it selfe  
from *Bethan* or *Sejybbolia*, the East border of *Ischar*, euen to the *Mediterran Sea*: two  
parts whereof are inclosed by the Mountaines of *Gilboe* on the South, and by *Hermom*,  
and the Riuer *Chisom* on the North. In these \* plaines *Gideon* overthrew the *Madianites*,  
and herein, they thinke, *Saul* fought against the *Philistims*: *Acob* against the *Syrians*, and  
the *Tatars* against the *Saracens*.

Luk. 2

1 Mac. 12. 49  
 and Hapbatba  
 for Harmatba.  
 1 Macc. 5. 23.  
 & 9. 2.  
 Judg. 6.  
 1 Sam. 31.  
 1 King. 20.

§. VII.

THE HALFE OF THE TRIBE  
OF MANASSE.

f. I.

Of the bounds of this balse Tribe: and of Scythopolis, Salem, Thersa, and others.

**T**He next Tribe which ioyneth it selfe to *Issachar* towards the South, is the halfe of *Manasse*, on the West side of *Iordan*. *Manasse* was the first begotten of *Isachar*, the cleuenth sonne of *Jacob*. His mother was an Egyptian, the daughter of *Putiphar*, Priest and Prince of *Heliopolis*: which *Manasse*, with his brother *Ephraim*, the grand-children of *Jacob*, were by adoption numbred amongst the sonnes of *Jacob*, and made vnto the number of the twelue *Patriarkes*.

Of *Manasse* there were increased in *Egypt*, as they were numbered at Mount *Sinai*, 32200. able men: all which being consumed in the *Deserts*, there entered of their issues, 32700. bearing armes. The Territory which fell on this one halfe of *Manasse*, was bounded by *Jordan*, on the East, and *Dora* upon the *Mediterran Sea* on the West, *Israel* on the North, and *Machmas* is the South border.

The first and principall Citie which stood in this Territorie was *Behshan*, sometime *Nysa*, faith *Plinies*, built by *Liber Pater*, in honour of his Nurfie there buried, of the same name, which *Solinus* confirms. Afterward when the *Scythians* invaded *Asia* the lesse, and pierc'd into the South, to the vttremost of *Celestria*, they built this Citie a-new, and very magnificent : and it had thereupon the name of *Scythopolis*, or the Citie of *Scythians* given by the *Greekes*.

These barbarous Northren people constrained the *Jews* to fight against their owne Nation



Apollonia though *Ptolomies* calls it *Apollonia* elsewhere, and toward Egypt; between this City and *Soppe*, to which *Epiphan* gave the name of *Plama Colonia*. It was by *Herod* re-built, who there laboured to exceed all the works in that part of the world: For besides the edifices, which he raised within the Walls, of cast and polished marbles, the *Theater* and *Amphitheater*, from whence he might looke out the Seas farre away, with the high and stately Towers and Gates: hee forced a Harbour of great capacity, being in former times but an open Bay: and the wind blowing from the Sea, the Merchants haunting that Port, had no other hope, but in the strength of their Cables and Anchors. This work he performed with such charge and labour as the like of that hath not been found in any Kingdome, nor in any age: which, because the *Morians* were so close to the Sea, and the weight of the stones was such as it exceeded belief; I have added *Iosephus* owne words of this worke, which are these: *Hanc locorum tantam modicam correderunt, circumlatus portus circumduxit, quantum paret magnam hanc si recipere sufficere: et in viginti villarum profundum, praegrandia saxa demisit: quorum plerumque pedum quinquaginta longitudinis, latitudinis vero octiduum, altitudine novem pedales fuerunt quaedam etiam maiora, minor aulis. Tu mendis inconvienientie de place* (saith *Iosephus*) hee compass in a Bay wherein a great flecte might well ride: and let downe great stokes twentie fathome deepe: whereof some were fifty foot long, eighteen foot broad, and nine foot thicke: some bigger, and some lesser. To this he added an arme or cawle of two hundred foot long, to breake the waves: the rest hee strengthened with a stone wall, with divers stately Towers thereon builded: of which the most magnificent hee called *Drusus*, after the name of *Drusus* the sonne in law of *Cesar*: in whose honour he intituled the Citie it selfe, *Casaria* of *Palestine*: all which he performed in twelue yeeres time. It was the first of the Easterne Citie that received a Bishoppe afterward erected into an Archbishopricke, commanding twentie others vnder it, saith *Tyrius*.

Iose. lib. 13. c. 13.

I. 4. c. 13. b. 11. f. 11.

S. *Hierome* nameth *Theophilus*, *Eusebius*, *Acacius*, *Euzornus*, and *Galasius* to have beene Bishops thereof. In this Citie was *Cornelius* the Centurion baptized by Saint *Peter*: and herein dwelt *Philip* the Apostle: S. *Paul* was herein two yeeres prisoner, vnder the *President Felix*, vnto the time and government of *Porcius Festus*: by whom making his appeale, hee was sent to *Cesar*. Here, when *Herod Agrippa* was passing on to celebrate the *Quinquennialia*, taking delight to be called a god by his flatterers, hee was stricken with an Angell vnto death, saith *Iosephus*.

To the North of *Casaria* standeth *Dora*, or *Naphth Dor*, as some reade, *Ios. 1. 2.* so called (saith *Adrichomius*) because it ioyneth to the Sea, whose King was slaine by *Iofa*. But *Iunius* for in *Naphth Dor*, reads in *tracibus Dor*: and so the Vulgar, in *regionibus Dor*, although *1 Reg. 4. 11.* for the like speech in the Hebrew it readeth *omnis Naphth Dor*: The *Septuagint* in the place of *Iofa* call it *Nephth-Dor*, and in the other of the Kings, *Nepha-Dor*: but the true name by other places (as *Ios. 13. 23.* *Iudg. 1. 27.*) may seeme to be *Dor*. It was a strong and powerfull Citie, and the fourth in account of those twelue Principalities or *Sitarchies*, which *Salomon* erected. *Iunius* vpon *Macchab. 15. 11.* place this betweene the Hill *Carmel*, and the mouth of the River *Chorfeus*: for so some name the River *Chorfeus*, of which we have spoken already.

Into this Citie, for the strength thereof, *Tryphon* fled from *Antiochus* the son of *Demetrius*, where hee was by the same *Antiochus* besieged with 12000. foot-men, and 8000. Horse: the same perfidious villain that receiued 200. talents for the ranfome of *Ionathan Macchabeus* (whom he had taken by treacherie) and then slew him: and after him slew his owne Master, vsurping for a while the kingdome of *Syria*. It had also a Bishoppe seate of the Diocesse of *Casaria*.

From *Casaria* towards the South; they place the Cities of *Capharnaum*, *Gabe*, and *Gilgal*: for besides that *Capharnaum* famous in the *Euangelists*, they finde in these parts neere the West Sea, another of the same name. Of *Gabe* *Hierome* in *locis Hebraicis*. The famous *Gilgal* or *Gilgal*, was in *Beniamin*: but this *Gilgal*, they say, it was whose King was slaine by *Iofa*.

Then *Antipatrius*, so called of *Herode*, in honour of his Father: but in the time of the *Macchabees* it was called *Capharsalama*: in the fields whereof *Iudas Macchabeus* overthrew a part of the Armie of *Nicanor*, Lieutenant to *Demetrius*: an armie drawn into *Iudea* by a traiterous Iew, called *Alcimus*: who contended for the Priest-hood, first vnder *Macchabees*, and then vnder *Nicanor*. To this was S. *Paul* carried prisoner from *Hierusalem*, conducted

conducted by 470. Souldiers, to defend him from the furie of the Iewes. In after-times the Armie of *Gudfrey* of *Bulow* attempted it in vaine: yet was it taken by *Baldwine*. It was honoured in those dayes with a Bishops seate, but it is now a poore Village called *Asur*, saith *Beorchard*. Neere vnto this Citie the Prophet *Iona* was three daies preferred in the body of a Whale.

Into the Land, from *Antipatrius* and *Casaria*, standeth *Narbata*, whereof the Territory taketh name: which *Cestius* the Romanie waisted with fire and sword, because the Iewes which dwelt at *Casaria* fled thence, and carried with them the Bookes of *Moses*. Neere vnto it is the Mountaine of *Abdia*, the Steward of King *Achab*: wherein hee hid an hundred Prophets, and fedde them, after which hee himselfe is said to have obtained from God the Spirit of Prophecie also.

## CHAP. VIII.

## Of the Kingdome of Phœnicia.

## §. I.

The boundis and chiefe Cities, and Founders, and Name, of this Kingdome: and of the invention of Letters ascribed to them.



Because these five Tribes, of *Asher*, *Nephthalim*, *Zabulon*, *Issachar*, and the halfe of *Manasse*, posselt the better part of that ancient Kingdome of *Phœnicia*, to wit, of so much as lay to the South part of *Anti-libanus*: I have therefore gathered a briefe of those Kings which haue gouerned therein: at least so many of them as time (which deuoureth all things) hath left to posteritie: and that the rest haue perished, it is not strange; seeing so many volumes of excellent learning in so long a race and reuolution, and in so many changes of Estates and Conquest of Heathen Princes, haue beene torne, cast away, or otherwise consumed.

The limits of this Kingdome, as touching the South parts, are very vncertaine: but all *Cosmographers* doe in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the North, where that part of *Syria*, which is called *Casotis*, ends: most of them bounding it by *Orthofia*, to the North of *Tripoli*. *Ptolomie* makes it a little larger, as reaching from the River *Elen-therius*, that falls into the Sea at the Island of *Aradus*, somewhat to the North of *Orthofia*; and stretching from thence alongst the coast of the *Mediterran* sea, as farre as the River of *Chorfeus*, which seemes to bee that which the Iewes call the Torrent or River of *Magedda*. *Plinie* extends it farther, and comprehends *Soppe* within it: *Cornelius* and *Plin. lib. 5. c. 19.* *deu*, *Soppe* and *Gaza*. *Phœnicia* apud *priscos appellata* (saith *Budeus*) *quæ nunc Palestina Syria dicitur*: It was called *Phœnicia* of old (saith he) which now is called *Palestina* of *Syria*.

*Strabo* comprehends in this Countrey of *Phœnicia*, all the Sea side of *Iudæa*, and *Palestina*, euen vnto *Pellusium*, the first Port of *Egypt*. On the contrary *Diodorus Siculus* foldeth it vp in *Calefyria*, which hee boundeth not. But for my selfe I take a middle course, and like best of *Ptolomies* description, who was seldome deceived in his owne Art. It had in it these famous Maritimae Cities (besides all those of the Ilands) to wit, *Aradus*, *Orthofia*, *Tripoli*, *Botrys*, *Byblus*, *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Pelomaius* (or *Acon*) *Dora*, and *Casaria* *Palestine*: and by reason of the many Ports and goodly Sea-townes, it anciently commanded the Trades of the Easterne world: and they were absolute Kings of the *Mediterran* Sea.

The ancient Regall Seate of those Princes was *Zidon*, built by *Zidon* the first sonne of *Canaan*: and the people then subiect to that people were called *Zidonians*: the same state continuing euen vnto *Iofas* time. For till then it is probable that there was but one King of all that Region; afterward called *Phœnicia*: which *Procopius* also confirmeth in his second Booke of *Vandalis* warres. But in processe of time the Citie of *Tyre* aduoyning became the more magnificent: yet according to the Prophet, it was but a Daughter of *Zidon*, and by them first built and peopled.

But after the death of *Moses*, and while *Iosua* yet gouerned Israel, *Agenor* an Egyptian of *Thebes*, or a Phœnician bred in *Egypt*, came thence with his sons of *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cyrus*, and *Cilix*, (say *Cedrenus* & *Curcius*) and built and posselt the Cities of *Tyre* and *Zidon*: to wit, the new *Tyris*, and brought into *Phœnicia* (so called after the name of his second sonne) the vse of letters: which also *Cadmus* in his pursuite after his sister *Europa*, taught the Græcians. For *Taurus* King of *Crete*, when he surpris'd *Tyre*, had stollen her thence: of which the Poets deuised the fable of *Iupiters* transformation into a Bull, by whom that steale was also supposed to be made. *Pomponius Sabinus* makes *Belus* the first King of *Phœnicia*; and findes *Cadmus* his successeur, whom hee calleth his grand-child: and it seemeth that *Belus* was the Father of *Agenor*, and not *Neptune*: because the successors of *Dido* held that name alwayes in reuerence, making it a part of their owne, as *Asdrubal*, *Hannibal*: which memorie *Virgil* also toucheth in these Verses:

*Hic Regina grauem gemmis anroq; poposcit  
Impleuitq; moro pateram: quæ Belus & omnes  
A Belo soliti.*

The Queene anon commands the waighty bowle  
(Waightie with precious stones and massie gold)  
To flow with wine. This *Belus* vs'd of old,  
And all of *Belus* Line.

Whether this *Belus* were Father or Grand-father to *Agenor*, the matter is not great. But it seemes to me by comparing of times, that *Belus* was Ancestor to these Phœnicians, and preceded *Agenor*. For were *Belus*, or *Iupiter Belus*, the sonne of *Neptune* by *Lybia*, the Daughter of *Epaphus*, or were he the Sonne of *Thelegonus*, according to *Eusebius*; yet it is agreed that *Cecrops* then ruled in *Attica*: and in the end of *Cecrops* time, saith *Sanguistius*, *Moses* left *Egypt*: *Agenors* succesor liuing at once with *Iosua*. Now that *Agenor* returned about the same time into the Territory of *Zidon*, I cannot doubt: neither doe I denie, but that he gaue that Region the name of *Phœnicia*, in honour of his Sonne. But in stead of the building of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, it is probable that hee repaired and fortified both: and therefore was called a founder, as *Semiramis* and *Nebuchadonzor* were of *Babylon*.

For be it true that *Agenor* was of the same Nation, and brought vp in *Egypt*: where he learnt the vse of letters (*Egypt* flourishing in all kinde of learning in *Moses* time) or were he by Nation an Egyptian, yet it is very likely that either he came to saue his owne Territory; or otherwise to defend the coast of *Canaan*, from the Israelites: who were by *Moses* led out of *Egypt*, to the great losse and dishonour of that Nation: and by *Moses* conducted ouer *Jordan*, to conquer and possesse the Canaanites Land. For though the Egyptians, by reason of the losse which they receiued by the hand of God, in the Red Sea, and by the ten plagues cast on them before that, and by the slaughter of so many of the Male children at the same time, could not hinder the Hebrews from inuading *Canaan* by Land: which also they knew had so many powerfull Nations to defend it: the *Deserts* inter iacent, and the strong Edomites, Moabites, Emorites & Ammonites their borderers: yet *Egypt* hauing such Vessels, or Ships, or Gallies, as were then in vse: did not in all probability neglect to Garrison the Sea coast, or assist *Agenor* with such forces, as they had to spare; and which they might performe with the greater facilitie, in that the Philistines which held the shores of *Canaan*, next adioyning vnto them, were their Friends and Confederates.

Now as it appeareth by the course of the storie, those Cities of *Phœnicia*, which *Agenor* was said to haue built (that is, to haue fortified and defended against *Iosua*, and against the Tribes after him, as *Zidon*, *Sor*, or *Tyre*, by *Iosua* called the strong Citie, *Accho* afterward *Protoman*, *Azzeb* and *Dor*) were all that *Phœnicia* had in those dayes.

That the Kings of *Phœnicia* were mighty, especially by Sea, it appeares, first by their defence against *Israel*: secondly by this, that *Dauid* and *Salomon* could not master them: but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that one of their Cities, though they were then but *Reguli*, defended it selfe 13. yeeres against a King of Kings, *Nabuchadonzor*: and that *Alexander* the great (who being made victorious by the prouidence of God, seemed vnresistible) spent more time in the recouery of *Tyre*, than in the conquest of all the Cities in *Asia*.

Other

Other opinions there are, as that of *Berosus* out of *Iosephus*, who conceiues that *Tyre* was founded by *Tyrus* the sonne of *Iaphet*. And for the Region it selfe, though *Calisthenes* deriue it, ab arbore dactylorum; and the Greekes from the word *Phœnos*, of slaughter, because the Phœnicians slew all that came on their coasts, yet for my selfe I take it that *Phœnix* the sonne of *Agenor* gaue it that name. But that either *Agenor* in *Phœnicia*, or *Cadmus* his sonne in *Greece*, were the Inuentors of Letters, it is ridiculous: and therefore the dispute vnneccessary.

The Ethiopians affirme that *Atlas*, *Orion*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hercules*, *Promethus*, *Cadmus*, and others, had from them the first light of all those Arts, Sciences, and ciuill Policies, which they afterward profest and taught others: and that *Pythagoras* himselfe was instructed by the Lybians: to wit, from the South and Superiour Egyptians: from whom those which inhabited nearer the out-let of *Nilus*, as they say, borrowed their Diuinitie and Philosphie: and from them the Greekes, then barbarous, receiued Ciuilitie. Again, the Phœnicians challenge this inuention of Letters and of Learning: acknowledging nothing from the Egyptians at all; neither doe they allow that *Agenor* and his sonnes were Affricans; whence *Lucan*,

*Phœnices primi (fame si creditur) ausi  
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.*

*Lucan. l. 5. 3.*

Phœnicians first (if fame may credit haue)  
In rude Characters dar'd our words to graue.

And that *Cadmus* was the sonne of *Agenor*, and was a Phœnician, and not an Egyptian, it appeareth by that answer made by *Zeno*; when hee in a kinde of reproach was called a stranger and not a Phœnician:

*Si patria est Phœnix, quid tam? nam Cadmus & ipse  
Phœnix, cui debet Græcia docta libros.*

*Athen. 1. Dilect. nos.*

If a Phœnician borne I am, what then?  
*Cadmus* was so: to whom *Greece* owes  
The Bookes of learned men.

Out of doubt the Phœnicians were very ancient: and from the Records and Chronicles of *Tyre*, *Iosephus* the Historian confirms a great part of his Antiquities. The Thracians againe subscribe to none of these reports: but affirme constantly, that the great *Zamolxis* flourished among them: when *Atlas* liued in *Mauritania*: *Nilus* and *Kulean* in *Egypt*: and *Ochus* in *Phœnicia*. Yea, some of the French doe not blush to maintaine, that the ancient *Gauls* taught the *Greekes* the vse of Letters, and other Sciences. And doe not we know that our *Bardes* and *Druides* are as ancient as those *Gauls*, and that they sent their fannes hither to be by them instructed in all kinde of learning?

Lastly, whereas others bestow this inuention on *Moses*, the same hath no probability at all, for he liued at such time as Learning and Arts flourished most both in *Egypt*, and *Assyria*, and hee himselfe was brought vp in all the learning of the Egyptians, from his infancie.

But true it is, that letters were inuented by those excellent Spirits of the first age, and before the general floud: either by *Seth* or *Enos*, or by whom else God knows; from whom all wisdom and vnderstanding hath proceeded. And as the same infinite God is present with all his Creatures, so hath he giuen the same inuention to diuers Nations: whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other; as well in this as in many other knowledges: for euen in *Mexico*, when it was first discouered, there was found written Bookes after the manner of those *Hieroglyphicks*, anciently vsed by the Egyptians, and other Nations: and so had those Americans a kinde of Heraldrie; and their Princes differing in Armes and Scutchions, like vnto those vsed by the Kings and Nobilitie of other Nations, *Imra naturalia communia, & generalia, &c.* *Naturali Leuære are common* and generall.



II.  
Of the Kings of Tyre.

**B**ut whatsoeuer remaineth of the storie and Kings of Phœnicia (the bookes of *Zeno*, *Scribonianus*, *Manassas*, and others of that Nation, being no where found) the same is to bee gathered out of the Scriptures, *Iosephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*.

*Agenor* liued at once with *Iofus*, to whom succeeded *Phœnix*, of whom that part of Canaan, and so farre towards the North as *Aradus*, tooke the name of Phœnicia: what *Ninib* succeeded *Phœnix* it doth not appeare: but at such time as the Grecians besieged *Troy*, *Phœnis* gouerned Phœnicia.

In *Hieremies* time, and while *Iehoiakim* ruled in Iuda, the Tyrians had a King apart: for *Hieremie* speaketh of the Kings of Zidon, of Tyre, of Edom, &c. as of severall Kings.

In *Xerxes* time, and when he prepared that incredible Armie wherewith hee invaded Greece, *Tetramesus* ruled that part of Phœnicia, about Tyre, and Zidon: who commanded, as some writers affirme, *Xerxes* fleet, or rather, as I suppose, those 300. Gallies, which himselfe brought to his aide: for at this time it seemeth, that the Phœnicians were Tributaries to the *Persian*: for being broken into *Reguli*, and petty Kings in *Hieremies* time, they were subiect by *Nabuchodonozor*; of whose conquests in the Chapter before remembred, *Hieremie* prophesied.

*Tennes*, though not immediately, succeeded *Tetramesus*, remembred by *D. Siculus* in his 14. Booke.

*Strato*, his Incessor, and King of Zidon, *Alexander Macedon* threw out, because of his dependencie vpon *Darius*, and that his Predecessors had serued the East Empire against the Grecians. But diuers Kings, of whom there is no memorie, came betwene *Tennes* and *Strato*. For there were conformed 130. yeeres and somewhat more betwene *Xerxes* and *Alexander Macedon*. And this man was by *Alexander* esteemed the more vnrworthy of restitution, because (saith *Curtius*) hee rather submitted himselfe by the instigation of his Subiects (who foresaw their viter ruine by resistance) than that he had any disposition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the Macedonians.

Of this *Strato*, *Athenicus* out of *Theopompus* reporteth, that hee was a man of ill living, and most voluptuous; also that hee appointed certaine games and prizes for Women-dancers, and singers, whom hee to this end chiefly inuited; and assembled: that hauing beheld the most beautifull and liuely among them, he might recouer them for his owne vse and delights. Of this strange accident about the death of one *Strato* King of these coasts, *S. Hierome* and others make mention: who hauing heard that the Persians were neere him with an Armie too waighy for his strength, & finding that he was to hope for little grace, because of his falling away from that Empire, and his adhering to the Egyptians; he determined to kill himselfe, but fainting in the execution, his wife being present, wrested the sword out of his hand and slew him: which done, shee also therewith pierced her owne body, and died.

After *Alexander* was possessor of Zidon, and the other *Strato* driuen thence, He gaue the Kingdome to *Hephestion*, to dispose of: who hauing receiued great entertainment of one of the Citizens, in whose house he lodged, offered to recompence him therewith; and willingly offered to establish him therein: but this Citizen no lesse vertuous than rich, belied *Hephestion* that this Honour might be inferred on some one of the bloud and race of their ancient Kings: and presented vnto him *Balonymus*, whom *Curtius* calls *Abdolonimus*, *Iustine* *Abdolonius*, and *Plutarch* *Alyonius*: who at the very houre that he was called to this regall Estate, was with his owne hands working in his Garden, setting heards and rootes, for his reliefe and sustentance: though otherwise a wise man and exceedingly iust.

These were the ancient Kings of Zidon: whose estate being afterward changed into Popular, or *Arithocraticall*: and by times and turnes subiect to the Emperours of the East: there remaineth no farther memorie of them, than that which is formerly deliuered in the Tribe of *Asher*.

The Kings of Tyre, who they were before *Samuels* time, it doth not appeare: *Iosephus* the Historian, as is said, had many things wherewith hee garnished his Antiquities from the Tyrian Chronicles: and out of *Iosephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*, there may be

begathered a descent of some twenty Kings of the Tyrians; but these Authors, though they both pretend to write of *Manasser Ephebus*, doe in no sort agree in the times of their reignes, nor in other particulars.

*Abibalus* is the first King of the Tyrians, whom *Iosephus* and *Theophilus* remembre; whom *Theophilus* calls *Abibulus*: the same perchance that the sonne of *Sirach* mentioneth in his fourth and sixth Chapter, speaking of the Princes of the Tyrians.

To this *Abibalus*, *Saron* succeeded, if he be not one and the same with *Abibalus*, *David* (saith *Eusebius* out of *Eusebius*) constrained this *Saron* to pay him Tribute, of whom also *David* complaineth, *Psalm* 83.

*Hiram* succeeded *Saron*, whom *Iosephus* calls *Iram*, and *Theophilus* sometime *Hieronymus*, sometime *Hierimus*, but *Tatian* and *Zonarus* *Chiram*. Hee entred into a league with *David*, and sent him Cedars, with Majors and Carpenters, to performe his buildings in *Ierusalem*, after he had beaten thence the Iebusites. The same was he that so greatly assisted *Salomon*: whom he not onely furnished with Cedars, and other Materials towards the railing of the Temple, and with great summes of money, but also he ioynd with him in his enterprize of the East India, and of *Ophir*: and furnished *Salomon* with Mariners and Pilots: the Tyrians being of all Nations the most excellent Navigators: and sent him 120. talents of gold. Of this *Hiram*, there is not onely mention in diuers places of Scripture, but in *Iosephus* in his Antiquities the 7. and 8. chap. 2. & 3. in *Theophilus* his 34. booke, in *Tatians* his Oration against the Greekes: and in *Zonarus*, Tome the first. This Prince seemed to be very mighty and magnifient, hee despised the 20. Townes, which *Salomon* offered him: he defended himselfe against that victorious King *David*: and gaue his daughter in marriage to *Salomon*, called the Zidonian: for whose sake he was contented to worship *Asteroth*, the Idoll of the Phœnicians. *Hiram* liued 53. yeeres.

*Balestarnus*, whom *Theoph.* *Antiochenus* calleth *Bazarus*, succeeded *Hiram*, King of Tyre and Zidon; and reigned 7. yeeres according to *Iosephus*.

*Abdastarnus* the eldest sonne of *Balestarnus*, gouerned 9. yeeres, and liued but 20. yeeres according to *Iosephus*: but after *Theophilus* hee reigned 12. yeeres, and liued 54. who being slaine by the foure sonnes of his owne Nurle, the eldest of them held the 30. Kingdome 12. yeeres.

*Astarnus* brother to *Abdastarnus*, reconered the Kingdome from this Vsurper, and reigned 12. yeeres.

*Asimius*, of *Atharivus*, after *Theophilus*, a third brother followed *Astarnus*, and ruled 6. yeeres, and liued in all 54.

*Phelles* the fourth sonne of *Balestarnus*, and brother to the three former Kings, slew *Theoph.* *Astarnus*, and reigned 8. moneths, liued 50. yeeres.

*Asarub*, or *Asubalus*, in *Theophilus* sonne to the third brother *Astarnus*, who was the chiefe Priest of the Goddess *Asarta*, which was a dignity next vnto the King, reuenged the death of his father, and slaughtered his Vnckle *Phelles*: and reigned 32. yeeres, 40. the same which in the first of Kings, chap. 16. is called *Eshbaal*, whose daughter *Iezabel*, *Achab* married.

*Badezor* or *Bazor* the sonne of *Ithobalus* or *Ethbaal*, brother to *Iezabel*, succeeded his Father, and reigned 6. yeeres, and liued in all 45.

*Mertimus* succeeded *Badezor*, and reigned but 9. yeeres (saith *Iosephus*) he had two sons, *Pygmalion* and *Barca*, and two daughters *Elisa* and *Anna*.

*Pygmalion* reigned after *Mertimus* his Father 40. yeeres, and liued 56. In the seventh yeere of whose reign, *Elisa* sailed into *Africa*, and built *Carthage*, 143. yeeres and 8. moneths after the Temple of *Salomon*: which by our account was 289. yeeres after *Troy* taken, and 143. before *Rome*: and therefore that fiction by *Virgil* of *Aeneas* and *Dido* must be farre out of square. For *Pygmalion* courteous of *Sichus* his riches, who had married his sister *Elisa*, slew him traitorously as he accompanied him in hunting: or if we beleue *Iustine* and *Virgil*, at the *Alkar*: whereupon *Elisa* fearing to be despoiled of her husbands treasure, fled by Sea into *Africa*, as aforesaid: whom when *Pygmalion* prepared to pursue, he was by his mother teares, and by threats from the Oracle arrested. *Barca* accompanied his sister, and assisted her, in the erection of *Carthage*: and from him sprang that noble Family of the *Barci* in *Africa*, of which race descended many famous Captaines, and the great *Hanniball*. *Seruius* interprets this name of *Dido* by *Virago*, because of her man-like acts: others from *Iedidia*, a surname of *Salomon*.

*Elulius*

*Ethiops* succeeded *Pygmalion* : and reigned 36. yeeres : the same that ouerthrew the fleet of *Salmanaſſar*, in the Port of *Tyre* : nor withstanding which, he continued his ſiege before it on the Land ſide five yeeres, but in vaine.

After *Ethiops*, *Ethubales* gouerned the Tyrians, who vaunted himſelfe to bee as wiſe as *Daniel* : and that hee knew all ſecrets (ſaith *Ezekiel*) of whom the Prophet writeth large in his 28. Chapter : out of whom it was gathered, that this Prince dyed, or was ſlain in that long ſiege of *Nabuchodonſor* : who ſurrounded and attempted *Tyre*, 13. yeeres together, ere he prevailed.

*Baal* followed *Ethubales*, and reigned 10. yeeres a tributary, perchanee, to *Nabuchodonſor* : for after his death, it was gouerned by diuers *Judges*, ſucceeding each other : 21. Firſt, by *Ecnibalus*, then by *Chelbi*, *Abarus* the Prielt, *Mittonus*, and *Geraſſus*, who held it among them ſome 7. years, and odde months : after whom *Balatorus* commanded therein as a King for one yeere : after him *Merbalus* ſent from *Babylon* 4. yeeres : after him from ſent thence alſo, 20. yeeres. In the 17. of whole reigne *Cyrus* began to gouerne *Perſia*.

## §. III.

Of *Bozeus* his conceit, that the *Edumæans* inhabiting along the Red Sea, were the Progenitors of the Tyrians, and that the Tyrians from them receiued and brought into *Phœnicia* the knowledge of the true God.

Ex. de rin.  
Gen. 1. §. 7.

OF the great mutations of this Kingdome and State of the Tyrians, mixed with a diſcourſe of diuers other Nations, there is one *Bozius* that hath written a Traſt at large, intituled *de ruinis Gentium*. And although the great, and many alterations found in this and other Cities, yea, in all things vnder heauen, haue proceeded from his ordinance who onely is vnchangeable, and the ſame for euer ; yet whereas the ſaid *Bozius*, enforcing heere-hence, that the proſperity and ruine of the Tyrians, were fruites of their embracing or forſaking the true Religion, to proue this his aſſertion, ſuppoſeth the Tyrians to haue bene *Edumæans*, deſcended from *Eſau*, *Jacob*'s brother : firſt, it can hardly be beleued that *Tyre*, when it flouriſhed moſt in her ancient glory, was in any fort truly deuout and religious. But to this end (beſides the prooffe which the Scriptures giue of *Hiram*'s good affection when *Salomon* built the Temple) hee brings many coniecturall arguments ; whereof the ſtrongest is their pedigree and deſcent : it being likely in his opinion, that the poſterity of *Eſau* receiued from him by Tradition the Religion of *Abraham* and *Iſaac*. That the Tyrians were *Edumæans*, hee endeouours to ſhew, partly by weakere reaſons, painfully ſtrained from ſome affinity of names, which are arguments of more delight than waight : partly by authority. For *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and others witneſſe, that the Tyrians came from the red Sea, in which there were three Ilands, called *Tyrus*, *Aradus*, and *Sidon* : which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards giuen to the Cities of *Phœnicia*. Conſidering therefore that all the coaſt of the Red Sea, was (in his opinion) vnder the *Edumæans* : as *Elah* and *Eſiongaber* ; or vnder the *Amalekites*, who deſcended of *Amalec* the Nephew of *Eſau*, whole chiefe City was *Madian*, ſo called of *Adian* the ſonne of *Abraham* by *Ceturah*, whole poſterity did people it : the conſequence appears good (as he takes it) that the Tyrians originally were *Edomites* : differing little or nothing in Religion from the children of *Iſrael*. Hereunto hee adds, that *Cadmus* and his Companions brought not into *Greece* the worſhip of *Aſtaris*, the Idoll of the *Sidonians*. That the Parents of *Thales* and *Pherecydes* being *Phœnicians*, themſelues differed much in their Phyloſophy from the Idolatrous cuſtomes of the *Greekes*. That in *Teman*, a Towne of the *Edumæans*, was an Vniuerſity, wherein as may appear by *Eliphaz* the *Temanite*, who diſputed with *Iob*, Religion was ſincerely taught.

Such is the diſcourſe of *Bozius*, who labouring to proue one *Paradoxe* by another, deferues in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the Tyrians were *Edumæans*, they were then of the true Religion, or well affected to God and his people : neither is it true that they were *Edumæans* at all. In what Religion *Eſau* brought vp his children, it is no where found written, but that himſelfe was a prophane man, and diſ-  
 uowed by God, the Scriptures in plaine termes expreſſe. That his poſterity were *Idolaters*, is directly proued in the 25. Chapter of the ſecond booke of *Chronicles*. That the *Edomites* were perpetual enemies to the Houſe of *Iſrael*, ſaue onely when *Dauid* & ſome of his race, Kings of *Juda*, held them in ſubiection, who knowes not : or who is ignorant

rant of *Dauid*'s vnfriendly behaviour amongst them, when firſt they were, ſubdued : Surely it was not any argument of Kindred or Alliance, betwene *Tyrus* and Mount *Seir*, that *Hiram* held ſuch good correſpondence with *Dauid* : euen then when *Iob* ſlew all the males of *Edom* : neither was it for their deuotion to God, and good affection to *Iſrael*, that the *Edomites* were ſo ill intreated. It ſeemeth that the piety and ancient wiſedome of *Eliphaz* the *Temanite* was then forgotten, and the *Edumæans* puniſhed, for being ſuch as *Dauid* in his owne dayes found them. Although indeed the Citie of *Teman* whence *Eliphaz* came to reaſon with *Iob*, is not that in *Edumæa*, but another of the ſame name, lying Eaſt from the Sea of *Galilee*, and adioyning to *Hus*, the country of *Iob* : and to ſuch the Citie of *Bilſad* the *Subite*, as both ſuch *Chorographers* who beſt know ſhoſe parts, doe plainly ſhew, and the holy Text makes manifeſt. For *Iob* is ſaid to haue exceeded in riches ; and *Salomon* in wiſedome, all the people of the Eaſt ; not the inhabitants of Mount *Seir*, which lay due South from *Paleſtina*. True it is that *Eliphaz* the ſonne of *Eſau* had a ſonne called *Teman* : but that Fathers were wont in thoſe dayes to take name of their ſonnes, I no where finde. And *Iſrael* alſo had a ſon called *Thema* : of whom it is not vnlike that *Teman* in the Eaſt had the name : for as much as in the 7. Chap. of the booke of *Judges*, the *Midianites*, *Amalekites*, and all they of the Eaſt are called *Idumæites*. And he that well conſiders how great and ſtrong a Nation *Amalec* was, which diſt guine baraille to the Hoſt of *Iſrael*, wherein were 600000. able men, will hardly beleue that ſuch a people were deſcended from one of *Eſau*'s his grand-children. For how powerfull and numberleſſe muſt the forces of all *Edom* haue bene : if one Tribe of them, yea, one Family of a Tribe had bene ſo great : Surely Mount *Seir* and all the Regions adioyning could not haue held them. But we no where finde that *Edom* had to doe with *Amalec* : or aſſiſted the *Amalekites* : when *Saul* went to roote them out. For *Amalec* is no where in Scripture named as a Tribe of *Edom* : but a Nation of it ſelfe, if diſtinct from the *Iſmaelites*. The like may be ſaid of *Adian*, that the Founder thereof being ſon to *Abraham* by *Ceturah*, doubtleſſe was no *Edomite*. And thus much in generall for all the ſignificancy of the Red-ſea coaſt, which *Bozius* imagines the *Edumæans* to haue held : if the *Edomites* in after-times held ſome places, as *Elan* and *Eſiongaber* on the Red Sea ſhore, yet in *Mosès*'s time, which was long after the building of *Tyre*, they held them not. For *Mosès* himſelfe ſaith, that *Iſrael* did compaſſe all the borders of *Edom* : within which limits had *Midian* flood, *Mosès* muſt needs haue known it : becauſe he had ſoourned long in that Country : and there had left his wife and children, when he went into *Egypt*.

But coniecturall Arguments, how probable ſocuer, are needleſſe in ſo manifeſt a caſe. For in the 83. *Iſal.* *Edom*, *Amalec*, and *Tyre*, are named as diſtinct Nations : yea the Tyrians and *Sidonians* being one people, as all good Authours ſhew, and *Bozius* himſelfe confeſſeth, were *Canaanites*, as appeares, *Gen. c. 10. v. 15. & 19.* appointed by God to haue bene deſtroyed, and their Lands giuen to the children of *Aſſer*, *Iſa. 23.* becauſe they were *Idolaters*, and of the curſed ſeed of *Canaan*, not Couſins to *Iſrael*, nor profeſſors of the ſame Religion. For though *Hiram* ſaid, *Bleſſed bee God that hath ſent King Dauid a wiſe ſonne* : wee cannot inferre that he was of *Dauid*'s Religion. The Turke hath ſaid as much of *Chriſtian* Princes, his confederates. Certaine it is, that the *Sidonians* then worſhipped *Aſtaroth* ; and drew *Salomon* alſo to the ſame Idolatry.

Whereas *Hiram* ayded *Salomon* in building the Temple, hee did it for his owne ends, receiuing therefore of *Salomon* great prouiſion of Corne, and Oyle, and the offer of 20. Townes and Villages in *Galilee*. And if we rightly conſider things, it will appeare that *Hiram* in all points, dealt Merchant-like with *Salomon*. Hee allowed him Timber, with which *Libanus* was, and yet is ouer-peſſered, being otherwiſe apt to yeeld ſilkes : as the *Andarine* ſilkes which come from thence, and other good commodities. For Corne and Oyle, which he wanted, he gaue that which he could well ſpare to *Salomon*. Alſo Gold for Land : wherein *Salomon* was the wiſer ; who hauing got the gold firſt, gaue to *Hiram* the worke Villages that he had : with which the Tyrian was ill pleaſed. But it was a neceſſary policy which enforced *Tyrus* to hold league with *Iſrael*. For *Dauid* had ſubdued *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, the *Aramites*, and a great part of *Arabia*, euen to *Euphrates* : thorough which Countries the Tyrians were wont to carry and re-carrie their Wares on Camels, to their ſhips on the Red Sea, and backe againe to *Tyrus* : ſo that *Salomon* being Lord of all the Countries through which they were to paſſe, could haue cut off their Trade.

But the Israelites were no Sea-men, and therefore glad to share with the Tyrians in their adventures. Yet *Salomon* as *Lord* of the Sea-townes, which his Father had taken from the Philistines, might have greatly distressed the Tyrians, & perhaps have brought them even into subjection. Which *Hiram* knowing, was glad (and no meruaile) that *Salomon* rather meant as a man of peace to employ his Fathers treasure, in magnificent workes, than in pursuing the conquest of all Syria. Therefore he willingly ayded him, and sent him cunning workmen, to encrease his delight in goodly buildings, imageries, and instruments of pleasure.

As these passages betwene *Salomon* and *Hiram*, are no strong Arguments of pietie in the Tyrians: so those other proofes which *Bozius* frames negatively vpon particular examples are very weak. For what the Religion of *Cadmus* was, I thinke, no man knows. It seemes to me, that hauing more cunning than the Greekes, and being very ambitious, he would faine haue purchased diuine honours: which his Daughters, Nephewes, and others of his house obtained, but his owne many misfortunes beguiled him of such hopes, if he had any. *Thales* and *Pherecydes* are but single examples: Euery saluage Nation hath some wisdom excellen the Vulgar, euen of ciuill people. Neither did the morall wisdom of these men expresse any true knowledge of the true God. Only they made no good mention of the gods of Greece: whom being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to say, that *Cadmus* and *Thales* being Tyrians, are not knowne to haue taught Idolatry, therefore the Tyrians were not Idolaters. But this is of force, That *Carthage*, *Vtica*, *Leptis*, *Cadiz*, and all Colonies of the Tyrians (of which I thinke, the Ilands before mentioned in the Red Sea to haue bene, for they traded in all Seas) were Idolaters, euen from their first beginnings: therefore, the Tyrians who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were so likewise.

This their Idolatry from *Salomons* time on-wards is acknowledged by *Bozius*, who would haue vs thinke them to haue bene formerly a strange kinde of deuout Edomites. In which fancie he is so peremptory, that he styleth men of contrary opinion, *Impii politici*, as if it were impiety to thinke that God (who euen among the Heathen, which haue not knowne his name, doth fauour Vertue and hate Vice) hath often rewarded morall honesty, with temporall happinesse. Doubtlesse, this doctrine of *Bozius* would better haue agreed with *Julian* the *Apostata*, than with *Cyril*. For if the Assyrians, Greeks, Romanes, and all those Nations of the Gentiles, did then prosper most, when they drew neere vnto the true Religion: what may bee said of the foule Idolatry which grew in *Rome*, as fast as *Rome* it selfe grew: and was enlarged with some new superstition, almost vpon euery new victory? How few great batailles did the Romanes win, in which they voned not either a Temple to some new god, or some new honour to one of their old gods? yea, what one Nation, saue onely that of the Iewes, was subdued by them, whose gods they did not afterward entertaine in their City? Onely the true God, which was the God of the Iewes, they reiected, vpbraiding the Iewes with him, as if he were vnworthy of the Romane Maiesty: shall we hereupon enforce the lewd and foolish conclusion, which Heathen writers vied against the Christians in the Primitive Church: That such Idolatry had caused the Citie of *Rome* to flourish, and that the decay of those abominations did also bring with it the decay of the Empire? It might well be thought so, if prosperitie were a signe or effect of true Religion. Such is the blinde zeale of *Bozius*, who writing against those whom he falsely termes impious, giues strength to such as are impious indeed. But such indiscretion is usually found among men of his humour; who hauing once either foolishly embraced the dreames of others, or vainely fashioned in their owne braines any strange *Chimeras* of Diuinity, condemne all such in the pride of their zeale, as Atheists and Infidels, that are not transported with the like intemperate ignorance. Great pitie it is, that such mad dogges are oftentimes encouraged by those, who hauing the command of many tongues, when they themselves cannot touch a man in open and generous opposition, will wound him secretly by the malicious verue of an *Hypocrite*.

CHAP.

## CHAP. IX.

## Of the Tribe of Ephraim, and of the Kings of the ten Tribes, whose head was Ephraim.

## §. I.

## Of the memorable places in the Tribe of Ephraim.



Coming now past ouer *Phenicia*, wee come to the next Territorie adioyning: which is that of *Ephraim*: sometime taken per excellentiam for the whole Kingdome of the ten Tribes. *Ephraim* was the second sonne of *Ioseph*, whose issues when they left *Egypt* were in number 45000. all which dying in the Deserts, (*Iosua* excepted) there entred the Holy Land of their children growne to be able men 32500. who fate downe on the West side of *Iordan*, betwene *Manasse*, and *Benjamin*: who bounded *Ephraim* by the North and South; as *Iordan*, and the *Mediterran* Sea, did by the East and West.

The best and chiefe Citie which *Ephraim* had, was *Samaria*, the Metropolis of the Kingdome of *Israel*, built by *Amurri* or *Homri* King thereof, and seated on the toppes of the Mountaine *Somron*, which ouerlooketh all the bottom, and as farre as the Sea-coast. It was afterward called *Sebastie*, or *Augusta*, in honour of *Augustus* *Cesar*. This Citie is often remembered in the Scriptures: and magnificent it was in the first building; for as *Brochard* obserueth, the ruines which yet remaine, and which *Brochard* found greater than those of *Hierusalem*, tell those that behold them, what it was when it stood vpright: for to this day there are found great store of goodly Marble pillars, with other hewne and carved stone in great abundance, among the rubble.

It was beaught to the ground by the sonnes of *Hircanus* the high Priest: restored and built by the first *Herod* the son of *Antipater*: who to flatter *Cesar* called it *Sebastie*. Herein were the Prophets *Helias*, and *Abdias* buried: and so was *Iohn Baptist*. It now hath nothing but a few Cottages filled with Greecian Monkes.

Neere *Samaria* towards the South, is the Hill of *Bethel*, and a towne of that name: on the top of which Mountaine, *Ieroboam* erected one of his golden Calues, to be worshipped: with which he seduced the Israelites.

In sight of this Mountaine of *Bethel*, was that ancient Citie of *Sichem*; after the restoration called *Neapolis*, now *Pelusa*, and *Napolsa*: It was destroyed by *Simon* and *Leui*, in reuenge of the ransacking of their sister *Dina*: and after that by *Abimelec* euened with the foyle. *Ieroboam* raised it vp againe: and the *Damascens* a third time cast it downe.

Vnder *Sichem* toward the Sea standeth *Pharathon* or *Pirbathon*, on the Mountaine *Amalee*, the Citie of *Abdon* Iudge of *Israel*. And vnder it *Bethoron* of the *Leuites*, built as it is said by *Sara*, the daughter of *Ephraim*. Neere to this Citie *Iudas* *Macchabeus* ouerthrew *Saron* and *Lysias*, Lieutenants to *Antiochus*. This Citie had *Salomon* formerly repaired and fortified.

Betweene *Bethoron* and the Sea, standeth *Samir*, of which *Ios. 10.* and *Saron* whose King was slaine by *Iosua*: it is also mentioned *Acts 9. 35.* and of this *Saron* the Valley taketh name, which beginning at *Casarea Palestina*, extendeth it selfe alongst the coast as farre as *Ioppe*, faith *Adrichome*: though indeed the name *Saronis* is not particularly giuen to this Valley, but to euery fruitfull plaine Region; for not onely this Valley is so called, to wit, betwene *Casarea* and *Ioppe*, but that also betwene the Mountaine *Tabor* and the Sea of *Galilee*: for so *S. Hierome* vpon the five and thirtieth Chapter of *Esay*, interprets the word *Saron*: and so doth the same Father in his Commentaries vpon *Abdias*, read *Saron* for *Affaron*: vnderstanding thereby a Plaine neere *Lidda*: which *Lidda* in his time was called *Diopolis*, or the City of *Iupiter*, one of the *Toparchies* of *Iudea*, the best in dignitie (or the third after *Pliny*) where *Saint Peter* (non *Ius*, sed *Christi* virtute) cured *Sanen*. *Niger* calls all that Region from *Antilibanus* to *Ioppe*, *Saronis*. This *Ioppe* was

Psal. 50. 78.  
108. l. ar. 15.Iudg. 12. 15.  
1. King. 13.

Ios. c. 12. 18.

A. R. 6.  
Luc. 12. 5.  
Niger. com. 4.  
Ios. 11. 30. 1. 1.

was burnt to the ground by the *Romanes*, those Rayens and spoylers of all Estates, disturbers of Common-weales, vsurpers of other Princes Kingdomes; who with no other respect led than to amplify their own glory, troubled the whole world: and themselves, after murdering one another, became a prey to the most Savage and barbarous Nations.

Of this Saint George, see more about in this booke, C. 5. §. 1. 3.

L. 2. c. 11.

Sall. Tom. 6. c. 4.

See in the Tribe of Benjamin, 1. 12. §. 1. 5.

1. Sam. 25. v. 5.

Ant. 12. c. 1. 6. Bell. Ind. 1. 6.

Hieron. 12. c. 1. 6. Hebr.

Mac. 1. 7. 50.

In *Dispolis* (saith *Will.* of *Tyre*) was *S. George* beheaded, and buried: in whose honour and memory *Iustinian* the Emperour caused a faire Church to bee built over his Tombe, these bee *Tyrius* his words: *Relicta deatry lacis maritimis Antepatrie, et Ioppe, per late patentem plantitum Elutheriam pertransientes, Liddam qua est Dispolis, ubi et egregij Martyris Georgij vsque hodie Sepulchrum ostenditur, perueniunt, eius Ecclesiam quum ad honorem eiusdem Martyris pios et orthodoxos Principes Romanorum, Augustus Iustinianus multo studio et deuotione prompta edificari preceperat, &c. They hauing left (saith he) on the right hand, the Sea Townes Antipatriis, and Ioppe, passing over the great open plaine of Elutheria, came so Lidda, which is Dispolis: where the sumptuous Tombe of the famous Martyr S. George is at this day shewed; whose Church, when the Godly and Orthodox Prince of the Romanes, High and Mighty Iustinian had commanded to be built, with great earnestnesse and present deuotion, &c. Thus saith *Tyrius*: by whose testimonye, wee may coniecture that this *S. George* was not that *Arrian* Bishop of *Alexandria*; but rather some better Christian: for this of *Alexandria* was slaine there in an vppore of the people, and his ashes cast into the Sea, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* reports. And yet also it may be, that this *Georgius* was a better Christian, than he is commonly thought: for his words of the Temple of *Genius*, *How long shall this Sepulchre stand?* occasioned the vppore of the people against him: as fearing lest he would gie attempt to ouerthrow that beaustifull Temple. This also *Marcellinus* reports; who though he say that this *Georgius* was also deadly hated of the Christians, who else might haue rescued him: yet he addeth, that his ashes, with the ashes of two others, were therefore cast into the Sea, lest if their Reliques had beene gathered vp, Churches should bee built for them, as for others. But for my part, I rather thinke that it was not *Georgius*, whose name lies in the right honourable Order of our Knights of the Garter, but rather another, whom *Tyrius* about cited, witnesseth to haue beene buried at *Lidda* or *Dispolis*. The same also is confirmed by *Vitricus*. *Saint Hierome* affirms that it was sometime called *Tigrida*, and while the Christians inhabited the Holy Land, it had a Bishop Suffragan.*

Neere to *Lidda* or *Dispolis* standeth *Ramatha* of the *Leuites*, or *Aramathia*: afterward *Rama*, and *Ramula*, the natie Citie of *Ioseph*, which buried the body of *Christ*. There are many places which beare this name of *Rama*; one they set in the Tribe of *Juda* neere *Thecua* in the way of *Hebron*; another in *Nephtalim*, not far from *Sephet*; a third in *Zabulon*, which they say, adioyneth to *Sephoris*; a fourth, which they make the same with *Silo*; and a fifth, which is this *Rama*, in the Hills of *Ephraim*, called *Rama-Sophim*, where *Samuel* liued, and wherein he is buried.

From hence to the North alongst the coast are *Helon*, or *Aialon* of the *Leuites*, of which 1. Chron. 6. *Apollonia*, of which *Iosephus* in his Antiquities, and in the war of the *Jewes*. Also *Balsalifa* (for which *Iunius*, 2. Reg. 4. 42. reades *planities Shalitis*) they place hereabout in this Tribe of *Ephraim*; but *Iunius* vpon 1. Sam. 6. where we read of the Land of *Shalitha*, findeth it in *Beniamin*.

On the other side of the Mountaines of *Ephraim* standeth *Gofna*, one of the *Toparchies* or Cities of government, the second in dignity, of which the Country about it telleth name.

Then *Thamnath-sarab*, or according to the Hebrew, *Thimnath-Serach*: one also of the ten *Toparchies* or *Presidencies* of *Juda*, which they call *Thamnitis*; a goodly City and strong, seated on one of the high Hills of *Ephraim*; on the North of the hill called *Gassu*, which City and Territory, *Israel* gaue vnto their Leader *Iofas*; who also amplified it with buildings, neere which he was buried. His Sepulchre remained in *S. Hieromes* time, and ouer it the *Sunne* engrauen, in memory of that greatest of wonders which God wrought in *Iofas*'s time.

In the places adioyning standeth *Adarsa*, or *Adasa*; where *Judas Maccabeus* with 3000. *Jewes* ouerthrew the Army of *Nicanor*, Lieutenant of *Syria*; neere to *Gassir* or *Gazer* which *Iofas* tooke, and hung their King; a Citie of the *Leuites*. It was afterward taken by *Pharaoh* of *Egypt*; the people all slaine, and the Citie razed; *Salomon* re-built it.

To

To the East of this place is the Frontier City of *Iesseri*, of which *Iof. 16. 3.* otherwise *Pellethi*, whence *Dauid* had part of his *Prætorian* Souldiers, vnder the charge of *Benia*. Then that high and famous Mountaine and City of *Silo*, whereon the Arke of God was kept so many yeres, till the *Philistims* got it.

To this they ioyned the City of *Machmas*, or *Michmas*: in which *Samathas Maccabab* See in *Benia* inhabited, a place often remembered in the Scriptures. It standeth in the common way from *Samaria* towards *Hierusalem*: and is now called *Byra*.

Then the Village of *Naioth* where *Saul* prophesied; and neere it *Ephron*, one of those Cities which *Abijah* recovered from *Ieroboam*; after the great ouerthrow giuen him. 10. Then *Kimbraim*, of the *Leuites*, of which *Iofua 21. 22.* which *Iunius* thinks to be the same with *Iokmeah*, of which 1. Chro. 6. 28. As for *Abisalom* *Baalasor*, which they finde hereabout, *Iunius* reades it in the Plaine of *Chazor*; and findes it in the Tribe of *Juda*; as *Iof. 15.* we read of two *Chazors* in that Tribe; one neere *Kedelh*, v. 23. and the other the same as *Chet Zion*, v. 25.

In this Tribe also they finde the City of *Mello*; whose Citizens, they say, ioyned with the *Sichemites* in making the *Bastard Abimelec* King: adding that for the building thereof with other Cities, *Salomon* raised a Tribute vpon the people. But it seemes that *Mello* or *Millo* is a common name of a strong Fort or Cittadell: and so *Iunius* for *domus* & 20. *Millo*, reades *incola munitio*, and for *Salomo edificabit Millo*, hee reades *edificabit munitio*, and so the *Septuagint* reades *ἡ πόλις* in that place. And without doubt the *Millo* which *Salomon* built, cannot be that of *Sichem*, but another in *Hierusalem*.

The other Cities of marke in *Ephraim*, are *Taphuach*, whose King was slaine by *Iofua* and *Ianoach* or *Ianoah* spoyled by *Teglaiphalar*; *Pekah* then gouerning *Israel*; with diuers others, but of no great fame. The Mountaines of *Ephraim* sometime signifie the greatest part of the Land of the sonnes of *Ioseph*, on the West of *Jordan*: several parts whereof are the Hill of *Samron* or *Samaria*, 1. Reg. 16. 24. \* the Hill of *Gahas*, *Iudg. 2. 9.* the Hill of *Talmon* or *Salmon*, *Iudg. 9. 48.* the Hills of the Region of *Tuphi* or *Tiphim*, *Iudg. 9. 5.* where *Rama-Tiphim* stood, which was the City of *Samuel*.

The great plenty of fruitfull Vines vpon the sides of the Mountaines, was the occasion that *Iacob* in the Spirit of Prophecie, *Gen. 49. 22.* compared *Ioseph*'s two branches, *Ephraim* and *Manasse*, to the branches of a fruitfull Vine planted by the Well side, and spreading her \* Daughter-branches along the Wall: which Allegory also *Ezekiel*, c. 22. in his Lamentation for *Ephraim* (that is, for the ten Tribes, whose head was *Ephraim*) proferres: as also in his Lamentation for *Juda*, he followeth the other Allegory of *Iacob*, c. 49. 9. comparing *Juda* to a Lyon. Vpon the top of one of the highest of these Hills of *Ephraim*, which ouerlooketh all the plaines on both sides of *Jordan*, they finde the Castle called *Dok*: which they make to be the same with *Dagon*, of which *Ioseph*, 1. Bell. *Iudg. c. 2.* in which Cattle as it is, 1. Mact. 16. *Ptolomie* most traitorously, at a banquet, slew *Simon Maccabeus* his Father in Law.

Among the Riuer of this Tribe of *Ephraim*, they name *Gass*, remembered in the second of *Samuel*, c. 2. 3. 30. where though *Iunius* reades *Hiddai ex una vallium Gassis*; yet the *Vulgar* and *Vatablus* reades *Giddai* of the Riuer of *Gass*. Also in this Tribe they place the Riuer of *Carith*, by which the Prophet *Elias* abode during the great drought: where he was fed with the Hauens: and after that the Riuer was dried vp, hee traualled (by the Spirit of God guided) towards *Sidon*: where he was relieved by the poore Widow of *Zarephath*, whose dead sonne hee reuiued, and increased her pittance of Meale and Oyle: whereby she sustained her life.

## §. II.

Of the Kings of the ten Tribes from *Ieroboam* to *Achab*.



The first Kings of *Israel*, I omit in this place to speake: and referue it to the Catalogue of the Kings of *Juda*: of whom hereafter.

Touching the acts of the Kings of the ten Tribes, but briefly, beginning after the diuision from *Juda* and *Beniamin*, now it followeth to speake. The first of these Kings *Ieroboam*, the sonne of *Nebat*, an Ephraimite of *Zereda*, who being a man of strength & courage, was by *Salomon* made ouersee of the buildings of the Munition in *Hierusalem*; for as much as he belonged to the charge of the Tribes of *Ephraim* & *Manasse*, so many of them as wrought in those Works. During which time as he went from *Hierusalem*,

See in *Benia* Maccab. 1. 9. v. ult. 1. Kin. c. 4. and see *Kana* in *Beniamin*.

Ind. 9. ver. 6. & 20.

1. King. 11. 27. Vatablus expounds *Attila* in this place,

*locus publicus* & necessarium. c. 2. *Attila* is a city.

*Attila* is a city.

1. King. 15. 19.

1. King. 15. 19.

Also the Hill of *Abies*, where *Leazar* the high Priest the son of *Annas*, was buried, 1. 12. 32.

And the two tops of Hills; *Gerizim*

where the blessings, & *Hebal* where the cursings were to be read to the people: of which *Deut.* 11. c. 27. & 1. 28.

It seemeth that *Iacob* in this prophecie the rather vseth the word

*Danphiri* for *Danphiri*, where by the more plainly to signifye *Colony*; which in the Hebrew phrase are called

the *Metropolis*: as in *Iofas* and elsewhere often.

1. Reg. 17. 1. 1. Reg. 17.

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1. Reg. 17.

*Hiernsalem*, he encountered the Prophet *Ahijah*: who made him know that he was by God destined to be King of *Israel*, and to command tenne of the twelve Tribes. After this, fearing that those things might come to *Salomons* knowledge, he fled into *Egypt* to *Shishak*, whom *Eusebius* calleth *Ochozias*; whose Daughter hee married: the Predecessor of which *Shishak* (if not the same) did likewise entertaine *Adad* the Edumæan, when he was carried young into *Egypt* from the furie of *Dauid*, and his Captaine *Isab*, which *Adad*, the King of *Egypt* married to his Wiues sister *Taphnes*; vsing both him and *Ieroboam* as instruments to shake the Kingdome of *Iuda*; that himselfe might the easilier spoile it, as hee did: for in the fifth yeare of *Rehoboam*, *Shishak* sackt the Citie of *Hiernsalem*, and carried thence all the treasure of *Dauid* and *Salomon*, and all the spoyles which *Dauid* tooke from *Adadazer* of *Soba*, with the presents of *Tobu*, King of *Hamath*, which were of an inestimable value.

This *Ieroboam* after the death of *Salomon* became Lord of the tenne Tribes: and though he were permitted by God to gouerne the *Israelites*, and from a meane man exalted to that state: yet preferring the policies of the world before the seruice and honour of God (as fearing that if the Tribes vnder his rule should repaire to *Hiernsalem* to doe their vsuall Sacrifices, they might be drawne from him by degrees) he erected two golden Calues, one in *Dan*, and another in *Bethel*, for the people to worship (an imitation of the Egyptian *Apis*, saith *S. Ambrose*, or rather of *Aurons* Calfe in *Horeb*;) further he made election of his Priests out of the basest and vnlearned people. This King made his chiefe seate and Palace at *Sichem*: Hee despised the warning of the *Iudean* Prophet, whom *Iosephus* calleth *Adon*, and *Glycias* *Isel*: his hand there-after withered, and was againe restored: but continuing in his Idolatrie; and hardened vpon occasion that the Prophet returning was slaine by a *Lyon*, *Ahijah* makes him know, that God purposed to roote out his posterity.

Hee was afterward ouerthrowne by *Abia* King of *Iuda*, and died after hee had gouerned two and twenty yeeres; whom *Nadab* his son succeeded: who in the second yeere of his raigne, together with all the race of *Ieroboam*, was slaine, and rooted out by *Basba*, who raigned in his stead: so *Nadab* liued King but two yeeres.

*Basba* the sonne of *Ahijah*, the third King after the partition, made warre with *Afa* King of *Iuda*: he seated himselfe in *Thersa*: and fortified *Rama* against *Iuda*, to restrain their excursions. Hereupon *Afa* entertained *Benhadad* of *Damascus* against him, who inuaded *Nephtalim*, and destroyed many places therein: the meane while *Afa* carried away the materials, with which *Basba* intended to fortifie *Rama*; but being an Idolater, he was threatened by *Iehu* the Prophet, that it should befall his race, as it did to *Ieroboam*: which afterward came to passe: He ruled foure and twenty yeeres, and died.

To *Basba* succeeded *Ela* his sonne, who at a fealt at his Palace of *Thersa*, was in his cups slaine by *Zambri*, after he had raigned two yeeres: and in him the prophetic of *Iehu* was fulfilled.

*Zambri* succeeded *Ela*, and assumed the name of a King seuen dayes; But *Ambri* in reuenge of the Kings Murther, set vpon *Zambri*, or *Zimri*; and inclosed him in *Thersa*, and forc't him to burne himselfe.

*Ambri* or *Hamri* succeeded *Ela*, and transferred the Regall seate from *Thersa* to *Samaria*: which hee bought of *Shemer*, built, and fortified it. This *Ambri* was also an Idolater, no lesse impious than the rest: and therefore subiect to *Tabremmon*, King of *Syria*; the Father of *Benadad* according to *Eusebius*, *Nicéphorus*, and *Zonaras*: but how this should stand, I doe not well conceiue; seeing *Benadad* the sonne of *Tabremmon* was inuited by *Afa* King of *Iuda*, to assaile *Basba* King of *Israel*, the Father of *Ela* who forewent *Ambri*. This *Ambri* raigned twelue yeeres, fixe in *Thersa*, and fixe in *Samaria*, and left two children, *Achab* and *Athalia*.

## §. III.

Of Achab and his Successors, with the captiuitie of the ten Tribes.

**A**chab or *Ahab* succeeded *Omri*, who not onely vp-held the Idolatrie of *Ieroboam* borrowed of the Egyptians: but he married *Iezabel* the *Zidonian*: and as *Ieroboam* followed the Religion of his Egyptian Wife: so did *Achab* of his *Zidonian*.

nian: and erected an Altar and a Grove to *Baal* in *Samaria*. Hee suffered *Iezabel* to kill the Prophets of the most high God. God sent famine on the Land of *Israel*. *Achab* met *Elias*: *Elias* preuailed in the triall of the Sacrifice, and killeth the false Propheets; and afterward flyeth for feare of *Iezabel*.

*Benadad*, not long after besieged *Samaria*: and taken by *Achab*, was by him set at liberty: for which the Prophet (whom *Glycias* calleth *Michas*) reproveth him: afterward hee caused *Naboth* by a false accusation to be stoned. Then ioyning with *Iosaphat* in the warre for the recovery of *Ramoth*, he was slaine, as *Michas* had foretold him.

Hee had three sonnes named in the Scripture, *Ochozias*, *Ioram*, and *Iou*: besides fewentie other sonnes by sundry wiues and concubines.

*Ochozias* succeeded his father *Achab*. The Moabites fell from his obedience: he brui-  
sed himselfe by a fall: and sent for counsaile to *Beel-zelub* the God of *Achaz*. *Elias* the  
Prophet meeteth the messenger on the way: and mistaking that *Ochozias* sought helpe  
from that dead Idoll, asked the messenger, If there were not a God in *Israel*? *Ochozias*  
sendeth two Captaines, and with each fifty souldiers to bring *Elias* vnto him, both which  
with their Attendants were consumed with fire. The third Captaine besought mercy  
at *Elias* hands, and he spared him, and went with him to the King, anowing it to the  
King that he must then die; which came to passe in the second yeare of his raigne.

*Ioram*, the brother of *Ochozias* by *Iezabel*, succeeded: Hee allureth *Iosaphat* King of *Iu-  
da*, and the King of *Edom* to assist him against the Moabites, who refused to pay him the  
tribute of 20000. sheepe. The three Kings wanted water, for themselves and their Hor-  
ses, in the Deserts. The Prophet *Elisha* causeth the ditches to flow. The Moabites are  
ouerthrowne: their King flyeth to *Kiharasteth*, and being besieged, according to some Ex-  
positors, burnt his sonne on the walls as a Sacrifice, whereat the three Kings, moued with  
compassion, returned and left *Moab*, wasting and spoiling that Region. Others, as it  
seemes with better reason, vnderstand the Text to speake of the sonne of the King of *Ed-  
dom*, whom they suppose in this irruption to haue beene taken prisoner by the Moabites,  
and that the King of *Moab* shewed him ore the walls, threatening, vnlesse the siege were  
disfolued, that he would offer him in sacrifice to his gods. Whereupon the King of *Edom*  
besought those of *Iuda* and *Israel* to breake off the siege for the safety of his sonne: which  
when the other Kings refused to yeeld vnto, & that *Moab* according to his former threat-  
ning had burnt the King of *Edom* sonne vpon the rampire, that all the assailants might  
discerne it, the king of *Edom* being by this sad spectacle inciraged, forsooke the party of the  
other Kings, for want of whose assistance the siege was broken vp.

After this the King of *Aram* sent to *Ioram*, to heale *Naaman* the Captaine of his  
Armie of the Leprosie. The answer of *Ioram* was; Am I God to kill, and to giue  
life, that hee doth send to heale a man from his Leprosie? adding; that the Aramite  
ought not to quarrell against him. *Elisha* hearing thereof, willed the King to  
send *Naaman* to him; promising that hee should know that there was a Prophet in *Is-  
rael*; and so *Naaman* was healed by washing himselfe seuen times in *Iordan*. *Elisha* re-  
fused the gifts of *Naaman*; but his seruant *Gehazi* accepted a part thereof: from whence  
the sellers of spirituall gifts are called *Gehazites*, as the buyers are *Simonians* of *Simon*  
*Magus*.

Afterward *Benhadad* King of *Aram* or *Damascus*, hauing heard that this Prophet did  
discouer to the king of *Israel* whatsoever the Aramite consulted in his secretest coun-  
cell, sent a troupe of horle to take *Elisha*: all whom *Elisha* strooke blinde, and brought  
them captiues into *Samaria*: *Ioram* then asked leaue of the Prophet to slay them, *Elisha*  
forbad him to harme them: but caused them to be fed and sent backe to their own Prince  
in safetie.

The King of *Aram* notwithstanding these benefites, did againe attempt *Samaria*,  
and brought the Citizens to extreame famine. *Ioram* imputeth the cause thereof to the  
Prophet *Elisha*. *Elisha* by prayer caused a noife of Chariots and armour to sound in  
the ayre, whereby the Aramites affrighted, fled away, and left the siege. An act of  
great admiration, as the same is written in the second of *Kings*. After this, when *Azaz* ob-  
tained the kingdome of *Syria* by the death of his Master, *Ioram* entring vpon his fron-  
tier, tooke *Ramoth Gilead*: in which war he received diuers wounds, and returned to *Iez-  
reel* to be cured. But whilest he lay there, *Iehu* (who commanding the armie of *Ioram* in  
*Gilead*, was anointed king by one of the children of the Prophets sent by *Elisha*) surprised

and slew both him and all that belonged vnto him, rooting out the whole posteritie of *Abah*.

*Iehu* who reigned after *Iehoram*, destroyed not onely the race of his fore-goers, but also their religion; for which he received a promise from God, That his seed should occupie the Throne vnto the fourth generation. Yet hee vpheld the Idolatry of *Ieroboam*, for which he was plagued with gricuous warre, wherein hee was beaten by *Hazeel* the *Aramite*, who spoiled all the Countries to the East of *Jordan*: in which warre hee was slaine, faith *Cederus*: whereof the Scriptures are silent. *Iehu* reigned 28. yeeres.

*Ioachaz* or *Iehozabaz* the sonne of *Iehu* succeeded his father, whom *Azael* and his son *Benhadad* often inuaded, and in the end subiected, leaving him onely 50. horse, 20. chariots, and 10000. foot; and as it is written in the Scriptures, he made them like dust beaten into powder. *Ioachaz* reigned 17. yeeres.

After *ioachaz* was his sonne gouerned *Israel*, who when hee repired to *Elisba* the Prophet as hee lay on his death-bed, the Prophet promised him three victories ouer the *Aramites*: and first commanded him to lay his hand on his bowe, and *Elisba* couered the Kings hands with his, and bad him open the window westward (which was toward *Damascus*) and then shoot an arrow thence out. Hee againe willed him to beate the ground with his arrowes, who smote it thrice and ceased: The Prophet then told him, that hee should haue fittinen five or six times, and then he should haue had so many victories ouer the *Aramites* as he gaue strokes. And so it succeeded with *ioas*, who ouerthrew the 10 *Aramites* in three battels, and recovered the Cities and Territorie from *Benhadad* the sonne of *Azael*, which his Father *ioachaz* had lost. He also ouerthrew *Amazias* King of *Juda*, who prouoked him to make the warre, whereupon he entred *Hierusalem*, and sacked it with the Temple. This *ioas* reigned sixteene yeeres and died; in whose time also the Prophet *Elisba* exchanged this life for a better.

*Ieroboam* the third from *Iehu*, followed *ioas* his father, an Idolater as his predecessors; but he recovered all the rest of the lands belonging to *Israel*, from *Hamath* which is neere *Libanus*, to the dead Sea, and reigned one and forty yeeres.

*Zacharias* the fift and last of the house of *Iehu*, slaine by *Shallum* his vassall, who reigned in his stead, gouerned six moneths. *Shallum* held the kingdom but one moneth, being slaughtered by *Menahem* of the *Gadites*.

*Menahem* who tooke reuenge of *Shallum*, vsed great crueltie to those that did not acknowledge him: ripping the bellies of those that were with child. This *Menahem* being inuaded by *Phul*, bought his peace with ten thousand talents of siluer, which hee exacted by a Tribute of fifty shekels from euery man of wealth in *Israel*. *Menahem* gouerned twenty yeeres.

*Pekahiah* or *Phaccia*, or after *Zonaras*, *Phaccia* succeeded, and after hee had ruled two yeeres he was slaine by *phaca* or *Pekah* the Commander of his army, who reigned in his place. In this *Pekahs* time, *Phulassar* or *Tiglat-Phylassar* inuaded the kingdome of *Israel*, and wan *Lion*, *Abel-bethmaaca*, *Ianoach*, *Kezab*, *Isfor*, and *Gilead*, with all the Cities of *Galilee*, carrying them captiues into *Assyria*: he was drawne in by *Achas* king of *Iuda*, against *Pekah* and *Rezin*, the last of the *Adades*. For *Achas* being wasted by *Pekah* of *Israel*, and by *Rezin* of *Damascus*, did a third time borrow the Church riches, & therewith engaged the *Assyrian*, who first suppressed the Monarchy of *Syria* and *Damascus*, and then of *Israel*: and this inuading of the great *Assyrian*, was the vtter ruine of both States, of *Israel* and of *Iuda*. *Pekah* reigned twenty yeeres.

Then *Hoshea* or *Osea*, who slew *Pekah*, became the vassall of *Salmanassar*; but hoping to shake off the *Assyrian* yoke, he sought aide from *So*, or *Sua*, or *Selucius* King of *Egypt*: which being knowne to the *Assyrian*, he cast him into prison, besieged *Samaria*, and mastered it: carried the ten idolatrous Tribes into *Ninive* in *Assyria*, and into *Rages* in *Media*, and into other Easterne Regions, and there dispersed them: and replanted *Samaria* with diuers Nations, and chiefly with the *Cuthae* (inhabiting about *Cutha* a riuer in *Persia*, or rather in *Arabia Deserta*) and with the people *Catanei* bounding vpon *Syria*, and with those of *Sepharuaim* (a people of *Sephar* in *Adiopotamia* vpon *Euphrates*, of whose conquest *Senacherib* vaunteth) also with those of *Aua*, which were of the ancient *Azims*, who inhabited the Land of the *Philistims* in *Abrabams* time, dwelling neere vnto *Gaza*, whom the *Caphtarims* rooted out: and at this time they were of *Arabia* the Desert, called *Itanai*, willing to returne to their ancient seates. To these he added those of *Chamath* or

or *Itanai*, the ancient enemies of the *Israelites*, and sometime the Vassalls of the *Adades* of *Damascus*, which so often afflicted them: And thus did this *Assyrian* aduise himselfe better than the *Romanes* did. For after *Titus* and *Vespasian* had wasted the Cities of *Iudaea*, and *Hierusalem*, they carried the people away captiue: but left no others in their places, but a very few simple labourers, besides their owne thin Garrisons, which soon decayed: and thereby they gaue that dangerous entrance to the *Arabians* and *Saracens*, who neuer could be driuen thence againe to this day.

And this transmigration, plantation, and displantation, happened in the yeare of the world 3292. the fifth yeare of *Ezekiah* King of *Juda*: and the ninth of *Hosia* the last King of *Israel*.

### A Catalogue of the Kings of the ten TRIBES.

1. <i>Ieroboam</i> ,	Raigned 22. Yeeres.
2. <i>Nadab</i> ,	2. Yeeres.
3. <i>Baasha</i> ,	24. Yeeres.
4. <i>Ela</i> ,	20. Yeeres.
5. <i>Zambri</i> ,	7. Dayes.
6. <i>Omri</i> ,	11. Yeeres.
7. <i>Ahab</i> ,	22. Yeeres.
8. <i>Obadiah</i> ,	2. Yeeres.
9. <i>Ioram</i> ,	12. Yeeres.
10. <i>Iehu</i> ,	28. Yeeres.
11. <i>ioachaz</i> ,	17. Yeeres.
12. <i>ioas</i> ,	16. Yeeres.
13. <i>Ieroboam</i> ,	41. Yeeres.
14. <i>Zacharias</i> ,	6. Moneths.
15. <i>Shallum</i> ,	1. Moneth.
16. <i>Menahem</i> ,	10. Yeeres.
17. <i>Pekahiah</i> ,	2. Yeeres.
18. <i>Pekah</i> ,	20. Yeeres.
19. <i>Hoshea</i> ,	9. Yeeres, about whose time Writers differ.

## CHAP. X.

### Of the memorable places of Dan, Simeon, Iuda, Reuben, Gad, and the other halfe of Manasse.

#### §. I.

Of Dan, whereof *Ioppe*, *Gath*, *Accaron*, *Azotus*, and other Townes.



Now following the coast of the *Mediterran Sea*, that portion of Land assigned to the Tribe of *Dan*, ioyneth to *Ephraim*, whereof I spake last: of which family there were numbred at Mount *Sinai* 62700. fighting men, all which leauing their bodies with the rest in the *Deserts*, there entered the Holy Land of their sonnes 66400. bearing armes. The first famous Citie in this Tribe on the Sea-coast was *Ioppe*, or *Iapho*, as in the 19. of *Iosua*: one of the most ancientest of the World, and the most famous of others on that coast, because it was the Port of *Hierusalem*. From hence *Ionas* embarked himselfe when he fled from the seruice of God, towards *Tharsis* in *Cilicia*. In the time of the *Macchabees* this Citie receiued many changes: and while *Iudas Macchabeus* gouerned the *Iewes*, the *Syrians* that were in Garrison in *Ioppe*, hauing their fleet in the Port, inuited 200. principall Citizens aboard them, and cast them all into the Sea: which *Iudas* reuenged by firing their fleet, and putting the companies which sought to escape, to the sword.



It was twice taken by the Romans, and *Celsius* the Lieutenant utterly burnt and ruined. But in the yeere of Christ, 1250. *Lodewick* the French King gaue it new Walls and Towers: It is now the Turkes, and called *Iaffa*. There are certaine Rocks in that Port, whereunto it is reported, that *Andromeda* was fastned with chains: & from thence deliuered from the Sea-monster by *Perseus*. This fable (for so I take it) is confirmed by *Iosephus*, *Solinus*, and *Plinie*. *Marcus Scaurus* during his office of Edilship, shewed the bones of this Monster to the people of Rome. *S. Hierome*, ypon *Ionas* speaks of it indifferently.

The next vnto Ioppe was Iamnia, where *Iudas Machabees* burnt the rest of the Syrian fleet: the fire and flame whereof was seene at Hierusalem 240. furlongs off. It had sometime a Bishops seate, saith *Will.* of Tyre; But there is no signe of it at this time, that such a place there was.

After Iamnia is the Citie of Geth or Gath, sometime Anthedon, saith *Polisteran*. And so *Montanus* seemes to vnderstand it. For he sets it next to Egypt, of all the Philistim Cities, and in the place of Anthedon. But *Polisteran* giues neither reason nor authority for his opinion; for *Ptolomie* sets Anthedon farre to the South of Ioppe: And Geth was the first and not the last (beginning from the North) of all the great Cities of the Philistims: and about sixteen miles from Ioppe; where *S. Hierome* in his time found a great Village of the same name. It was sometime the Habitation and Seminarie of the Anakims: strong and Giant-like-men, whom *Iesus* could not expell, nor the Danites after him: nor any of the Israelites, till *Dauid*'s time: who slew *Goliath*, as his Captaines did diuers others, not much inferiour in strength and stature vnto *Goliath*.

*Roboan* the sonne of *Salomon* rebuilt Geth: *Ozius* the sonne of *Amazias* destroyed it againe. It was also laid waste by *Azael* King of Syria. *Fulke* the fourth King of Hierusalem, built a Castle in the same place out of the old ruines. Whether this Geth was the same that *Will.* of Tyre in the holy Warre calls *Iblijin*, I much doubt: the error growing by taking Geth for Anthedon.

Not farre from Geth or Gath standeth Bethemes, or the house of the Sunne. In the fields adioyning to this City (as is thought) was the Ark of God brought by a yoke of two Kine, turned loose by the Philistims: and the Bethemes presuming to looke therein, there were slain of the Elders 70. and of the people 50000. by the ordinance of God. After which slaughter & the great lamentation of the people: it was called the great *A-bel*, saith *S. Hierome*. *Benedictus Theologus* findes three other Cities of this name; one in *Neptalim*; another in *Juda*; and another in *Isachar*. *Hierome* findes a fifth in *Beniamin*. Keeping the Sea Coast, the strong Citie of Accaron offereth it selfe, sometime one of the hie Satrapies, or Governments of the Philistims. *S. Hierome* makes it the same with *Cæsaria Palaestina*; *Plinie* confounds it with *Apollonia*: It was one of those that defended it selfe against the Danites & Idumæans. It worshipped *Beel-zebub* the god of Horrors or Flies. To which Idoll it was that *Abaziah* King of Israel, sent to enquire of his health; whose messengers *Elisha* meeting by the way, caused them to returne, with a sorrowfull answer to their Master. This City is remembered in many places of Scripture.

*Christiansus Schrot* placeth Azotus next to Geth, and then Accaron or Ekron. This Azotus or Afdod was also an habitation of the Anakims, whom *Iesus* failed to destroy, though he once possessed their Citie. Hercin stood a sumptuous Temple, dedicated to the Idoll *Dagon*: the same Idoll which fell twice to the ground of it selfe, after the Ark of God was by the Philistims carried into their Temple: and in the second fall, it was utterly broken and defaced. Neere it was that famous *Iudas Machabees* slaine by *Bacchides* and *Aleimus*, the Lieutenants of *Demetrius*. Afterward it was taken by *Ionathas*; and the rest of the Citizens being put to the sword, all that fled into the Temple of *Dagon*, were with their Idoll therein consumed with fire: neere which also hee ouerthrew *Apollonius*.

*Gabinus* the Romane re-built it. It had a Bishops seate while Christianity flourished in those parts. But in *S. Hierome*'s time it was yet a faire Village. And this was the last of the Sea Townes within the Tribe of *Dan*.

The Cities which are within the Land Eastward from *Acotus*, and beyond the Fountaine of *Ethiopia*, wherein *Philip* the Apostle baptized the Eunuch, are *Tjorab*, or *Sauxa*, and *Eithaol*, and between them *Castra Danis* neere *Hebron*: though this place where *Sampson* was borne, may seeme by the words, *Iud.* 18. 12. to bee in the Tribe of *Iudab*,

*Iudab*, as the other also were bordering Townes betwene *Dan* and *Juda*.

After these within the bounds of *Juda*, but belonging to the Danites, they finde *Geder*, on as it is 1. *Mac.* 15. *Cadron*, which *Cendebeus* the Lieutenant of *Antiochus* fortified against the *Jewes*, and neere which himselfe was by the *Machabees* ouerthrowne. 1 *Mac.* 15. 16.

Then *Modin* the Native Citie of the *Machabees*: and wherein they were buried, on whose Sepulchre the seven Marble Pillars, which were erected of that height, as they serued for a mark to the Sea-men, remained many hundreds of yeeres after their first setting vp, as *Brocard* and *Brudenbach* witnesse.

They are besides these the Citie of *Caristhiarim*, that is, the Citie of the woods: seated in the border of *Juda*, *Beniamin*, and *Dan*, wherein the Ark of God remained twenty yeeres in the house of *Aminadab*: till such time as *Dauid* carried it thence to *Hierusalem*: Of this place (as they say) was *Zacharias* the sonne of *Barachias*, or *Iehoids*, who was slaine betwene the Temple and the Altar: also *Vrias* whom *Ioschim* King of *Hierusalem* slaughtered as we finde in *Ieremie*. Many other places which they place in this Tribe, rather as I take it vpon presumption than warrant, I omit: as that of *Caspin* taken with great slaughter by *Iudas Machabees*: and *Lechus*, whose King was slaine by *Iosua*, in which also *Amazias* was slaine: The same with *Senacherib* tooke, *Ezekius* raigning in *Juda*.

Of other Cities belonging to this Tribe, see in *Iosua* C. 19. from the Verse 41. where also it is added that the Danites portion was too little for their number of Families: and therefore that they invaded *Leben*, and inhabited it: which City after amplified by *Philip* the brother of *Herod Antipus*, was called *Cæsarea Philippi*, as before, and made the *Metropolis* of *Iuraea*, and *Trachonitis*: of which coasts this *Philip* was *Tetrarch*: but of this Citie see more in *Neptalim*. In this Tribe there are no Mountaines of fame.

It hath two Riues or Torrents: the Northermost riseth out of the Mountaines of *Juda*; and passing by *Modin*, falleth into the Sea by *Sachrona*. The other hath the name of *Sorek* or *Sored*, whose bankes are plentifull of Vines which haue no seeds or stones: The wine they yeeld is red, of excellent colour, taste, and fauour, &c. In this Valley of *Sorek*, so called from the Riuer, inhabited *Dalila* whom *Sampson* loued.

## §. II.

## THE TRIBE OF SIMEON.

The Tribe of *Simeon* takes vp the rest of the Sea-coast of *Canaan*, to the border of *Egypt*: who being the second sonne of *Isaac* by *Lea*, there were increased of that Familie while they abode in *Egypt*, as they were numbered at Mount *Sinai*, 59300. able men, all which ending their liues in the *Desarts*, there entered the Land of Promise of their issues 2200. bearing armes, who were \* in part mixed with 40 *Juda*; and in part seuered, inhabiting a small Territorie on the Sea-coast, belonging to *Edomæa*, of which the first Citie adioyning to *Dan*, was *Ascalon*.

The Regall or pettie Kings thereof were called *Ascalonites*: of which *Polisteran* out of *Xanthus*, in the Historie of the *Lydians*, reports, that *Tantalus* and *Ascalus* were the sons of *Hymenæus*: and that *Ascalus* being employed by *Atianus* King of the *Lydians*, with an Armie in *Syria*, falling in loue with a young Woman of that Countrie, built this Citie, and called it after his owne name: The same hath *Nicolaus* in his Historie, saith *Volaterran*.

*Diodesorus Siculus* in his third booke remembreth a Lake neere *Ascalon*, wherein there hath bene a Temple dedicated to *Derecto*, the Goddesse of the *Syrians*; hauing the face of a Woman, and the body of a Fish: who, as I haue said before, in the story of *Ninus*, was the Mother of *Semiramis*, fained to be cast into this Lake, and fedde and releued by Doves. And therefore was the Dove worshipped both in *Babylonia* and *Syria*, of which *Tibullus* the Poet:

*Alba Palaestina sancta Columba Syro.*

The white Dove is for holy held, in *Syria* *Palaestina*.

It was one of the chiefeest and strongest Cities of the Philistims. It had many learned men

1. 3. 15. de  
Iel 18. 20. 21.  
47. 20. 46. 9.

1. Mac. 12.  
16. 18. 19.

F. 244.

Hieron. in Mi-  
cham.

L. 23. c. 18.

S. 2. c. 6. v. 18.

\* Or rather  
not the Citie it  
selfe but the  
great stone in  
the field, ypon  
which stone  
the Philistins  
set the Ark;  
the change be-  
ing callie from  
Eben or Aben,  
which signifi-  
eth a stone, to  
Abel, which  
signifieth  
mourning.

a See in Nept.  
C. 7. §. 4. 1. 6.  
2. King. 1.  
but was besieged  
by *Isham-  
metibai*, the  
Father of  
*Pharaz* Ne-  
for 29. yeeres  
together,  
whence 1. 2. 25.  
v. 30. speaks  
of the residue  
of *Ahidod*,  
of *Apollod*,  
to wit, the great-  
est part ha-  
uing perished  
in this siege.

1. Sam. 5. 4.  
2. Mac. 6. 9.  
1. Mac. 6. 10.  
Iof. 19. 41.  
Iud. 13. 25. &c.  
8. v. 22.

*Alia Caristhi-  
arim & 18. 19.  
or Bualphara-  
sim, 1. Sam. 7. 1.  
& 2. Sam. 6. 2.  
2. Chron. 14. 22.  
1. Chr. 23. 1.  
1. 2. 26. 10.  
2. Mac. 12. 13.  
1. 14. 1. 1.  
2. 14. 1. 1.*

Hieron. in Esai.  
& Micham 2.  
1. 14. 1.  
Iud. 16. 4.

\* And there-  
fore no mar-  
vel that diuers  
places named, 197.  
15. in the large  
portio of *Juda*  
be reckoned in  
this Tribe: see  
197. 19. v. 1. 40.  
9. where thus  
much is ex-  
pressly noted.  
*Volat. Geogr.*  
11. fol. 144.

Vol. 1. f. 12.

men (saith *Volaterran*) as *Antiochus*, *Sofus*, *Cygnus*, *Dorotheus* the Historian, and *Artemidorus*, who wrote the storie of *Bithynia*.

Adrichin  
Tru. Siccon;

In *Afalon*, as some say, was that wicked *Herod* borne, that seeking after our Saviour, caused all the Male-children of two yeares old and under to be slaine. In the Christian times it had a Bishop, and after that, when it was by the *Sulodius* defaced; *Richard* King of England, while he made Warre in the Holy Land, gaue it a new wall and many buildings. *Eius muros cum Saladinus diruisset*, *Richardus Anglorum Rex inflauit*, saith *Adrichomus*.

2 Sam. 1.

In *Dauid*s time it was one of the most renowned Cities of the *Philistims*: for hee named *Gath* and *Afalon* onely, when he lamented the death of *Saul* and *Ionathan*: not speaking of the other three. Tell it not in *Gath*, nor publish it not in the streets of *Afalon*: It is now called *Scalona*. *Gabinus* restored it as he did *Azotus* and *Gaza*.

Vol. 1. 11.

Next to *Afalon* stood *Gaza* or *Gazera*, which the *Hebrewes* call *Hazza*, the *Syrians* *Azan*: of *Azonus* (as they say) the sonne of *Hercules*. Other prophane writers affirme, that it was built by *Iupiter*. *Pomp. Meli* giues the building thereof to *Cambyses* the Persian; because belike hee rebuilt it, and *Gaza* in the Persian tongue is as much to say as Treasure. This *Gaza* was the first of the five *Satrapies* of the *Philistims*: and the South bound of the Land of *Canaan* towards *Egypt*. But this Citie was farre more ancient than *Cambyses*, as it is prooued by many Scriptures. It was once taken by *Caleb*: but the strength of the *Anakims* put him from it. At such time as *Alexander Macedon* invaded the Empire of *Persia*, it receiued a Garrison for *Darius*: in despite whereof it was by the *Macedonians* after a long siege demolished, and was called *Gaza* of the Desert.

Steb. de Vrb.  
Ind. 1. 16.  
1 Reg. 6. &  
alib.

10. 13. ant. 19.

*Alexander Iannens* King of the *Iewes* surprized it: and slew five hundred Senators in the Temple of *Apollo*, which fled thither for Sanctuary: but this *Gaza* was not seene in the same place againe, to wit, on the foundations which *Alexander Macedon* had ouerturned, but somewhat neerer the Sea side: though the way was but two mille off. It was a Towne of great account in the time of the *Machabees*, and gaue many wounds to the *Iewes* till it was fort by *Simon*: of which hee made so great account, as that hee purposed to reside therein himselfe, and in his absence left *Iohn* his sonne and Successor to be Governor. In *Brochard* his time it was still a goodly Citie, and knowne by the name of *Gazara*.

Macc. 3. 17.  
Rab. 1. lib. 7.

At the very out-let of the Riuer of *Befor*, standeth *Maioma* the Port of *Gaza*: to which the priuiledge of a Citie was giuen by the great *Constantine*, and the place called *Constance* after the name of the Emperours Sonne. But *Julian* the *Apostata* soone after fauouring the *Gazeans*, made it subiect vnto them, and commanded it to be called *Gaza maritima*.

Hist. trip. 1. 6. c.  
4. Niceph. 10.  
Hist. cap. 4.

10. 13. ant. 19. 21.

On the other side of *Befor*, standeth *Anthedon*, defaced by *Alexander Iannens*, restored by *Herod*, and called *Agrippias*, after the name of *Agrippa*, the fauourite of *Augustus*.

10. 13. ant. 19. 21. 14. c. 6.

\* Iunius calls it  
Vallia Egypti,the name of the  
fleaecaseems to be Si-  
chor. See in  
Affer, Chap. 7.

§. 1. 8.

in the margent  
a Epiph. 10. 12.in refut. Ma-  
nub. & in A-  
gerato, c. 1.

10. 19.

Then *Raphia*, where *Philopater* ouerthrew the great *Antiochus*: and beyond it *Rhinocura*, whole Torrent is knowne in the Scriptures by the name of \* the Torrent of *Egypt*, till the *Septuagint* conuerted it *Rinocura*: to difference it, *Es. 27. 12* giuing the name of the Citie to the Torrent that watereth it. *Plinie* calls it *Rhinocolura*; and *Iosephus*, *Rhinocorura*: \* *Epiphanius* reports it as a Tradition, that at this place the world was diuided by lot, betwene the three Sonnes of *Noah*.

Within the Land

and vpon the Riuer of

Befor they place

Gerar: which the

Scripture

placeth betwene

Kadesh &amp; Shur,

Gen. 20. 1. That it was neere to the

Wildernes of

Beechbeba,

it appears Gen. 20. 31. and therefore no maruell that as elsewhere *Beechbeba*, so sometime *Gerar*, bee made the South bound of *Canaan*. It was of old a distinct Kingdome from the *Philistim* *Satrapies*, the Kings by one common name were called *Abimelechs*; *S. Hierome* saith that afterward it was called *Regio salutaris*, the healthy Countrey: so that it was no maruell that *Abraham* and *Isaac* liued much in those parts. Of King *Asa*s conquest of the Cities about *Gerar*, see *2 Chron. 14. 14*.

2 Sam. 30.

More within the Land was *Siceleg* or *Tsiglak*, which was burnt by the *Amalekites*, when *Dauid* in his flying from *Saul* to the *Philistims* had left his carriages there, but *Dauid* followed them ouer the Riuer of *Befor*, and put them to the slaughter, and recovered the prey.

10. 10. 11. 12.

Next *Dabir* sometime *Cariatib-Sepher*, the Citie of Letters, the Vniuersitie, as they say, or *Academie* of old *Palestine*. In *Saint Hieromes* time it seems it had the name of

DAEMA:

*Daema*: *Iofua* 15. 49. it is called *Vrbs Sanna*: from the name, as it seemes, of some of the *Anakims*, as *Hebron* was called *Vrbs Arbabi*. For euen hence also were these Giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by *Othniel*, incouraged by *Calebs* promise of his Daughter *Iof. 11. v. 21* in marriage: but that *Iofua* and the Host of *Israel* were at the surprize, it appears *Iof. 10. 39*. This Citie *Iof. 2. 15* is named among those which out of *Simcon* and *Iuda* were giuen to the *Leuites*. And hence it seemes they attribute it to this Tribe.

Besides these, there are many others in the Tribe of *Simcon*, but of lesse fame, as *Hajn*, of which *Iof. 19. 7*, which also *Iofua* 1. 16. is reckoned for one of the Cities of the *Leuites*, giuen out of the portion of *Iuda* and *Simeon* (for which *Iunius* thinkes *Hasbam* is named *1 Chron. 6. 59*, though \* in the place of *Iofua* these two are distinguished) also *Tholad* \* *And also* 10 named *1 Chron. 4. 29*, for which *Iofua* 19. 4. wee haue *Eltholad*. *Chazar-Susa* so named *Iofua* 19. 5. for which *Iofua* 15. wee haue *Chazar-Gadda*, both names agreeing in signification: for *Gadda* is *Turma*, and *Susa* *Equitatus*. *1 Chron. 4. 32.*

In the same places of *Iofua* and of the *Chronicles* *Chorma* is named, which they thinke to be the same with that of which *Nuin. 14. 45*, to which the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* purified the *Israelites*: But that *Chorma* cannot be in *Simcon*, nor within the Mountaines of *Edumaea*. For *Israel* fled not that way: but backe againe to the Campe, which lay to the South of *Edumaea*, in the Desert.

Deut. 11.


The same places also name *Beechbeba* in this Tribe: so called of the Oath betwene *20 Abraham* and *Abimelec*: neere vnto which *Hagar* wandered with her sonne *Ismael*. It was also called the Citie of *Isaac*, because hee dwelt long there. While the *Christians* held the Holy Land, they laboured much to strengthen this place, standing on the border of the *Arabian Desert*, and in the South bound of *Canaan*. It hath now the name of *Gibelin*. The other Cities of *Simcon* which are named in the places of *Iofua*, and of the *Chronicles* about noted, because they helpe vs nothing in storie, I omit them. In the time of *Ezekia* King of *Iuda*, certain of this Tribe being strengthened in their owne Territories, passed to \* *Gedor*, as it is, *1 Chron. 4. 39*, (the same place which *Iof. 15. 36*, is called *Gedera* and *Gederot haima*) which at that time was inhabited by the issue of *Cham*: where they feated themselves: as also five hundred others of this Tribe, destroyed the Reliques *30 of Amalec* in the Mountaines of *Edom*, and dwelt in their places.

\* As it seemes  
in the Land of  
Iuda. See in  
the first Para-  
graph of this  
Chapter in the  
Cities of *Dan*,  
Iud. 1. 3.

The Mountaines within this Tribe are few, and that of *Sampson* the chiefeft: vnto which hee carried the Gate-post of *Gaza*. The Riuers are *Befor*, and the Torrent of *Egypt* called *Shichar*, as is noted in *Affer*.

## §. III.

## THE TRIBE OF IUDA.

f *Iuda* the fourth sonne of *Iacob* by *Lea*, there were multiplied in *Egypt* 74600. all which (Caleb excepted) perished in the Deserts. And of their sonnes there entered the Land of *Canaan* 76500. bearing armes: Agreeable to the greatnesse of this number was the greatest Territorie giuen, called afterward *Iudaea*: within the bounds whereof were the portions allotted to *Dan* and *Simeon* included. And many Cities named in those Tribes, did first, as they say, belong vnto the Children of *Iuda*: who had a kinde of Soueraignty ouer them: as *Succoth*, *Cariatiarim*, *Lachis*, *Bethfemes*, *Tsiglag*, *Beechbeba*, and others. The multitude of people within this small Prouince (if it be meated by that ground giuen to this Tribe onely) were incredible, if the witness of the Scriptures had not warranted the report. For when *Dauid* numbred the people, they were found five hundred thousand fighting men.

The Cities of *Iuda* were many. But I will remember the chiefeft of them: beginning with *Arad*, or *Horma*, which standeth in the entrance of *Iuda* from *Idumaea*: whose King first surprized the *Israelites* as they passed by the border of *Canaan* towards *Moab*, and rooke from them some poybles, and many prisoners: who being afterward ouerthrowne by the *Israelites*, the sonnes of *Keniz*, the Kinsmen of *Moses*, obtained a possession in that Territorie: who before the coming of the *Israelites*, dwelt betwene *Madian* and *Amalek*.

Num. 21. v. 33  
Iof. 12. v. 14.  
Iud. 1. v. 16.

Following this Frontier towards *Idumaea* and the South, *Asensius Scorpionis*, or *Acrabim* is placed: the next to *Arad*: so called because of Scorpions, which are said to be in that

Num. 34. 4.  
Deut. 8. 15.

that place: from which name of *Acrahim*, *Hierome* thinks that the name of the *Toparchie* called *Acrahathena* was denominated: of which we haue spoken in *Manasses*. On the South side also of *Iuda* they place the Cities of *Jagur*, *Dimona*, *Adada*, *Cedes*, *Asbna*, *Iethnan*, and *Afor* or *Chafor*, most of them Frontier Townes.

And then *Ziph*: of which there are two places to called: one besides this in the body of *Iuda*, of which the *Desart* and *Forrest* adioyning tooke name: where *Dauid* hid himselfe from *Saul*. After these are the Cities of *Efrom*, *Adar*, *Karkah*, and *Afemona*, or *Hafmeny*, of no great fame.

Turning now from *Idamasa* towards the North, wee finde the Cities of *Danna*, *Shemah*, *Amam*, the other *Afor*, or *Chafor*, *Behaloth*, and the two *Sachoes*: of all which see *Ios. 15. 15.* also *Carioth* by *Iofua*, *c. 15. v. 25.* called *Keriah*: whence *Iudas* the Traitor was called *Is-carioth*, as it were a man of *Cariath*. Then *Hetham* the abode of *Sampson* which *Rehobam* reedified. Beyond these towards the North border, and towards *Eleutheropolis*, is the City of *Iethbar*, or *Iathir*, belonging to the *Leuites*. In Saint *Hieromes* time it was called *Iethira*: and inhabited altogether with Christians: neere vnto this Citie was that remarkable battaile fought between *Asa* King of *Iuda*, and *Zara* King of the *Arabians*, who brought into the field a Million of fighting men: and was notwithstanding beaten and put to flight: *Asa* following the victory as farre as *Gerar*, which at the same time hee recovered.

Not farre from *Iethbar*, standeth *Jarmuth*, whose King was slaine by *Iofua*, and the City ouerturned. Next vnto it is *Maresa* the native City of the Prophet *Michea*: Betwene it and *Odolla*, *Iudas Macchabeus* ouerthrew *Gorgias*, and sent thence ten thousand *Dracmas* of silver to be offered for Sacrifice.

*Odolla* or *Hadullam* is selfe was an ancient and magnificent Citie, taken by *Iofua*, and the King thereof slaine. *Ionathas Macchabeus* beautified it greatly. Then *Ceila* or *Keila* afterward *Echela*, where *Dauid* sometime hid himselfe: and which afterward hee deliuered from the assaults of the *Philistims*: neere which the Prophet *Abacuc* was buried: whose monument remained, and was seene by *S. Hierome*.

Neere it is *Hebron*, sometime called the Citie of *Arbah*, for which the *Vulgar* hath *Cariatharba*: the reason of this name they giue, as if it signified the Citie of foure: because the foure Patriarchs, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, were therein buried, but of *Adam* it is but suppoled: and it is plaine by the places, *Iofua 14. 14.* and *15. 13.* and *20. 11.* that *Arbah* here doth not signifie foure, but that it was the name of the Father of the *Giants* called *Anakim*, whose sonne as it seemes *Anak* was: and *Achimam*, *Shefshai*, and *Talmai* (whom *Caleb* expelled, *I. s. 15.*) were the sonnes of *Anak*, *Numb. 13. 23.* The name of *Anak* signifieth *Torgnem*, a chaine worn for ornament; and it seemes that this *Anak* enriched by the spoyle which himselfe and his Father got, wore a chaine of gold, and so got this name: and leaving the custome to his posterity, left also the name: so that in *Latine* the name of *Anakim* may not amisse be expounded by *Torguati*.

The Citie *Hebron* was one of the ancientest Cities of *Canaan*, built seuen yeeres before *Tfou* or *Tanis* in *Egypt*: and it was the head and chiefe Citie of the *Anakims*, whom *Caleb* expelled: to whom it was in part giuen, to wit, the Villages adioyning, and the rest to the *Leuites*. It had a Bishop in the Christian times, and a magnificent Temple built by *Helen* the Mother of *Constantine*.

Not farre hence they finde *Eleutheropolis*, or the free Citie, remembred often by Saint *Hierome*. Then *Ezra* whose King *Dabir* associated with the other foure Kings of the *Amorites*, to wit, of *Iherusalem*, *Hebron*, *Jarmuth*, and *Lachis*, besieging the *Gibeonites*, were by *Iofua* utterly ouerthrowne. From hence the next City of fame was *Emmaus*, afterward *Nicopolis*, one of the Cities of Government or *Presidencies* of *Iudea*. In sight of this Citie *Iudas Macchabeus* (after hee had formerly beaten both *Apollonius* and *Seron*) gaue a third ouerthrow to *Gorgias* Lieutenant to *Antiochus*.

In the yeere 1301. it was ouerturned by an earth-quake, saith *Eusebius*. In the Christian times it had a Bishops seate of the Diocesse of *Casaria* of *Palestine*.

From *Emmaus* toward the West Sea there are the Cities of *Nahama*, *Bethdagon*, and *Gader* or *Gedera*, or *Gederothaima*, of which and of *Gederoth*, \* *Ios. 15. v. 36.* and *41.* Then *Azechi*, to which *Iofua* followed the slaughter of the five Kings before named, a Citie of great strength in the Valley of \* *Terebinth*, or *Turpentine*, as the *Vulgar* readeth, *1 Sam. 17. 2.* whence (as it seemes) they seate it neere vnto *Soco*, and vnto *Lebna* of the *Leuites*.

*Leuites*. It resulted from the subiection of the *Iewes*, while *Ioram* the sonne of *Iosaphat* ruled in *Iherusalem*: And next vnto this standeth *Macada*, which *Iofua* utterly dispeopled.

On the other side of *Emmaus* towards the East standeth *Bethsur*, otherwise *Bethsora*, and *Bethor*: one of the strongest and most fought for places in all *Iuda*. It is seated on a high Hill: and therefore called *Bethsur* (the house on the Roche, or of strength). It was fortified by *Roboam*, and afterward by *Iudas Macchabeus*. *Lyfist* forc't it, and *Antiochus Eutapor* by famine: *Ionathas* regained it: and it was by *Simon* exceedingly fortified against the *Syrian* Kings.

*Bethleem* is the next vnto it within sixe miles of *Iherusalem*, otherwise *Lehem*: some-  
time *Ephrata*, which name, they say, it had of *Caleb* wife, when as it is so called by *Moses* before *Caleb* was famous in those parts, *Gen. 38. 16.* Of this Citie was *Abeffan*, or *Ibzan*, Judge of *Israel*, after *Iephthah*, famous for the thirty sonnes and thirty daughters begotten by him. *Elimelech* was also a *Bethlemite*, who with his wife *Naomi* sojourned in *Moad* during the famine of *Iuda* in the time of the *Iudges*, with whom *Ruth* the daughter in law of *Naomi* returned to *Bethleem*: and married *Booz*, of whom *Obed*, of whom *Ishai*, of whom *Dauid*. It had also the honour to bee the native City of our Sauour *Iesus Christ*, and therefore shall the memorie thereof neuer end.

In *Zabulon* of *Galilee* there was also a City of the same name: and therefore was this one of our Sauour called *Bethleem Iuda*.

From *Bethleem* some foure or five mile standeth *Thecua*, the City of *Amas* the Prophet: and to this place adioyning is the City of *Bethzacaria*, in the way betwene *Bethsura* and *Iherusalem*: on whose Hills adioyning, the glorious guilt shields of *Antiochus* shined like lamps of fire in the eyes of the *Iewes*. The City of \* *bezek* was also neere vnto *Bethleem*, which *Adonibezek* commanded; who had during his raigne tormented 70 Kings by cutting off the ioynts of their Fingers and Toes: and made them gather bread vnder his Table: but at length the same end befell himselfe by the sonnes of *Iuda*; after they had taken him prisoner.

The rest of the Cities in this part (most of them of no great estimation) we may passe by: vntill wee come to the magnificent Castle of *Herodium*, which *Herod* erected on a Hill, mounting thereunto with 200 Marble steps, exceeding beautifull and strong. And towards the Dead Sea, and adioyning to the Desart of *Israel*, betwene it and *Tekoa*, is *charithus floridus*, where, in the time of *Iehosaphat*, the *Iewes* stood and lookt on the *Mobabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Edomites*, maffacing one another, when they had purposed to ioyne against *Iuda*: neere which place is the Valley of blessing, where the *Iewes* the fourth day after, solemnly came and blessed God for so strange a deliuerance.

Now the Cities of *Iuda* which border the Dead Sea, are these: *Aduran* beautified by *Roboam*: and *Tfohar*, which the *Vulgar* calleth \* *Segor*: so called because *Lot* in his prayer solicited vrged that it was but a little one: whence it was called *Tfohar*, which signifieth a little one: when as the old name was *Belah*, as it is *Gen. 14. 2.* In the *Romanes* times it had a Garrison: and was called (as they say) *Pannier*: in *Hieromes* time *Balexona*. Then *Engaddi* or *Hengaddi*, first *Asafonthamar*: neere vnto which are the Gardens of *Balsamum*, the best that the world had called *Opobalsamum*: the most part of all which Trees *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt* sent for out of *Iudaea*, and *Herod* who either feared or loued *Antibay* her husband, caused them to be rooted vp and presented vnto her: which tree replanted neere *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*. This City was first taken by *Chedorloamer*, and the *Amorites* thence expelled. It was one of the most remarkable Cities of *Iudaea*; and one of the *Presidencies* thereof.

The rest of the Cities are many in the In-land, and among them *Iscrael*: not that which is the Citie of *Naboth*, of which already; but another of the same name, the Citie of *Achizman*, the wife of *Dauid*, the mother of that *Amnon*, whom *Abisalom* slew: also as some thinke the Citie of *Abisalom*, *Abisalom* Lieutenant, and the commander of his Armie. But this seemeth to be an error grounded vpon the neceffesse of the words, *Israel* and *Iscrael*: and because the *2 Sam. 17. 25.* *Abisalom* father is called a *Israelite*, who first of the *Chromes* is called an *Ismaelite*: indeed the Hebrew Orthographie sheweth that *Abisalom* Father is no need to be of the Citie *Iscrael*, but an *Israelite* in Religion, though otherwise an *Ismaelite*.

*Ioshabab* *Tubachere* were many high Hills and Mountaines, as those of *Engaddi* vpon the

Utriusq. in lor.  
Heb. & quæst.  
Hebr.  
Isrl: 14. Ant.  
c. 20.

the Dead Sea: and the Mountaines of Iuda, which begin to rise by *Emam*, and end neere *Taphna*, and these part Iuda from *Dan* and *Simeon*. Of others which stand single, there is that of *Hebron*, at the foot whereof was that *Oake of Mambre*, where the three Angels appeared to *Abraham*, which *S. Hierome* calleth a Fir-tree, and saith, that it stood till the time of *Constantine* the younger. There is also that Mountaine called *Collis Achillæ*, on the South of *Ziph*: on the top whereof the great *Herod*, inclosing the old Castle, erected by *Ienathas Machabæus*, and called *Massada*, garnished it with 27. high and strong Towers: and therein left Armour and furniture for an hundred thousand men; being as it seemeth a place vnaccessible, and of incomparable strength.

In the Valley afterward called the *Dead Sea*, or the lake *Asphalitis*, this Countrie had foure Cities, *Adama*, *Sodom*, *Seboim*, and *Gomorrah*, destroyed with fire from Heauen for their vnnatural finnes.

## §. IIII.

THE TRIBE OF REUBEN  
and his Borderers.

## †. I.

The scates and bounds of *Midian*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, part whereof the *Reubenites* wanne from *Sehon* King of *Hesbon*.

ON the other side of the *Dead Sea*, *Reuben* the eldest of *Jacobs* sonnes inhabited: of whose children there were numbred at Mount *Sinai* 46000. who dying with the rest in the Desarts, there remained to possesse the Land promised 43700. bearing armes. But before we speake of these or the rest that inhabited the East side of *Jordan*, something of their borderers: to wit, *Midian*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, whose land in our writers are confusedly described, and not easily distinguished. And first wee are to remember, that out of *Abrahams* kindred came mighty Families: as by *Isaac* and *Isach*, the Nation called *Israel*, and afterward *Iewes*: by *Ejau* or *Edom* the *Idumæans*: by *Ismael* the eldest sonne of *Abraham*, the *Ismaelites*: and by *Returah* his last wife the *Midianites*. And againe by *Lot*, *Abrahams* brothers sonne, those two valiant Nations of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*: all which being but strangers in the Land of *Canaan* (formerly posselt by the *Canaanites*; and by the Families of them descended) these issues and alliance of *Abraham*, all but *Jacob*, whose children were bred in *Egypt*, inhabited the frontier places adioyning.

*Ejau* and his sonnes held *Idumæa*, which bounded *Canaan* on the South, *Ismael* took from the South-east part of the *Dead Sea*; stretching his possession ouer all *Arabia Petraea*, and a part of *Arabia* the Desert, as farre as the Kiuer of *Tigris*, from *Suzo* to *Hauilah*.

*Moab* took the rest of the coast of the *dead Sea*, leauing a part to *Midian*, and passing ouer *Arnon*, inhabited the plaines betweene *Jordan* and the Hills of *Abarim* or *Arnon*, as farre North as *Essebon*, or *Chesbon*.

*Ammon* late downe on the North-east side of *Arnon*, and posselt the Tract from *Rabba* afterward *Philadelphia*, both within the Mountains of *Gilthead*, and without them as far forth as *Aroer*, though in *Moses* time he had nothing left him in all that Valley: for the *Amorites* had thrust him ouer the Riuer of *Iaboc*, as they had done *Moab* ouer *Arnon*. As these Nations compassed sundry parts of *Canaan*, so the border betweene the Riuer of *Iaboc* and *Damascus* was held by the *Amorites* themselves, with other mixt Nations: all which Territorie on the East side of *Jordan*, and on the East side of the *Dead Sea*, was granted by *Moses* to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and halfe *Manasse*; whereof that part which *Moab* had, was first posselt by the *Emims* a Nation of Giants weakened & broken by *Chedorlabomer*, after repulsed by the *Moabites*, as before remembered. That which the *Ammonites* held, was the Territorie and ancient possession of the *Zamzumim* or *Zurari*, who were also beaten at the same time by *Chedorlabomer*, *Amraphel*, and the rest: and by them an easie way of conquest was prepared for the *Ammonites*.

Now where it is written that *Arnon* was the border of *Moab*, the same is to be vnderstood according to the time when *Moses* wrote. For then had *Sehon* or his Ancestor beaten

beaten the *Moabites* out of the plaine Countries, betweene *Abarim* and *Jordan*, and driuen them from *Hesbon* ouer *Arnon*; and this happened not long before *Moses* arrivall vpon that border, when *Vahab* gouerned the *Moabites*. For hee that ruled *Moab* when *Moses* past *Arnon*, was not the sonne of *Vahab*, but his name was *Balac* the sonne of *Zippor*. And it may be that those Kings were elctiue, as the *Edumæans* anciently were.

Now all that part of *Moab*, betweene *Arnon* and *Jordan*, as farre North as *Essebon*, was inhabited by *Reuben*. And when *Israel* arrivd there out of *Egypt*, it was in the possession of *Sehon*, of the race of *Canaan* by *Amorites*: and therefore did *Iephthah* the Iudge of *Israel* iustly defend the regaining of those Countries against the claime of the *Ammonites*: because (as he alleged) *Moses* found them in the possession of the *Amorites*, and not in the hands of *Moab* or *Ammon*: who (saith *Iephthah*) had 300. yeares time to recover them, and did not: whence he inferreth, that they ought not to claime them now.

And lest any should maruell why the *Ammonites* in *Iephthahs* time should make claime to these Countries: whereas *Moses* in the place *Numb. 21. v. 26.* rather accounts them to haue bene the ancient possession of the *Moabites*, than of the *Ammonites*: it is to be noted that *Deut. 3. 11.* when it is said that the Iron bed of *Og* was to be seene at *Rabbath*, the chiefe Citie of the *Ammonites*, it is also signified, that much of the Land of *Og*, which the *Israelites* posselt, was by him or his Ancestors got from the *Ammonites*, as much of *Sebons* was from the *Moabites*.

And as the *Canaanite* Nations were seate so confusedly together, that it was hard to distinguish them: so also were the sonnes of *Moab* and *Ammon*, *Midian*, *Awalek*, and *Ismael*. Yet the reason seemeth plaine enough why *Ammon* commanded in chiefe, in *Iephthahs* time; for sometime the one Nation, sometime the other of all those borderers acquired the Soueraigntie: and againe, that one part of the Land which *Gad* held, namely within the mountaines of *Galaad*, or *Gilthead*, and as farre South as *Aroer*, belonged to the *Ammonites*. And therefore taking advantage of the time, they then sought to recover it againe. Yet at such time as *Moses* ouerthrew *Sehon* at *Lahaz*, the *Ammonites* had lost to the *Amorites*, all that part of their possession which lay about *Aroer*, and betweene it and *Iaboc*: *Sehon* and *Og*, two Kings of the *Amorites* hauing displaced both *Moab* & *Ammon* of all within the Mountaines. For it is written in the one and twentieth of *Numb. v. 24.* place *Deut. 3. 11.* that *Israel* conquered the Land of *Sehon* from *Arnon* vnto *Iaboc*, euen vnto the children of *Ammon*: so as at this time the Riuer of *Iaboc* was the South bound of *Ammon*, within the Mountaines, when as anciently they had also possessions ouer *Iaboc*, which at length the *Gadites* posselt, as in the 13. chapter of *Iosue. vers. 25.* it appeares.

## †. II.

Of the memorable places of the *Reubenites*.

THE chiefe Cities belonging to *Reuben* were these, *Kedemoth*, for which the *Vulgar*, without any shew of warrant, readeth *Ieshon*: The *Vulgar* or *Hierome* followed the *Septuagint*, those two verses 36. and 37. in *Ios. 22.* being wanting in the old Hebrew Copies, and the *Septuagint* read *Kedash* for *Kedmoth*, which *Keshon* by writing slip into *Ieshon*.

This City which they gaue to the *Leuites*, imparts her name to the Desert adioyning, from whence *Moses* sent his Embassage to *Sehon*. In the same place of *Iosue* where this *Kedemoth* is mentioned, the *Vulgar* for *Basjer & vallæ eius*, reades *Bosor in solitudine Misor*, without any ground from the Hebrew: whence *Adrichomius* makes a Towne called *Misor*, in the border betweene *Reuben* and *Gad*. Farther from *Kedemoth* neere the *Dead Sea*, (for the Countrie betweene being Mountainous hath few Cities) they place two Townes of note, *Lasa* or *Lesbalb*, of which *Genes. 10. vers. 19.* The *Greekes* call it *Cal-lirhoe*: neere which there is a Hill, from whence there floweth Springs both of hot and cold, bitter and sweet water; all which soone after their rising, being ioyned in one streame, doe make a very wholesome Bath, especially for all contraction of sinewes: to which *Herod* the elden, when hee was desperate of all other helpe, repaired, but in vaine. Others say that these Springs arise out of the hills of *Macharus*, in this Tribe. The like fountaines are found in the *Pyrenæes*: and in *Peru*, called the Baths of the *Inga*, or *Kings*. The other towne is *Macharus*, the next betweene *Lasa* and *Jordan*: of all that part of the world the strongest In-land Citie and Castle, standing vpon a Mountaine

\* Exod. 23. 13.  
Nomen deorum  
alienorum ne  
re. ordarini, ne  
audiat in ore  
tuo, 1<sup>a</sup> 16. 4. 10. 1  
assumptum  
sunt nomina co-  
rum in latys  
meis, 1<sup>a</sup> 2. 17.  
amocbo noni-  
na Babalino.  
ym ab ore eius.

Num. 32.30.  
Ios. 13.27.  
Esa. 15.8.

## Li 2

also encountered him. But *Abraham* coming from the North, and *Melchizedec* inhabiting, either neere *Bethsan* or otherwise *Scythopolis* in the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, or in *Hierusalem* (both places lying to the West of *Jordan*) could not encounter each other in *Arabia*: and therefore *Saua*, which was also called the *Kings Dale*, could not be in these parts.

†. IIII.  
Of the Dead Sea.

Now because the Sea of *Sodom* or the Dead Sea, called also the Lake of *Asphaltitis*, and the salt Sea (in distinction from the Sea of *Tyberias* which was fresh water) also the Sea of the Wildernesse, or rather the Sea \* of the plaines, is often remembered in the Scriptures, and in this storie also, therefore I thinke it not impertinent, to speake somewhat thereof. For it is like vnto the *Caspian* Sea, which hath no out-let or disburthening. The length of this Lake *Josephus* makes 180. furlongs (which make 22. miles and a halfe of ours) and about 150. in breadth, which makes 18. of our miles and somewhat more. *Plinie* makes it a great deale lesse. But those that haue of late yeares seene this Sea, did account it (saith \* *Wesselsburg*) eight Dutch miles (which is two and thirtie of ours) in length: and two and a halfe of theirs (which is ten of ours) in breadth. Of this Lake or Sea, *Tacitus* maketh this report: *Lacus est in immenso ambitu, speciemaris, sapore corruptior, grauitate a loris accolis p. l. s. fer: neq. uento impellitur, neq. pisces aut suu. is aqua uolucres patitur, incertum unde superiecta vel solidior feruntur, periti imperitij, nandi perinde attolluntur, &c.* That it is very great, and (as it were) a Sea of a corrupt taste: of smell infectious, and pestilent to the borders: it is neither moued nor raised by the winde, nor indureth fish to live in it, or fowle to swimme in it. Those things that are cast into it, and the unskilfull of swimming, as well as the skilfull, are borne up by this water. At one time of the yeare it catcheth vp bitumen: the Art of gathering which, Experience (the finder of other things) hath also taught. It is vied in the trimming of ships, and the like busineses.

And then of the Land, he speaketh in this sort: "The fields not farre from this Lake which were sometime fruitfull and adorned with great Cities, were burnt with lightning; of which the ruines remaine, the ground looking with a sad face, as hauing lost her fruitfulness; for whatsoeuer doth either grow or is set thereon, be it fruits or flowers, when they cometo ripeness, haue nothing within them, but moulder into ashes: Thus saith *Tacitus*. And it is found by experience, that those *Pomegranates* and other Apples or Oranges, which doe still grow on the banks of this cursed Lake, doe looke faire, and are of good colour on the out-side, but being cut haue nothing but dust within. Of the Bitumen which this Lake catcheth vp, it was by the *Greekes* called *Asphaltis*. *Vespasian* desirous to be satisfied of these reports, went of purpose to see this Lake, and caused certaine Captiues to be cast into it, who were not onely unskilfull in swimming, but had their hands also bound behinde them, yet notwithstanding they were carried on the face of the waters, and could not swimme.

†. V.

Of the Kings of Moab, much of whose Countrie within *Arnon* *Reuben* possesse.

Of the Kings of *Moab*, whose Countrie (within *Arnon*) *Reuben* possesse (though not taken from *Moab* but from *Soban* the *Amorite*) few are known. *Ianus* in the 21. of *Numbers*, ver. 14. nameth *Abel*, which seemes to be the Ancestor or Predecessor of *Balaam*, the sonne of *Zippor*: which *Balaam* sent for *Balaam* to curse *Israel*. For desiring to contend with *Moses* by armes by the examples of *Sehon* and *Og*, hee hoped by the helpe of *Balaams* curings or enchantments, to take from them all strength and courage, and to cast on them some pestilent diseases. And though *Balaam* at the first, moued by the spirit of God, blest *Israel* contrary to the hope and desire of *Moab*: yet being desirous in some sort to satisfie him, and to doe him seruice, hee aduised *Moab* to send *Medianish* Women among the *Israhelites*: hoping by them, as by fit instruments of mischief, to draw them to the Idolatry of the Heathen: but in the end hee receiued the reward of his falling from God, and of his cuill counsaile, and was slaine among the rest of the Princes of *Midian*.

After these times the Kings of the Moabites are not named: sauing that wee finde in the first of *Chronicles* the fourth, that *Iokim*; and the men of *Chozabai*, and *Isabai*, and

*Sareph*,

*Sareph*, all being of the issue of *Iuda*, sometime had the Dominion in *Moab*: but as it is written in the same Verse, These also are ancient things: to wit, as some expound it, the particulars of these mens Governments are no where extant or remaining: or as others, hee prius fuerat, these Families of *Iuda* were once thus famous: but now their posteritie choose rather to abide in *Babylon*, and be Clay-workers to the King there.

Then we finde *Eglon* King of *Moab*, who with the helpe of *Ammon*, and *Amalec* mastered *Israel*, and commanded them eighteen yeares: which *Eglon*, *Ehud* slew in his owne house, and afterward 1000. of his Nation. What name the King of *Moab* had vnto whom *David* fled fearing *Saul*, it doth not appeare: or whether it were the same against whom *Saul* made Warre, it is not manifest, for neither are named. But in respect that this *Moabite* was an enemy to *Saul*, hee receiued *David*, and relieued him; knowing that *Saul* sought his life.

After this, *David* himselfe entred the Region of *Moab*, but not likely in the same Kings time: for hee slaughtered two parts of the people; and made the third part tributarie: whereupon it was said of *David*, *Moab is my wash-pot, ouer Edom will I cast my shoe*: meaning that hee would reduce them to such an abiection, and appoint them for base seruices: And that hee would tread downe the *Idumeans*.

The next King after *Dauids* time, of the Moabites, whose name liueth, was *Mesha*: who falling from *Iuda*, (perhaps in remembrance of the feueritie of *Dauid*) fastened himselfe to the Kings of *Israel*, and paid tribute to *Ahab* 100000. Lambes, and 200000. Rams, with the wooll: who reuolting againe from *Israel* after the death of *Ahab*, was invaded by *Iehoram*: with whom ioynd the Kings of *Iuda* and *Idumea*: and being by these three kings prest and broken, hee fled to *Kir-harefeth*, as is else where shewed. There is also mention made of the Moabites without the Kings name: when that Nation, assisted by the *Ammonites* and *Idumeans*, invaded *Iehzabab*: and by reason of some private quarrels among themselves, the Moabites and *Ammonites* set vpon the *Idumeans*, and slaughtered them: and then one against another; so as *Iehzabab* had a notorious victory ouer them all, without either blood or wound. Also in the time of *Hieremie* the Prophet, there was a King of *Moab* which is not named, which was after *Mesha* of *Hierem*. *Moab* many descents: for *Mesha* liued with *Iehoram*, and this Moabite in *Zedekias* time, fourteene Kings of *Iuda* coming betweene, who wasted three hundred and odd yeares.

§. V.

Of the memorabile places of the Gadites, and the bordering places of *Ammon*.

The Territory adioyning to *Reuben*, is that of *Gad*: whereof all that part which ioynd to the Mountaines, was sometime in the possession of the *Ammonites*, as farre to the South as *Arzer*. Of the children of *Gad* the seuenth son of *Isaac* by *Zelpha*, the hand maid of *Lea*, there parted out of *Egypt*, and died in the Deserts, 45550. and of their sonnes there entred the Land promised, 45000. bearing armes: from the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* the River of *Iabor* diuided them from *Reuben* the Cities of *Heshlon*, *Elhele*, and *Ashec*.

The chiefe Citie of *Gad* was *Arzer*: which they make to be the same with *Ar*, or *Rabbath Moab*, the great or commanding *Moab*. But the learned *Iunius* attending diligently to those words of *Moses*, *Deut. 2. 36. Ab harahero, que est in ripa fluminis Arnon, & Cinistate ipsa que est in flumine; where the Citie in the River is distinguished from the Citie vpon the banke of the River*, (as also in like manner *Iof. 6. 12. v. 2. and 6. 13. v. 9.*) thinketh that *Haraher* which doubtlesse belonged to the Gadites (as *Numb. 32. 34.* it is said that they built) was indeed seated neere *Har* of the Moabites, but diuers from it. For that *Har* was neuer possesed by *Moses*, it is plaine *Deuteronomie 2. 9.* where God forbidding *Moses* to touch it, saith, hee hath giuen *Har* for an inheritance to the sonnes of *Lot*. Now that this Citie, which in diuers places is said to be within and in the middle of the River of *Arnon* (and so distinguished from *Haraher*, which is said in the same places to bee on the banke of *Arnon*) is *Har* of the Moabites, the same *Iunius* proueth out of *Numb. 21. 15.* where *Arnon* is said to bee diuided into diuers streames, where or among which *Har* is seated: And the same is confirmed by the place of *Iof. 13. 25.* where *Haraher* is said to bee seated before *Rabbath*: which *Rabbath* as it seemes, cannot bee the









tion. For besides other adventures, it was taken by *L. Annus* Lieutenant to *Vespasian*: and 1000. of the ablest young men put to the sword, and the Citie burnt. In theyear 1120. it was rebuilt by *Baldwine* King of *Damascus*: and in the same yeare recovered by *Baldwine de Burgo* King of *Iherusalem*: and by him utterly razed. Neere unto *Gerafa* is the village of *Magadan*, or after the Syriack *Magadu*, or after the Greeke *Magdala*, where the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees* desired of our Sauour a signe from heauen: the same place or some adioyning to it, which *S. Marke* calleth *Dalmanatha*. By the circumstances of which storie it appears that this coast lay betweene the Lake of *Tiberias* and the Countrie of *Decapolis*. *Brocard* makes both these places to be one; and findes it to bee *Phiale*, the fountaine of *Jordan* according to *Iosephus*: but this *Phiale* is too farre from the Sea of *Galilee*, and from *Bethsaida*, to bee either *Magadu* or *Dalmanatha*. For as it appears by the storie, not farre hence towards the North was the Desert of *Bethsaida*, where *Christ* filled 5000. people with the five Barley loaves and two Fishes.

On the North of this *Bethsaida* they place *Julias*, not that which was built by *Herod*, but the other by *Philip*, which boundeth the Region *Trachonitis* towards the South. It was sometime a Village, and not long after the birth of *Christ* it was compassed with a wall by *Philip* the Tetrarch of *Turca* and *Trachonitis*: and after the name of *Julia*, the wife of *Tiberius*, called *Julias*, as hath beene further spoken in the Tribe of *Gad*: where it was noted that *Iosephus* makes this *Julias*, to be the same as *Bethsaida*. Vpon the East side of the same Lake of *Tiberias* stands *Corazim*, or *Corasim*, of which *Christ* in *Matth.* 23. saith; *woe be unto thee Corazim.*

But the principall Citie of all these in ancient time was *Asteroth*: sometime peopled with the Giants *Raphaim*: and therefore the Countrie adioyning called the Land of Giants, of whose race was *Og*, King of *Nasam*. In *Genesis* this Citie is called *Asteroth* of *Carnaim*, whence 1. *Mac.* 5. 26. it is called simply *Carnaim*, as *Ios.* 13. 21. it is called *Asteroth* without the addition of *Carnaim*. The word *Carnaim* signifieth a paire of Hornes, which agree well with the name of their Idoll *Asteroth*, which was the Image of a sheepe, as is likewise noted, that *Asteroth* in *Deuteronomie* signifieth sheepe. Others from the ambiguity of the Hebrew take *Carnaim*, to haue beene the name of the people which inhabited this Citie: and expound it *heroes* \* *radiantes*. For of old the *Raphai* which inhabited this Citie (*Gen.* 14. 5.) were Giant-like men, as appears by comparing the words *Deut.* 3. 11. *Og rex restans gigantum*, with the words, *Ios.* 13. 12. *Og ex reliquis Rapharum*: but if the *Carnaim* (or *Carnaim*) were these *Raphai*, the word would not haue beene in the duall number: neither would *Moses* in the place of *Genesis* haue said the *Raphai* in *Asteroth* of the *Carnaim*, but either the *Raphai* in *Asteroth* of the *Raphai*, or some other way fitt for perpicuitie: for this naming of both thus in the same clause, distinguisheth one from the other.

Not farre from *Asteroth* *Adrichonius* out of *Brocard* and *Breidenbachius* placeth *Cedar*, in the way out of *Syria* into *Galilee*, foure miles from *Corazim*. This Citie (saith he) is remembered in the *Canticles*, and in the booke of *Iudith*, and there are that of this Citie understand *David* in his 120. *Psalme*: and here the Sepulchre of *Iob* is yet to bee seene, saith *Breidenbach*.

Now concerning the Texts which he citeth, it is so that the Greeke hath *Galaad* in stead of the word *Cedar*, which the Vulgar doth vse in that place of *Iudith*, and ioyneth *Carmel* and *Galilee*. The *Canticles* and the 120. *Psalme* doe rather proue that *Cedar* was not hereabout, than any way helpe *Adrichonius*. For that they speake of *Scenite Cedar*, it is apparant, and as euident by the place in the *Canticles*: that they were *decoloris*, much more than any vnder the Climates of the Land of *Canaan*: whence *Iunius* out of *Lampridius* and *Plinius* placeth them in *Arabia Petrea*, farre from these parts. Touching the Sepulchre of *Iob*, it is certaine that the Arabians and Saracens (holding those places) haue many things to abuse the Christians, and to get money. Further, it may well be affirmed, that many (if not all) the historicall circumstances of *Iob* are so obfcure, that we should rather by finding his Countrie seeke to get some knowledge of him, than by any presumptions founded vpon him, inferre what his Countrie was, and build vnto him a Citie by coniecture.

Of *Iob* himselfe, whether he was the same *Iobab* remembered in the 36. of *Genesis*, descended from *Efa*, and King alio of *Idumaea*, though *Rupertus*, *Lyrannus*, *Oleaster*, and *Belarmine* are of another opinion, yet *Saint Ambrose*, *Augustine*, *Chrysostome*, and *Gregorie*, with

with *Athanafius*, *Hippolitus*, *Irenaeus*, *Eusebius Emisensis*, *Apollinaris*, *Eusebius*, and other, cited by *S. Hierome* in his 126. Epistle to *Emagrus*, take him for the same.

The Land of *Hus* or *Hus* wherein *Iob* dwelt is from the Greeke *ὅς*, which the *Septuagint* vse for the word *Hus*, translated by the Vulgar sometime *Hus*, as *Iob* 1. v. 1. sometime *Ausitis*, as *Hierome*, 25. 20. This Land is placed by *Iunius* between *Palestina* and *Caldeya*, besides *Chamaaba* (or *Hamath*) vnder *Edom* in the Countrie called by *Plinius* *Trachonitis* or *Barhanaba*, the bounds of which Countries are confounded with *Basana* in this halfe Tribe of *Manasses*. And that this Land of *Hus* was thus seated; it may in part be gathered out of the place of *Ieremie* the 25. 20. where he reckons the *Hulites* among the promiscuous borderers of the *Israelites*, whom hee therefore calleth promiscuous or miscellaneum turban, because their bounds were not onely ioyned but confounded, and their *Seigniories* mingled one with the other, but of this place the words of *Ieremie*, *Lamentations* 4. 21. speaking of the same Prophecies, of which hee speaketh in the five and twentieth Chapter, must needs bee expounded: as *Iunius* reads them, distinguishing the Land of *Hus* from *Edom*: *O filia Edom, quae habitas in terra Hus, O Daughter of Edom, O thou which dwellest in the Land of Hus*. Now because the Vulgar doth not so distinguish, but readeth; *Filia Edom quae habitas in terra Hus*; Daughter of *Edom* which dwelleth in the Land of *Hus*: Hence, as it seemes, some of the learned haue thought that *Iob* was an *Edomite*, as wee haue said, and King of *Edom*, which if they vnderstand by *Idumaea* or *Edom*, so called in *Moses* time, they are greatly mistaken, making this Land of *Hus* to be in *Idumaea*. For it is very probable that *Efa* when hee first parted from *Iacob*, did not seate himselfe in *Edom* or *Seir*, which lyeth on the South border of *Iudea*, but inhabited *Seir* farre to the East of *Jordan*, and held a part of those Mountaines, otherwise called *Galaad*, and *Hermom*, which by corruption the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites* *Shevir*, for *Seir*; and from this his habitation did *Efa* incounter *Iacob* when hee returned out of *Mesopotamia*, who passed by the very border of *Efa* his abiding. It is true that at such time as *Moses* wandered in the *Deserts*, that the posterity of *Efa* inhabited *Seir* to the South of *Iudea*: for it is like that the *Amorites* who had beaten both *Ammon* and *Moab*, did alio driue the *Edomites* out of those parts, who thence forward seated themselves to the South of *Iudea*, bordering the *Desert Paran*, and stretched their habitations ouer the *Deserts* as farre as *Hor* where *Aaron* died.

Now for this *Hus* which gaue the nameto a part of the Land of *Trachonitis*, whether it were *Hus* the sonne of *Aram*, as *Iunius* thinke in his note vpon *Gen.* 10. 23. or rather *Hus* the sonne of *Nachor*, *Abrahams* brother, the question is doubtfull. For my part I rather incline to thinke, that it was *Hus* the sonne of *Nachor*: partly because these Families of *Aram* seeme long before to haue beene lost: and partly because in *Iob* 6. 32. 2. *Elihu* the fourth of *Iob* friends, which seemes to be of *Iob* owne Country, is called a *Buzite*, of *Buz* the brother of *Hus*, the son of *Nachor*: as also *Ieremie* 25. in the same continuation (though some other Nations named betweene) where *Hus* is spoken of, there *Buz* is also named. Neither doth it hinder our coniecture, that in the place of *Iob* 32. *Elihu* the *Buzite* is said to be of the Family of *Ram*: (which *Iunius* expounds to be as much as of the Familie of *Aram*) for that by this *Aram* we are not to vnderstand *Aram* the sonne of *Sem*, *Iunius* himselfe maketh it plaine, both in his annotation vpon the beginning of his booke, where he saith that one of *Iob* friends (which must needs be this *Elihu*) was of the posterity of *Nachor* (as also in this place hee confesseth so much expressly,) and in as much as hee readeth not *de familia Aram*, or *Ram*, but *de familia Syriae*, like as elsewhere *Laban* who sprung of *Nachor* is called a *Syrian*.

As for the other three of *Iob* friends (of whom by this note of *Elihu* his being of the Syrian Family, or of the Family of *Nachor*) it is simply that they were of other kindred: as also by the *Septuagints* addition, that this *Elihu* was of the Land of *Hus*, or *Ausitis*, it is implied that they thought onely *Elihu* to haue beene of *Iob* owne Countrie.

*Franciscus Brocard* the Monke, in his description of the holy Land in the iourney from *Acon* Barward, findeth *Suebia*, and *Theman* on the East of the Sea of *Galilee*: both very neere to the Land of *Hus*: whereof the one may seeme to haue denominatd *Bilad* the *Shuchite*, the other *Eliphaz* the *Themanite*: two of the three friends of *Iob*, of the which *Iob* 2. 11. But *Iunius* thinke that the *Shuchites* were inhabitants of *Arabia* the *Desert*, descended of *Shuch* the sonne of *Abraham* and *Rebecca*: of whom *Gen.* 25. 2. perhaps, saith he, the same whom *Plinius* calls *Suteci*: So also hee thinke that the *Themanites* of whom

*Eliphaz* was, to haue bene of *Arabia the Desert*: and *Eliphaz* himselfe to haue bene of the posteritie of *Theman* the sonne of *Eliphaz*, which was the sonne of *Esaui*. And also *Nahamab*, whence *Tisphar* the third of *Iabs* friends (which in this place of *Iob* c. 2. v. 11. are mentioned) is by the same learned expositor, thought either to be named of *Thimnah* by transposition of letters (which *Thimnah*, *Gen.* 36. 40. is named among the sonnes of *Esaui* that gaue denomination to the places where they were seated) or else to be the same *Nahamab*, which *Ios.* 15. 41. is reckoned for a Citie of *Iuda* in the border, as hee thinkes of *Edom*. And yet I deny not but that neere the Land of *Hu*, in *Basam*, as it seemes, in the Tribe of *Manasses*, there is a Region which (at least) in later times was called *Smith*, or of some like name. For this is euiden by the Historie of *Wilclimus Tyrinus*, which reports of a Fort in this Region of *Saita* or *Saites* (as he calls it diuersly) of exceeding great strength and vlc for the retaining of the whole Countrey: which in the time of *Baldwine* the second King of *Hierusalem*, was with great digging through rocks recovered by the *Christians*; hauing not long before bene lost to the great disadvantage of the Countrey, while it was in the hands of the *Saracens*. The situation of this Fort is by *Tyrrus* described to be sixteene miles from the Citie *Tiberias*, on the East of *Jordan*: by *Adrichomius* foure miles Northward from the place where *Jordan* enters the Lake *Tiberias* at *Corazin*.

Other Cities of this part of *Manasses* named in the Scripture are these: *Golan*, *Behef*, *thera*, *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, and *Kenath*, which after the coming of the Israelites was called *Nobach*. Of *Nobach* or *Kenath*, and *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, we haue spoken by occasion among the Cities of *Gad*. The two other were giuen to the *Leuites*, and *Golan* made one of the Cities of refuge: from which *Golan* we haue both *Gaulanitis superior* and *inferior*, oftin *Iosephus*. *Behef* *thera* is accounted the chiefe Citie of *Basam* by some, but the writers corrupting the name into *Bozra*, it is confounded with *Beser* or *Bozra* of *Reuben*, and with *Bozra* of *Edom*. *Argob* is oft named for a Region in this Tract, and hence *Hierome* hath *Arga*, a name of a Citie placed by some about the waters of *Merom* (as they are called by *Iosua*) which make the Lake *Samachonitis*, as *Iosephus* calls it. This lake being as it were in the midst betweene *Casaria Philippi* and *Tiberias*, through which as through the Lake of *Tiberias*, *Jordan* runneth, boundeth part of this halfe Tribe on the West. When the snow of *Libanus* melteth, it is very large, saith *Brochard*: otherwise more contract, les- using the marshy ground on both sides, for Lyons and other wilde beasts, which harbour in the shrubs that plentifully grow there.

Adioyning to this Lake in this Countrey of *Manasser*, *Iosephus* names two places of strength, fortified by himselfe: in the beginning of the *Jews* rebellion: *Selucia* the one and *Sopane* the other. In the North side of this halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, and in the North-east, the Scripture nameth diuers bordering places toward *Damascus*, as *Tsedad*, *Chauran*, and *Chasfar-Henan*, lying in a line drawne from the West, of which three Cities were *Ezek.* 47. 15. with which also agrees the place *Numb.* 34. 8. where for *Chauran*, betweene *Tsedad*, and *Chasfar-Henan*, *Zipbron* is named. From this *Chauran* is the name of *Auennitis Regio*, in *Iosephus* and *Tyrrus*, whose bounds (as also the bounds of *Gessur* and *Mahath* or *Macati*, which were likewise borderers to *Manasses* toward the North-east) are vnknewen: onely that *Gessur* was of might, it appears in that *Dauid* married *Mahab* the Daughter of *Thalmay* King of *Gessur*: by whom he had the most beautifull, but wicked, and vnforsunate *Abisalon*.

## CHAP. XI.

The Historie of the Syrians, the chiefe borderers of the Israelites that dwell on the East of Jordan.

## §. I.

Of the Citie of Damascus, and the diuers fortunes thereof.



*Damascus* of all other in this border, and of that part of the world, was the most famous, excelling in Beautie, Antiquitie, and Riches, and was therefore called the Citie of ioy or gladnesse; and the House of pleasure; and is not onely remembered in many places of Scripture, but by the best Historians and Cosmographers. The Hebrewes, saith *Iosephus*, thinke it to haue bene built by *Hu* the sonne of *Aram*: of which opinion

S. Hier.

*Saint Hierome* vpon *Esa* seemeth to bee: though in his Hebrew questions hee affirmeth that it was founded by *Damascus*, the sonne of *Eliezer Abrahams* Steward; a thing very unlikely, seeing the Citie was formerly knowne by that name, as appears by *Abrahams* calling this his Steward *Eliezer* of *Damasco*. *Dauid* was the first that subiected it to the Kingdome of *Iuda*, after the ouerthrow of *Adadecer* their King, but in *Salomons* time, *Rezon* recovered it againe, though hee adde no title at all or right to that principality: but *Dauid* hauing ouerthrowne *Hadadecer* king of *Sophena* (otherwise *Syria Soba* or *Zobah*) *Razon* or *Rezon* with the remainder of that broken Armie, inuaded *Damascena*, and posselt *Damascus* in selfe, and became an enimie to *Salomon* all his life.

The next King of *Damascus* was *Adad* the Edomite, who flying into *Egypt* from *Dauid* and *Iobab*, when they slew all the males in *Edom*, was there entertained, and married *Taphnes* the King of *Egypt* Wiues sister: of whom *Taphnes* in *Egypt* was so called. This *Adad* returning againe, became an enimie to *Salomon* all his life, and (as some writers affirme) inuaded *Damascus*, and thrust *Rezon* thence-out. In the line of *Adad* that Kingdome continued nine descents (as hereafter may be shewed in the catalogue of those Kings of *Syria*) to whom the Assyrians and then the Gracians succeeded. This Citie was exceeding strong, compassed with waters from the riuers of *Abanah*, and *Parpar*: whereof one of them prophane writers call *Chrysothoas*, the golden riuer. *Iunius* takes it for *Adonis*. The countrey adioyning is very fruitful of excellent Wines and Wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very strong Castle, bukas it seems by the Florentines, after it became Christian: the Lillies being found cut in many Marbles in that Citadell. Against this Citie the Prophets, *Amos*, *Esa*, *Hieremie*, and *Zacharias*, prophesied that it should be taken, burnt, demolished, and made a heape of stones. In the time of the last *Rezon*, and tenth King of the *Damascens*, *Teglatphalassar* inuited by *Achaz* King of *Iuda*, carried away the naturals of *Damascus* into the East: leaving of his owne Nation to inhabit it. After that it was vterly ruined by the Babylonians, saith *Hierome* vpon *Esa*: which thing was performed by *Salmanser*, according to *Iunius* in his note vpon that place, five yeares after the Prophecie. In time it was restored by the Macedonians, and the Ptolomies; but long after, when *Syria* fell into the hands of the Romans, it was taken by *Metellus* and *Lollius*. In the time of the Christians it had an Archbishop: *Saint Hierome* liuing, as hee affirmeth vpon the *Acts*, it was the Metropolis of the *Saracens*: being taken by *Haomar* their King from the Romans, in the yeare of our redemption 636. And in the yeare 1147. *Conrad* the third Emperour of *Rome*, *Lewis* King of *France*, *Baldwine* the third King of *Hierusalem*, *Henry* Duke of *Austria*, brother to *Conrad*, *Frederick Barbarossa* afterward Emperour, *Theodorick* Earle of *Flanders*, and other Princes assembled at *Ptolomais Acon*, on the sea coast, determined to recover *Damascus*: but being betrayed by the Syrians, they failed of the enterprize.

In the yeare 1262. *Halan* the Tatar incompassed it, and hauing formerly taken the King, brought him vnder the walls, and threatned extreme torture vnto him, except the Citizens rendred the place: but they refusing it, the King was torne asunder before them, and in fine the Citie taken. *Agab* the sonne of *Halan* was by his father made King thereof.

In the yeare 1400. *Tamberlaine* Emperour of the *Parthians*, inuaded that region, and besieged the Citie with an Armie of 1200000. (If the number be not mistaken.) He entered it, and put all to the sword, filling the ditch with his prisoners; those that retired into the Castle, which seemed a place impregnable, hee ouertopped with another Castle adioyning: hee forbore the demolishing of the Citie in respect of the beauty of the Church, garnished with 40. gates or sumptuous porches. It had within it 9000. Lanes of gold and silver: but while he inuaded *Egypt*, they againe surprized *Damascus*. Lastly, in his return after three moneths siege, he forc't it: the Mahometans prostrating themselves with their Priests, desired mercie: But *Tamberlaine* commanding them to enter the Church, hee burnt them and it, to the number of 30000. and did so demolish it, as those that came afterwards to see their houses, knew them not by the foundations. And as a Trophy of his victorie, hee raised three Towers with great Art, builded with the heads of those whom hee had slaughtered. After this, it was restored and reposselt by the Soldane of *Egypt*, with a garriſon of *Mammalukes*: And in the yeare 1517. *Selimus* Emperour of the *Turkes* wrested it out of the hands of the *Egyptians*:



in whose possession it now remaineth inhabited with Mahometans and Christians of all neighbouring nations.

## §. II.

Of the first Kings of Damascus, and of the growing up of their power.

1 Sam. 16. c. 2.

1 Sam. 14. 47.

3082.

1 Sam. 8.

1 Reg. 11.

2 Sam. 8. 3.

1 Sam. 14. 47.

1 Sam. 16. c. 13.

Now be it that Damascus were founded by *Hus* the sonne of *Aram*, or by *Damascus* the sonne of *Eliezer Abrahams* steward, we finde no relation of their Kings, or Common-wealth till *Dauids* time. For it stood without the bounds of Canaan: and therefore neglected by *Moses*, *Ishua*, and the *Judges*, as impertinent to that storie: But were it so that it had some *regali*, or petty Kings over it, as all the Cities of those parts had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till such time as *David* ouerthrew *Adadazer* Prince of *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*: the same Nation which *Plinie* calleth *Nubai*, inhabiting betwene *Batania* and *Euphrates*. Now the better to vnderstand the storie of those Syrian Princes, whom soone after the Kings of *Damascus* made their vassals, the reader may inform himselfe, That on the North-east parts of the holy Land, there were three chiefe principalities, whereof the Kings or Commanders greatly vexed or disturbed the State or Common-wealth of *Israel*, namely *Damascus* or *Aram*, *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Chamath-Zoba*, of which these were the Princes in *Dauids* and *Salomons* times: *Razon* or *Rezon* of *Damascus*, *Adadazer* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Tobu* of *Chamath*. But it seemeth that *Damascus* was one of the Cities subiect to *Adadazer* when *David* invaded him, though when *Saul* made warre against *Zoba*, *Damascus* was not named. And as *Iosephus* affirmeth, the leader of those succours, which were leuiued and sent to *Hadad-Hezer* from *Damascus*, had the name of *Adad*: who was in that battaile slaine with 22000. *Aramites* of *Damascus*: whereof, as of the ouerthrow of *Adadazer*, *Rezon*, the Commander of his Armie, taking advantage, made himselfe King of *Damascus*: *Adadazer* and *Adad* of *Damascus* being both slaine. About the same time *Tobu* King of *Chamath* or *Isurac*, hearing that his neighbour and enemy *Adadazer* was vterly ouerthrowne, sendeth for peace to *David*, and presenteth him with rich gifts, but *Isaiah*, saith *S. Hierome*; it was craftily done of him. Now to the North of the Holy Land, and to the West of *Damascus*, the *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* inhabited: but they for the most part were in league and peace with the *Judeans* and *Israelites*. But to returne to the Kings of *Syria*, I meane of *Syria*, as it is taken in the Scriptures, containing *Damascena*, *Soba* or *Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Isurac*, to which I may adde *Gethur*, because it is so accounted in the second of *Sam.* 15. as ioyning in the Territorie to *Damascus* (for *Syria* at large is farre greater, of which *Palestina* it selfe is but a Prouince, as I haue noted in the beginning of this Tract:.) It is not agreed among the Historians of former times, nor of our later writers, who was the first of those *Adads* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Damascus*.

Some account *Rezon*, others *Adad* of *Idumæa*: of whom it is written in the first of Kings, that *David* hauing invaded that Region, and left *Isaiah* there to destroy all the male children thereof: *Adad* of the Kings seed, fled into *Egypt*; and was there married to *Taphnes* the *Queenes* sister, as before; who hearing of *Dauids* death, and of the death of his Captaine *Isaiah* (whom indeed all the bordering Nations feared) he turned againe, and as *Hunting* thinketh, this *Adad* did expell *Rezon* out of *Damascus*; and was the first of the Syrian Kings. To mee it seemeth otherwise. For as *Isaiah* it, *Adadazer* the sonne of *Rehob*, whom *Saul* invaded, was the founder of that Principallitie: and the first of *Adads*, who forsaking his Fathers name, as hee grew powerfull, tooke vpon him the stile of *Adad*, the great god of the *Assyrians*, saith *Atacrobins*, which signified *Oneness* or *Vnicie*, also findes a Queene called *Adada* in the same part of *Syria*: of which, whether these Princes tooke the name, or gaue it, I am ignorant. For *Adad-azer*, *Ben-Adad*, *Eli-Adad* were the same in name, with the differences of *Ezer*, *Ben*, and *Eli*, adioyned. And that *Adadazer* was of greater power, it appeareth first, because it is against him, that *David* undertooke the warre: secondly, because hee leuiued 25000. *Aramites* out of the Territorie of *Damascus*: as out of his proper Dominions; for had the *Damascens* had a King apart, it is probable that the Scriptures would haue giuen vs his name; thirdly, because *Syria Zoba*, of the most of which *Adadazer* was King, was an exceeding large Territorie, and contained of *Arabia* *Deserts* as *Barus* to *Euphrates*, according to *Plinie*: and

and the greatest part of *Arabia Petraea*, according to *Niger*. Whosocuer was the first, whether *Adadazer*, or *Adad* of *Idumæa*, *Rezon* was the second: who was an enemy to *Israel* all the dayes of *Salomon*. Besides the euill that *Adad* did, the euill that *Hadad* did, seemeth to be referred to *Hadad* of *Idumæa*, lately returned out of *Egypt*: to wit, 23. yeares after he was carried thither.

The third king of *Damascus*, and of *Zobah* both, was *Hezion*, to *Hezion* succeeded *Ta- brimmon*, or *Tabremmon*; to him *Benhadad*, as is proued in the first of Kings: For *Asa* King of *Juda* the son of *Abiam*, the son of *Reboam*, the son of *Salomon*, being vexed & invaded by *Basba*, the successeur of *Nadab*, the son of *Ieroboam*, sent to *Benhadad* the son of *Tabrimmon*, the son of *Hezion*, King of *Aram*, that dwelt at *Damascus*, to invade *Israel* (while *Basba* fought to fortifie *Rama* against *Asa* thereby to block him vp, that he should not enter into any of the Territories of *Israel*) who according to the desire of *Asa*, hauing receiued his presents, willingly invaded the Countie of *Nephtalim*, and took diuers Cities, and spoyle thence: *Asa* in the meane while carrying away all the Materials, which *Basba* had brought to fortifie *Rama* withall, and conuerted them to his owne vse.

This *Benhadad* his Father *Tabremmon* was in league with *Asa*: and so was his Father *Hezion*: for *Asa* requirerh the continuance of that friendship from *Benhadad*, his sonne: though it seemeth that the gold and siluer sent him out of the Temple, was the most forcible argument. And that this *Tabremmon* invaded *Israel*, before the enterprize of his sonne *Benhadad*, it is coniectured. For *Benhadad* when he was prisoner with *Achab*, spake as followeth: The Cities which my Father tooke from thy Father, I will restore: and thou shalt make streetes or keepers of the borders, for thee in *Damascus*: as my father did in *Samaria*. And herein there ariseth a great doubt (if the argument it selfe were of much importance) because *Tabremmon* was Father indeed to *Benhadad* which invaded *Basba*, at the request of *Asa*: But this *Benhadad* that twice entred vpon *Achab*, and was the second time taken prisoner, was rather the sonne of *Benhadad*, the first of that name, the confederate of *Asa* and *Abiam*, as before, than the sonne of *Tabremmon*. For betwene the inuasion of *Benhadad* the first, in *Basba*'s time, and the siege of *Samaria*, and the ouerthrow of *Benhadad* by *Achab* there past 49. yeares, as may be gathered out of the reignes of the Kings of *Israel*. So that if hee wallow 30. yeares of age to *Benhadad*, when hee invaded *Basba*, and after that 49. yeares ere he was taken by *Achab*, which make eighty lacking one, it is vnlikely that *Benhadad* at such an age should make warre. Besides all this, the first *Benhadad* came with no such pompe; but the second *Benhadad* vanqueth, that hee was followed with 32. Kings: and therefore I resolute, that *Benhadad* the sonne of *Tabremmon* invaded *Basba* and *Omri*; and *Benhadad* the second invaded *Achab*, at whose hands this *Benhadad* receiued two notorious ouerthrowes: the first at *Samaria*, by a fallie of 700. *Israelites*: the second at *Aphec*, where, with the like number in effect the *Israelites* slaughtered 100000. of the *Aramites*, besides 27000. which were cruell by the fall of the wall of *Aphec*. And this *Benhadad*, *Achab* againe sciteth at liberty: to whom

he rendreth those townes that his father had taken from the Predecessour of *Achab*, but being returned, he refused to render *Ramoth Gilead*, a frontier Towne, and of great importance. Now three yeares after (for so long the league lasted) *Ramoth* nor being deliuered, *Achab* invaded *Gilead*, and besieged the City, being assisted by *Iosaphat*. The *Aramites* came to succour and fight: in which *Achab* is wounded, and dyeth that night. After this, *Benhadad* sendeth the commander of his forces called *Naaman*, to *Ioram* the son of *Achab* to be healed of the leprosie, and though *Elizeus* had healed him, yet hee picketh quarrell against *Ioram*: and when *Ioram* by *Elizeus* his intelligence, had escaped his plot, he sent men, and Chariots to take the Prophet, as is afore said. After, *Benhadad* besieged *Samaria* again, and being terrified thence from heauen, he departeth home, and sickneth, and sendeth *Azazel* with great gifts to *Elizeus*, to know his estate if he might liue. *Azazel* returning, smothereth him. *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* call this *Benhadad Adar*, and the sonne of *Adar*: *Amos* and *Hieremie* mention the towres of *Benhadad*. *Iosephus* writeth that *Benhadad* and his succellour *Azazel* were worshipped for gods by the Syrians to his time, for the sumptuous Temples which they built in *Damascus*. The Syrians also boasted much of their antiquity, ignorant, saith he, that scarce yet 1200. yeares are complete since their warres with the *Israelites*.

*Hazael* or *Azazel*, the first King of the race of the *Adads* of *Damascus*, was vanquished by *Elisba*, or *Elizeus*, when he was sent by *Benhadad* to the Prophet, to know whether *Benhadad* hadad



hadad should recover his present sickness: He waged warre with *Ioram*; who received divers wounds at the encounter at Ramoth in Gilead: from whence returning to be cured at Isefrel, he and the King of Iuda, *Ahaziah* or *Ochozias*, are slain by *Iehu*, as before is said. After the death of *Ioram*, *Azazel* continued the warre against *Iehu*, and wasted Gilead, and all those portions of *Gad*, *Reuben*, and *Manasse* over Jordan. He then invaded Iuda, and tooke Geth; but by gifts from *Ias* he was averted from attempting Hierusalem: for he presented him all the *hallowed things which Iehosaphat, Iehoram, and Ahaziah his fathers, Kings of Iuda had dedicated; and which hee himselfe had dedicated, and all the gold which was found in the treasures of the Lord, and in the Kings house.* This was the second time that the Temple was spoiled to please the *Adads* of Damascus. For *Asa* did in present *Benhadad* with those treasures, when hee invited him to warre vpon *Baasba* King of Israel. And notwithstanding this composition between *Ias* and *Azazel*, yet a part of his Army spoiled the other Provinces of Iudaea, and slaughtered many principall persons. Lastly, *Azazel* vexed *Ioshua* the sonne of *Iehu*, and brought him to that extremity, as he left him but fifty horsemen, ten Chariots, & ten thousand foot-men of all his people,

## §. III.

Of the later Kings, and decay and overthrow of their power.



FTER *Hazael*, *Benhadad* the second, or rather the third of that name, the son of *Hazael*, reigned in Damascus: who fought against Israel, with ill success: for *Ias* King of Israel, the sonne of the unhappy *iochaz*, as he was foretold by *Elisba* the Prophet, beat *Benhadad* in three severall battels: and hee lost all those Cities to Israel, which his Father *Hazael* had taken violently from *iochaz*.

2 Reg. 13.  
10. 1. 2.

10. 1. 2.

10. 1. 2.

After this *Benhadad* the sonne of *Hazael*, there succeeded three others by the same name, of whom the Stories are lost, onely *Nicholus Damascenus* cited by *Iosephus*, makes mention of them: and in one of these Kings times it was that *Ieroboam* the second, the sonne of *Ias* recovered Damascus it selfe, to Iudah, saith the Geneua, but better in *Iunius, utque recuperabat Damascus, & Chamatham Iehude pro Israele*; that is, *And how hee recovered for Israel, Damascus and Chamatha of Iudaea*; for these Cities sometimes conquered by *Dauid*, did of right belong to the Tribe of Iuda.

And it is likely that this conquest vpon the *Adads* was performed: the first of these three *Adads* then living, of whom there is no Story. For when as *Iehou* the King of the ten Tribes had thrice overcome the Syrians in the time of *Benhadad* the sonne of *Hazael*, and had recovered the Cities which *Hazael* had won from Israel; and so left his Kingdom to his sonne *Ieroboam* the second, it seemeth that this *Ieroboam* without delay, and having nothing else left for him to enterprize, instantly followed his fathers good fortune, and invaded Damascus.

*Razin*, or *Rezin*, after *Iosephus Rases*, after *Zonaras Rasfon*, the 10. *Adad*, making league with *Pekab*, or *Phisai* King of Israel, against *Achaz* King of Iuda; both carry away a great number of prisoners. After this they both besiege *Achaz* in Hierusalem: but in vain. Then *Adad* alone invadeth *Elath*, and bearing out the Iewes, maketh it a Colonie of Syrians: Wherefore *Achaz* brought *Teglatphalassar* against *Razin*, who tooke him, and beheaded him, and won Damascus: with whom ended the line of the *Adads* and the Kingdom of Damascus: the Assyrians becoming masters both of that and Israel. These *Adads* as they reigned in order are thus reckoned.

- 1 *Adadzer* the sonne of *Rehob*.
- 2 *Rezin* the sonne of *Elisadad*, or *Razin*.
- 3 *Iezion*.
- 4 *Tibremon*.
- 5 *Benhadad*, who invaded *Baasba*.
- 6 *Benhadad* the second, taken prisoner by *Achaz*.

7 *Hazael*, whom *Elisba* foretold, with reares of his advancement; the same who overthrew *Ioram* King of Israel at Ramoth Gilead. And that there was a second *Hazael* which preceded *Benhadad* the third is not improbable because that *Hazael* which tooke Geth, and compounded the warre with *Ias*, made the Expedition thirty yeeres, and perchance

more,

more, after the first *Hazael* which stifled his master *Benhadad*, and had slain *Ioram* the sonne of *Achab* King of Israel. For *Ias* began to raigne in the 7. yeare of *Iehu* King of Israel; and after he had reigned 23. yeares, the Temple was not yet repaired, after which (and how long we know not) it is said that *Hazael* took Geth, and turned his face towards Hierusalem. It is also some proofe that *Hazael* that tooke Geth, was not the same with *Hazael* that murdered *Benhadad*, because he could not at that time bee of good yeares, being as it seemeth, the second person in the kingdom, and Commander of *Benhadad*'s men of warre. To this *Hazael* (be he the first or second) succeeded

8. *Benhadad* the third, whom *Ias* King of Israel thrice overthrow.
9. *Rezin* or *Rezin* the last, who ioyned with *Pekab* King of Israel against Iuda, at which time *Achaz* King of Iuda waged for his defence *Teglatphalassar*.

Now between *Benhadad* the third, and *Rezin* the last, *Nicholus Damascenus* findes three other Kings of the *Adads*, which make twelue in all.

For the rest of the Princes of Syria, which were but *reguli*, as those of Emath, and Gethsur, we finde that *Iohu* was King of Emath or Camath in *Dauid*'s time, to whom hee sent his sonne *Ioram* with presents, after *Dauid*'s victory against *Adadzer*. Also *Senacherib* speaketh of a King of Emath, but names him not.

## §. IIII.

Of other lesser Kingdomes of the Syrians, which being brought under the Assyrians, neuer recovered themselves againe.

IF *Geffur* we finde two Kings named; to wit, *Talmi*, and his Father *Ammihur*, to *Talmi*, whose daughter *Dauid* married, it was that *Abalon* fled, who was his maternall grandfather. Of the Kings of Sephena or Syria, *Soba* or *Celosyria* there are two named, *Rehob* or *Rechob* the Father of *Adadzer*, and *Adadzer* himselfe, and it is plaينه that after his death the seat of the Kings of *Soba* was transferred to Damascus, a Citie better fitting their greance. After *Rezin* became Lord of both Principalities. And the race of these Kings of Syria, (which became so potent, and ioyned *Soba*, *Damascus*, Emath, and the Desert of Arabia with other Provinces into one, under *Rezin* the second of the *Adads*) as it began with *Dauid*, so it ended at once with the Kingdom of Israel. For *Achaz* King of Iuda waged the Assyrian *Teglatphalassar* against *Pekab* King of Israel, and against *Rezin* the last King of Damascus: which *Teglat* first invaded Damascus, and the region of *Soba*, and tooke Damascus it selfe, and did put to death *Rezin* the last, carrying the Inhabitants captiue. This was the second time that the Assyrians attempted Israel. For first, *Phul Beluchus* entered the borders thereof (*Menahem* governing Israel) who stoppeth the enterprize of *Phul* with a thousand talents of silver: for this *Phul Beluchus*, whose pedigree wee will examine hereafter, being scarce warne as yet in his seat at *Babylon*, which hee, with the helpe of his companion *Arbaces*, had wrested from *Sardanapalus*: having besides this King of Syria in his way, who seemed to be a great and strong Prince, was content to take the composition of a thousand talents of the King of Israel for that present time. But his sonne *Teglat* following the purpose of his father *Beluchus*, and finding so excellent an occasion, as the warre begun betwene Israel and Iudah, *Pekab* commanding in the one, and *Achaz* in the other, his neighbour *Rezin* being also wrapt in the warre, and waited in strength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of *Achaz* King of Iuda, his imprest and entertainment. So, first attempting Damascus, which lay in his path towards Israel, hee carried it (as is before remembred) and then with great ease possessed himselfe of the Cities of Nephthalim, leading with him a great part of the people captiue. And his sonne *Salmanasser*, whom *Protonie* calleth *Nabonasser*, after the revolve of *Hofea*, forced Samaria, and rent that Kingdom asunder. So againe he and race of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, whom *Beluchus* supplanted; the race and Monarchie of the Syrian *Adads* in *Rezin*, whom *Teglat* slaughtered, the Kingdom of Israel in *Hofea*, whom *Salmanasser* overturned; happened neere about a time: that of *Ninus* in the dayes of *Beluchus*; and the other two in the dayes of *Teglatphalassar*, and *Salmanasser* his son: For *Sardanapalus* perished, *Ofis* ruling Iuda; and the other two Kingdomes were dissolved, *Achaz* yet living.

Lastly the Kingdom of Iuda it selfe, being attempted by *Sennacherib*, the sonne of *Salmanasser* in vain, and preserved for the time by Gods miraculously, was at length utterly

verely overturned. *Hierusalem* and the Temple burnt 132. years after the captiuitie of *Israel* and *Samaria*: the destruction of *Israel* being in the ninth yeare of *Hosea*: that of *Juda* in the eleuenth of *Zedechia*. Now the Emperours of *Assyria* and *Babylon* held also the Kingdome of *Syria*, from the eighth yeare of *Salmannassar*, to the last of *Baltassar*, whom *Herodotus* calleth *Labyntus*: in all about 200. yeares. After these the Persians from *Cyrus* to *Darius* their last King, held *Syria* about 200. yeares.

Then *Alexander Macedon* took this among other Prouinces of the Persian Empire, and his successors the *Seleucide* reigned therein, till it became subiect vnto the power of the Romans, from whom it was wrested long after by the Saracens, and remaineth now in possession of the Turke, as shall bee shewed in due place. Thus much of the Nations bordering vpon the Israelites, with whom they had most to doe both in warre and peace, being the onely people, whose History in those ancient times carried an assured face of truth.

## CHAP. XII.

OF THE TRIBE OF BENJAMIN,  
and of Hierusalem.

## S. I.

Of diuers memorable places in the Tribe of Benjamin, whereof Hiericho, Gilgal, Mitspa, Bethel, Rama, Gohah and Gibba.



F the Tribe of Benjamin, the twelfth and youngest sonne of *Isaac*, whom he had by *Rachel*, there were mustered at Mount Sinai 35000. able bodyes: all which perishing in the Deserts, there entered the Holy Land of their iustices. 45600. fit to beare Armes: and these had their Territorie on this side Iordan, betwene *Juda* and *Ephraim*: The Cities within this Tribe neere Iordan, are *Lod*; *Hadad*; and *Ono*: of which, *Lod* and *Ono* were built by *Shemed* a Beniamite: they were all three re-inhabited by Beniamites, after the returne out of Captiuitie, as is mentioned, *Nehem.* 11. 35. and *Esa.* 35. where *Adrichomius* reading *Lod*, *Hadid*, *Ono*, makes besides *Hadid* in *Nehemia*, a Citie called *Lodhadid*: This *Hadid* or *Chadid* was rebuilt by *Simon Machabeus*.

*Samaria* or *Tsemaraim*, named of *Tsemari*, one of the sons of *Canaan*, was another of their Cities: and further into the Land standeth *Iericho*, one of the Toparchies and the last of *Juda*, seated in a most fruitfull valley, adorned with many palme trees: and there before elsewhere called the City of Palms. From the time of *Iosua*, who verely destroyed it, it lay waste vntill the time of *Achad*: in whose dayes *Chiel* of *Bethel* laid the new foundation of it, in the losse of *Abraham* his eldest sonne, and built the gates of it in the losse of his youngest sonne *Segeb*: according to the curse of *Iosua*: in which and other respects, *Ios.* 12. 14. calleth *Iosua* a Prophet. In after-times it was destroyed by *Vespasian*, and rebuilt by *Adrian*.

To the Southeast of *Iericho* stood \* *Halmon* of the Leuites, of which *Ios.* 21. 18. to the South *Betharaba*, of which *Ios.* 15. and 18. Then that *Gilgal* of which there is so much mention in the Scripture, where *Iosua* first ate of the fruites of the land, circumcised all those borne in the Deserts, and celebrated the Passeouer.

The reason of the name, or rather a memorable application of the Etymologie of this name (for it seemes by the place, *Deut.* 11. 30. that the name was knowne before the cominge of the Israelites into *Canaan*) is noted *Ios.* 5. 2. *Obdemonstrationem probris* *Aegyptiaci*, because their fore-skinnes (the people being there circumcised) were tumbled downe the Hill: which from thence was called *Collis prapriorum*. This *Gilgal* was also called *Geli-loth*, as appears by comparing the places, *Ios.* 15. 7. and 18. 17: for it was in the borders of Iordan, of which *Ios.* 22. 13 and *Geli-loth* signifieth borders. It stood (though in some distance) directly Eastward, ouer against the two \* Hills *Garazim* and *Hebai*, vpon the one

of which the blessings, and on the other the cursings were to be read to the people, both being the mountaines of *Ephraim*. Further, for the sitiation of this *Gilgal*, it is to be noted, that both it, and *Mitspa* of *Benjamin* (of which also wee reade oft in the Scripture) were seated about the midle of the length of the Land of *Canaan*: for which reason \* *Sam.* 7. 17. *muel* chose these two places, to either of which he came yearly to giue iudgement to the Israelites; of which two, *Gilgal*, (as is said) was neere *Jordan* on the East side of this Tribe; and *Mitspa* neere the West Sea, towards the land of the Philistims.

The third place, which is named with these two, whither also *Samuel* vied yearly to come, is *Bethel*: which also was seated in this Tribe of *Benjamin*. But to returne to *Gilgal*, which was the first place where the *Arke* resided, after they past ouer *Jordan* (from whence it was carried to *Silo*, and thence to *Kiriath-iehavim*, and at length to *Hierusalem*) and here in *Gilgal*, was that *Iosua* pitched vp the twelue Stones, which were taken out of the channell of *Jordan*, when it was drie, that the Israelites might passe ouer it: by which storie, as it is set downe *Ios.* 4. it appears, that the same day that they passed ouer *Jordan*, they lodged at *Gilgal*. At the same *Gilgal*, to omit many other memorable things, it was that *Samuel* hewed *Azzab* the King of the Amalekites in peeces. And as for *Mitspa*, whither *Samuel* came yearly to giue iudgement, there also were often the greatest meetings held: as that for the reuenge of the Leuites wife against *Gibba*, and the Beniamites, *Iud.* 20. were to bee, 1. and another against the Philistims, 1 *Sam.* 7. 12. Thither also *Iudas Maccabeus* gathered the Iewes, (when *Hierusalem* was posselt by the Heathen) as it is 1 *Macc.* 3. 47. in place doth note which place this reason of their meeting is added, *Quia locus Orationis fuerat Mitspa ante ingressum Israeli*. Touching this *Mitspa*, to auoid confusion, it is to be remembered, that the Scriptures mention foure places of this name: *Mitspa* of *Juda*, of which *Ios.* 15. 38. \* *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, of which we haue spoken already in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Mitspa* of the Moabites, where *Daniel* for a while held himselfe, commending his Parents to the King of *Moab*, bring the *Arke* 1 *Sam.* 22. 3. and lastly, this chiefe *Mitspa* of the Beniamites. And as in this place the chiefe meetings were held both before *Hierusalem* was recovered from the Iebulites, and also in the time of the Maccabees (as we haue said) when *Hierusalem* was held by the wicked vnder *Antiochus*, so also in the time of *Hieremie*, after the destruction of the Temple by the Chaldees, *Cedaliah* whom *Nabuchodonosor* left in *Ierusalem*, as Gouverneur ouer those that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place: vntill (to the great hurt of the Iewes) hee was slaine by the treason of *Ismael*, one of the royall bloud of *Juda*, as it is *Hierem.* 41.

Neere vnto this *Mitspa*, the Scripture mentioneth *Beth-car*, after called *Aben-Hezer*, that is, the Stone of helpe: where *Samuel* pitched vp the Pillar or Stone, for a Trophy against the Philistims.

Touching *Bethel* (which as it seemes) was the third place where *Samuel* held his chiefe meetings for the ministring of Iustice, that it was anciently called *Luz*, and how it was taken by the issue of *Ioseph* (though it belonged to the portion of *Benjamin*, as it is *Ierem.* 11. 3. and *Ios.* 18. 22.) and how another Citie called *Luz*, neere adioyning to it, was built by the man of the Citie which shewed the entrance to the Spies, as it is *Iud.* 1. 1. and of the occasion of the name from *Iacobs* vision: and how *Ieroboam*, by erecting one of his calves here, of *Bethel* (which signifieth the house of God) made it \* *Beth-Auen*, which is added that is, the house of Vanitie, *Ios.* 4. 15. and *Iud.* 5. as also other memorable things of this place, they are so well knowne, out of the Histories of the Scripture, that wee may well passe them ouer.

The Territorie of *Bethel*, which at the first belonged to the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes, from the time of the great victorie of *Abia* against *Ieroboam* (of which 2 *Chron.* 23. 13.) was taken from them, and adioyned to the Kingdome of *Juda*: and so it continued, as appears by the storie of *Iosias*: which performed the Prophecies against the altar of *Bethel*, 2 *Reg.* 23. whencethose coasts 1 *Macc.* 11. 34. are called *Apherama*, which Greeke word signifieth as much as, *Aching taken away*, to wit, from the tenne Tribes. It was one of the three Seignories or Praefectures which *Demetrius* in his Epistle mentioneth, as added by him to the *Dition* of the Iewes, out of the *Samaritan* Countrey. A part of it, as appears 1 *Chron.* 13. 19. was *Ephraim*, which *Ios.* 18. 23. is called *Hophram*, belonging to this Tribe of *Benjamin*.

Not farre from this *Bethel* in this Tribe, we finde three other Cities often mentioned the name of aneighbourhood in the confines of the Kingdome of *Juda* and *Israel* betwene *Iai* and *Arctel*, *Ios.* 18. 12.



Nehem. 12.

34. 6. c.

The first of the Egyptian Kings after A. Alexander Macedon, who distinguishing his Religion came vnto Hierusalem to offer Sacrifice: 19. 12. 1. 1. 1.

M. T. C. pro  
Syllab.

difficultie enough: and the Citie meanelly inhabited, and without walls or other defences, for some 60. and odd yeares, till *Nehemiah* by the fauour of *Artaxerxes* rebuilt them. Then againe was the Temple and Citie spoyled by *Bagofer*, or *Vagages*, the Lieutenant of *Artaxerxes* after by \* *Ptolomaeus* the first, then by *Antiochus Epiphaneus*: and againe by *Apollonius* his Lieutenant. By *Pompey* it was taken long after, but not destroyed, nor robbed, though *Craffus* in his *Parthian* expedition tooke as much as hee could of that which *Pompey* spared.

But the damages which it sustained by the violence of sacrilegious Tyrants, were commonly recompensed by the industrie or bountie of good Princes, the voluntarie contribution of the people; and the liberalltie of strangers. Before the captiuitie, the people of the land through the exhortation of godly Kings, made many and large offerings to repair the Temple of *Salomon*. The wrong done by *Ptolomaeus Lagi* to the second Temple, was requited by the bountie of his sonne *Ptolomaeus Philadelphus*. The mischief wrought by *Antiochus Epiphaneus* and his followers, was amended partly by the great offerings which were sent to *Hierusalem* out of other Nations. Finally all the losses, which either the Citie or Temple had endured, might well seeme forgotten in the raigne of *Herod* that vsurping and wicked, but magnificent King, who amplified the Citie, new built the Temple, and with many sumptuous workes did so adorne them, that hee left them farre more stately and glorious than they had beene in the dayes of *Salomon*.

## §. III.

Of the destruction of Hierusalem by the Romans.

**I**N this flourishing estate, it was at the comming of our Saviour *Christ Iesus*: and after his death and ascension, it so continued about 40. yeares. But then did *Tiberius the Roman*, being stirred vp by God, to be the reuenger of *Christ* his death, and to punish the *Jewes* sinfull ingratitude, incompasse it with a *Roman* armie, and became Lord thereof. He began the siege at such time as the *Jewes*, from all parts, were come vnto the celebration of the *Pascheur*: so as the Citie was then filled with many hundreds of thousands of all sorts; and no manner of prouision or store for any such multitudes. An extreame famine, with the ciuill dissension, oppressed them within the walls; a forcible enemy assailed them without. The *Idumaeans* also, who lay in waite for the destruction of the *Jewes* Kingdome, thrust themselves into the Citie, of purpose to betray it: who also burnt the Temple, when *Nabuchodonosor* tooke it. And to bee short, there perished of all sorts, from the first besieging to the consummation of the victory, eleven hundred thousand soules: and the Citie was so beaten downe and demolished, as those which came afterward to see the desolation thereof, could hardly beleuee that there had beene any such place or habitation. Onely the three *Herodian* towers (workes most magnificent, and ouer-topping the rest) were spared, as well for lodgings for the *Roman* garrisons, as that thereby their victorie might bee the more notorious and famous: for by those buildings of strength and State remaining, after ages might iudge what the rest were; and their honour bee the greater and more shining, that there-ouer became victorious.

After this, such *Jewes* as were scattered here and there in *Iudea*, and other Prouinces, began againe to inhabit some part of the Citie; and by degrees to rebuild it, and strengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and tributaries to the *Roman* State: but after 65. yeares, when they againe offered to reuolt, and rebell, *Alius Adrianus* the Emperour slaughtered many thousands of them, and ouerturned those three *Herodian* Towers, with all the rest, making it good which *Christ* himselfe had foretold; That there should not stand one stone vpon another, of that vngodly Citie. Afterward, when his furie was appeased, and the Prophecie accomplished, he tooke one part without the wall, wherein stood *Mount Caluarie*, and the Sepulchre of *Christ*, and excluding of the rest the greatest portion, he againe made it a Citie of great capacitie, and called it after his owne name, *Aelia Capitolia*. In the gate toward *Bethel*, hee caused a Sow to bee cut in Marble, and set in the front thereof, which hee did in despite of the *Jewes* Nation: making an *Edict*, that they should not from thence forth euer enter into the City, neither should they dare so much as to behold it from any other high place ouertopping it.

But

But the *Christian* Religion flourishing in *Palestina*, it was inhabited at length, by all Nations, and especially by *Christians*; and so it continued 500. yeares.

It was afterward in the 336. yeare after *Christ*, taken by the *Egyptian* Saracens, who held it 400. and odd yeares.

In the yeare 1099. it was regained by *Godfrey* of *Buillon*, by assault, with an exceeding slaughter of the *Saracens*; which *Godfrey*, when he was elected King thereof, refused to be crowned with a Crowne of gold, because *Christ*, for whom hee fought, was therein crowned with thornes. After this recouery, it remained vnder the successors of *Godfrey* fourescore and eight yeares: till in the yeare 1197. it was regained by *Saladine* of *Egypt*; and lastly, in the yeare 1517. in the time of *Selim*, the *Turkes* cast out the *Egyptians*, who now hold it, and call it *Cuzumbarce*, or the Holy Citie. Neither was in *Ierusalem* alone that hath so oftentimes beene beaten downe and made desolate, but all the great Cities of the World haue with their Inhabitants, in severall times and ages, suffered the same shipwracke. And it hath beene Gods iust will, to the end others might take warning, if they would, not onely to punish the impiety of men, by famine, by the sword, by fire, and by slaucerie; but hee hath reuenged himselfe of the very places they possesse; of the walls and buildings, yea, of the soyle and the beasts that fedde thereon.

For, euen that land, sometime called holy, hath in effect lost all her fertilitie and fruitfulness; witness the many hundreds of thousands which it fed in the dayes of the Kings of *Iuda* and *Israel*: it being at this time all ouer, in effect, exceeding stony and barraine. It also pleased God, not onely to consume with fire from heauen, the Cities of the *Sodomites*; but the very soile it selfe hath felt, and doth feele the hand of God to this day. God would not spare the beasts that belonged to *Amalek*, no nor any small number of them to be sacrificed to himselfe: neither was it enough that *Achan* himselfe was stoned, but that his moueables were also consumed and brought to ashes.

## §. IIII.

Of the vaine and malicious reports of Heathen writers, touching the ancient *Jewes*.

**O**F the originall of the *Jewes*, prophane writers haue conceiued diuersly and inuiously. *Quintilian* speaks insamously of them, and of their Leader, who (saith he) gathered together a pernicious Nation. *Diodore* and *Strabo* make them *Egyptians*. Others affirme that while *Ihs* gouerned *Egypt*, the people were so increased, as *Ierofolymus* and *Iudea* led thence a great multitude of that Nation, with whom they planted the neighbour Regions: which might be meant by *Moses* and *Aaron*: for the name of *Moses* was accidentall, because he was taken vp and saued out of the waters. As for *Iustine* of all other most malicious, doth denie the *Jewes* from the *Syrian* Kings; of whom, *Damasceus*, saith he, was the first: and to him succeeded *Abraham*, *Moses*, and *Israel*. He againe supposeth (somewhat contrary to himselfe) that *Israel* had ten sonnes, among whom hee diuided the land of *Iuda*; so called of *Iudas* his eldest; who had the greatest portion. The youngest of the sonnes of *Israel* he calleth *Ioseph*: who being brought vp in *Egypt*, became learned in magicall Arts, and in the interpretations of Dreames, and signes prodigious; and this *Ioseph* (saith he) was father to *Moses*: who with the rest, by reason of their soule diseases, and lest they should infect others, were banished *Egypt*. Further, he telleth how these men thus banished, when in the Desarts they suffered extreame thirst and famine, and therein found reliefe the seventh day, for this cause euer after obserued the seventh day, and kept it Holy; making it a Law among themselves, which afterward became a branch of their Religion. Hee addeth also, that they might not marrie out of their owne Tribes, lest discouering their vnclanenesse, they might also be expelled by other Nations, as they were by the *Egyptians*. These and the like fables hath *Iustine*.

*Cornelius Tacitus* doth as grossly belie them, in affirming, that in the inmost Oratorie of their Temple, they had the golden head of an *Asse*, which they adored. But herein *Tacitus* forgatteth himselfe, hauing in the first booke of his owne Historie truly confessed of the *Jewes*, that they worshipped one only God, and thought it most prophane to repre-

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Nehem. 12.

24 &amp;c.

The first of the Egyptian Kings since Alexander the Great, who distinguishing his Religion came up to Hierusalem to offer Sacrifice. 10f. 12. 14. 15.

N.T.C. 170  
N.H.A.

difficultie enough: and the Citie meanelly inhabited, and without walls or other defenses, for some 60. and odd yeares, till *Nehemiah* by the fauour of *Artaxerxes* rebuilt them. Then againe was the Temple and Citie spoyled by *Bagojes*, or *Vagages*, the Lieutenant of *Artaxerxes*: after by \* *Ptolomeus* the first; then by *Antiochus Epiphanes*: and againe by *Apollonius* his Lieutenant. By *Pompey* it was taken long after, but not destroyed, nor robbed, though *Craesus* in his *Parthian* expedition tooke as much as hee could of that which *Pompey* spared.

But the damages which it sustained by the violence of sacrilegious Tyrants, were commonly recompensed by the industrie or bountie of good Princes, the voluntarie contribution of the people; and the liberallitie of strangers. Before the captivity, the people of the land through the exhortation of godly Kings, made many and large offerings to repaire the Temple of *Salomon*. The wrong done by *Ptolomeus Lagi* to the second Temple, was requited by the bountie of his sonne *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*. The mischief wrought by *Antiochus Epiphanes* and his followers, was amended partly by the great offerings which were sent to *Hierusalem* out of other Nations. Finally all the losses, which either the Citie or Temple had endured, might well seeme forgotten in the raigne of *Herod* that vsurping and wicked, but magnificent King, who amplified the Citie, new built the Temple, and with many sumptuous workes did so adorne them, that hee left them farre more stately and glorious than they had bene in the dayes of *Salomon*.

## §. III.

Of the destruction of *Ierusalem* by the Romans.

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After this, such *Iewes* as were scattered here and there in *Iudea*, and other Prouinces, began againe to inhabit some part of the Citie; and by degrees to rebuild it, and strengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and tributaries to the Roman State: but after 65. yeares, when they againe offered to reuolt, and rebell, *Adrianus* the Emperour slaughtered many thousands of them, and ouerturned those three *Herodian* Towers, with all the rest, making it good which *Christ* himselfe had foretold; That there should not stand one stone vpon another, of that vngatefull Citie. Afterward, when his furie was appeased, and the Prophecie accomplished, hee tooke one part without the wall, wherein stood *Mount Caluarie*, and the Sepulchre of *Christ*, and excluding of the rest the greatest portion, hee againe made it a Citie of great capacitie, and called it after his owne name, *Adia Capitolia*. In the gate toward *Bethel*, hee caused a Sow to bee cut in Marble, and set in the front thereof, which hee did in despite of the *Iewes* Nation: making an *Edict*, that they should not from thence forth euer enter into the City, neither should they dare so much as to behold it from any other high place ouertopping it.

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sent the *Hebrie* by any materiall figure, by the shape of a man, or any other creature: and they had therefore in their Temples, no Image or representation, no not so much as in any City by them inhabited. Somewhat like this hath *Alexander Polyhistor*, in *Stephanus*, who also makes *Judas* with *Idumea*, the first parents of the *Iewes*.

*Claudius Iulius* drawes them from *Judeus*, whose parents were *Spartan* and *Thebis*; whence it came that the *Spartans* or *Lacedemonians* challenged kindred of the *Hebrewes*; but they did it as descended of *Abraham*, saith *Iosephus*. Some of these reports seemed to haue beene gathered out of diuine letters; though wrested and peruerced; according to the custome of the Heathen. For so haue they obscured and altered the storie of the Creation, of *Paradise*, of the Flood; and giuen new names to the children of *Adam* in the first age: to *Noah* and his sonnes, in the second: and so to *Abraham*, *Isake*, and *Iacob*; *Moses*, and the rest of the Fathers, and leaders of the *Hebrewes*: all which faintings, as touching the *Iewes* and their originalls, *Iosephus* against *Appian*, and *Tertullian* haue sufficiently answered. For that the *Hebrewes* were the children of *Arphaxad* and *Heber*, no man doubteth: and so *Chaldeans* originally, taking name either of *Heber*, the sonne of *Sale*, or else (saith *Montanus*) of wandering, as is before remembered. And therefore doth *Stephanus*, the Greeke Grammarian, deriue the *Hebrewes* or *Iewes*, from *Araby*, hauing mistaken the name of *Arphaxad*; who was the sonne of *Heber*, in the sixth descent. Their ancient names were first changed by the two grand-children of *Abram*: for after *Iacob*, otherwise *Israel*, the chiefe part were called *Israel*, another part after *E. 10* *Sau* or *Edom*, *Edomites*; at length the remnant of *Iacob*, being most of the Tribe of *Juda*, honoured the name of *Judas*, the sonne of *Iacob*, and became *Judeans* or *Iewes*: as also for a time in the name of *Ephraim* the sonne of *Ioseph*, the chiefe of the *Patriarches* of the ten Tribes, the rest of the ten Tribes were comprehended: but were first rooted out when the Kingdome of *Israel* fell. The *Judeans* continued their names, though they suffered the same seruitude not long after, vnder *Nabuchodonosor*.

The gouernement which this Nation vnder-went, was first paternall: which continued till they serued the *Egyptians*. They were secondly ruled by their Captaines and Leaders, *Moses* and *Iosua*, by a policie Diuine. Thirdly, they subiected themselves to Iudges. Fourthly, they desired a King, and had *Saul* for the first: Of whom and his successours, before we intreat, we are first to speake of their Gouernment vnder Iudges, after the death of *Iosua*: with somewhat of the things of Fame in other Nations about these times.

### CHAP. XIII.

*Of the memorable things that happened in the World, from the death of Iosua to the Warre of Troy: which was about the time of Iephtha.*

#### §. I.

*Of the inter-regnum after Iosua's death: and of Othoniel.*



hen *Iosua* was now dead, who with the aduice of the 70. Elders, and the high Priest, held authoritie ouer the people, and ordered that Common-weale: it pleased God to direct the Tribe of *Juda* (in whom the Kingdome was afterward established) to vndertake the Warre against the *Canaanites*, ouer whom (with Gods fauour, and the assistance of *Simeon*) they became victorious.

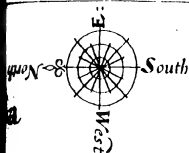
In the first attempt which they made, they not only slew tenne thousand, but made *Adonibezek* prisoner: the greatest and cruellest Commander, both of the *Canaanites* and *Perizites*. This tyrants crueltie, as elsewhere hath beene signified, they returned in the same kinde vpon his owne head: and so by the torments which hee now felt in his owne person (before no otherwise knowne vnto him but by his malicious



# Saccæa

Agrei

Saua or Saba from whence the Sabæans sprang



# Arabia the stonie

Agubeni



clouds (imagination) made him confesse and acknowledge Gods iudgements against him selfe.

The Tribes of *Isaia* and *Simeon* did also master and possess during this *Reign* of  
 30 (some think, before the death of *Isaia*) the Cities of *Idraim*, *Aradon*, *Ebron* and *Hie-  
 rusalem*; which they burnt, and the *Gabaes* after reclicked. They took also the Cities  
 of *Hebron*, *Debir*, or *Kiriathsepher*, and *Zephath*, afterwards *Horma*. And although it be  
 not set downe in expresse words that any one person commanded in chiefe ouer the peo-  
 ple, as *Mosis* and *Isaia* did: yet it seemeth that *Caleb* was of greatest authority among  
 them; and that he, with the aduice of *Rhiney*, directed and ordered their waues. For if  
 any think that they proceeded without a Chiefe, the good successe which followed their  
 vndertakings, witnesseth the contrary. And it was *Caleb* euen while *Isaia* gouerned, as  
 appeares *Ios. 14. 30. 31.* that propounded the attempt of *Debir*, to the rest of the *Cap-  
 taines*: for the performance of which enterprises hee promised his Daughter, *Aspa*,  
 which he performed to *Osniel* his younger brother after the conque: i whose be-  
 lieue in that seruice was such, that next vnto the ordinance of God, it gaue him the great  
 reputation among them; and may bee esteemed the second cause of his preferment  
 and election: for then first *Iudges 8. 18.* after the while those of *Isaia* made warre with  
 their borderers, from whom they onely recovered the mountainous Countiees: for  
 they could not drive out the Inhabitants of the Valleys; because they had Charites of *Iudg. 1. 19.*  
 30 *Iran.* The rest of the Tribes sought also to enlarge and establish their owne Terri-  
 tories. In which way they laboured with variable success: for as the house of *Isachar* re-  
 covered *Beerab*, on *Isaia*; from the *Hittites*, so did the *Assyrites* recouer from *Dan* all the  
*Iudg. 1. 28.*  
 30 *Iudg. 1. 30.* plain Countiees, and forced the Assyrites themselves in the Mountaines. And now the  
*Israhelites* vniued with of Gods benediction, and how often hee had miraculously a fore-time  
 defended them, and made them victorious ouer their enemies (the Elders being also  
 consumed, who before aduised them in the *Interit* *Gen. 14.*) did not onely ioyne them-  
 selues in marriage with the *Idolater* Nations: but (that which was more detestable)  
 they offered the Idols of *Baal*, and *Ashtaroth* with other dead gods of the *Canaanites*  
 and *Amorites*: And therefore did the Lord Out whom they had provoked with their  
 30 *Idolatry*, deliver them into the hands of the *Cananites* of *Asyphania*: whom *Chi-  
 shan* *Israhel* sent at that time commaunded. But after they had felt the smart of Gods  
 displeasure againe in their eighty years; he pleased him to haue compassion on his people,  
 and to raise vp *Othoniel* to bee their Iudge and Leader: who by Gods assistance, deliuered  
 30 *Iudg. 3. 16.* his brethren from oppression: and enforced them to *Asyphania* to returne into their owne  
*Deserts*, and into *Asyphania* radioging yll for which the *Israhelites* had peace fourie  
 years, during all the time of *Osniels* gouernment. This *Osniel* is thought by *Tu-  
 siana* to haue bene the younger brother of *Caleb* for as much as in the booke of *Iudges*,  
 hee is twice called *Othoniel* the sonne of *Cenaz*, *Calebs* younger brother. Others  
 doe adher to interpret those words [*Calebs* younger brother] and they signified the me-  
 40 anest of his kindred: Iudged it is not likely, that *Caleb* Daughter should marrie with her  
 owne Vncle; yet it followes not therefore that *Osniel* should haue bene the me-  
 anest of the kindred: Wherefore wee may better thinke that hee was the Nephew of  
*Caleb* (as some learned men expound it) and as the very words of Scripture seeme to  
 enforce. For *Caleb* was the sonne of *Isachar*; and *Osniel* the sonne of *Cenaz*, *Ca-  
 lebs* younger brother: which is, he was not brother to *Caleb*, but his younger brothers sonne;  
 to whom it was not onely lawfull, but commaunded to marry with his Cousin German  
*Calebs* Daughter.

How long it was from the death of *Iofua* to the government of *Othniel*, it cannot be found: but it seems to have been no short time. For many Wars were made so in that space against the people of the Land. *Eisla* was then taken (as I have thought) by the *Philistines*, and the best Writers are of opinion; that between the times of *Iofua* and *Othniel*, that civil War brake out betwene the *Beniamites* and the rest of *Israel*, for the revenge to the death of the *Levites* Wives. For it is written; that in those dayes there was nothing in *Israel*, but every man did that which was good in his owne eyes. And as *Isaiah* lookt the people against the *Canaanites* during the *Inter-regnum*, so was hee comman- ded to be against *Beniamin*; even by the Lord God, whole direction they craved, as when *Isaiah* was to appoint what should be done; which sheweth it to have beene when *Iofua* was dead, & before the government of *Othniel*; especially considering, that all

other times wherein they wanted Gouvernors, were spent vnder such oppression of strangers, as would haue given them no leaue to haue attempted such a ciuill Warre; & their power had bene as great, as it was in the managing of this action; wherein they lo weakened the body of their estate, by effusion of blood, that in many ages they could not bring into the field such numbers as formerly they had mustered against their bordering enemies.

## §. II.

Of the memorable things of this age in other Nations: and of the difficultie in the computation of times.

**H**ere liued in this Age of *Othoniel*, *Pandon* or *Pandareus*, according to *Homere*, the fifth King of *Athenes*; who began to rule in the twentieth yeare of *Othoniel*, and gouerned fortie yeares. He was Father to *Eriethem*: his Daughters were *Progne* and *Philomela*, so greatly mentioned in fables.

*Caamus* also about this time obtained *Thebes*: of whose Daughter *Semele* was borne *Dionysius*, or *Liber Pater*: vnder whom *Linus* the *Musician* liued. In his time also the Cities of *Melus*, *Napbus*, and *Tharsus* were built.

*Ida* and *Ischylus* flourished in this age, who are said to haue found out the vse of Iron: but *Genesis* hath taught vs the contrary, and that *Tubalcaim* long before wrought cunning-ly both in Iron and Brasse, Not long after this time, *Amphion* & *Zethus* gouerned *Thebes*: whom diuers *Chronologers* finde in *Ehuds* time. But *S. Augustine* making a repetition of those fables, which were deuised among the Grecians and other Nations, during the gouernment of the Iudges, begins with *Triptolemus*, of whose parentage there is as little agreement. *Vines* vpon the thirteenth Chapter of *S. Augustine* de *Ciuitate Dei*; and the eighteenth booke, hath gathered all the opinions of this mans progenie, where hee that desires his pedigree may finde it. *Lactantius* and *Eusebius* make him sonne of *Atius*: and the sonne of *Elenus* King of *Elenus*: which *Elenus* by careful industrie had fed the people of that Territorie in the time of a great famine. This, when vpon the like occasion *Triptolemus* could not performe, fearing the furie of the people, he fled thence by Sea in a kinde of Galley or long Boar, which carried in her Prow a grauen or carued Serpent; who because hee made exceeding great speed to returne and to relieue his people with Corne, from some neighbour Nation: it was fained by the Poets, that his Coach was carried by Serpents through the ayre.

Whether the times of these Kings which liued together with *Othoniel*, and after him with the rest of the Iudges and Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, be precisely set downe, I cannot auow; for the *Chronologers*, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars, to examine all which would require the whole time of a long life: and therefore I desire to be excused, if in these comparisons I erre with others of better iudgement. For whether *Eusebius* and all that follow him, or his opposites (who make themselves to conuerfant with these ancient Kings, and with the very yeare when they began to rule) haue hit the marke of time, of all other the farthest off and most defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. First, because the Authors themselves, from whom the ancientest *Chronologers* haue borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their owne workes, but coniecture: Secondly, because their owne disagreement and contention in those elder dayes, with that of our owne age among the labourers in times, is such, as no man among them hath yet so edified any mans vnderstanding, saue his owne; but that he is greatly distressed, after what patterne to erect his buildings.

This disagreement is found not onely in the raignes of Heathen Kings & Princes, but euen in the computation of those times which the indisputable authority of holy Scripture hath summed vp, as in that of *Abrahams* birth; and after in the times of the Iudges and the oppressions of *Israel*, in the times from the erection to the building of *Salomons* Temple, in the Persian Empire, the fewtie Weekes, and in what not? Wherefoer the account of times may suffer examination, the arguments are opposite; and contentions are such, as for ought that I see, men haue sought by so many waies to vncouer the Sunne, that the dayes thereby are made more darke, and the clouds more condensed, than before: I can therefore giue no other warrant, than other men haue done in these computations: and therefore that such and such Kings and Kingdomes tooke beginning in this

or that yeere; I auow it do otherwise than as a borrowed knowledge, or at least as a priuate opinion: which I submit to better iudgements. *Nam in priuatis rebus veritas non ad vulgum querenda; in auiantibus uice are not to require an exact narration of the truth, sayes Diodore.*

## §. III.

Of *Ehud* time, and of *Proserpina*, *Orithya*, *Tereus*, *Tantalus*, *Tityus*, *Admetus*, and others that liued about those times.

**A**fter the death of *Othoniel*, when *Israel* fell backe to their former Idolatry, God encouraged *Moab* to invade and suppress them: to performe which he ioyned the forces of *Ammon*, and *Amalec* vnto his owne, and so (as all kinde of miserie readily findeth out those whom God hath abandoned, or for a time with-drawne his helpe from, thereby to make them feeble the difference betweene his grace and his displeasure) these Heathen neighbouring Nations had an easie conquest ouer *Israel*: whom God himselfe exposed to those perills: within which they were so speedilie folded vp. In this miserable estate they continued full eigheteen yeeres vnder *Eglon* King of the *Moabites*, and his confederates. Yet, as the mercies of God are infinite, hee turned not his cares from their crying repentance: but raised vp *Ehud* the sonne of *Gera* to deliuer them: by which weakeman, though maimed in his right hand, yet confident in the iustnesse of his quarrell, and fearing that the *Israelites* were too few in numbers to contend with the Head of those valiant Nations, hee resolved to attempt vpon the person of *Eglon*, whom if he could but extinguishe, hee assured himselfe of the following victory: especially giuing his Nation no time to reestablish their gouernment, or to chooe a King to command and direct them in the Warres. According to which resolution, *Ehud* went on as an Embassadour to *Eglon*, loaden with presents from the *Israelites*, as to appeale him; and obtaining priuate access vpon the pretence of some secret to be reuealed, he pierce his body with a Poniard, made of purpose with a double edge; and shutting the doores of his closet vpon him, escaped.

It may seeme that being confident of his good successe, hee had prepared the strength of *Israel* in readinesse. For suddenly after his returne, he did repasse *Jordan*, and invading the Territory of *Moab*, ouerthrew their Army consisting of 10000 able and strong men: whereof not any one escaped. After which victorie, and that *Samgar* his Successour had miraculously slaine 600. *Philistims* with an Oxe goade: the Land and People of *Israel* liued in peace vnto the end of fourescore yeeres from the death of *Othoniel*, which terme expired in the Worlds yeere 2691.

In the dayes of *Ehud*, *Naomi* with *Eliamelech* her husband, and with her two sonnes, traiailed into *Moab*, and so the storie of *Ruth* is to be referred to this time. About the beginning of the fourescore yeeres which are giuen to *Ehud*, it was that *Orus* King of the *Molossians*, otherwise *Pluto*, stole *Proserpina*, as shee walked to gather flowers in the fields of *Hippomani* in *Sicilia*: or (according to *Pausanias*) by the Riuer *Cephissus*, which elsewhere he calleth *Chemer*, if hee meane not two distant Riuers. This stealth being made knowne to *Pyrrithus*, with whom *Hercules* and *Theseus* ioyned themselves, they agreed together to recover her: but *Pluto* or *Orus* (whom others call *Aidonius*) had (as they say) a very huge Dogge, which fastened on *Pyrrithus*, and tare him in peeces, and had also worried *Theseus*, but that *Hercules* speedily rescued him: and by strength tooke, and mastered the Dogge *Cerberus*: whereof grew the fable of *Hercules* his deliuering *Theseus* out of Hell. But *Zeux*, as I take it, hath written this story somewhat more according to the truth. For *Theseus* and *Pyrrithus*, saith hee, attempted to steale *Proserpina* Daughter to *Aidonius*, King of the *Molossians*, who had *Ceres* to Wife, the mother of *Proserpina*: *Proserpina* being a generall name also for all faire women. This purpose of theirs being knowne to *Aidonius*, *Theseus* and *Pyrrithus* were both taken; and because *Pyrrithus* was the principall in this conspiracie; and *Theseus* drawne on by a kinde of affection or inforcement, the one was giuen for food to *Aidonius* his great Dogge *Cerberus*, the other held prisoner, till *Hercules* by the instigation of *Enriethem* deliuered him by strong hand. The *Molossians* which *Stephanus* writes with a single (S) were a people of *Epirus*, inhabiting neere the Mountaines of *Pindus*: of which Mountaines

Oeta is one of the most famous, where *Hercules* burnt himselfe. The River of *Acheron* (which the Poets describe to bee in Hell) riseth out of the same Hills. There is another Nation of the *Molossi* in *Thessali*: but these are neighbours to the *Cassopai*, saith *Plutarch* in his Greeke questions.

The rape of *Orithya* the Daughter of *Erichon*, King of *Athens*, taken away by *Boreas* of *Thrace*, is referred to the time of *Ehud*. The Poets ascribe this rape to the Northwinde, because *Thrace* is situate North from *Athens*. In his time also *Terem* rauished *Philomela*, of which the fable was deuised of her conuerſion into a Nightingale. For *Terem* hauing married her sister *Progne*, conducting *Philomela* from *Athens* to see her sister, forced her in her passage, and withall cut out her tongue, that shee might not complaine; perswading *Progne* his Wife, that *Philomela* died in the mid-way: all which her brother in lawes mercilesse behauiour towards her, *Philomela* expressed by her needle vpon cloth, and sent it to *Progne*. In reuenge whereof *Progne* cauled her onely sonne *Irys* to bee cut in peeces, and set before *Terem* her husband, so drest as it appeared to bee some other ordinary food: of which when hee had eaten his fill, shee cauled his head, hands and feet, to bee presented vnto him: and then fled away with such speed towards *Athens* where her Father *Pandion* yet liued, as the Poets fained, that shee was turned into a Swallow. The place where it was performed, *Strabo* findes to bee *Daulis* in *Phocis*: and the Tombe of *Terem*, *Pausanias* hath built neere the Rockes *Mergi*, in the Teritorie of *Athens*. By which, as also by the name *Daulis*, where these things are supposed to haue bene done (whence also *Philomela* is called *Daulias ales*) it appears that it is true, which *Thucydides* notes by way of digression in his *Peloponnesian* Warre, That this *Terem* was not King in that which is now called *Thracia*, or in *Odryse*, (as the Poets call him *Odrysius*) but that *Phocis* a Countrie in *Greece* next farre from *Attica*, a Citie whereof is called *Daulia*, was in *Pandions* time inhabited by *Thracians*: of which this *Terem* was King: whence *Pandion*, to haue amitie with his neighbours, made him his sonne in law: as it is good to beleue, saith *Thucydides*, that *Pandion* King of *Athens* made that alliance with a neighbour King, from whom hee might haue succour, rather than with any *Terem*, that should haue held the Kingdome of *Odryse*, which was greatly distant from thence. The occasion that the Poets chose a Swallow for *Progne* to be turned into, may seeme to haue bene partly because, as *Pausanias* sayes; *Daulide nec nidificans, nec habitans in tota circum regione Hirundines*; as if a Swallow, remembering the wrong that was there doneto her, and her sister, did for euer after hate that place.

Neere this time *Melampus* (who is said to haue vnderstood the voyces of Birds and Beasts) flourished, being also esteemed for an excellent Physician. Hee restored to their former health the Daughters of *Prattus* King of the *Argiues*, who (as the Poets please) were made mad by *Iuno*: and thinking themselves to be Kine, fled into the Woods, fearing to bee constrained to the Plough: for in those Countries where the ground was light, they did vse often to plough with Kine.

In the seuen and fortieth yeare of *Ehud*, *Tros* began to raigne in *Dardania*, and gaue it his owne name; about which time *Pheonoe* the chiefe Priest of *Apollo* in *Delpes*, deuised the *Itiericall* Verse.

Of the same date was *Tantalus*, King of *Lydia*: whom *Eusebius* makes King of *Phrygia*: and also of that part of which the people were anciently *Maeones*. Of *Tantalus* was deuised the fable that some Poets haue applied to the passion of loue: and some to the couetous that dare not inioy his riches. *Eusebius* calls this *Tantalus* the sonne of *Iupiter*, by the *Nymphs* *Plesia*: *Diaconus* and *Didymus* in *Zezer*, giue him another Mother. He was said to be the son of *Iupiter*: as some will haue it; because hee had that Planet in his ascendent, betokening wisdom and riches. It is said that when he made a feast to the Gods, hauing nothing more precious: he cauled his owne sonne to be slaine and drest to the banquet: of whom *Ceres* ate part of one of the shoulders: whereby was signified that those men which seek after Diuine knowledge, preferre nothing on earth before it: no not the care of their owne children, of all else the most dearest. And where it was deuised, that hee had alwayes Water and Fruit offered to his lips, and yet suffered the torment of hunger and thirst, it was meant thereby, that though hee abounded (by reason of his riches) in all delicacie of the world, yet his minde being otherwise and to higher desires transported, he enioyed no pleasure at all by the rest. Of whom *Onid*:

*Quarit*

*Quarit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia captas*  
*Tantalus, hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.*

Here *Tantalus* in water seeks for water, and doth misse

The fleeing fruit he catcheth at: His long tongue brought him this.

This punishment, they say, was inflicted vpon him, for that he discovered the secrets of the gods: that is, because he taught wisdom and vertue to mortall men: which *Storie Cornelius Gallus* hath elegantly exprest in Verse. Others expound this fable otherwise, and say, That *Tantalus*, though hee excelled in riches, yet being thirstie of more abundance, was neuer satisfied. Of whom *Homer* against couetousnesse:

*Tantalus à labijs stians fugientia captas*  
*Flumina; quid rides? mutato nomine de te*  
*Fabula narratur.*

The thirsting *Tantalus* doth catch at streames that from him flee.  
Why laughest thou? the name but chang'd, the tale is told of thee.

Others conceiue where it is fained of *Tantalus*, that he gaue the *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* of the gods to vaine and vnworthy men, that hee was therefore by them in that sort punished. Of which *Natalis* out of *Pindarus*:

*Immortalitatem quod furatus,*  
*Coetaneis conuiuiis*  
*Nectar Ambrosiamque dedit.*

Because that stealing immortalitie,  
He did both *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* giue  
To guests of his owne age, to make them liue.

Whereby it was meant, that the secrets of Diuinitie ought not to be imparted to the vnpure Vulgar. For as the cleaneſt meates in a foule stomacke, are therein corrupted, so the most high and reuerend mysteries are often peruerſed by an vnclane and defiled minde.

To you it is giuen (saith *Christ* in *Marke*) to know the mysterie of the Kingdome of God, but vnto them that are without, all things bee done in parables. So is it said of him, that hee expounded all things to his Disciples apart. And therefore doth *Gregorie Nazianzene* inferre vpon a place of *S. Paul*: *Quod si Paulo licuisset effariæ, quorum ipsi cognitionem celum scrutum & usq. ad illud progressio suppeditauit, fortasse de Deo, nobis aliquid amplius de rella ratione conflare; si Paulus might haue uttered the things, the knowledge whereof the shirdehauns, and his going thither did bring vnto him, peraduenture wee might know somewhat more of God.*

*Pythagoras*, saith *Renelin*, thought it not the part of a wife man, *Asino* lyram exponere, aut mysteria, quæ ita recipies, ut *Sus* subam, & *fidem* graculus, & *unguentum* *Scarabeus*: quare silentium indixit discipulis, ne vulgo dininorum arcana pateſcerent, quæ mcdiando facilius, quam loquendo apprehendantur. To set an *Asse* to a harpe, or to learne mysteries: which hee would handle as a Swine doth a Trumpe, or a lay a viall, or *Scarabie* and vnclane ſues ſoueraigne oymments. wherefore hee commanded silence to his disciples, that they should not disclose diuine mysteries to the common sort, which are easier learnt by meditation than by babbling. And therefore did the Egyptians communicate their mysteries among their Priests in certaine Hieroglyphick letters, to the end that their secrets might bee hidden from the Vulgar: and that they might bestow the more time in the contemplation of so their couered meanings.

But to proceed with the contemporaries of *Aod*, or *Ehud*, with him it is also said, that *Tityus* liued whom *Apollo* slew, because hee sought to force his Mother *Latona*. *Euphorion* hath it thus, that *Tityus* was the sonne of *Elara*, the Daughter of *Orchomenus*; which *Elara* being beloued of *Iupiter*, to auoid *Iuno*'s reuenge, he hid *Elara* in the earth, where shee was deliuered of *Tityus*: whose Mother dying, and himselfe therein nourished, he was therefore called the sonne of the earth. *Pausanias* speaking of the graue of this Gyant, affirms that his body occupied the third part of a furlong. But *Tibullus* hath a louder sic of his stature out of *Homer*:

*Por-*

L. 9.  
Pandion det.

Thuc. l. 2.

Paul. l. 1.  
Homer. Odiss.  
11.

Paul.

Tufch. prep. E.  
uan. l. 3. Zezer  
bill. to. ch. 10.

Marke 4. 11.

Marke 4. 34.

Gregori. Orat.  
de rella ratione  
disp. de Deo.  
2 Cor. 12.

*Porcellaque nouem Titius per ingera terre,  
Aldenas atque uiscere possit omnes.*

Nine furlongs stretch lyes *Titius*, who for his wicked deeds,  
The hungry birds with his renewing liver daily feeds.

This *Strabo* doth thus expound; that *Apollo* killing this cruell and wicked Tyrant of *Panopea*, a Citie in *Phocis*, it was fained by the Poets to the terrour of others, that he was still eaten in Hell by birds, and yet still liued, and had his flesh renewed.

*Admetus* King of *Theffalie* liued also in this Age, whom it is said that *Apollo* first serued as a Herd-man, and afterward for his excellent wit was by him advanced; but hauing slain *Hyacinthus*, he crost the *Hellefpont*, and fled into *Phrygia*: where together with *Neptune*, he was entertained by *Laomedon*, and got his bread by working in bricke, for building of the walls of *Troy*, not by making the bricke leape into their places by playing on his Harpe: according to him in *Ouid*, which saith:

*Iliou aspiciet, firmataque turribus altis,  
Mania, Apollinea structa canore lyre.*

Strong Iliou thou shalt see with walls and towers high,  
Built with the harpe of wife *Apollo's* Harmonie.

Thus the Poets: but others, that hee laboured with his hands, as hired in this worke. And that he also laboured at the building of the *Labyrinth* in *Greece*, all the *Megariens* witnesse, faith *Pausanias*.

In these daies also of *Ehud*, or (as some finde it) in the dayes of *Deborah*, liued *Perseus*, the sonne of *Iupiter* and *Danae*, by whose Souldiers (as they failed out of *Peloponnesus*, to seeke their aduenture on *Africa* side) *Medusa*, the Daughter and Successor of *Phorcus*, being weakly accompanied as he hunted, neere the Lake *Triton*, was surprisid and slaine: whose beauty, when *Perseus* beheld, he caned her head to be imbalmed, and carried into *Greece*: the beauty whereof was rich and so much admired, and the beholders so astonished: which beheld it, as thereof grew the fiction, that all that looked on *Medusa's* head, were turned into stones.

*Cecrops*, the second of that name, and 7. King of *Athens*, and *Acrisius* the 13. or after *Eusebius*, the 14. King of the *Argives*, began also their reignes, as it is said, in the time of this Iudge: of which the first ruled 40. yeares, and the second 31. yeares. Also *Bellerophon* liued in this age, being the sonne of *Glaucus*, the sonne of *Sisyphus*: who incited by *Antea* or *Sthenobea*, the wife of *Pratus* of the *Argives*, to accompany her, but refusing it, she accused him to her husband that he offered to force her: whereupon *Pratus* sent *Bellerophon* into *Lycia*, about some affaires of weight, betwene him and his sonne in law *Iobates*: giuing secret order to *Iobates* to dispatch him: but *Iobates* thinking it dishonourable to lay violent hands on him, employed him against *Chimera*, a Monster, vomiting or breathing fire. Now the gods (as the report is) pitying his innocency, sent him the winged Horse *Pegasus*, sprung vp of the blood of *Medusa*, formerly slaine by the souldiers of *Perseus* in *Africa*, to transport him; a horse that none other could master or bridle but *Minerua*: vpon which beast *Bellerophon* ouer-came *Chimera*: and performed the other seruices giuen him in charge: which done, as hee returned toward *Lycia*, the *Lycians* lay in ambush to haue slaine him: but being victorious all ouer all those, he arrived to *Iobates* in safety: whom *Iobates* for his eminent vertues honoured, first with one of his Daughters: and afterward with his Kingdome: after which he grew so insolent, as hee attempted to flye vp to heauen vpon his *Pegasus*: whose pride *Iupiter* disdainning, caused one of his flaming flies so to vex *Pegasus*, as he cast off *Bellerophon* from his back, into the Valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blinde: of which burthen *Pegasus* being discharged (as the fable goeth) flew backe to heauen: and being fed in *Iupiters* owne stable, *Aurora* beg'd him of *Iupiter* to ride on before the *Sunne*. This tale is diversely expounded, as first by some, That it pleaseth God to relieue men in their innocent and vnderfered aduersitie, and to cast downe those which are too high minded: according to that which is said of *Bellerophon*: that when he was exposed to extreame hazzard, or rather certaine death, hee found both deliuerance and honour: but waxing over-proud

proud and presumptuous in his glorious fortunes, hee was againe throwne downe into the extremitie of sorrow, and euel during miserie. Secondly by others, That vnder the name of *Chimera*, was meant a cruell Pyrat of the *Lycians*, whose ship had in her prow, a Lyon, a Goate in the mid-ship, and a Dragon in the stearne, of which three beasts this Monster *Chimera* was said to be compounded, whom *Bellerophon* pursued with a kind of Galley, of such swiftnesse, that it was called the flying Horse: to whom the invention of styles, the wings of a ship, are also attributed. Many other expositions are made of this tale by other Authors: but it is not vnikely, that *Chimera* was the name of a ship, for so *Virgil* calleth one of the greatest ships of *Aeneas*.

*Ion* also, from whom the Athenians (being ignorant of the antiquitie of their parent *Iason*) deriue their name of *Iones*; is said to haue bene about *Ehuds* time: *Homer* calls them *Iones*, which hath a neere resemblance to the word *Ianan*. Perhaps it might be so that *Ion* himselfe tooke name from *Ianan*: it being a custome obseruable in the Histories of all times, to renewe the ancient name of a fore-father, in some the principall of his issue.

The invasion of *India* by *Liber-Pater*, is by some reported as done in this age: but *S. X. gullus* makes him farre more ancient: placing him betwene the coming out of *Egypt*, and the death of *Iofua*.

About the end of the 86. yeares, ascribed to *Ehud*, and *Samgar*, *Pelops* flourished: who gaue name to *Peloponnesus* in *Greece*, now called *Morea*.

## S. III.

Of *Deborah* and her Contemporaries.

**A**fter *Israel* had liued in peace and plenty to the end of these 86. yeares, they againe began to forget the giuor of all goodnesse, and many of those being wome out, which were witnesse of the former miserie, and of Gods deliuerance by *Ehud*; and after him by *Samgar*, the rest began to returne to their former neglect of Gods commendations. Foras Plentie and Peace are the parents of idle securitie; so is security as fruitfull in begetting and bringing forth both danger and subuersion: of which all estates in the world haue tasted by interchange of times. Therefore when their finnes were againe ripe for punishment, *Iabin* King of *Hazor*, after the death of *Ehud*, invaded the Territorie of *Israel*; and hauing in his seruice 900. iron Chariots, besides the rest of his forces, he held them in subditiou twenty yeares, till it pleased God to raise vp *Deborah*, the Prophetesse, who incouraged *Barac* to leuie a force out of *Nephtalim*, and *Zabulon*, to incounter the *Canaanites*. That the men of *Nephtalim* were more forward than the rest in this action, it may seeme to haue proceeded partly from the authoritie that *Barac* had among them, being of the same Tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grievance; which in them was more sensible, than in others, because *Hazor* and *Harosheth* the chiefe holds of *Iabin*, were in *Nephtalim*. So in the dayes of *Iephtha* the *Gileadites* took the greatest care, because the *Ammonites* with whom the Warre was pressed most vpon them, as being their borderers. Now as it pleased God by the left hand of *Ehud* to deliuer *Israel* from the *Moabites*: and by the counsaile and courage of a woman, to free them from the yoke of *Canaan*, and to kill the valiant *Sisara* by *Iael* the Kenites wife: so was it his will at other times, to worke the like great things by the weakest means. For the mighty Assyrian *Nabushadanossor*, who was a King of Kings, and restless, hee ouerthrew by his owne imaginations, the causers of his brutish melancholy: and changed his marchlesse pride into the base humility of a Beast. And to approue that hee is the Lord of all power, hee sometime punisheth by inuisible strength, as when hee slaughtered the Armie of *Senacherib* by his Angell, or as hee did the Egyptians in *Miser* time: sometime by dead bodies, as when he drowned *Pharaos* by the waues of the Sea; and the *Canaanites* by haile-stones in the time of *Iofua*: sometimes by the ministrerie of men, as when hee ouerthrew the foure Kings of the East, *Chedorlaomer*, and his companions, by the household seruants of *Abraham*. Hee called the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* to set vpon their owne confederate the Army of the *Edomites*; and hauing slaine them to kill one another in the fight of *Iehoshaphat*: and of the like to these a volume of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did *Deborah* the Prophetesse speake vnto *Barac* in these words: But this journey that thou takest, shall not bee for thine honour, for

the Lord shall sell Sisters into the hands of a Woman. In which vision shee sheweth the strength of the Canaanite. *Isabel* fell to the ground, even to the last man in the end of which Wave it Remeth that *Isabel* himselfe also perished, as appeared by the last Verse of the Chapter of Judges.

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After all which, *Deborah* giueth thanks to God, and after the acknowledgement of all his power, his mercies, she sheweth the weakness whereto *Israhel* was brought by their Idolatry by the Canaanites, and other heeding Nations, in these words: *Was there a shield and spear seen among forty thousand of Israhel?* She also sheweth how the Israhelites were leuured and amazed, some of them confined *over Jordan*, and durst not ioyne themselves to the rest, as those of *Kanhen in Gilead*: that the Amorites kept the Sea-coast, and forsooke their habitations towards the Land; and two children of *Ham* who beighbourd the Sea, cropt into their ships for safetie, shewing thereby that all were dispersed, and all in effect lost. Shee then curseth the Inhabitants of *Canter*, who dwelling neere the place of the battaile (belikodaring the *Canter*) came not out to assist *Israhel*, and then blesteth *Iael* the wife of *Heber* the Kenite, who nailed *Sisera* in her Tent: shewing the ancient affection of that race to the Israhelites. For though the Familie of *Heber* were inforced in that miserable time of subiection, to hold correspondence with *Isabel* the Canaanite, yet when occasion offered them means, they witnesseth their love and faith to their ancient friends. Lastly, shee derideth the Mother of *Sisera* who promised her sonne the victorie in her awne hopes: and fancied to her selfe, and derideth the spoiles both of Garments and Maidens in him gotten. For conclusion, shee directeth her praise and thanks to God onely victorious.

Pav. 11. Oris. 10. 11.

From the beginning of *Isabels* oppression to the end of that peace, which *Deborah* and *Barac* purchased vnto *Israhel*, there passed 40. yeares. In which time the Kingdom of *Argos*, which had continued 544. yeares, was translated to *Mycene*: The translation of this Kingdome *Strabo* out of *Pausanias* writeth to this effect: After *Danaus*, *Ephesus* succeeded in *Argos*, after whom the children of *Abas* the sonne of *Lyncus* diuided the Kingdom: of which *Acrisius* being eldest, held *Argos* it selfe: *Praxus* his brother posselt *Ephesus* of *Corinth* and *Tyrnthos*, and other Cities, with all the Territorie towards the Sea, there being many monuments in *Tyrnthos*, which witness *Praxus* possession, saith *Pausanias*.

Now *Acrisius* was fore-told by an Oracle, that hee should bee slaine by the sonne of his Daughter *Danae*: whereupon hee caused her to bee inclosed in a Tower, to the end that no man might accompanie her. But the Lady being exceeding faire, it is faired that *Jupiter* turned himselfe into a golden shower: which falling into her lap, begat her with childe: the meaning whereof was, that some Kings sonne, or other worthy man, corrupted her Keepers with gold, and enioyed her, of whom *Perseus* was borne, who when hee grew to mans estate, either by chance (saith *Cicero*) or in shewing his grand-father the inuention of the discus, or leaden ball, slew him unwillingly. After this *Perseus*, to auoide the infamie of *Parricide* in *Argos*, changed King: and comes with his Uncle *Proeris*: and built *Mycene*. This imprisonment of *Danae*, *Strabo* reporteth otherwise: and that shee was inclosed in a brazen vault, vnder the Kings Hall with her Nurse and Keepers. Vpon this close custodie *Horace* hath this poetic obseruation:

Inclusam Danaen, turris aenea,  
Robustae, fures, et vigilum castrum  
Tristes excubias, munerant facis  
Nocturnis ab adulteris:

Si non Acrisium Virginis abditae  
Custodem pandum, Iupiter & Venus  
Resistent, fure anim sustinuerit & patris;  
Conuerso in pretium Deo.

Aurem per modis ire facillimis,  
Esper rumpere aenas fatis, potestque  
Idem fulmineo.

The brazen Tower with doores of brass  
And watchfull bandes, frightfull guard  
Kept fast the maidenhead  
Of *Danae* from secret love  
Till smiling Venus, and wile Ioue  
Beguild her Fathers dread.

For beinge into a golden shower  
The god into her lap did poure  
Himselfe, and took his pleasure  
Through guards, and stonie walls to breake.  
The shunder-bolts were more weakke,  
Then is a golden treasure.

The first Kings of the Argiues were these.

*Isachur* the first King, who began to raigne in the first yeare of *Iacob*, and the 61. of *Isaac*: from which time to the end of *Schemus*, *Oris* misreckoneth 460. yeares. This Kingdom before the translation, *Eusebius* accounteth to haue stood 344. yeares, others 344. 1. 7. 10 was the Daughter of this *Isachur*: whom the Egyptians called *Isis*.

*Phoroneus*,  
*Aphe*,  
*Argos*,  
*Piraeus*,  
*Phorbas*,  
*Triopas*,  
*Crotopus*,  
*Sthenelus*,  
*Danaus*,  
*Lyncus*,  
*Abas*,  
*Acrisius*,  
*Pelops*.

After the translation to *Mycene*, *Mar. Scotus* findes these Kings:

*Perseus*,  
*Sthenelus*,  
*Eurytheus*,  
*Atrius* and *Scotus* findes these Kings:  
*Thyestes*: 2 Europe had *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*.

*Agamemnon*,  
*Aegisthus*,  
*Orestes*,  
*Tisamenus*,  
*Penthius* and  
*Clometes*.

Of these Kings *Mercator* and *Bunting* leave out the two first, and the last: beginning with *Eurytheus*: and ending with *Penthius*. In *Tisamenus* time the *Heraclidae* returned into *Peloponnesus*: of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of *Barac* and *Deborah*, were *Midas* who reigned in *Phrygia*: and *Ilius* who built *Ilium*: with others mentioned in our *Chronological* table, as contemporaries with *Deborah*.

6. V.  
Of *Gideon*, and of *Dædalus*, *Sphinx*, *Minos*, and others that liued in this age.

**D**Eborah and *Barac* being dead: the Midianites assisted by the Amalekites infested *Israhel*. For when, vnder a Judge who had held them in the feare of the Lord, they had enioyed any quiet or prosperitie: the Iudge was no sooner dead, than they turned to their former impious idolatry. Therefore now the neighbouring Nations did



did to master them in a short time, (the hand of God being with-held from their detence) as to save themselves, they crept into caves of the mountains, and other the like places of hardelt access: their enemies possessed all the plains and fruitful vallies: and in harvest time by themselves, and the multitude of their cattell, destroying all that grew vp: covering the fields as thicke as grasse-hoppers: which multitude lasted seven yeares.

Jud. 6.

Jud. 6. v. 5.

Jud. c. 6. &amp; 7.

Then the Lord by his Angell stirred vp *Gideon*, the sonne of *Josaph*, afterward called *terabbaal*: whole feare and unwillingnesse, and how it pleased God to hearten him in his enterprise, it is both largely and precisely set downe in the holy Scriptures: as also how it pleased God by a few select persons, namely 300. out of 30000. men, to make them know that he onely was the Lord of Hosts, each of these 300. by *Gideon*s appointment carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher, instruments of more terror than force, with which hee gaue the great Armie of their enemies an alarm: who hearing to sound a noyse, and seeing (at the cracke off so many pitchers broken) so many lights about them, esteeming the Armie of *Israel* to be infinite, and stricken with a sodaine feare, they assailed without stroke stricken: and were slaughtered in great numbers: two of their Princes being made prisoners and slaine. In his returne the Ephraimkes began to quarrell with *Gideon*, because he made warre without their assistance, being then greedy of glory, the victory being gotten: who (if *Gideon* had failed and fallen in the enterprise) would no doubt have held them (as was happy by being neglected. But *Gideon* appealing them with a milde answer, followed after the enemy, in which pursuit being tyred with traualle, and weary even with the slaughtering of his enemies, hee desired reliefe from the inhabitants of *Succoth*, to the end, that (his men being refreshed) he might overtake the other two Kings of the Midianites: which had saved themselves by flight. For they were foure Princes of the Nations, which had invaded and wasted *Israel*: to wit, *Oreb* and *Seeb*, which were taken already, and *Zebah* and *Salmunna* which fled.

*Gideon* being denied by them of *Succoth*, fought the like reliefe from the Inhabitants of *Penuel*, who in like sort refused to succour him. To both of these places he threatened therefore the reuenge, which in his returne from the prosecution of the other two Princes, he performed: to wit, that he would reare the flesh of those of *Succoth* with Thorns and Briars, and destroy the Inhabitants and Citie of *Penuel*: Now why the people of these two Cities should refuse reliefe to their brethren the *Israelites*, especially after so great a victorie: if I may presume to make coniecture it seems likely, first that those Cities set over *Jordan*, and in the way of all inuasions, to be made by the Moabites, Ammonites and Midianites, into *Israel*, had either made their owne peace with those nations, and were not spoiled by them: or else they knowing that *Zeha* and *Salmunna* were escaped with a great part of their army, might feare their reuenge in the future. Secondly, it may be laid to the condition and dispositions of these men: as it is not rare to finde of the like humour in all ages. For there are multitudes of men, especially of those which follow the warre, that both envie and maligne others, if they performe any praise-worthy actions, for the honour and safety of their owne Countrey, though themselves may be assured to beare a part of the fruit of contrary successe. And such malicious hearts cannot be contented that their Prince and Countrey should suffer hazzard and want, than that such men as they mill like, should bee the authors or actors of any glory or good to either.

A place in *Isa.* as it is thought. Jud. 8. 10.

Now *Gideon*, how or wherefoever it were that hee refreshed himselfe and his weary and hungry Souldiers, yet hee followed the opportunity, and pursued his former victory to the victu most: and finding *Zebah* and *Salmunna* in *Karkor* (suspecting no farther attempt vpon them) he againe surpris'd them, and slaughtered those 15000. remaining: having put to the sword in the former attempt 22000. and withall hee tooke *Zebah* and *Salmunna* prisoners: whom because themselves had executed *Gideon*s brethren before at *Tabor*, he caused them both to be slaine: or (as it is written) at their owne request slew them with his owne hands: his Sonne whom he first commanded to doe it, refusing it; and in his returne from the consummation of this meruelous victory, hee took reuenge of the Elders of *Succoth*, and of the Citizens of *Penuel*: forgiving no offence committed against him: either by strangers or by his brethren the *Israelites*. But such mercy as he shewed to others, his owne children found soone after his death, according

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to that which hath beene said before. The debts of crueltie and mercy are neuer left vn-satisfied: for as he slew the 70. Elders of *Succoth*, with great and vnusuall tormentes, so were his owne 70. sonnes all, but one, murdered by his owne bastard *Abimelec*. The like Analogie is obserued by the *Rabbines*, in the greatest of the plagues which God brought vpon the Egyptians, who having caused the male children of the Hebrews to bee slaine, others of them to be cast into the River and drowned: God rewarded them even with the like measure, destroying their owne first borne by his Angell, and drowning *Pharaoh* and his Army in the read sea. And hereof a world of examples might be giuen both out of the Scriptures and other, Histories.

In the end so much did the people reuerence *Gideon* in the present for this victorie, and their owne deliuerance, as they offered him the Soueraigntie ouer them, Jud. 8. 13. and to establish him in the Government; which hee refused, answering; *I will not raigne ouer you, neither shall my childe raigne ouer you, but the Lord shall, &c.* But hee desired the people that they would bestow on him the golden care-rings, which euery man had gotten. For the *Ismaelites*, neighbours, and mixt with the Midianites, vsed to wear them: the waight of all which was a thousand and seuen hundred Shekles of gold, which makes of ours 2380. li. if wee follow the account of the Shekle vulgar. And because hee converted that gold into an *Ephod*, a garment of gold, blew silke, purple, scarlet and fine linnen, belonging to the High Priest onely, and set up the same in his owne Citie of *Ophra* or *Ephra*, which drew *Israel* to Idolatrie, the same was the destruction of *Gideon* and his house.

There was another kinde of *Ephod* besides this of the High Priests, which the Leuites vsed, and so did *Danid* when he danced before the *Arke*: and *Samuel*, while hee was yet young, which was made of linnen onely.

Now if any man demand how it was possible for *Gideon* with 300. men to destroy 30000. of their enemies, and afterward 15000. which remained; wee may remember, that although *Gideon* with 300. gaue the first alarme, and put the Midianites in rout and disorder: yet all the rest of the Armie came into the slaughter, and pursuite: for it is written; *That the men of Israel being gathered together out of Nephtalic, and out of Alber, and out of Manasse, pursued after the Midianites*: for this armie *Gideon* left in tents behinde him, when he went downe to view the armie of his enemies, who with the noyse of his 300. trumpets came after him to the execution. Jud. c. 7. v. 13.

There liued with *Gideon*, *Agamemnon*, the sonne of *Pandion*, who reigned in *Athenes*: *Eurythem* King of *Myccna*: *Atreus* and *Thyestes* the sonnes of *Pelops*, who bare dominion ouer a great part of *Peloponnesus*, and after the death of *Eurythem*, the Kingdome of *Myccna* fell into the hand of *Atreus*. This is that *Atreus*, who holding his brother in lealousie, as an attempter, both of his wife and Crowne, slew the children of *Thyestes*, and causing their flesh to be dreit, did therewith feast their father. But this cruelty was not reuenged. For both *Atreus* and his sonne *Agamemnon* were slaine, by a base sonne of *Thyestes*, yea the grand children, and all the liuage of *Atreus* died by the same sword.

In *Gideon*s time also those things were supposed to haue beene done, which are written of *Dadalus* and *Icarus*. *Dadalus*, they say, hauing slaine his Nephew *Atalus*, fled to *Minos*, King of *Crete*, for succour; where for his excellen workmanship he was greatly esteemed, hauing made for *Minos* a *Labyrinth*, like vnto that of *Egypt*: Afterward he was said to haue framed an artificiall Cowe for *Pasiphae* the Queene, that shee, being in loue with a faire Bull, might by putting her selfe into the Cowe, satisfie her lust; a thing no lesse vnnatural than incredible, had not that Namelesse Emperour *Damian* exhibited the like beastly spectacle, openly before the people of *Rome*, in his *Amphitheater*; so of purpose, as may seeme, to verifie the old fable. For so it appears by those verses of *Marzial*, wherein the flattering Poet magnifieth the abominable shew, as a goodly Pageant, in those vicious times.

*Iam tam Pasiphaem Dilectæ credite Tauro  
Vidimus, accepit fabula prisca fidem.  
Nec semivatus Cæsar, impiana vestras  
Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.*

But concerning that which is reported of *Pasiphae*, *Seruius* makes a lesse vnhopest

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construction of it, thinking that *Dadalus* was of her counsaile, and her *Pandar* for the enticing of a Secretarie of *Minos* called *Taurus*, which signifieth a Bull, who begat her with childe; and that she being deliuered of two sonnes, the one resembling *Taurus*, the other her husband *Minos*, it was fained that she was deliuered of the Monster *Minotaur*, halfe a Man and halfe a Bull. But this practice being discovered, and *Dadalus* appointed to bee slaine, he fled out of *Crete* to *Cocalus* King of *Sicil*: in which passage he made such expedition, as it was fained that he fashioned wings for himselfe and his sonne to transport them. For whereas *Minos* pursued him with boates which had oares onely, *Dadalus* framed skiles both for his owne boate, and for his sonnes, by which hee ouerwent those that had him in chase. Vpon which new inuention, *Icarus* bearing himselfe ouerbold, was querborne and drowned.

It is also written of *Dadalus*, that he made Images that could moue themselves, and goe, because he carued them with legs, armes, and hands; whereas those that preceded him, could onely present the body & head of those men, whom they cared to counterfai, and yet the workmanship was esteemed very rare. But *Plutarch*, who had scene some of those that were called the Images of *Dadalus*, found them exceeding rude.

With *Gideon* also flourished *Linus* the Theban, the son of *Apollo*, and *Terpsichore*, who instructed *Thamiris*, *Orpheus*, and *Hercules*. He wrote of the Creation, of the Sunne and Moones course, and of the generation of liuing Creatures, but in the end he was slaine by *Hercules* his scholler with his owne harpe.

Again, in thisage those things spoken of *Sphinx* and *Oedipus*, are thought to haue beene performed. This *Sphinx* being a great robber by sea and land, was by the Corinthians Armie, led by *Oedipus*, overcome. But that which was written of her propounding of riddles, to those whom shee mastered, was meant by the rockie and vnaccessible mountaine neere *Thebes*, which she defended; and by *Oedipus* disolving her probleme, his victorie ouer her. She was painted with wings, because exceeding swift, and with the body of a Lyon for her cruelty. But that which *Palephatus* reports of *Sphinx*, were more probable, did not the time disproue it, for he calls her an Amazonite, and the wife of *Cadmus*: who when by her helpe he had cast *Draco* out of *Thebes* (neglecting her) hee married the sister of *Draco*, which *Sphinx* taking in despightfull part, with her owne trowps she held the mountaine by *Thebes*, from whence she continued a sharpe warre vpon the Thebans, till by *Oedipus* ouerthrowne. About this time did *Minos* thrust his brother out of *Crete*, and held sharpe warre with the Megarians, and Athenians, because his sonne *Androgeus* was slaine by them. Hee possit himselfe of *Mezara*, by the treason of *Sylla*, Daughter of *Nisus* the King. Hee was long Master of the sea, and brought the Athenians to the tribute of deliuering him euery yeare seuen of their sonnes: which tribute *Theseus* released, as shall be shewed, when I come to the time of the next Iudge *Thola*. In the end he was slaine at *Camerinus* or *Camius* in *Sicilia*, by *Cocalus* the King, while he pursued *Dadalus*: and was esteemed by some to be the first law-giuer to those Islands.

To this time are referred many deeds of *Hercules*, as the killing of *Anteus* the Gyant, who was said to haue 60. and odd cubits of length, which though *Plutarch* doth confirm, reporting that there was such a body found by *Sertorius* the Roman in *Lybia*, where *Hercules* slew *Anteus*: yet for my selfe I thinke it but a lowd lye. That *Anteus* was of great strength, and a cunning wrestler, *Eusebius* affirmeth: and because hee cast so many open to the ground, he was tained to be the sonne of the earth. *Plinie* saith, that he inhabited neere the gardens *Hesperides* in *Africitania*. *S. Augustine* affirmeth, that this *Hercules* was not of *Greece*, but of *Lybia*: and the *Hydra* also which he ouercame, *Plato* expoundeth to be a fable Sophister.

## f. VI.

## Of the expedition of the Argonautes.

**A**Bout the eleuenth yeare of *Gideon*, was the famous expedition of the Argonautes: of which many fabulous discourses haue beene written, the summe of which is this.

*Pelias* the sonne of *Neptune*, brother by the mothers side to *Aeson*, who was *Aesons* father, reigning in *Thessaly* a town of *Thessalia*, was warned by the Oracle of *Apollo* to take heed

of him that wore but one shoe. This *Pelias* afterward sacrificing to *Neptune*, inuited *Aeson* to him, who coming hastily, lost one shoe in passing ouer a brooke: whereupon *Pelias* demanded of him what course hee would take (supposing hee were able) against one of whom an Oracle should aduise him to take heed: to which question, when *Aeson* had briefly answered, that he would send him to *Cholios*, to fetch the golden Fleece, *Pelias* immediately commanded him to vndertake that seruice. Therefore *Aeson* prepared for the voyage, hauing a ship built by *Argus*, the sonne of *Phryxus*, by the counsell of *Pallus*: wherein he procured all the brauest men of *Greece* to saile with him: as *Typhis* the Master of the ship, *Orpheus* the famous Poet, *Caistor* and *Pollux* the sonnes of *Tyndarus*, *Telamon* and *Peleus*, sonnes of *Aacus*, and fathers of *Aias* and *Achilles*, *Hercules*, *Theseus*, *Zetes* and *Calais* the two winged sonnes of *Boreas*, *Amphiaras* the great Soothsayer, *Meleager* of *Calidon* that slew the great wilde Boare: *Ascalaphus* and *Alcmena* or *Almenus* the sonnes of *Mars*, who were afterwards at the last warre of *Troy*, *Laertes* the father of *Ulysses*, *Atalanta* a warlike virgin, *Idas* and *Lyncus* the sonnes of *Aphareus*, who afterwards in fight with *Caistor* and *Pollux* slew *Caistor*, and wounded *Pollux*, but were slaine themselves: *Lyncus* by *Pollux*, *Idas* by *Iupiter* with lightning.

These and many other went with *Aeson* in the ship *Argo*: in whose prow was a table of the Beech of *Dadona*, which could speake. They arriued first at *Lamnos*; the women of which Island, hauing slaine all the males, purposing to lead an Amazonian life, were neuertheless contented to take their pleasure of the Argonautes. Hence they came to the Countrie about *Cyzicus*: where dwelt a people called *Doliones*: ouer whom then reigned one *Cyzicus*: who entertained them friendly: but it so fell out, that loosing thence by night they were driuen by contrary winde backe into his port, neither knowing that it was the same Hauens, nor being knowne by the *Doliones*, to bee the same men: but rather taken for some of their bordering enemies: by which means they fell to blowes, insumuch that the Argonautes slew the most part of the *Doliones*, together with their King *Cyzicus*: which when by day-light they perceiued, with many teares they solemnized his funerall. Then departed they againe and arriued shortly in *Mysia*, where they left *Hercules* and *Polyphemus* the sonne of *Elateus*, who went to seeke *Hyllus* the darling of *Hercules*, that was rauished by the *Nymphes*.

*Polyphemus* built a towne in *Mysia*, called *Cios*, wherein hee reigned. *Hercules* returned to *Argos*. From *Mysia* the Argonautes sailed into *Bythinia*, which then was peopled by the *Bebrices*, the ancient Inhabitants of the Countrie, ouer whom *Ameycus* the sonne of *Neptune* was then King. Hee being a strong man, compelled all strangers to fight with him, at whorle bats, in which kinde of fight he had slaine many, and was now himselfe slaine by *Pollux*. The *Bebrices* in reuenge of his death slew all vpon *Pollux*, but his companions rescued him, with great slaughter of the people. They sayled from hence to *Salmidessus*, a towne in *Thrace* (somewhat out of their way) wherein *Phineus* a Soothsayer dwelt, who was blinde and vexed with the *Harpyes*. The *Harpyes* were said to bee a kinde of birds, which had the faces of women and foule long claws, very filthy creatures, which when the table was furnished for *Phineus*, came flying in, and deuouring or carrying away the greater part of the victuals, did so defile the rest, that they could not be endured. When therefore the Argonautes craued his aduice, and direction for their voyage: You shall doe well (quoth he) first of all to deliuer me from the *Harpyes*, and then afterwards to aske my counsaile. Whereupon they caused the table to be covered, and meat set on, which was no sooner set downe, than that presently in came the *Harpyes*, and played their accustomed pranks: when *Zetes* and *Calais* the winged young men saw this, they drew their swords, and pursued them through the ayre; some say that both the *Harpyes* and the young men died of wearinesse in the fight, & pursuit. But *Apollonius* saith that the *Harpyes* did couenant with the youths, to doe no more harme to *Phineus*, and were thereupon dismissed. For this good turn *Phineus* gaue them informations of the way, and aduertised them withall of the dangerous rocks, called *Symplegades*, which by force of winds running together, did shut vp the passage: wherefore he willed them to put a Pigeon before them in the passage: & if that passed safe, then to adventure after her: if not, then by no means to hazard themselves in vain. They did so, & perceiving that the Pigeon had onely lost a peece of her taile, they obserued the next opening of the rocks, and then rowing with all their might, passed through safe, onely the end of their poepe was bruised.

From thence forward, (as the tale goeth) the *Symplegades* haue stood still: for the gods, say they, had decreed that after the passage of a ship, they should be fixed. Thence the *Argonauts* came to the *Marianadyne*, a people inhabiting about the mouth of the river *Parthenius*, where *Lycus* the King entertained them courteously. Here *Idmon* a Sooth-sayer of their company was slaine by a wilde Boare; also here *Typhis* died: and *Araeus* undertooke to steare the ship. So they passed by the river *Thermodon*; and mount *Caucasus*, and came to the river *Phasis*, which runs through the land of *Colchis*. When they were entred the haue, *Iason* went to *Aetes* the King of *Colchis*, and told him the Commandement of *Pelias*, and cause of his coming, desiring him to deliuer the golden Fleece, which *Aetes*, as the Fable goeth, promised to doe, if hee alone would yoa ke together two brazen hooft Bulls, and plowing the ground with them, sowe Dragons teeth, which *Minerva* had giuen to him, being part of those which *Cadmus* did sowe at *Thebes*. These Bulls were great and ferce, and breathed out fire: *Vulcan* had giuen them to *Aetes*.

Whilest *Iason* was in a great perplexitie about this taske, *Medea* the daughter of *Aetes* fell into a most vehement loue of him, so farre forth, that being excellent in *Magique*, she came priuily to him, promising her helpe, if he would assure her of his marriage. To this *Iason* agreed, and confirmed his promise by oath. Then gaue she to him a medicine wherewith he bad him to annoynt both his body and his armour, which would preserue him from their violence: further shee told him, that armed men would rise out of the ground, from the teeth which he should sowe, and set vpon him. To remedy which inconvenience, he bad him throwe stones amongst them as soone as they came vp thicke, whereupon they would fall together to blowes, in such wise that hee might easily slay them. *Iason* followed her counsaile, whereto when the euent had answered, hee againe demanded the Fleece. But *Aetes* was so farre from approuing such his desire, that hee deuised how to destroy the *Argonauts*, and burne their ship; which *Medea* perceiving, went to *Iason*, and brought him by night to the Fleece, which hung on an Oake in the groue of *Mars*, where, they say, it was kept by a Dragon, that neuer slept. This Dragon was by the *Magique* of *Medea* cast into a sleepe: so taking away the golden Fleece, shee went with *Iason* into the ship *Argo*; hauiug with her, her brother, *Abrysus*.

*Aetes* vnderstanding the praetises of *Medea*, prouided to pursue the ship, whom when *Medea* perceiued to be at hand, she slew her brother, and cutting him in pieces, shee scattered his limbs in diuers places, of which *Aetes* finding some, was faine to seeke out the rest, and suffer his daughter to passe: the parts of his son he buried in a place, which thereupon he called *Tomi*; the Greeke word signifieth *Diuision*. Afterwards he sent many of his subiects to seeke the ship *Argo*, threatening that if they brought not backe *Medea*, they should suffer in her stead. In the meane while the *Argonauts* were driuen about the Seas, and were come to the Riuer *Eridanus*, which is *Po* in *Italie*.

*Iupiter*, offended with the slaughter of *Abrysus*, vexed them with a great tempest, and carried them they knew not whither; when they came to the Ilands *Abysyrides*, there the ship *Argo* (that there might want no incredible thing in this Fable) spake to them and said, that the anger of *Iupiter* should not cease, till they came to *Ausonia*, and were cleansed by *Circe*, from the murder of *Abrysus*. Now they thereupon sayling betwene the coasts of *Lybia* and *Gallia*, and passing through the Sea of *Sardinia* and alongst the coast of *Hetruria*, came to the Ile of *Aea*, wherein *Circe* dwelt, who cleansed them. Thence they sayled by the coast of the *Syrens*, who sang to allure them into danger: but *Orpheus* on the other side sang so well that he slayed them. One *Bytes* swamme out vnto them, whom *Venus* rauished, and carried to *Lylibnum* in *Sicilie* to dwell.

Hauiug past the *Syrens*, they came betwene *Sylla* and *Charybdis*, and the stragling rocks which seemed to cast out great store of flames and smoake. But *Thetis* and the *Nereides*, conueyed them safe throughat the appointment of *Iuno*. So they coasted *Sicilie* where the beemes of the Sunne were, and touched at *Corcyra*, the Iland of the *Phaeaces*, where King *Alecinous* reigned. Meane while, the men of *Colchis*, that had bene sent by *Aetes* in quest of the ship *Argo*, hearing no newes of it, and fearing his anger, if they fulfilled not his will, betooke themselves to new habitations: some of them dwelt in the mountaines of *Corcyra*, others in the Ilands *Abysyrides*, and some comming

to the *Phaeaces*, there found the ship *Argo*, and demanded *Medea* of *Alecinous*: whereto *Alecinous* made answer, that if shee were not *Iasons* wife, they should haue her; but if shee were already married, he would not take her from her husband. *Arete*, the wife of *Alecinous*, hearing this, married them: wherfore they of *Colchis* not daring to ysaurne home, stayed with the *Phaeaces*; so the *Argonauts* departed thence, and after a while came to *Crete*. In this Iland, *Adrios* reigned, who had a man of brasle giuen to him: (as some of the Fable say) by *Vulcan*. This man had one veine in his body reaching from the necke to the heele, the end whereof was closed up with a brazen naile, his name was *Talus*: his custome was to runne thrice aday about the Iland for the defence of it. When hee saw the ship *Argo* passe by, hee threw stones at it, but *Medea* with her *Magique* destroyed him. Some say that she slew him by potions, which made him mad; others, that promising to make him immortall, shee drew out the naile that stopp his veine, by which meanes all his blood ranne out, and he died; others there are that say he was slaine by *Pan*, who wounded him with an arrow in the heele. From hence the *Argonauts* sailed to *Aegina*, where they were faine to fight for fresh water. And lastly, from *Aegina* they sailed by *Buboe* and *Loeris* hometo *Iolcos*, where they arriued, hauiug spent foure whole moneths in the expedition.

Some there are that by this journey of *Iason*, vnderstand the myserie of the Philosophers stone, called the golden Fleece, to which also, other super-fine *Chymists* drawe otherwelke labours of *Hercules*. *Suidas* thinketh that by the golden Fleece was meant a golden booke of Parchment, which is of sheepe-skin, and therefore called golden, because it was taught therein how other metalls might be transmutated. Others would signifye by *Iason*, wisdome, and moderation, which ouercommeth all perils: but that which is most probable, is the opinion of *Dercilus*, that the story of such a passage was true, and that *Iason* with the rest went indeed to rob *Colchis*, to which they might arriue by boate. For not farre from *Caucasus* there are certaine steepe falling torrents which wash downe many graines of gold, as in many other parts of the world; and the people there inhabiting vnto set many fleeces of wooll in those descents of waters, in which the graines of gold remaine, and the water passeth thorow, which *Strabo* witnesseth to be true. The many rocks, straits, sands, and currents, in the passage betwene *Greece* and the bottome of *Pontus*, are Poetically conuerred into those fiery bulls, the armed men rising out of the ground, the Dragon cast asleepe, and the like. The man of brasle, the *Syrens*, *Sylla* and *Charybdis*, were other hazards and aduenures which they fell into in the *Mediterran* sea, disguised, as the rest, by *Orpheus*, vnder Poeticall moralls: all which *Hommer* afterward vied (the man of brasle excepted) in the description of *Ulysses* his traualles, on the same Inland-seas.

## §. VII.

Of Abimelech, Tholan, and Iair, and of the Labyrinth, and of Theseus, Hyppolytus, &c.

After the death of *Gideon*, *Abimelech* his bafe sonne begotten on a Concubine of the *Sechemites*, remembring what offers had bene made to his father by the people, who desired to make him and his their perpetuall Princes; and as it seemeth, supposing (notwithstanding his fathers religious modesty) that some of his brethren might take on them the Soueraigntie, practised with the Inhabitants of *Sechem* (of which his mother was native) to make election of himselfe, who being easily moued with the glory, to haue a King of their owne, readily condescended: and the better to enable *Abimelech*, they borrowed 70. pieces of siluer of their Idoll *Baalberith*, which 70 which treasure he hyred a company of loose and desperate vagabonds, to assist his first detestable enterprise, to wite, the slaughter of his 70. brethren, the sonnes of *Gideon*, begotten on his wiues, of which he had many; of all which none escaped but *Jatham* the youngest, who hid himselfe from his present furie: all which he executed on one stone, a cruelty exceeding all that hath bene written of in any age. Such is humane ambition, a monster that neither feareth God (though all-powerfull, and whose reuenges are without date and for euerlasting) neither hath it respect to nature, which laboureth the preseruacion of every being: but it rageth also against her, though garnished with beautie which neuer dieth, and with loue that hath no end. All other

passions and affections, by which the soules of men are tormented, are by their contraries often-times resisted or qualified. But ambition, which begetteth euery vice, and is it selfe the childe and darling of *Satan*, looketh onely towards the ends by it selfe set downe, forgetting nothing (how fearefull and inhumane fouer) which may serue: remembring nothing, what fouer iustice, pietie, right or religion can offer and alledge on the contrary. It alcribeth the lamentable effects of like attempts, to the error or weaknesse of the vnder takers, and rather praiseth the aduventure than feareth the like successe. It was the first sinne that the world had, and began in *Angels*: for which they were cast into hell, without hope of redemption. It was more ancient than man, and therefore no part of his naturall corruption. The punishment also preceded his creation, yet hath the Duell which felt the smart thereof, taught him to forget the one as out of date, and to practise the other, as befitting euery age, and mans condition.

*Isham*, the youngest of *G'dions* sonnes, hauing escaped the present perill, fought by his best perswasions to alienate the *Sechemites*, from the assisting of this mercilesse tyrant, letting them know, that those which were vertuous, and whom reason and religion had taught the safe and happy estate of moderate subiection, had refused to receiue as vnlawfull, what others had no power to giue, without direction from the King of Kings: who from the beginning (as to his owne peculiar people) had appointed them by whom and how to be gouerned. This hee taught them by the Oliue, which contented it selfe with its fatnesse, the Figge tree with its sweetnesse, and the Vine with the good iuyce it had: the Bramble onely, who was most base, cut downe all the rest, and accepted the Soueraignty. Hee also foretold them by a Propheticall spirit, what should befall them in the end, and how a fire should come out of the Bramble, and consume the Cedars of *Libanon*.

Now (as it is an easie matter to call those men backe whom rage without right led on) *Gaul* the sonne of *Ebed* withdrew the Citizens of *Sechem*, from the seruice of *Abimelech* who therefore after some assaults entred the place, and mastered it; and in conclusion fired the towne, wherein their Idoll *Baalberith* was worshipped, and put all the people of all sorts to the slaughter. Lastly, in the assault of the Castle or Tower of *Teber*, himselfe was wounded in the head with a stone throwne ouer the wall by a woman; and finding himselfe mortally bruised, he commanded his owne Page to pierce his body, thereby to auoid the dishonour of being slaine by so feeble a hand.

While *Abimelech* vsurped the Gouernment, the *Lapithes* and *Centaures* made warre against the *Thebanes*. These Nations were descended of *Apollo*, and were the first in those parts that deuided to manage horses, to bridle and to fit them: inso much as when they first came downe from the mountaines of *Pindus*, into the plaines, those which had neuer seene horsemen before, thought them creatures compounded of men and horses; so did the *Mexicans* when *Ferdinando Cortes* the Spaniard first inuaded that Empire.

After the death of *Abimelech*, *Tholo* of *Issachar* gouerned *Israel* 23. yeares, and after him *Iair* the *Gileadite* 22. yeares, who seemes to be descended of *Iair* the sonne of *Manasse*, who in *Moses* time conquered a great part of *Gilead*, and called the same after his owne name, *Iaanah Iair*. For to this *Iair* there remained thirtie of those Cities, which his ancestor had recouered from the *Amorites*. Of these Iudges, because there is nothing else written, it is an argument that during all their times, *Israel* liued without disturbance and in peace.

When *Iair* iudged *Israel*, *Priamus* began to raigne in *Troy*, who at such time as *Hercules* sacked *Ilium*, was carried away captiue with his sister *Hesione* into *Greece*, and being afterward redeemed for ranome, he rebuilt and greatly strengthened, and adorned *Troy*, and so farre enlarged his Dominions, as hee became the supreme Lord in effect of all *Asia* the lesse. He married *Hecuba* the daughter of *Cisseus* King of *Thrace*, and had in all (with *Gerges*) fiftie sonnes, whereof seuentene by *Hecuba*, of whom *Paris* was one; who attempting to recouer his aunt *Hesione*, tooke *Helen* the wife of *Menelaus*, the cause of the warre which followed.

*Theseus* the tenth King of *Athens* began likewise to raigne in the beginning of *Iair*: some writers call him the sonne of *Neptune* and *Ethra*: but *Plutark* in the storie of his life, finds him begotten by *Agess*, of whom the *Grecian* sea betweene it and *Asia* the lesse tooke name. For when *Minos* had mastered the *Athenians*, so far as he forc'd them to pay him

bin seuen of their sonnes euery yeare for tribute, whom he inclosed within a *Labyrinth*, to be deuoured by the monster *Minotaur*: because belike the sonnes of *Taurus*, which hee began on *Pasiphae* the Queene, had the charge of them: among these seuen *Theseus* thrust himselfe, not doubting by his valour to deliuer the rest, and to free the Countrie of that slaerie occasioned for the death of *Androgeus*, *Minos* his sonne.

And hauing possesst himselfe of *Aradus* affection, who was *Minos* daughter, he receiued from her a bouceme of thred, by which he conducted himselfe through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the *Labyrinth*, made in all like that of the Ctic of *Crocodiles* in *Egypt*; by meane whereof hauing slaine *Minotaur*, he found a ready way to returne. But whereas his father *Agess* had giuen order, that if hee came backe with victorie and in safetie, he should vse a white saile in signe thereof, and not that mournfull blacke saile, vnder which they left the port of *Athens*. This instruction being either forgotten or neglected, *Agess* descreyng the Shippe of *Theseus* with a blacke saile, did cast himselfe ouer the rockes downe into the Sea, afterward called of his name *Agessum*.

One of the first famous acts of *Theseus*, was the killing of *Serror*, who kept a passage betweene *Mezara* and the *Peloponnesian* *Isthmos*, and threw all whom hee mastered into the Sea, from the high rockes. Afterward he did the like to *Cercyon*, by wrestling, who vied by that Art to kill others. Hee also ridde the Countrie of *Procrustes*, who vsed to bend downe the strong limbes of two trees, and fastened by cordes such as hee tooke, part of them to one, and part to the other bough, and by the springing vp tare them asunder. So did hee root out *Periphetes* and other mischieuous theues and murderers. Hee ouerthrew the Armie of the *Amazons*, who after many victories and vastations, entred the Territorie of *Athens*. *Theseus* hauing taken their Queene *Hippolita* prisoner, began on her *Hippolytus*; with whom after ward his mother in law *Phedra*, falling in loue, and hee refusing to abuse his fathers bed, *Phedra* perswaded *Theseus* that his sonne offered to force her: after which it is fained, that *Theseus* besought *Neptune* to reuenge this wrong of his sonnes, by some violent death. *Neptune* taking a time of aduantage, sent out his Sea Calues, as *Hippolytus* passed by the sea shore, and so affrighted his horses, as casting the Coach ouer, hee was (by being intangled therein) torne in pieces. Which miserable and undeserued destinie, when *Phedra* had heard of, she strangled her selfe. After which it is fained, that *Diana* entreated *Asculapius* to let *Hippolytus* his pieces together, and to restore him to life: which done, because he was chaste, she led him with her into *Italie*, to accompany her in her hunting, and field sports.

It is probable that *Hippolytus*, when his Father sought his life, thinking to escape by Sea, was affronted thereat, and did receiue many wounds in forcing his passage and escape, which wounds *Asculapius*, to wit, some skillfull Physitian, or Chirurgeon healed againe; after which hee passed into *Italie*, where he liued with *Diana*, that is, the life of a hunter, in which hee most delighted. But of those ancient prophane Stories, *Plutarch* saith well, that as *Cosmographers* in their descriptions of the world, where they finde many vast places whereof they know nothing, fill the same with strange Beasts, Birds, and Fishes; and with *Mathematicall* lines; so doe the *Gracian* Historians and Poets imbroder and intermixe therewithales of ancient times, with a world of fictions and fabulous discourses. True it is, that *Theseus* did many great things in imitation of *Hercules*, whom hee made his patterne, and was the first that gathered the *Athenians*, from being dispersed in thinne and ragged Villages: in recompence whereof, and for desuing them Lawes to liue vnder, and in order, hee was by the beggerly, mutable, and vngratefull multitude, in the end banished. Some say, per *Ostracismum*, by the Law of *Loures*, or names written on shells, which was a deuice of his

He stole *Helen* (as they say) when she was fiftie yeares old, from *Aphidna*, which City *Castor* and *Pollux* ouerturned, when they followed after *Theseus* to recouer their sister. *Erasistratus* and *Pausanias* write that *Theseus* begot her with childe at *Argos*, where hee erected a Temple to *Lacinia*: but her age makes that tale vnlikely to bee true, and so doth *Ouid*, *Nontamen ex iustis istud sum sustulit peritum, &c.* The rape *Eusebius* findes in the first of *Iair*, who gouerned *Israel* 22. yeares, to whom succeeded *Iephia* or *Iephe* fiftie yeares, to whom *Iezeg* who ruled seuen yeares, and then *Halidon* eight yeares: in whose time was the fall of *Troy*. So, as if *Theseus* had a childe by her in the first of *Iair*, (at which

Palenhius, l. 1.  
de metatib.

Deut. 3. 14.  
Num. 11. 17.

Iudg. 10.

2901.

In Tufi.

Strab. lib. 9.  
Pausan. con.  
Iudg. 10. 3.

Don't Chon.  
Lule. C. 10.  
Halle. 1.

Aug. de Claz  
Dei. J. 13. c. 13.

which time wee must count her no lesse than fifteene yeares old, for the women did not commonly begin so young as they doe now: shee was then at least two and fiftie yeares old at the destruction of *Troy*: and when shee was stollen by *Paris*, eight and thirtie: but herein the *Chronologers* doe not agree. Yet *Emfchius* and *Bunting* with *Halicarnassus* doe in effect consent, that the City was entred, and burnt in the first yeare of *Demophoon* King of *Athens*, the successor of *Mneftheus*, the successor of *Thefens*, seuentene dayes before the *Summer Tropique*; and that about the eleventh of *September* following, the *Troians* crost the *Hellepont* into *Thrace*, and wintered there, and in the next spring that they migrated into *Sicilia*, where wintering the second yeare, the next summer they arrived at *Laurentum*, and builded *Lavinium*. But *Saint Augustine* hath otherwise, That when *Polypides* gouerned *Sicyon*, *Mneftheus*, *Athens*, *Tantanes*, *Assyria*, *Habdon*, *Israel*, then *Aeneas* arrived in *Italie*, transporting with him in twentie ships the remainder of the *Troians*: but the difference is not great: and herof more at large in the storie of *Troy* at hand.

In *Sicyonia* *Phelus* the two and twentieth King, reigned eight yeares, beginning by the common account in the time of *Thola*. His successours, *Adraffus*, who reigned foure yeares, and *Polypides* who reigned thirteene, are accounted to the time of *Iair*, so is also *Mneftheus* King of *Athens*, and *Atrous*, who held a great part of *Poloponnesus*. In *Assyria*, during the gouernment of these two peaceable Iudges, *Mitrens*, and after him *Tantanes*, reigned. In *Egypt* *Amenophis*, the sonne of *Ramfes*, and afterwards *Annenenes*.

# 6. VII.

Of the warre of *Thebes* which was in this age.

**I**N this age was the warre of *Thebes*, the most ancient that euer Greeke Poet or Historian wrote of: Wherefore the Roman Poet *Lucretius*, affirming (as the *Epicures* in this point held truly against the *Peripateticks*) that the world had a beginning, vjgeth them with this obiection.

Si nulla fuit genialis origo  
Rerumq; & mundi, semperque aeterna fuere,  
Cur supra bellum Thebanum, & funera Troie,  
Non alia aliq; quoque res cecidere poeta?

If all this world had no originall,  
But things haue euer beene as now they are:  
Before the siege of *Thebes* or *Troyes* last fall,  
Why did no Poet sing some elder warre?

It is true that in these times *Greece* was very saluage, the inhabitants being often chased from place to place, by the Captains of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the ground whereon hee dwelt his owne longer than he could hold it by strong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercoure they vsed little, neither did they plant many trees, or sowe more corne than was necessary for their subsistence. Money they had little or none, for it is thought that the name of money was not heard in *Greece*, when *Homier* did write who measures the valew of gold and brasse by the worth in cattell; saying that the golden armour of *Glaucom* was worth an hundred Beeces, and the copper armour of *Diomedes* worth nine.

Robberies by land and sea were common and without shame, and to steale horses or kine was the vsuall exercise of their great men. Their townes were not many, whereof those that were walled were very few, and not great. For *Mycena* the principall Citie in *Poloponnesus* was a very little thing, and it may well be thought that the rest were proportionable: briefly, *Greece* was then in her infancie, and though in some small townes of that halfe Ile of *Poloponnesus*, the inhabitants might haue enioyed quietnesse within their narrow bounds; as likewise did the *Athenians* because their Countie was so barren, that none did care to take it from them: yet that the land in generall was very rude, it will easily appeare to such as consider, what *Thucydides* the greatest of their Historians hath written to this effect, in the Preface to his Historie. Wherefore, as in these later times

times, idle *Chronicles* vsd when they want good matter, to fill whole books with reports of great frosts, or dry summers, and other such things which no man cares to read; so did they who spake of *Greece* in her beginnings, remember onely the great floods which were in the times of *Ogyges*, and *Deucalion*: or else rehearse fables of men changed into birds, of strange monsters, of adulterie committed by their gods, and the mighty men which they begat, without writing ought that is fauoured of humanitie before the time of the warre of *Thebes*: the bricfe whereof is this.

*Oedipus* the sonne of *Laius* King of *Thebes*, hauing beene cast forth when he was an infant, because an Oracle foretold what euill should come to passe by him, did afterwards in a narrow passage contending for the way, slay his owne father, not knowing either then or long after, who he was. Afterward hee became King of *Thebes*, by marriage of the Queene *Iocasta*, called by *Homier* *Epicaste*: on whom, not knowing her to beq his mother, hee begat two sonnes, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. But when in processe of time, finding out by good circumstances, who were his parents, hee vnderstood the grieuous murder and incest hee had committed, hee tore out his owne eyes for griefe, and left the Citie. His wife and mother did hang themselves. Some say that *Oedipus*, hauing his eyes pulled out, was expelled *Thebes*, bitterly cursing his sonnes, because they suffered their father to bee cast out of the Towne, and ayded him not. Howloeuere it were, his two Sonnes made this agreement; that the one of them should reigne one yeare, and the other another yeare; and so by course rule interchangeably. But this appointment was ill obserued. For when *Polynices* had after a yeares gouernment resigned the Kingdome to his brother: or (according to others) when *Eteocles* had reigned the first yeare, hee refused to giue ouer the rule to *Polynices*. Hereupon *Polynices* fledde vnto *Argos*, where *Adraffus* the sonne of *Talaus* then reigned, vnto whose palace comming by night, he was driuen to seeke lodging in an out-house, on the backside.

There he met with *Tydeus* the sonne of *Oeneus*, who was fled from *Calydon*: with whom striuing about their lodging, hee fell to blowes. *Adraffus* hearing the noyle, came forth and tooke vp the quarrell. At which time perceiuing in the shield of *Tydeus* a Bore, in that of *Polynices* a Lyon, hee remembered an olde Oracle, by which hee was aduised to giue his two daughters in marriage, to a Lyon and a Bore: and accordingly hee did bestow his daughter *Argia* vpon *Tydeus*, and *Deipyle* vpon *Polynices*, promising to restore them both to their Countries. To this purpose leuying an Armie, and assembling as many valiant Captaines as hee could draw to follow him, he was desirous among others to carrie *Amphiaras* the sonne of *Oicleus* a great Soothsayer, and a valiant man, along with him. But *Amphiaras*, who is said to haue foreseene all things, knowing well that none of the Captaines should escape, saue onely *Adraffus*, did both utterly refuse to bee one in that expedition, and perswaded others to stay at home. *Polynices* therefore dealt with *Eriphyle* the Wife of *Amphiaras*, offering vnto her a very faire bracelet, vpon condition that shee should cause her Husband to assist him. The Soothsayer knowing what should worke his destinie, forbade his Wife to take any gift of *Polynices*. But the bracelet was in her eye so precious a Iewell, that shee could not refuse it. Therefore whereas a great controuersie, betwene *Amphiaras* and *Adraffus*, was by way of compromise put vnto the decision of *Eriphyle*, either of them being bound by solemne oath to stand to her appointment: shee ordered the matter so, as a Woman should that did loue a bracelet better than her Husband. Hee now finding that it was farre more easie to foresee than auoide destinie, sought for such comfort as reuenge might afford him, giuing in charge vnto his sonnes, that when they came to full age, they should kill their mother, and make strong warre vpon the *Thebanes*.

Now had *Adraffus* assembled all his forces, of which, the seuen chiefe leaders were, himselfe, *Amphiaras*, *Capaneus*, and *Hippomedon* (in stead of whom some name *Meestus*) all Argiues, with *Polynices* the *Theban*, *Tydeus* the *Etolian*, and *Parthenopus* the *Arcadian*, sonne of *Meleager* and *Atalanta*. When the Armie came to the *Nemæan* Wood, they met a woman whom they desired to helpe them to some water; shee hauing a childe in her armes, laid it downe, and led the Argiues to a spring: but ere shee returned, a Serpent had slaine the childe. This woman was *Hyppisyle* the daughter of *Thous* the *Lemnian*, whom shee would haue slaued when the women of the Ile slew all the

the males by conspiracie, intending to lead an Amazonian life. For such her pietie, she Lemnian wifes did sell her to Pyrates, and the Pyrates to *Lycurgus* Lord of the Countrie about *Nemæa*, whose young sonne *Opheltes* or *Archemorus*, she did nurse, and lost, as is shewed before. When vpon the childes death shee hid her selfe for feare of her master, *Amphiaras* told her sonnes where they should finde her: and the Argiues did both kill the Serpent which had slaine the child, and in memorie of the chance, did institute solemne funerall games called *Nemæan*, wherein *Adrastus* wanne the prize with his swift horse *Arion*, *Tydeus* with the wordbeats, *Amphiaras* at running and quoying, *Polynices* at wrestling, *Parthenopaus* at shooting, and one *Laodocus* in daiting. This was the first institution of the *Nemæan* games, which continued after famous in *Greece* for very many ages. There are, who thinke that they were ordained in honour of one *Opheltes* a Lacedæmonian. Some say by *Hercules*, when he had slaine the *Nemæan* Lyon: but the common opinion agrees with that which is here set downe.

From *Nemæa* the Argiues marching onwards, arrived at *Citheron*, whence *Tydeus* was by them sent Embassadour to *Thebes*, to require of *Eteocles* the performance of Covenants betwene him and *Polynices*. This message was nothing agreeable to *Eteocles*, who was throughly resolved to hold what he had, as long as he could: which *Tydeus* perceiving, and intending partly to get honour, partly to trie what mettle was in the Thebans, he made many challenges, and obtained victorie in all of them; not without much enuie and malice of the people, who laid fiftie men in ambush to intercept him at his returne to the Armie; of which fiftie he slew all but one, whom hee sent backe to the Citie as a reporter and witness of his valour. When the Argiues vnderstood how resolute *Eteocles* was, they presented themselves before the Citie, and incamped round about it. *Thebes* is said to haue had at that time seuen gates, which belike stood not far asunder, seeing that the Argiues (who afterward when they were very farre stronger, could scarce muster vpon more thousands than *Thebes* had gates) did compass the Towne, *Adrastus* quartered before the gate *Homoloides*, *Capaneus* before the *Ogygian*, *Tydeus* before *Cremis*, *Amphiaras* at *Proctis*, *Hippomedon* at *Anchæa*, *Parthenopaus* at *Elesta*, and *Polynices* at *Thysista*. In the meane season, *Eteocles* hauing armed his men, and appointed Commanders vnto them, took aduise of *Tiresias* the Soothsayer, who promised victorie to the Thebans, if *Menæcius* the sonne of *Creon* a principall man of the Citie, would vow himselfe to be slaine in honour of *Mars* the god of warre. So full of malice and pride is the Diuell, and so enuious at his Creators glory, that hee not onely challengeth honour due to God alone, as oblations and sacrifice with all Diuine worship, but commandeth vs to offer our selues, and our children vnto him, when hee hath sufficiently clouded mens vnderstanding, and bewitched their wils with ignorance and blinde deuotion. And such abominable sacrifice of men, maidens, and children hath he exacted of the Syrians, Carthaginians, Galles, Germans, Cyprians, Egyptians, and of many other, if not of all Nations, when through ignorance or feare they were most filled with superstition. But as they grew more wise, so did he waxe lesse impudent in cunning, though not lesse malicious in designing the continuance of such barbarous inhumanitie. For King *Diphilus* in *Cyprus* without aduise of any Oracle, made the Idoll of that Countrie rest contented with an Oxe in stead of a man. *Tiberius* forbade humane sacrifices in *Africke*, and crucified the Priests in the groues where they had practised them. *Hercules* taught the Italians to drowne men of hay in stead of the liuing; yet among the saluages in the West *Indies* these cruel offerings haue bene practised of late ages: which as it is a sufficient argument that *Satans* malice is onely couered and hidden by this subtiltie among ciuill people: so may it serue as a probable Coniecture of the barbarismes then reigning in *Greece*. For *Menæcius*, as soone as he vnderstood that his death might purchase victorie to his people, bestowed himselfe (as hee thought) vpon *Mars*, killing himselfe before the gates of the Citie. Then was a battaile fought, wherein the Argiues preuailed so farre at the first, that *Capaneus* aduancing ladders to the walls, got vpon the rampart: whence, when he fell or was cast downe, or (as Writers haue it) was stricken down by *Iupiter* with a thunder-bolt, the Argiues fled. Many on each part were slaine in this battaile, which caused both sides to desire that *Eteocles* and *Polynices* might trie out the quarrell in single fight: whereto the two brethren according, flew each other.

Another battell was fought after their death, wherein the sonnes of *Asæus* behaued themselves very valiantly: *Isinæus* one of the sonnes slew *Hippomedon*, which was one of

of the seuen Princes: *Parthenopaus* being another of the seuen (who was said to haue been so faire, that none would hurt him when his face was bare) was slaine by *Amphidæus*, or as some say, by *Periclymenus* the sonne of *Neptune*: and the valiant *Tydeus* by *Mecolippus*: yet ere *Tydeus* died, the head of *Menalippus* was brought vnto him by *Amphiaras*, which he cruelly tore open, and swallowed vp the braines. Vpon which fact, it is said, that *Pallus*, who had brought from *Iupiter* such remedie for his wounds, as should haue made him immortall, refused to bestow it vpon him: whereby perhaps was meant that his honour which might haue continued immortall, did perish through the heauly rage that he shewed at his death.

The host of the Argiues being wholly discomfited, *Adrastus* and *Amphiaras* fled, of whom *Amphiaras* is said to haue bene swallowed quicke into the earth, neerer to the riuer *Ismenus*, together with his Chariot, and so lost out of mens sight, being peraduenture ouerwhelmed with dead carcases, or drowned in the riuer: and his body neuer found, nor greatly sought for. *Adrastus* escaped on his good horse *Arion*, and came to *Athens*; where sitting at an Altar, called the Altar of Mercy, hee made supplication for their aide to recouer their bodies. For *Creon* hauing obtained the Government of *Thebes* after the death of *Eteocles*, would not suffer the bodies of the Argiues to be buried: but caused *Antigone*, the onely daughter then liuing of *Oedipus*, to be buried quicke, because shee had sought out and buried the body of her brother *Polynices*, contrary to *Creons* Edict. The Athenians condescending to the request of *Adrastus*, did lend forthan an Armie vnder the conduct of *Thebes*, which tooke *Thebes*, and restored the bodies of the Argiues to Sepulture: at which time *Enadine* the Wife of *Capaneus*, threw her selfe into the funerall fire, and was burnt willingly with her Husband. But it little contented the sonnes of those Caprines which were slaine at *Thebes*, that any lesse reuenge should be taken of their fathers death, than the ruine of the Citie: wherfore tenne yeare after hauing leuied forces, *Agæus* the sonne of *Adrastus*, *Diomedes* of *Tyden*, *Præmachus* of *Parthenopaus*, *Sthenelus* of *Capaneus*, *Thersander* of *Polynices*, and *Enryllus* of *Mecileus*, marched thither vnder the conduct of *Alcmaon*, the son of *Amphiaras*: with whom also went his brother *Amphiloctus*. *Apollo* promised victorie if *Alcmaon* were their Captaine, whom afterward by another Oracle hee commanded to kill his owne mother.

When they came to the Citie, they were incountried by *Laodamas* the son of *Eteocles*, then King of the Thebans, (for *Creon* was onely Tutor to *Laodamas*) who though he did valiantly in the battaile, and slue *Agæus*, yet was hee pur to the worst, and diuined to flie, or according to *Apollodorus* slaine by *Alcmaon*. After this disaster the citizens began to desire composition; but in the meane time they conuayed themselves with their wifes & children away from thence by night, and so began to wander vp and downe, till at length they built the Town called *Ephæa*. The Argiues, when they perceiued that their enemies had quitted the Town, entering into it, sacked it, threw downe the walls, and layd it waste; howbeit it is reported by some, that the Towne was saved by *Thersander*, the sonne of *Polynices*, who causing the Citizens to retire, did there raigine over them. That hee saved the City from vnter destruction, it is very likely, for he reigned there, and led the Thebans to the Warre of *Troy*, which very shortly after ensued.

## §. VIII.

Of *Isphtha*, and how the three hundred yeares which he speaketh of, *Iud. 11. v. 28.* are to be reconciled with the places, *Act. 13. 20.* 1 *Reg. 6. 1.* together with some other things touching Chronologie about these times.

After the death of *Jair* (neere about whose times these things hapned in *Greece*, and during whose government, & that of *Thola*, *Israel* liued in peace and in order) they reuolted again from the law & seruice of God, and became more wicked and idolatrous than euer. For whereas in the former times they worshipped *Baal*, & *Astarte*, they now became followers of all the Heathen nations adioyning, and embraced the idolls of the *Amorites*, of the *Zidonians*, *Adabites* & *Ammonites*: with those of the *Philistims*. And as before it pleased God to correct them by the *Amorites*, by the *Aualekites*, and *Midianites*: so now he scourged them by the *Ammonites*, and afterward by the *Philistims*. Now among the *Israelites*, those of *Gilead* being most oppressed, because they bordered vpon

*Iud. 10.*  
"The persecution of the Ammonites lasted 18 yeares, and ended in the year of the World: 820, in which year *Isphtha* began, *Iud. 11.*



vpon the Ammonites, they were inforced to lecke *Iephtha*, whom they had formerly despised and cast from them, because he was base borne; but he (notwithstanding those former injuries) participating more of godly compassion, than of diuellish hatred and reuenge, was content to lead the Gileadites to the Warre, vpon condition that they should establish him their Governour after victory. And when hee had disputed with *Ammon* for the Land, disproued *Ammons* right, and fortified the title of *Israel* by many arguments, the same prevailing nothing, he began the warre; and being strengthened by God, ouerthrew them: and did not only beate them out of the plaines, but forc't them ouer the mountaines of *Arabia*, euen to *Minnith*, and *Abel* of the vineyards, Cities exprest heretofore in the description of the holy Land. After which victory it is said, that he performed the valne vow which he made, to sacrifice the first living creature hee encountered, conuining out of his house to meet him; which happened to be his owne daughter, and onely childe, who with all patience submitted her selfe, and onely desired two moneths time to bewaile her Virginitie on the mountaines of *Gilead*; because in her the issues of her Father ended: but the other opinion, that shee was not offered, is more probable, which *Bartholomaeus* and others proue sufficiently.

After these things the children of *Israel*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, either enuious of *Iephtha's* victorie, or otherwise making way to their future calamitie, and to the most glorious fluency that euer *Israel* suffered, quarrelled with *Iephtha*, that they were not called to the Warre; as before time they had contended with *Gideon*. *Iephtha* hereupon inforced to defend himselfe against their fury, in the encounter slew of them two and forty thousand, which so weakened the body of the Land, as the Philistims had an easie conquest of them all not long after. *Iephtha*, after he had iudged *Israel* fixe yeeres, died: to whom succeeded *Ishazan*, who ruled seuen yeeres: after him *Elon* was their Iudge tenne yeeres: in all which time *Israel* had peace. *Eusebius* findes not *Elon*, whom hee calleth *Adon*, for in the *Septuagint*, approved in his time, this Iudge was omitted.

Now before I goe on with the rest, it shall be necessary vpon the occasion of *Iephtha's* account of the times, *Iud. 11. 28.* (where he sayes that *Israel* had then posselt the East side of *Jordan* 300. yeeres) to speake somewhat of the times of the Iudges, and of the differing opinions among the Diuines & Chronologers: there being found three places of Scriptures touching this point, seeming repugnant, or disagreeing: the first is in this dispute betweene *Iephtha* and *Ammon*, for the right and possession of *Gilead*: the second is that of *Saint Paul*, *Acts 13.* the third is that which is in the first of *Kings*. *Iephtha* here challengeth the possession of *Gilead* for 300. yeeres: *Saint Paul* giueth to the *Judges*, as it seemes, from the end of *Iofua*, to the last of *Heli*, 450. yeeres. In the first of *Kings* it is taught, that from the departing of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, to the foundation of *Salomons* Temple, there were consumed 480. yeeres. To the first *Berosaldus* findeth *Iephtha's* 300. yeeres to be but 266. yeeres, to wit, 18. of *Iofua*, 40. of *Othniel*, 80. of *Aod* and *Sampgar*, 40. of *Deborah*, 40. of *Gideon*, 3. of *Abimelech*, 23. of *Thola*, and 22. of *Iair*: But *Iephtha* (saith *Berosaldus*) putteth or proposeth a certaine number, for an vncertaine: *Sic ut dicat annum aqi propterea trecentenum, ex quo nullus litera eade re monetit Israeli*; so hee speaketh (saith he) as meaning, that then it was about or well-nigh the three hundredth yeere, since *Israel* possessed those Countries, no man making question of their right. *Codoman* on the contrary findes more yeeres than *Iephtha* named by 65. to wit, 365. whereof 71. were spent in *Israels* captiuitie, at severall times, of which (as *Codoman* thinketh) *Iephtha* forbore to repeat the whole summe or any great part, lest the Ammonite should haue iustly objected, that 71. of those yeeres, the Israelites were in captiuitie and vassals to their neighbour Princes, and therefore knowing that to name three hundred yeeres, it was enough for prescription, hee omitted the rest.

To iustifie this account of 365. yeeres, besides the 71. yeeres of captiuitie or affliction, to be added to *Berosaldus* his 266. hee addeth also 28. yeeres more, and so maketh vp the summe of 365. These 28. yeeres hee findeth out thus: twenty yeeres hee giues to the *Seniors* betweene *Iofua* and *Othniel*: and where *Berosaldus* alloweth eightene yeeres to *Iofua* his gouernment, *Codoman* accounts that his rule lasted 26. according to *Iosephus*; whereas *Saint Augustine* and *Eusebius* giue him 27. *melancthon* 32. The truth is, that this addition of 28. yeeres is farre more doubtfull than the other of 71. But though we admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of some part of the yeeres of affliction (to wit, 34. yeeres of the 71.) if we addeth them to the 266. yeeres

of *Berosaldus*, which reckoneth none of these, we haue the iust number of 300. yeeres. Neither is it strange that *Iephtha* should leaue out more than halfe of these yeeres of affliction: seeing, as it is already said, the Ammonites might except against these 71. yeeres, & say, that during these yeeres, or at least a good part of them, the Israelites had no quiet possession of the countries in question. *Martin Luther* is the author of a third opinion, making those 300. yeeres remembered by *Iephtha*, to be 306. which odde yeeres, saith he, *Iephtha* omitteth. But because the yeeres of euery Iudge as they reigned, cannot make vp the number of 306, but do only compound 266. therefore doth *Luther* adde to this number the whole time which *Moses* spent in the Desarts of *Arabia* Petraea; which forty yeeres of *Moses* added to the number which *Berosaldus* findeth of 266. make indeed 306.

But I see nothing in the Text to warrant *Luthers* iudgement herein: for in the dispute between *Iephtha* & *Ammon* for the land of *Gilead*, it is written in the person of *Ammon*, in these words: *Because Israel tooke my Land, when they came up from Egypt, from Arnon unto Iaboc &c. now therefore restore those lands quietly, or in peace.* So by this place it is plain, that the time is not to be accounted from *Moses* departure out of *Egypt*: but from the time that the land was posselt. For it is said, *Quia cepit Israel terram meam, Behold Israel tooke my land*: and therefore the beginning of this account is to be referred to the time of the taking: which *Iephtha's* answer also confirmeth in these words: *when Israel dwelt in Hebban, and in her Townes, and in Arer, and in her Townes, and in all the Cities that are by the coast of Arnon* 300 yeeres: why did ye not then recover them in that space? so as this place speaks it directly, that *Israel* had inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of *Gilead* 300. yeeres: and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intents, that *Israel* had to posselt it, it seemeth somewhat strained to me; for we do not vse to reckon the time of our conquests in France, from our Princes intents or purposes, but from their victories and possessions.

*Ianins* neuertheless likes the opinion of *Luther*, & sayes, that this time of 300. yeeres hath reference, and is to take beginning from the first of *Iephtha's* narration: when he makes a brieft repetition of *Moses* whole iourney: to wit, at the sixteenth Verse of the eleventh Chapter of *Judges*, in our translation in these words: *But when Israel came up from Egypt, &c.* and therefore *Moses* his 40. yeeres (as he thinks) are to be accounted, which make the number of 305. yeeres: and not only the time in which *Israel* posselt *Gilead*, according to the Text & *Iephtha's* own words: of which I leaue the iudgement to others; to whom also I leaue to iudge, whether we may not begin the 480. yeeres, from the deliuerance out of *Egypt* to the Temple, euen from the first departure out of *Egypt*; and yet finde a more probable reconciliation of *Saint Pauls* and *Iephtha's* account with this reckoning, than any of those that as yet haue bene signified. For first, touching *Iephtha's* three hundred yeeres of possession of the East side of *Jordan*, it is to be remembered, that for a good while before the Israelites posselt it, *Sehon* and *Og* had dispossessed *Moab* and *Ammon* thereof: so that when the Israelites had conquered *Sehon* and *Og*, the right of possession which they had, passed to *Israel*; and so *Iephtha* might say that they had posselt those Countries 300. yeeres, reckoning 266. yeeres of their own possession, and the rest of the possession of the two Kings *Sehon* and *Og*, whose right the Israelites had by the law of conquest.

The second place disputed is this of *S. Paul*, *Acts 13.* that from the end of *Iofua* to the beginning of *Samuel*, there past 450. yeeres. And this place *Luther* vnderstandeth also besides the better (as I find his opinion cited by *Eusebius* *Krentzheimus*, and *Beza*) for I haue not read his Commentaries. For he accounted from the death of *Moses*, to the last yeere of *Heli*, but 357. yeeres: and this he doth the better to approve the only true times from the egression out of *Egypt* to the building of the Temple, which in the first of *Kings* 6. is said to be 480. yeeres.

Now forasmuch as *S. Paul* (as it seemes) findes 450. yeeres from the death of *Iofua*, to the last of *Heli*, & leaues but thirty yeeres for *Saul* and *Samuel*, who gouerned 40. for *Dauid* who ruled 40. and for *Salomon* who wore the Crowne three whole yeeres ere the foundation of the Temple was laid; therefore *Luther* takes it, that there was error in the Scribe, who wrote out this piece of Scripture of *S. Paul*: to wit, *Then afterward hee gaue vnto them Iudges about 450. yeeres*; with the time of *Samuel* the Prophet: the words then afterward, being cleerly referred to the death or after the death

of *Iofua*, as shall be hereafter proued. But where Saint *Luke* rehearsing the words of Saint *Paul*, wrote 350. yeeres (saith *Luther*) the Scribe in the transcription being deceived by the affinitye of those two Greeke words, whereof the one signifith 300. & the other 400. wrote *Tetracosois*, for *Triacosois*; 400. yeeres, for 300. yeeres; and 450. for 350. This he seeketh to strengthen by many arguments; to which opinion *Beza* in his great annotations adhereth. A contrary iudgement to this hath *Codoman*: where *Luther* and *Beza* begin at *Moses* death, he takes his account from the death of *Iofua*, and from thence to the beginning of *Samuel* he makes 430. yeeres: to wit of the *Iudges* (not reckoning *Sampsons* yeeres) 319. and of yeeres of seruitude and affliction vnder strangers, 111. The reason why he doth not reckon *Sampsons* twenty yeeres, is because he thinks that they were part of the 40. yeeres, in which the *Philistims* are said to haue oppressed *Israel*. For it is plaine, that during all *Sampsons* time they were Lords ouer *Israel*. So then of the *Iudges*, besides the 111. yeeres of seruitude, *Codoman* reckoneth (as I haue said) 319. yeeres, which two summes put together make 430. yeeres. And, whereas Saint *Paul* nameth 450. yeeres, he findes 20. yeeres to make vp Saint *Pauls* number, to haue bene spent after the death of *Iofua* by the *Seniors*, before the Captiuitie of *Cushan*, or the election of *Orthoniel*: which 20. yeeres added to 430. make 450. according to Saint *Paul*. To approue this time of the Elders, he citeth two places of Scriptures, namely the 24. of *Iofua*, and the second of *Iudges*, in each of which places it is written, that *Israel* serued the Lord all the dayes of *Iofua*, and all the dayes of the Elders that ouer-lined *Iofua*: so as to these times of the Elders, *Codoman* giueth 20. yeeres, which make as before 450. according to S. *Paul*. Neither would it breed any great difficultie in this opinion, if here also the 20. yeeres of the *Seniors* between *Iofua* and *Orthoniel*, should be denied. For they which denie these yeeres, and make *Orthoniels* 40. to begin presently vpon the death of *Iofua*, as in the beginning of this reckoning they haue 20. yeeres lesse than *Codoman*, so toward the end of it (when they reckon the yeeres of affliction apart from the yeeres of the *Iudges*) in the number of *Sampsons* yeeres, and of the 40. yeeres of the *Philistims* oppressing the *Israelites*, they haue 20. yeeres more than *Codoman*. For they reckon these 40. yeeres of oppression all of them a-part from *Sampsons* 20. but *Codoman*, as is said, makes *Sampsons* 20. to be the one halfe of the 40. of the *Philistims* oppressions; so that if the 20. yeeres of the *Seniors*, i.e. not allowed to *Codoman*, then he may reckon (as the letter of the Text seemes to inforce) that the *Philistims* in any *Inter-regnum*, before *Sampson* iudged *Israel*, vexed the *Israelites* 40. yeeres besides the 20. while *Sampson* was their *Iudge*; & so the reckoning will come to 450. yeeres between the end of *Iofua*, and the beginning of *Samuel*, though we admit not of an *Inter-regnum* of the *Seniors* betweene *Iofua* and *Orthoniel*: For, if the times of their affliction be summed, they make 111. yeeres; to which if we adde the yeeres of the *Iudges*, which are 339. wee haue the iust summe of 450. And this computation either one way or other, may seeme to be much more probable, than theirs that correct the Text, although we should admit of their correction thereof; & read with them 350. for 450. For whereas they conceiue that this time of 350. yeeres, is to begin immediately, or soone after the death of *Moses*: certainly the place of S. *Paul* doth evidently teach the contrary, though it be receiued for true that there was *vitium scriptoris* in the rest. For these be Saint *Pauls* words: *And about the time of forty yeeres, God suffered their manners in the wilderness: And he destroyed seven Nations in the Land of Canaan, and diuided their Land to them by lot. Then afterward he gaue vnto them Iudges about 450. yeeres, vnto the time of Samuel the Prophet.* So as first in the eighteenth verse he speaketh of *Moses* and of his yeeres spent in the wilderness; then in the nineteenth verse he commeth vnto the acts of *Iofua*; which were, that he destroyed seven Nations in the land of *Canaan*, and diuided their Land to them by lot. In the twentieth verse it followeth, then afterward he gaue them *Iudges* about 450. yeeres, &c. and therefore to reckon from the death of *Moses*, is wide of S. *Pauls* meaning, so farre as my weake vnderstanding can pierce it. The onely inconuenience of any waight in opinion of *Codoman* touching this place in the *Acts*, is, that it seemes irreconcilable with the account, 1. Reg. 6. 11. For if indeed there were spent 450. yeeres between the end of *Iofua* and the beginning of *Samuel*, certainly there must needs be much more than 480. yeeres between the beginning of the *Israelites* journeying from *Egypt*, & the foundation of the Temple by *Salomon*. To this difficultie

*Codoman*

*Codoman* answereth, that these 480. yeeres, 1. Reg. 6. 11. must begin to be reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their journeying from *Egypt*, which he makes to be 25. yeeres after the beginning of *Orthoniels* gouernment; from whence if wee cast the yeeres of the *Iudges*, with the yeeres of seruitude (which summes according to his account, of which we haue already spoken, make 397. yeeres) and so to these yeeres adde the 40. of *Samuel*, and *Saul*, and the 40. of *Dauid*, and the 3. of *Salomon*, wee shall haue the iust summe of 480. yeeres. Neither is it hard (saith hee) that the *annus egressionis*, 1. Reg. 6. 11. should be vnderstood *egressionis non incipientis sed finitis*, the yeere of their coming out of *Egypt* (for so it is in the originall) or the yeere after they came out of *Egypt*, may well be vnderstood for the yeere after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandering from thence. For so wee finde that things which were done 40. yeeres after they had set foot out of *Egypt*, are said to haue bene done in their going out of *Egypt*, as *Psal.* 114. *When Israel came out of Egypt, Jordan was driuen backe, & Deut.* 4. 45. *These are the testimonies which Moses spake when they came out of Egypt.* And thus farre it seemes wee may very well agree with *Codoman*, for the interpretation of the *ab exitu*, to be as much as *quum exiissent*, or *ab exitu finitis*: for if *Iunius*, *Deut.* 4. 45. doe well reade *quum exiissent*, for *in exitu*, as it seemes that herein hee doth well, why may not wee also, to auoid contradiction in the Scripture, expound *ab exitu* to be, *postquam exiissent*?

The next point to be cleared, is how their journeying should be said not to haue had end vntill the 25. yeere after the victory of *Orthoniel*. To this *Codoman* answereth, that then it had no end til when all the Tribes had obtained their portions, which happened not vntill this time: at which time the *Danites* at length seated themselves, as it is declared, *Iud.* 18. For doubtlesse to this time the expedition may most conueniently be referred. And thus without any great inconuenience to him appearing, doth *Codoman* reconcile the account of *Iephia*, and S. *Paul*, with that in the first of *Kings*, c. 6. Now whereas it is said that the expedition of the *Danites* was when there was no King in *Israel*: to this *Codoman* answereth, that it is not necessary that wee should suppose that *Orthoniel* liued all those 40. yeeres of rest, of which *Iud.* 3. 11. so that by the 25. yeere after his victory, either hee might haue bene dead, or at least, as *Gidon* did, he might haue refused all souerainty, and so either way it might truly be said that at this time (to wit, the 25. yeere after *Orthoniels* victorie) there was no King in *Israel*. This opinion of *Codoman*, if it were as consonant to other Chronologers grounding their opinions on the plaine Text, where it is indisputable, as it is in it selfe round enough and coherent, might perhaps be receiued as good: especially considering, that the speeches of S. *Paul* haue not otherwise found any interpretation, maintaining them as absolutely true, in such manner as they found, and are set downe. But seeing that he wanteth all helpe of authority, we may iustly suspect the supposition wherupon his opinion is grounded; it being such as the consent of many Authors would hardly suffice to make very probable. For who hath told *Codoman*, that the conquest of *Laisb*, by the Tribe of *Dan*, was performed in the five and twentieth yeere of *Orthoniel*? Or what other probability hath hee than his owne coniecture, to shew that *Orthoniel* did so renounce the office of a *Iudge* after five and twenty yeeres, that it might then be truly said there was no King in *Israel*, but euery man did that which was good in his owne eyes?

Now concerning the rehearsal of the Law by *Moses*, and the stopping of *Jordan*, they might indeed be properly said to haue bene, when *Israel* came out of *Egypt*; like as we say that King *Edward* the first was crowned when hee came out of the holy Land, for so all iournies with their accidents commonly take name from the place either whence or whither they tend. But I thinke that hee can finde no such phrase of speech in Scripture as limiteth a iourney by an accident, or saith by conuerting the proposition, when *Jordan* was turning back, *Israel* came out of *Egypt*. Indeed most vnproper it were to giue date vnto actions comenced long after, from an expedition finished long before, namely to say, that King *Edward* at his arriual out of *Palestina*, did winne *Scotland*, or died at *Carlisle*. How may we then beleue that enterprize performed so many yeeres after the diuision of the Land (which followed the conquest at the iournies end) should be said to haue been at the time of the departure out of *Egypt*? Or who will not thinke it most strange, that the most notable account of time, seruing as the onely guide for certaine ages in sacred Chronologic, should not take name and beginning

from that illustrious deliuerance out of Egypt, rehearsed often by God himselfe among the principall of his benefits to Israel, whereof the very day and moneth are recorded in Scripture (as likewise are the yeere and moneth wherein it expired) & the forme of the yeere vpon that occasion changed; but should haue reference to the surprizing of a Town by sixe hundred men, that robbed a Chappell by the way, and stole from thence Idols to be their guides, as not going to worke in Gods name? For this accident whereupon *Cadoman* buildeth, hath either no time giuen to it, or a time far different from that which he supposeth, and is indeed rather by him placed in such a yeere, because it best stood with his interpretation fo to haue it, than for any certainty or likelihood of the thing it selfe.

Wherefore we may best agree with such as affirme that the Apostle *S. Paul* did not herein labour to set downe the course of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpose) but onely to shew that God, who had chosen Israel to be his people, deliuered them out of bondage, and ruled them by *Iudges* and *Prophets*, vnto the time of *Saul*, did raise vp out *Lord Iesus Christ* out of the seede of *Dauid* the King, in whose succession the Crowne was established, and promise made of a Kingdome that should haue no end. Now in rehearsing briefly thus much tended as a Preface to the declaration following; wherein hee sheweth Christ to haue bin the true *Messias* the Apostle was fo farre from labouring to make an exact calculation of times (the History being so well knowne & beleued of the Iewes to whom he preached) that he spake as it were at large, of the 40. yeeres consumed in the wilderness, whereof no man doubted, saying, that God suffered their manners in the wilderness about 40. yeeres. In like manner he proceeded, saying, that from the diuision of the Land vnto the daies of *Samuel* the Prophet, in whose time they required to haue a King, there passed about 450. yeeres. Neither did he stand to tell them, that an hundred and eluen yeeres of bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 339. yeeres of the *Iudges*; for this had beene an impertinent digression from the argument which hee had in hand. Wherefore it is not a worke so needfull as laborious, to search out of this place that which the Apostle did not here intend to teach, when the summe of 480. yeeres is so expressly and purposely set downe.

Now that the words of *S. Paul*, if there be no fault in the Copie through error of some Scribe, are not so curiously to be examined in matter of *Chronologie*, but must be taken, as hauing reference to the memory & apprehension of the vulgar, it is euident by his ascribing in the same place 40. yeeres to the reigne of *Saul*; whereas it is manifest that those yeeres were diuided between *Saul* and *Samuel*, yea, that farre the greater part of them were spent vnder the government of the Prophet, howsoeuer they are here included in the reigne of the King. As for those that with so much cunning forsake the generall opinion, when it fauoureth not such exposition as they bring out of a good minde, to saye where the need is not ouer-great, I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example. The words of *S. Paul* were sufficiently iustified by *Bernardus*, as hauing reference to a common opinion among the Scribes in those dayes, that the 111. yeeres of seruitude were to be reckoned apart from the 339. yeeres ascribed to the *Iudges*, which account, the Apostle would not in this place stand to contradict, but rather chose to speake as the vulgar, qualifying it with a *quasi*, where he saith, *quasi quadringentis & quinquaginta annis*; As it were four hundred and fifty yeeres. But *Cadoman* being not thus contented, would needs haue it be so indeed, and therefore dil-ioynes the members to make the account euen. In so doing he disleth himselfe against a notable Text, whereupon all Authors haue builded (as well they might and ought) that purposely and precisely doth cast vp the yeeres from the departure out of Egypt, vnto the building of *Solomons* Temple, not omitting the very Moneth it selfe.

Now (as commonly the first apprehensions are strongest) hauing already giuen faith to his owne interpretation of *Saint Paul*, he thinketh it more needfull to find some new exposition for that which is of it selfe most plaine, and to examine his owne coniecture vpon a place that is full of controuersie. Thus by expounding, after a strange method, that which is manifest by that which is obscure, he loseth himselfe in those waies wherein before him neuer man walked. Surely if one should vrge him to giue reason of these new opinions, he must needs answer, That *Othontel* could not gouerne about 25. yeeres, because ther was the taking of *Lisib*, at which time there was no King in *Israell*; That the

Danites

*Danites* must needs haue taken *Lisib* at that time, because else we could not reckon backwards from the foundation of the Temple to any action that might bee termed the coming of Israel out of Egypt, without excluding the yeeres of seruitude; And that the yeeres of seruitude must needs be included, for that otherwise hee himselfe should haue spent his time vainely, in seeking to pleasure *S. Paul* with an exposition. Whether this ground be strong enough to vphold a Paradoxe, I leaue it to the decision of the iudicial Reader.

And now to proceed in our storie. To the time of *Iephtha* are referred the death of *Hercules*, the rape of *Helen* by *Paris*, and the proditions which her husband *Menelaus*, reigning then in *Sparta*, and his brother *Agamemnon* King of *Mycenae*, made for her recouerie. Others refer this rape of *Helen* to the fourth yeere of *Ithacan*: from which time, if the warre of *Troy* (as they suppose) did not begin till the third of *Ailon* or *Elon*, yet the Greeks had sixe yeeres to prepare themselves: the rule holding not true in this War, *longa preparatio bellum celerem affert victoriam*; That a long preparation begets a speedy victorie: for the Greekes consumed tenne yeeres in the attempt; and *Troy*, as it seemes, was entred, sackt and burnt in the third yeere of *Ithacan*.

Three yeeres after *Troy* taken, which was in the sixt yeere of *Ithacan*, *Eneis* arrived in *Italie*. *Ithacan* in the eighth yeere of his rule, died, after hee had bene the Father of 40. sonnes and 30. grand-children. And whereas it is supposed, that the 40. yeeres of Israels oppression by the *Philistims* (of which *Iud.* 13. v. 1.) tooke beginning from the ninth yeere of *Zair*, and ended with the last of *Ithacan*: I see no reason for that opinion. For *Ephraim* had had little cause of quarrell against *Iephtha*, for not calling them to War ouer *Jordan*, if the *Philistims* had held them in seruitude in their own Territories: and if *Ephraim* could haue brought 42000. armed men into the field, it is not likely that they werethen oppressed: and had it bene true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather haue fought against the *Philistims* with so powerfull an Armie for their owne deliuerance, than against their owne brethren the *Israelites*? But *Ammon* being ouerthrowne, it seemed at that time, that they feared no other enemie. And therefore these 40. yeeres must either bee supplied elsewhere, as in the time of *Samson*, and afterwards: or else they must be referred to the inter-regnum betweene the death of *Ithacan*, and the deliuerance of Israel by *Samson*, such as it was.

## CHAP. XIII.

## Of the Warre of Troy.

## §. I.

Of the Genealogie of the Kings of Troy, with a note touching the ancient Poets how they haue obserued Historically truth.



HE Warre at *Troy* with other stories hereupon depending (because the ruine of this Citie, by most *Chronologers* is found in the time of *Ithacan*, Iudge of *Israel*, whom in the last place I haue mentioned) I rather choose here to intreat of in one entire narration, beginning with the lineall descent of their Princes, than to break the story into pieces by rehearsing a-part in diuers yeeres, the diuersity of occurrents.

The Historie of the ancient Kings of *Troy* is vncertaine, in regard both of their originall, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that *Tencer* and *Dardanus* were the two founders of that Kingdome. This is the opinion of *Virgil*: which if hee (as *Remenius* thinks) tooke from *Berosus*, it is the more probable: if *Annius* borrowed it of him, then it rests vpon the authority of *Virgil*, who saith thus:

*Cressa* *Louis magni medio iacet insula Ponto:*  
*Alas Idæus ubi, & gentis cunabula nostræ.*

Nn 3

Gensim

*Centum Vrbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna:  
Maximus unde Pater (si rite audita recorder)  
Teuctus Rheteas primum est aduectus ad oras:  
Optauitque locum regno. Nondum Ilium & arces  
Pergamee steterant: habitabant vallibus imis.  
Hinc Mater cultrix Cybele, Corybantique ara,  
Idæumque nemus.*

In the maine Sea the Ile of Crete doth lie:  
Whence *Ioue* was borne, thence is our progenie.  
There is mount *Ida*: there in fruitfull Land  
An hundredth great and goodly Cities stand.  
Thence (if I follow not mistaken fame)  
*Tencer* the eldest of our grand-fires came  
To the Rhetean shores: and reigned there  
Ere yet faire *Ilium* was built, and ere  
The Towers of *Troy*: their dwelling place they sought  
In lowest vales. Hence *Cybel*s rites were bought:  
Hence *Corybantian* Cymbals did remoue:  
And hence the name of our *Idæan* groue.

Thus it seemeth by *Virgil*, who followed surely good authority, that *Tencer* first gaue name to that Countrey, wherein he reigned ere *Troy* was built by *Dardanus*: of which *Dardanus* in the same booke he speaks thus:

*Est locus, Hesperiam Graeci cognomine dicunt:  
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebae,  
Oenotrii coluere viri, nunc fama minores  
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine gentem.  
Hec nobis proprias sedes: hinc Dardanus ortus:  
Iasusque Pater, genus a quo principe nostrum.*

*Hesperia* the *Gracians* call the place:  
An ancient fruitfull Land, a warlike race,  
*Oenotrians* held it; now the later progenie  
Giues it their Captaines name, and calls it *Italie*;  
This seate belongs to vs, hence *Dardanus*,  
Hence came the Author of our stock, *Iasius*.

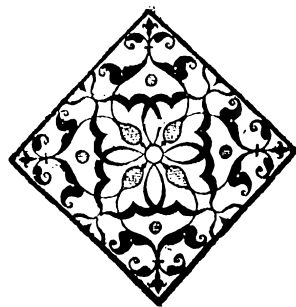
Alfo *Armid.* 1.

*Atque equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis)  
Aruncos ita ferre senex, hic ortus ut agris  
Dardanus Idæas Phrygiæ penetravit ad urbes,  
Threiciæque Sinum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.  
Hinc illum Coryti Tyrrhæna ab sede profectum,  
Aurea nunc folio stellantis regia cæli  
Accipit, &c.*

Some old *Aruncans*, I remember well,  
(Though time haue made the same obscure) would tell  
Of *Dardanus*, how borne in *Italie*:  
From hence he into *Phrygia* did flie.  
And leauing *Tuscanie* (where he earst had place)  
With *Corytus* did faile to *Samothrace*,  
But now inthronized he sits on high,  
In golden Palace of the starrie skie.

But contrary to this, and so many Authors, approuing and confirming it, *Reineccius* thinks that these names, *Troes*, *Teucri*, and *Thracæ*, are deriued from *Tiras* or *Thiras* the son of *Iaphet*: and that the *Dardaniæns*, *Myrsæns*, & *Ascanians*, mixt with the *Troians*, were

were *Germane* Nations, descended from *Askenaz*, the sonne of *Gomer*: of whom the Countrie, Lake, and river of *Ascanius* in *Asia* tooke name. That *Askenaz* gaue name to those places and people, it is not vnlikely: neither is it vnlikely, that the *Ascanii*, *Dardani*, and many others, did in after-times passe into *Europe*: that the name of *Tencer* came of *Tiras*, the coniecture is somewhat hard. Concerning *Tencer*, whereas *Halicanassens* makes him an *Athenian*, I finde none that follow him in the same opinion. *Virgil* (as is before shewed) reporteth him to be of *Crete*, whose authoritie is the more to be regarded, because hee had good meanes to finde the truth, which it is probable that hee carefully sought, and in this did follow, seeing it no way concerned *Augustus* (whom other-whiles hee did flatter) whether *Tencer* were of *Crete* or no. *Reineccius* doth rather embrace the opinion of *Diodorus*, and others that thinke him a *Phrygian*, by which report he was the Sonne of *Scamander* and *Ida*, Lord of the Countrey, not founder of the Citie; and his Daughter or Neece *Batia* was the second wife of *Dardanus*, founder of *Troy*. *Reineccius* further thinks that *Atlas* reigned in *Samothracia*, and gaue his daughter *Electra* to *Corytus*, or *Coritus*: and that these were Parents to *Chryse*, first wife to *Dardanus*. *Virgil* holds otherwise, and the common Tradition of Poets makes *Dardanus* the sonne of *Electra* by *Iupiter*, which *Electra* was the daughter of *Atlas*, and wife to *Coritus* King of *Hetruria*, to whom she bare *Iasius*. *Annius* out of his *Herodotus* findes the name of *Camboblascon*, to whom he giues the addition of *Corytus*, as a Title of dignitie, making him Father of *Dardanus* and *Iasius*; and further telling vs very particularly of the faction betweene these Brethren, which grew to such heate, that finally *Dardanus* killed his Brother, and thereupon fled into *Samothrace*. The obscurity of the historie giues leaue to *Annius* of saying what he list. I, that loue not to vse such libertie, will forbear to determine any thing herein. But if *Dardanus* were the Sonne of *Iupiter*, it must haue bene of some elder *Iupiter* than the Father of those that liued about the Warre of *Troy*. So it is likewise probable that *Atlas* the Father of *Electra* was rather an *Italian* than an *African*, which also is the opinion of *Boccace*. For (as hath often been said) there were many *Iupiters*, and many of almost euery name of Gods; but it was the custome to ascribe to some one the aqs of the rest, with all belonging to them. Therefore I will not greatly trouble my self with making any narrow search into these fabulous antiquities, but set down the Pedigree according to the generall fame; allowing to *Tencer* such Parents as *Diodorus* giues, because others giue him none, and carrying the line of *Dardanus* in manner following.





Many by valour haue deseru'd renowne  
 Ere *Agamemnon*: yet lie all opprest  
 Vnder long night, vnwep for, and vnknowne:  
 For with no sacred Poet were they blest.

Yet so it is, that whilest these writers haue with strange fables, or (to speake the best of them) with Allegories farre strained, gone about to enlarge the commendations of those noble vndertakers: they haue both drawne into suspicion that great vertue which they sought to adorne, & filled after-ages with almost as much ignorance of the Historie, as admiration of the persons. Wherefore it is expedient that we seeke for the knowledge of such actions, in Histories; learning their qualities who did manage them, of Poets, in whose workes are both profit and delight: yet small profit to those which are delighted otherwise; but such as can interpret their fables, or separate them from the naked truth, shall finde matter in *Poems*, not vnworthy to be regarded of Historians. For those things excepted which are gathered out of *Homer*, there is very little, and not without much disagreement of Authors, written of this great war. All writers consent with *Homer*, that the rape of *Helen* by *Paris* the son of *Priamus*, was the cause of taking arms: but how he was hereunto emboldned, it is doubtfull.

## §. II.

Of the Rape of *Helen*: and strength of both sides for the warre.

*Erodatus* fetcheth the cause of this rape from very farre; saying, That whereas the Phœnicians had rauished *Io*, and carried her into Egypt, the Greekes to be reuenged on the Barbarians, did first rauish *Europa*, whom they brought out of *Phœnicia* into Creta, and afterward *Medea*, whom they fetcht from *Calchos*, denying to restore her to her father, till such time as they might be satisfied for the rape of *Io*. By these deedes of the Greekes, *Paris* (as the same *Herodotus* affirmes) was emboldned to doe the like, not fearing such reuenge as ensued. But all this narration seemes frivolous. For what had the King of *Calchos* to doe with the iniurie of the Phœnicians? Or how could the Greekes, as in reuenge of *Io*, pleade any quarrell against him, that neuer had heard the name of Phœnicians? *Thucydides* a writer of vnquestionable sinceritie, maketh it plain, that the name of Barbarians was not vntill all in *Homers* time, which was long after the warre of Troy; and that the Greekes themselves were not then called all by one name, *Hellenes*, as afterwards. So that it were vnreasonable to thinke, that they should haue sought reuenge vpon all Nations, as barbarous, for the iniurie receiued by one: or that all people else should haue esteemed of the Greekes, as of a people opposed to all the world; and that euen then when as the Greekes had not yet one common name among themselves. Others with more probabilitie say, that the rape of *Helen* was to procure the redeliuery of *Hesione*, King *Priamus* his siter, taken formerly by *Hercules*, and giuen to *Telamon*. This may haue bene true. For *Telamon* (as it seemes) was a cruel man, seeing his owne sonne *Tenear* durst not come in his sight, after the warre of Troy, but fled into Cyprus, onely because his brother *Ajax* (which *Tenear* could not remedie) had slaine himselfe. Yet, were it so, that *Hesione* was ill intreated by *Telamon*, it was not therefore likely, that *Priamus* her brother would seeke to take her from her husband, with whom she had liued about thirtie yeeres, and to whom thee had borne children which were to succeed in his Dominion. Whereupon I thinke that *Paris* had no regard either to the rape of *Europa*, *Medea*, or *Hesione*: but was meereley incited by *Venus*, that is, by his lust, to doe that which in those dayes was very common. For not onely Greekes from Barbarians, and Barbarians from Greekes, as *Herodotus* discouerseth, but all people were accustomed to steale women and cattell, if they could by strong hand or power get them; and hauing stollen them, either to sell them away in some farre Countrey, or keepe them to their owne vse. So did *Theseus*, and *Pirithous* attempt *Proserpina*; and so did *Theseus* (long before *Paris*) rauish *Helen*. And these practices, as it appears in *Thucydides*, were so common, that none durst inhabite neere vnto the Sea, for feare of pyracie, which was accounted a trade of life no lesse lawfull than merchandise: wherefore *Tyndareus* the father of *Helen*, considering the beauty of his daughter, and the rape which *Theseus* had made, caused all her wooers, who were most of the principall men

in Greece, to binde themselves by solemne oath, that if she were taken from her husband, they should with all their might helpe to recouer her. This done, he gaue free choyce of a husband to his daughter, who chose *Menelaus*, brother to *Agamemnon*. So the cause which drew the Greekes vnto Troy in reuenge of *Helen's* rape, was partly the oath which so many Princes had made vnto her father *Tyndareus*. Hereunto the great power of *Agamemnon* was not a little helping; for *Agamemnon*, besides his great Dominions in Peloponnesus, was Lord of many Ilands: he was also rich in money; and therefore the Arcadians were well contented to follow his pay, whom hee embarked for Troy in his owne ships, which were more than any other of the Greeke Princes brought to that expedition.

Thus did all Greece, either as bound by oath, or led by reputation and power of the two brethren, *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*; or desirous to partake of the profit and honour in that great enterprise; take armes against the Troians. The Greekes Fleet was (by *Homers* account) 1200. sayle, or thereabouts; but the vessels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build ships with deckes; onely they vied, as *Thucydides* saith) small ships, meet for robbing on the Sea; the least of which carried fiftie men, the greatest 120. euery man (except the Captaines) being both a Marriner and a Souldier. By this proportion it appeares that the Grecian army consisted of 100000 men, or thereabout. This was the greatestt armie that euer was raised out of Greece: and the greatnest of this armie doth well declare the strength and power of Troy, which then whole yeeres did stand out against such forces: yet were the Troians which inhabited the Citie, not the tenth part of this number, as *Agamemnon* said in the second of *Homers* Iliads; but their followers and aydes were very many and strong. For all Phrygia, Lycia, Mysia, and the greatestt part of Asia the lesse, tooke part with the Troians. The Amazons also brought them succour. And *Rhesus* out of Thrace, and *Menon* out of Assyria (though some thinke, out of Ethiopia) came to their defence.

## §. III.

Of the Grecians journey, and Embassage to Troy, and of *Helenas* being detained in Egypt; and of the Sacrificing of *Iphigenia*.

Herefore the Greekes vnwilling to come to triall of armes, if things might be compounded by treaty, sent *Menelaus* and *Vlysses* Embassadors to Troy, who demanded *Helen* & the goods were taken with her out of *Menelaus* his house. What answer the Troians made hereunto it is vn certaine. *Herodotus* from the report of the Egyptian Priests, makes it very probable, that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before his returne to Troy. The summe of his discourse is this.

*Paris* in his returne with *Helen*, being driuen by foule weather vnto the coast of Egypt, was accused for the rape of *Helen* by some bondmen of his, that had taken Sanctuary. *Proteus* then King of Egypt, finding the accusation true by examination, detained *Helen*, and the goods taken with her, till her husband should require them: dismissing *Paris* without further punishment, because he was a stranger. When therefore the Greekes demanding *Helen* had answer, that she was in Egypt, they thought themselves deluded, and thereupon made the warre, which ended with the ruine of Troy. But when after the Citie taken, they perceiued indeed she had not bene there, they returned home, sending *Menelaus* to aske his wife of *Proteus*. *Homer* and the whole Nation of Poets (except *Enripides*) vary from this Historie, thinking it a matter more magnificent and more graceful to their Poems, for the retaining of a faire Lady, than that they endured all by force, because it lay not in their power to redeliuer her. Yet in the fourth of his *Odysseys*, *Homer* speaks of *Menelaus* his being in Egypt, before he returned home to *Sparta*; which voyage it were not easily beleued, that he made for pleasure: and if he were driuen thither by contrary windes, much more may wee thinke that *Paris* was likely to haue bene driuen thither by foule weather. For *Paris* immediately vpon the rape committed, was enforced to flye, taking such windes as he could get, and rather enduring any storme, than to commit himselfe to any Haue in the Greekes seas: whereas *Menelaus* might haue put into any Port in Greece, and there haue remained with good entertainment, vntill such time as the winde had come about, and serued for his Navigation.



One great argument *Herodotus* brings to confirme the saying of the *Egyptian* Priests, which is, that if *Helen* had bene at *Troy*, it had bene vter madnesse for *Priamus* to see so many miseries befall him, during the warre, and so many of his sonnes slaine for the pleasure of one, who neither was heire to the Kingdome (for *Heclor* was elder) nor equall in vertue to many of the rest. Besides, it may seeme that *Lucian* spake not more pleasantly than truly, when he said that *Helen*, at the war of *Troy*, was almost as old as Queene *Heclia*, considering that she had beene ransomed by *Theseus* the companion of *Hercules*, who took *Troy* when *Priamus* was very young, and considering further, that she was sister to *Cassiope* and *Pollux* (she and *Pollux* being said by some to haue bene twins) who sailed with the *Argonautes*, hauing *Telamon* the father of *Ajax* in their company before the time that *Hecione* was taken, on whom *Telamon* begat *Ajax*, that was a principall Commander in the *Troian* warre. But whether it were so that the *Troians* could not, or would not restore *Helen*, so it was that the Embassadors returned ill contented, and not very well intreated; for there wanted not some that aduised to haue them slaine. The Greekes hereupon incensed, made all haste towards *Troy*; at which time *Calchas* (whom some say to haue bin a runnagate *Troian*, though no such thing be found in *Homer*) filled the Captaines & all the Hoaste with many troublesome answers & diuinations. For he would haue *Agamemnon*'s daughter sacrificed to appease *Diana*, whose anger, he said, withstood their passage. Whether the young Lady were sacrificed, or whether (as some write) the goddess was contented with a Hinde, it is not needfull here to be disputed of. Sure it is, that the malice of the diuell, which awaits for all opportunities, is neuer more importunate, than where mens ignorance is most. *Calchas* also told the Greekes, that the taking of *Troy* was impossible, till some fatall impediments were remoued: and that till ten yeeres were past, the towne should hold out against them. All which notwithstanding, the Greekes proceeded in their enterprise, vnder the command of *Agamemnon*, who was accompanied with his brother *Menelaus*; *Achilles* the most valiant of all the Greekes, his friend *Patroclus*, and his Tutor *Phonix*; *Ajax* and *Teucer*, the sons of *Telamon*; *Idomeneus*, and his companion *Moriones*; *Nestor* and his sonnes *Antilochus*, and *Thrasymedes*; *Vlysses*, and *Menestheus* the sonne of *Petrus*, Captaine of the *Athenians*; *Diomedes* the son of *Tydeus*, a man of singular courage; the wife and learned *Palamedes*; *Ascalaphus* and *Iasmenus*, the sons of *Mars*, who had sailed with the *Argonautes*; *Philoctetes* also the sonne of *Peon*, who had the arrowes of *Hercules*, without which *Calchas* said, that the Citie could not be taken; *Ajax* the sonne of *Oileus*; *Penelus*, *Tboas*, *Eumelus*, *Tysandrus*, *Euripilus*, *Athamas*, *Sthenelus*, *Tlepolemus* the son of *Hercules*; *Podalirius*, and *Alacon*, the sonnes of *Asculapins*; *Epheus*, who is said to haue made the wooden horse, by which the towne was taken; and *Protesilaus*, who first leapt on shore, neglecting the Oracle that threatned death to him that landed first.

## §. IV.

## Of the Acts of the Gracians at the siege.

These, and many other of lesse note, arriuing at *Troy*, found such sharpe entertainment, as might easily perswade them to thinke that the warre would be more than one yeeres worke. For in the first encounter, they lost *Protesilaus*, whom *Heclor* slew, & many other, without any great harme done to the *Troians*: save only that by their numbers of men, they won ground enough to incampe themselves in, as appeareth in *Theydides*. The principall impediment which the Greekes found, was want of victuals, which grew vpon them by reason of their multitude, and the finalnesse of their vessels, wherein they could not carry necessaries for such an armie. Hereupon they were compelled to send some part of their men; to labour the grounds in *Cherroneesse*: others to rob vpon the Sea for the reliefe of the Campe. Thus was the war protracted nine whole yeeres, & either nothing done, or if any skirmishes were, yet could the towne recieue little losse by them, hauing equall numbers to maintaine the field against such Greekes as continued the siege, and a more safe retreat if the enimie got the better.

Wherefore *Onid* saith, That from the first yeere, till the tenth, there was no fighting at all; & *Heraclides* commendes as very credible, the report of *Herodotus*; That the Greekes did not lye before *Troy* the first nine yeeres: but onely did beare vp & down the seas

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exercising their men, and enriching themselves; and so by wasting the enemies Countrey did block up the towne, vntill the fatal time drew nere when it should be subuerb'd.

This is confirmed by the lequition which *Priamus* made, when the Greeke Princes came into the field, the tenth yeere; for he knew none of them; and therefore sitting vpon an high tower (as *Homer* tels) hee learned their names of *Helen*; which though it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all haue been supposed that hee should bee ignorant of them, if they had shewed themselves before the towne so many yeeres together. Betweene these relations of *Theydides* and *Herodotus*, the difference is not much; the one saying, that a few of the Greekes remained in the Camp before *Troy*, whilst the rest made purveyance by land and by sea: the other, that the whole armie did spend the time in wasting the sea-coasts. Neither doe the Poets greatly disagree from these authors: for they make report of many townes and Ilands wasted, and the people carried into Captiuitie; in which actions *Achilles* was employed, whom the armie could not well, nor would haue spared, if any seruice of importance had bene to bee performed before the Citie. Howsoever it was, this is agreed by generall consent, that in the beginning of that Summer, in which *Troy* was taken, great booties were brought into the Campe, and a great pestilence arose among the Greekes: which *Homer* saith, that *Apollo* sent in reuenge of his Priests daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refused to let goe, for any rancome: but *Heraclides* interpreting the place, saith, that by *Apollo* was meant the Sunne, who rayed pestilence Fogs, by which the armie was infected, being lodged in a moorish piece of ground, And it might well bee that the campe was ouer-pestered with thofe, who had been abroad, and now were lodged all close together: hauing also grounded their ships within the fortifications.

About the same time arose much contention betweene *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* about the bootie, whereof *Agamemnon*, as Generally, hauing first chosen for his part a captiue woman, and *Achilles* in the second place chosen for himselfe another, then *Ajax*, *Vlysses*, and so the rest of the chiefe Captaines in order: When the Soothsayer *Calchas* had willed that *Agamemnon*'s woman should be restored to her father *Apollo*'s Priest, that so the Pestilence might cease, then did *Agamemnon* greatly rage, and say, that hee alone would not lose his part of the spoyle, but would either take that which had bene giuen to *Achilles*, or that which had fallen to *Ajax*, or to *Vlysses*. Hereupon *Achilles* desired him, but was faine to suffer all patiently, as not able to hold his Concubine by strong hand, nor to reuenge her losse otherwise than by refusing to fight, or to send forth his Captaines. But the Greekes, encouraged by their Captaines, presented themselves before the Citie without him and his troups.

The *Troians* were now relieued with great succours, all the neighbour Countreies hauing sent them aide: partly drawne to that warre by their Commanders, who assisted *Priamus* for money, wherewith hee abounded when the warre began (as appeares by his words in *Homer*), or for loue of himselfe and his sonnes, or hope of marriage with some of his many and faire daughters, partly also (as we may well ghesse) incited by the wrongs receiued of the Greekes, when they wasted the Countreies adioyning vnto *Troy*. So that when *Heclor* issued out of the towne, hee was little inferior to his enemies in numbers of men, or qualitie of their Leaders. The principall Captaines in the *Troian* armie, were *Heclor*, *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helenus*, and the other sonnes of *Priamus*: *Aeneas*, *Antenor*, and his sonnes, *Polydamas*, *Sarpedon*, *Glancus*, *Asius*, and the sonnes of *Panthus*, besides *Rhesus*, who was slaine the first night of his arriual; *Memnon*, Queene *Penthesilea*, and others who cametowards the end of the warre. Betweene these and the Greekes were many battels fought: the greatest of which were, that at the tombe of King *Ilus* vpon the Plaine: and another at the very trenches of the Campe, wherein *Heclor* brake through the fortifications of the Greekes, and began to fire their ships; at which time *Ajax*, the sonne of *Telamon* with his brother *Teucer*, were in a manner the onely men of note that remaining vnwounded, made head against *Heclor*, when the state of the Greekes was almost desperate.

Another battell (for so antiquitie calls it) or rather the same renewed, was fought by *Patroclus*, who hauing obtained leaue, drew forth *Achilles* troups, relieuing the weary Greekes with a fresh supply. *Agamemnon*, *Diomedes*, *Vlysses*, and the rest of the Princes, though sore wounded, yet were driuen to put on armour, and with helpe of *Patroclus*,

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## §. IV.

## Of the Ails of the Grecians at the siege.

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Wherefore *Onid* saith, That from the first yeere, till the tenth, there was no fighting at all; & *Heraclide* commendes as very credible, the report of *Heraclitus*; That the Greekes did not lye before *Troy* the first nine yeeres: but onely did beare vp & down the seas

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This is confirmed by the enquitie which *Priamus* made, when the Greeke Princes came into the field, the tenth yeere; for he knew none of them; and therefore sitting vpon an high tower (as *Homer* tels) hee learned their names of *Helen*; which though it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all haue been supposed that hee should bee ignorant of them, if they had shewed themselves before the towne so many yeeres together. Betwene these relations of *Thucydides* and *Heraclitus*, the difference is not much; the one saying, that a few of the Greekes remained in the Campe before *Troy*, whilst the rest made purveyance by land and by sea: the other, that the whole armie did spend the time in wasting the sea-coasts. Neither doe the Poets greatly disagree from these authors: for they make report of many townes and Ilands wasted, and the people carried into Captiuitie; in which actions *Achilles* was employed, whom the armie could not well, nor would haue spared, if any seruice of importance had bene to be performed before the Citie. Howsoever it was, this is agreed by generall consent, that in the beginning of that Summer, in which *Troy* was taken, great booties were brought into the Campe, and a great pestilence arose among the Greekes: which *Homer* saith, that *Apollo* sent in reuenge of his Priests daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refused to let goe, for any ranſome: but *Heraclides* interpreting the place, saith, that by *Apollo* was meant the Sunne, who rayed pestilence Fogs, by which the armie was infected, being lodged in a moorish piece of ground. And it might well bee that the campe was ouer-pestered with those, who had bene abroad, and now were lodged all close together: hauing also grounded their ships within the fortifications.

About the same time arose much contention betwene *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* about the bootie, whereof *Agamemnon*, as Generall, hauing first chosen for his part a captiue woman, and *Achilles* in the second place chosen for himselfe another, then *Aiax*, *Vlyſſes*, and so the rest of the chiefe Captaines in order: When the Soothsayer *Calchas* had willed that *Agamemnon*s woman should be restored to her father *Apollo*s Priest, that so the Pestilence might cease, then did *Agamemnon* greatly rage, and say, that hee alone would not lose his part of the spoyle, but would either take that which had bene given to *Achilles*, or that which had fallen to *Aiax*, or to *Vlyſſes*. Hereupon *Achilles* defied him, but was faine to suffer all patiently, as not able to hold his Concubine by strong hand, nor to reuenge her losse otherwise than by refusing to fight, or to send forth his Captaines. But the Greekes, encouraged by their Captaines, presented themselves before the Citie without him and his troups.

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Another battell (for so antiquitie calls it) or rather the same renewed, was fought by *Patroclus*, who hauing obtained leaue, drew forth *Achilles* troups, relieuing the weary Greekes with a fresh supply. *Agamemnon*, *Dionades*, *Vlyſſes*, and the rest of the Princes, though sore wounded, yet were driuen to put on armour, and with helpe of *Patroclus*,

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repelled

repelled the Troians very hardly. For in that fight *Patroclus* was lost, and his body, with much contention recovered by his friends, was brought backe into the Campe: the mourning of *Achilles* which he had put on, being torne from him by *Hector*. It was the manner of those warres, hauing slaine a man, to strip him, and hale away his body, nor restoring it without ranfome, if hee were one of make. Of the vulgar, little reckoning was made: for they fought all on foot, slightly armed, and commonly followed the successe of their Capitaines; who rode not vpon horses, but in Chariots, drawne by two or three horses, which were guided by some trustie followers of theirs, which draue vp and downe the field, as they were directed by the Capitaines, who by the swiftnesse of their horses presenting themselves where neede required, threw first their Iauelins, and then alighting, fought on foot, with swords and batel-axes, retiring into the ranks of footmen, or else returning to their Chariots when they found cause, and so began againe with a new dart as they could get it, if their old were lost, or broken. Their armes defensive were helmets, breast-plates, bootes of brasse, or other metall, and shields commonly of leather plated ouer. The offensive were swords and batel-axes at hand; and stones, arrowes or darts when they fought at any distance. The vse of their Chariots (besides the swiftnesse) was to keepe them from wearinesse, whereto the leaders were much subiect, because of their armour, which the strongest and stoutest were heauiest: also that from them they might throw their Iauelins downewards, with the more violence. Of which weapon I find not that any carried more than one or two into the field: wherefore they were often driuen to returne to their tents for a new one when the old was gone. Likewise of armours they had little change or none; euery man (speaking of the chiefe) carried his owne compleat, of which if any piece were lost or broken, he was driuen to repaire it with the like, if he had any fitting, taken from some Capitaine whom he had slaine, and stripped: or else to borrow of them that had by such meanes gotten some to spare. Whereas therefore *Achilles* had lost his armour which *Hector* (as is laid before) had taken from the body of *Patroclus*, he was faine to await the making of new, ere hee could enter the fight: whereof he became very desirous, that he might reuenge the death of *Patroclus* his deare friend.

At this time *Agamemnon* reconciled himselfe vnto *Achilles*, not onely restoring his concubine *Briseis*, but giuing him very great gifts, and excusing former matters as well as he might. In the next battell *Achilles* did so behaue himselfe, that hee did not onely put the Troians to the worst, but also leue the valiant *Hector*, whom (if *Homer* may beleeued) he chased three times about the wals of Troy. But great question may be made of *Homer*'s truth in this narration. For it is not likely that *Hector* would stay alone without the Citie (as *Homer* doth report of him) when all the Troians, were fled into it: nor that he could leape ouer the riuers of *Xanthus* and *Simois*, as hee must haue done in that fight: nor that the Troians perceiving *Hector* in such an extremitie, would haue borne to open some of their gates and let him in. But this is reported onely to grace *Achilles*, who hauing (by what meanes soeuer) slaine the noble *Hector*, did not onely carrie away his dead body, as the custome then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thrusting leatherne thongs into them, tyed him to his Chariot, and dragging him shamefully about the field, selling the dead body to his father *Priamus* for a very great ranfome. But his cruelty and couetousnesse were not long vreuenged; for he was shortly after slaine with an arrow by *Paris*, as *Homer* sayes, in the Scæan Gate; or as others, in the Temple of *Apollo*, whither he came to haue married *Polyxena* the daughter of *Priamus*, with whom he was too farre in loue, hauing slaine so many of her brethren; and his body was ranfomed (as *Eusebius* saith) at the selfe-same rate that *Hector*'s was by him sold for. Not long after this, *Penthesilea* Queene of the Amazons arrived at Troy, who after some proofe giuen of her valour, was slaine by *Pyrhus* the sonne of *Achilles*.

## §. V.

Of the taking of Troy, the wooden Horse, the Booke of Dares and Dyctis, the Colonies of the reliques of Troy.



nally, after the death of many worthy persons on each side, the Citie was taken by night, as all Writers agree: but whether by the treason of *Aeneas* and *Antenor*; or by a wooden Horse, as the Poets, and common fame (which

(which followed the Poets) haue deliuered, it is vncertaine. Some write that vpon one of the gates of Troy, called *Scæa*, was the image of a horse, and that the Greekes entring by that gate, gaue occasion to the report, that the Citie was taken by an artificall horse. It may well be that with some wooden engine, which they called an Horse, they either did batter the wals, as the Romanes in after-times vsed to do with the *Ramme*; or scaled the wals vpon the sudden, and so tooke the Citie. As for the hiding of men in the hollow body of a wooden horse, it had been a desperate aduenture, and serving to no purpose. For either the Troians might haue perceiued the deceit, and slaine all those Princes of Greece, that were inclosed in it (which also by such as maintaine this report they are said to haue thought vpon); or they might haue left it a few dayes without the Citie (for it was unlikely, that they should the very first day both conclude vpon the bringing it into the towne, and breake downe their wals vpon the sudden to doe it:) by which meanes they who were shut into it, must haue perished for hunger, if they had not by sitting forth vnseasonably discovered the inuention. Whereas further it is said, that this horse was so high and great, that it could not bee brought into the towne through any of the gates, and that therefore the Troians were faine to pull downe a part of their wall to make way for it, through which breache the Greekes did afterwards enter: it is beere-by manifest, that the inclosing of so many principall men was altogether needlesse, considering that without their helpe there was way sufficient for the armie, so that the surprising of any gate by them was now to no purpose.

*Iohn Baptista Gramay* in his Historie of *Asia*, discoursing of this warre, saith that the Greekes did both batter the wals with a wooden engine, and were also let into the Citie by *Antenor*, at the Scæan gate: the townsmen sleeping and drinking without feare or care, because the fleet of the Grecians had hoisted saile, and was gone the day before to the Ile of *Tenedos*, thereby to bring the Troians into security. That the City was betrayed, the books of *Dares* & *Dyctis* mult proue, which whether we now haue the same that were by them written, it may be suspected; for surely they who haue made mention of these writers in ancient times, would not as they did, haue followed the reports of *Homer* and others quite contradictorie in most points to these two authors, without once taking notice of the opposition, which they hauing serued in that warre made against the common report: had it not bene that either those bookes were euen in those times thought frivoulous; or else contained no such repugnancie to the other authors as now is found in them.

Also concerning the number of men slaine in this warre, which *Dares* and *Dyctis* say to haue bene aboute 600000. on the Trojan side, and more than 800000. of the Greekes, it is a report meetely fabulous; for as much as the whole Fleet of the Greekes was reckoned by *Homer*, who extolled their armie and decdes as much as hee could, to be somewhat lesse than 1200. saile, and the armie therein transported ouer the Greeke seas, not much aboute 100000. men, according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common fashion of men to extoll the deeds of their Ancients: for which cause both *Homer* magnified the Capitaines of the Greekes that serued in the warre, and *Virgil* with others were as diligent in commending and extolling the Troians and their *Cirrus*, from which the Romanes descended. Yea, the Athenians long after in the warre which *Xerxes* the Persian King made against all Greece, did not forbear to vaunt of the great cunning which *Menellus* the son of *Peleus* had shewed, in marshalling the Grecian army before Troy: wherupon, as if it had bin a matter of much consequence, they were so proud, that they refused to yeeld vnto *Gelon* King of almost all Sicily, the Admirallie of their Seas, notwithstanding that hee promised to bring 200. good fighting ships, and 30000. men for their defence.

The like vanitie possessed many other Cities of Greece, and many Nations in these parts of the world, which haue striuen to bring their descent from some of the Princes, that warred at Troy: all difficulties or vnlikelihoods in such their Pedigree notwithstanding. But those Nations which indeede, or in most probabilitie came of the Troians, were the Albanes in Italy; and from them the Romans, brought into that Countrey by *Æneus*: the Venetians first seated in *Padua*, and the Countrey adioyning by *Antenor*: the Chaonians planted in *Epirus* by *Helenus*, the sonne of King *Priamus*. To which *Hellenicus* addeth, that the posteritie of *Hector* did resemble such of the Troians as were left, and reigned ouer them about Troy.

## §. VI.

Of the distresses and dispersall of the Greekes returning from Troy.

Concerning the Greekes, they tasted as much miserie as they had brought vpon the Troians. For *Thucydides* notes, that by reason of their long abode at the siege, they found many alterations when they returned: so that many were driven by their borders from their ancient seats: many were expelled their Countries by factions: some were slaine anon after their arriual: others were debarred from the So-ueraigntie among the people, by such as had stayed at home. The cause of all which may seeme to haue bene the dispercion of the Armie, which, weakened much by the calamities of that long warre, was of little force to repell iniuries, being diuided into so many pieces vnder seuerall Commanders, not very well agreeing. For (besides other quarrels arising vpon the diuision of the bootie, and the like occasions) at the time when they should haue set saile, *Agamemnon* and his brother fell out, the one being desirous to depart immediately, the other to stay and performe some sacrifices to *Minerva*. Hereupon they fell to hot words, halfe the fleet remaining with *Agamemnon*, the rest of them sailed to the Ile of *Tenedos*, where when they arriued, they could not agree among themselves, but some returned backe to *Agamemnon*; others were dispersed, each holding his owne course. But the whole fleet was sore vexed with tempests: for *Pallas* (as *Homer* saith) would not be perswaded in haste.

They who returned safe were *Nestor* and *Pyrrhus*, whom *Orestes* afterwards slew: also *Idomeneus* and *Philoctetes*, who neuertheless, as *Virgil* tells, were driven soone after to seek new seats: *Idomeneus* among the Salentines, and *Philoctetes* at *Perilix* in *Italic*. *Agamemnon* likewise returned home, but was forthwith slaine by his wife, and by the adulterer *Agasthus*, who for a while after vsurped his Kingdome. *Menelaus* wandering long vpon the Seas, came into *Egypt*, either with *Helen*, or (as may rather seeme) to fetch her. *Ulysses*, after ten yeares, hauing lost all his company, got home in poore estate, with much adoe recovering the mastership of his own house. All the rest either perished by the way, or were driven into exile, and faine to seek new habitations.

*Alex* the sonne of *Oileus* was drowned; *Tener* fled into *Cyprus*; *Diomedes* to *King Dardanus*, who was Lord of the Iapyges in *Apulia*; some of the *Locrians* were driven into *Africke*, others into *Italic*, all the East part whereof was called *Magna Græcia*, by reason of so many Townes which the Greekes were driven to erect vpon that coast. Finally, it appears in *Homer*, that the *Græcian* Ladyes, whose husbands had bene at the warre of *Troy*, were wont to call it, The place where the Greekes suffered miserie, and the vnluckie Citie not to be mentioned. And thus much for *Troy*, and those that warred there: the ouerthrow of which Citie, as hath bene said, happened in the time of *Habdon* Iudge of *Israel*, whom *Samson* after a variance or *Inter regnum* for certaine yeares succeeded.

## CHAP. XV.

Of *Samson*, *Eli*, and *Samuel*.

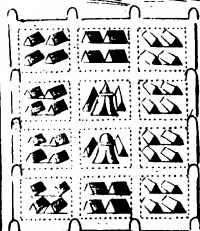
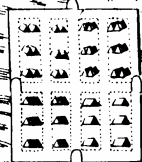
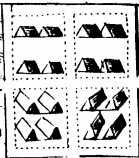
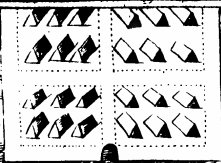
## §. I.

Of *Samson*.

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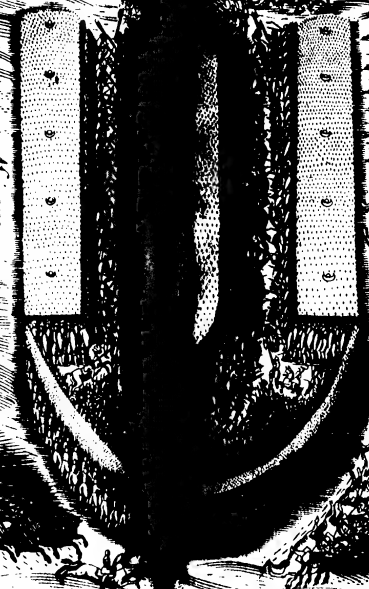


HE birth and acts of *Samson* are written at large in the 13. 14. 15. and 16. of *Judges*; and therefore I shall not need to make a repetition thereof. But these things I gather out of that storie. First, that the Angell of God forbad the wife of *Manoah* the mother of *Samson*, to drinke Wine or strong drinke, or to eat any vncleane meate, after she was conceived with childe; because those strong liquors hinder the strength, and as it were wither and shrinke the childe in the mothers wombe. Though this were euen the counsell of God himselfe, and deli-uered by his Angell, yet it seemeth that many women of this age haue not read,



*Ardus*

*Ardus*



*Ardus*

*Ardus*



*Ardus*



*Ardus*

that least will not beleue this precept: the most part forbearing nor drinke, nor meats, how strong or vncleane fouler, filling themselves with all sorts of wines, and with artificiall drinke farre more forcible: by reason whereof, so many wretched feeble bodyes are borne into the world, and the races of the able and strong men in effect decayed.

Secondly, it is to be noted, that the *Angel of God* refused the sacrifice which *Manoah* would haue offered him, commanding him to present it vnto the Lord: and therefore those that professe diuination by the helpe of Angels, to whom also they sacrifice, may assuredly know that they are Diuels who accept thereof, and not good Angels, who receiue no worship that is proper to God.


Thirdly, this *Samson* was twice betrayed by his wiues, to wit, by their importunitie and deceitfull teares: by the first he lost but a part of his goods: by the second his life. *Quem nulla vis superare potuit, voluptas euerit; whom no force could overcome, Voluptas inuasse euerturned.*

Fourthly, we may note, that he did not in all deliuer Israel from the oppression of the Philistims; though in some sort he reuenged, and defended them: for notwithstanding that he had slaine 30. of them in his first attempt, burnt their Corne in haruett time, and giuen them a great ouerthrow instantly vpon it: yet so much did Israel feare the Philistims, as they assembled 3000. men out of Iuda, to besiege *Samson* in the rocke or mountaine of Etam, vsing these words: *Knowest not thou that the Philistims are Rulers ouer vs, &c.* After which they bound him, and deliuered him vnto the Philistims, for feare of their reuenge; though he was no sooner loosened, but hee gaue them another ouerthrow, and slew 1000. with the iawbone of an Ass.

Lastly, being made blinde, and a prisoner by the treason of his wife, hee was content to end his owne life, to bee auenged of his enemies, when hee pulled downe the pillars of the house at the feast whereto they sent for *Samson*, to deride him; till which time hee bare his affliction with patience: but it was truly said of *Seneca*: *Patientia sepe lesa vertitur in furor*: Patience often wounded is conuerst into furie: neither is it any time so much wounded by paine and losse, as by derision and contumelie.

6. 11.

Of *Eli*, and of the Arke taken; and of Dragons fall, and the sending backe of the Arke.

 He storie of *Eli* the Priest, who succeeded *Samson*, is written in the beginning of *Samuel*; who foretold him of the destruction of his house, for the wickednesse of his sonnes, which he suppressed not, neither did he punish them according to their deserts: whose sins were horrible, both in abusing the Sacrifice, and prophaning and polluting the holy places: though *Leui Ben Gerson*, to extenuate this filthy offence of forcing the women by the sons of *Eli*, hath a contrary opinion. In this time therefore it pleased God to cast the Israelites vnder the swords of the Philistims; 40 of whom there perished in the first encounter 4000. and in the second battell 30000. footmen; among whom the sonnes of *Eli* being slaine, their father (hearing the lamentable successe) by falling from his chaire, brake his necke. Hee was the first that obtained the High Priesthood of the stocke of *Ithamar* the sonne of *Aaron*, before whose time it continued successufully in the race of *Eleazar* the eldest brother of *Ithamar*: for *Eleazar* was the first, *Eleazer* the second, *Phineas* the sonne of *Eleazer* the third, *Abisai* the sonne of *Phineas* the fourth, his sonne *Bacai* the fifth, *Ozi* the sonne of *Bacai* the sixth, and then *Eli*, as *Iosephus* and *Lysanus* out of diuers Hebrew authors haue conceiued. In the race of *Ithamar* the Priesthood continued after *Eli* to the time of *Salomon*, who cast out *Abiathar*, and established *Sadock* and *Achimam* and their successors. The Arke of God which Israel brought into the field, was in this battell taken by the Philistims. For as *David* witnesseth, God greatly abhorred Israel, so that hee forsooke the habitation of *Shilo*: even the Tabernacle where hee dwelt among men, and deliuered his power into captiuitie, &c.

Now as it pleased God at this time, that the Arke whereby himselfe was represented, should fall into the hands of the Heathen, for the offences of the Priests and people: so did hee permit the Chaldeans to destroy the Temple built by *Salomon*; the Romans to ouerthrow the second Temple; and the Turkes to ouerthrow the Christian Churches in Asia and Europe. And had not the Israelites put more confidence in the



sacrament, or representation which was the Arke, then in God himselfe, they would have offered his Lawes, and serued him onely : which whensoever they did, they were then victorious. For after the captiuitie they had no Arke at all, nor in the times of the Maccabees: and yet for their pietie it pleased God to make that familie as victorious as any that guarded themselves by the signe in stead of the substance. And that the Arke was not made to the end to be carried into the field as an ensigne, *David* witnessed when hee fled from *Abisalon*. For when the Priests would haue carried the Arke with him; hee forbade it, and caused it to be turned into the field, vntill these words: *If I shall finde fauour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me againe: if not, let him doe to me as seemeth good in his eyes.*

The Troians beleueed that while their *Palladium* or the image of *Adinerva* was kept in *Tro*, the Citie should neuer be ouerturned: so did the Christians in the last fatal battell against *Saladine* carry into the field, as they were made beleuee, the very Crosse whereon Christ died; and yet they lost the battell, their bodies and the wood. But *Chrysostome* vpon Saint *Matthew* (if that be his worke) giueth a good iudgement, speaking of those that wore a part of Saint *Iohns* Gospell about their neckes, for an amulet or preseruatiue: *Si tibi ea non profuit in auribus, quomodo proderunt in Collis? If these words doe not profit men in their eares, (to wit, the hearing of the Gospell preached) how should it profit them by hanging it about their neckes?* For it was neither the wood of the Arke, nor the wood of the Crosse, but the reuerence of the Father, that gaue the one for a memorie of his Couenant; and the Faith in his Sonne, which shed his blood on the other for redemption, that could or can profit them and vs, either in this life or after it.

The Philistims returning with the greatest victorie and glory which euer they obtained, carried the Arke of God with them to *Azotus*, and set it vp in the house of *Dagon* their Idoll: but that night the Idoll fell out of his place, from aboue to the ground, and lay vnder the Arke. The morning following they tooke it vp, and set it vp, and set it againe in his place. And it fell the second time, and the head brake from the body, and the hands from the armes, shewing, that it had nor power nor vnderstanding in the presence of God; for the head fell off, which is the seat of reason and knowledge, and the hands (by which we execute strength) were sundred from the armes. For God and the diuell inhabit not in one house, nor in one heart. And if this Idoll could not endure, the representation of the true God, it is not to be maruailed, that at such time as it pleased him to couer his onely begotten with flesh, and sent him into the world, that all the Oracles, wherein the Diuell derided and betrayed mortall men, lost power, speech, and operation at the instant. For when that true light which neuer had beginning of brightness, brake through the clouds of a Virgins body, shining vpon the earth which had bin long obscured by Idolatrie, all those foule and stinking vapours vanished. *Plutarch* heareth a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great god *Pan*, as he stileth him; where (as ignorant of the true cause) he searcheth his braines for many reasons of so great an alteration: yet findes he none out but frivulous. For not onely this Idoll did then die as he supposed, but all the rest, as *Apollo*, *Iupiter*, *Diana*, and the whole rabble became speechlesse.

Now while the Philistims triumphed after this victory, God strooke them with the grievous disease of the *Hemorrhoides*, of which they perished in great numbers. For it is written, that the Lord destroyed them. It was therefore by general consent ordered, that the Arke should be removed from *Azotus* to *Gath* or *Geth*, another of the five great Cities of the Philistims; to proue, as it seemeth, whether this disease were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediately: but when it was brought to *Gath* and received by them, the plague was yet more grievous and mortall. For the hand of the Lord was against this Citie with a very great destruction, and he smote the men of the Citie both small and great, &c. And being not yet satisfied, they of *Gath* sent the Arke to *Eckron* or *Accaron*, a third Citie of the Philistims: but they also felt the same smart, and cryed out, that themselves and their people should be slaine thereby; for there was a destruction and death throughout all the Citie. In the end, by the aduice of their Priests, the Princes of the Philistims did not onely resolve to returne the Arke, but to offer gifts vnto the God of Israel, remembering the plague which had fallen on the Egyptians, when their hearts were hardened to hold the people of God from their inheritance, and from his seruice by strong hand. Wherefore confessing the power of the God of Israel to bee almighty, & that their owne Idols were subiect thereunto, they agreed to offer a sinne offering,

vntill these words; *So yea shall giue glory to the God of Israel, that he may take his hand from you, and from your gods, and from your land.* And what can be a more excellent witnessing, than where an enemy doth approve our cause? according to *Aristotle*; *Pulchrum est testimonium, quod nostra probantur ab hostibus*. So did *Pharao* confesse the liuing God, when he was plagued in Egypt: and *Nabuchodonosor*, and *Darius*, when they had seene his miracles by *Daniel*.

This counsell therefore of the Priests being embraced, and the golden *Hemorrhoides*, and the golden Mice prepared, they caused two milch kine to be chosen, such as had not bene yoked; and a new Cart or carriage to be framed: but they durst not driue or direct it to any place certaine, thereby to make tryall whether it were indeed the hand of God that had stricken them. For if the Arke of God were carried towards *Bethshemesh* and into the territorie of Israel: then they should resolve that from God only came their late destruction. For the Philistims knew that the milch Kine which drew the Arke, could not be forced from their Calues, but that they would haue followed them wheresoeuer; much lesse when they were left to themselves would they trauell a contrary way. For in the darkest night in the world, if Calues be removed from their dammes, the kine will follow them through woods, and desarts by the foote, till they finde them. But the kine trauelled directly towards *Bethshemesh*: and when they came into the fields thereof, to wit, of one *Iosua* of the same Citie, they stood still there; which when the Princes of the Philistims perceived, they returned to *Eckron*. After which, God spared not his owne people the *Bethshemites*, in that they presumed to looke into the Arke. And because they knew God and his commandments, and had bene taught accordingly: he strooke them more grievously than he did the Heathen, for there perished of them fiftie thousand and seuentie. From hence the Arke was carried to *Kiriath-iearim*, and placed in the house of *Abinadab*; where it is written that it remained twentie yeares in the charge of *Eli* and his sonne; vntill *David* brought it to *Hierusalem*.

Now whereas it is said, that in the meane while the Arke was in *Nob*, *Misphah*, and *Gilegal*, it was the Tabernacle, which was at this time secured from the Arke; or at least, it was for the present occasion brought to these places, and anon returned to

30 *Kiriath-iearim*.

2 Sam. 6. 6. 1 Chron. 13. 2. See in this book, ch. 13. §. 1. in the margin.

### §. III. Of Samuel, and of his Government.

These Tragedies ouerpast and ended, *Samuel*, to whom God appeared while he was yet a childe, became now Iudge and Gouvernour of Israel. He was descended of the familie of *Chore* or *Korach*. For *Leui* had three sonnes; *Gerson*, *Cheath*, and *Merari*: *Cheath* had *Amram* and *Izaar*; of *Amram* came *Moses* and *Aaron*; of *Izaar*, *Chore*; and of the familie of *Chore*, *Samuel*. His father *Eli* was a Leuite, and was called an Ephraimite; not that the Leuites had any proper inheritance; but because he was of the Mount *Ephraim*, like as *Issachar*, *David*'s father was called an Ephraimite, because borne at *Ephrata*, or *Bethlehem*. *Samuel*'s mother being long fruitlesse, obtained him of God by prayers and teares: it being an exceeding shame to the Iewish women, to be called barren, in respect of the blessing of God both to *Abraham* that his seed should multiply as the Starres of Heauen, and the Sands of the Sea; as in the beginning to *Adam*; Increase and multiply, &c. and in *Deuteronomie* the seventh; *There shall he multiply and multiply, &c.*

*Samuel* was no sooner borne, but that his mother, according to her former vow, dedicated him to God, and his seruice, to which she delivered him euen from the dugges. For he was the first borne of all that were called *Nazarites*, might be dedicated till they were full years old for five sheekles, and between five yeares and twentie for twentie sheekles; it was not required by the Law that any of the race of the Leuites should bee called to seruice about the Tabernacle, till they were five and twentie yeares old. Saint *Peter* reckons in the Acts the Prophets from *Amiel*, who was the first of the Writers of holy Scriptures to whom usually this name of a Prophet was given, & yet did *Amiel* account himselfe such a one, as in the 18. of *Deuteronomie*, The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet like vnto mee, &c. But hee is distinguished from those that preceded him, who were called Seers; as beforetime in Israel, when a man went to seeke an answer,

1 Chron. 6. 33. b 1 Chron. 6. 33. c Which rect on was called; Ephrata, as appeareth, Iud. 12. §. 1. whence for distinction we read Ruth 1. 2. Ephratah; Bethlehem; Iehuda, the towne Ephratah which is Bethlehem in Iuda, Gen. 35. 2. from the region of Ephrata, which is in Mount Ephraim, whence Psalm. 132. v. 6. Ephrata is put for Sila, which is in the Tribe of Ephraim. Verse 19. answer. 1 Sam. 9.

answer of God, thus he spake; Come and let us go to the Seer: for hee that is now called a Prophet, was in old time called a Seer. And although it pleased God to appeare by his Angels to Moses, as before to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; yet in the time of Eli, there was no manifest vision; nor that God had altogether with-drawne his grace from Israel: but as the Chaldaean Paraphrast hath it, those revelations before Samuels time, were more clouded and obscure. The places wherein Samuel iudged were Mizpa or Mitpa, seated on a hill in Benjamin neere Iuda: also Gilgal, and Bethel, of which wee haue spoken elsewhere.

Sam. 12.  
See in this  
booke, 12. §. 1.

The Philistims taking knowledge of the assembly and preparation of Warre at Mizpa in the beginning of Samuels government, gathered their Armie, and marched towards the Citie: at whose approach the Israelites stricken with feare, and with the memorie of their former slaughters and seruitude, besought Samuel to pray to God for them; who was then performing his sacrifice when the Philistims were in view. But God being moued with Samuels prayers (as he was by those of Moses, when Israel fought against the Amalekites at their first entrance into Arabia:) it pleased him with thunder and tempest to disperse and beate downe the Armie of the Philistims, according to the prophetic of Hanna, Samuels Mother, *The Lords aduersaries shall be destroyed, and out of heaven shall he thunder upon them.* &c. Iosephus affirms, that a part of the Philistims were swallowed with an earthquake: and that Samuel himselfe led the Israelites in the prosecution of their victorie. After which, Samuel erected a Monument in memorie of this happy success, obtained by the miraculous hand of God, which Iosephus called, *Lapidem sortem*: Samuel, Ebenezer, or the stone of assistance: and then following the opportunitie and advantage of the victorie, the Israelites recovered diuers Cities of their owne formerly lost, and held long in possession of the Philistims, who for a long time after did not offer any insurrection or reuenge. And the better to attend their purposes, and to withstand any of their attempts, the Israelites made peace with the Amorites, or Canaanites, which lay on their backs, and to the North of them, that they might not bee assailed from diuers parts at once; hauing the Philistims towards the West and Sea-coast, the Canaanite, toward the North and East, and the Idumite on the South. The estate being thus settled, Samuel for the ease of the people gaue audience and iudgement in diuers places by turnes, as hath beene elsewhere said.

## CHAP. XVI. OF SAUL.

### §. I.

*Of the deliberation to change the government into a Kingdome.*

**B**V T when age now began to ouer-take Samuel, and that hee was not able to vnder-see the burthen of so carefull a gouernment, hee put off from himselfe the weight of the affaires on his sonnes, Ishai and Abiah, who iudged the people at Beersheba, a Citie, the very vmoost towards the South of Iudza. And as the place was inconuenient and farre away, so were themselves no lesse removed from the iustice and vertue of their Father: For the thirst of concupiscence, the more it swalloweth, the more it drieth, and desireth, finding taste in nothing but gaine, to recover which, they set the Law at a price, and sold Iustice and Iudgement to the best Chapmen. Which when the Elders of Israel obserued, and saw that Samuel as a naturall man (though a Prophet) could not so well discern the errors of his owne, they prayed him to consent to their change of government, and to make them a King, by whom they might bee iudged as other Nations were, who might also leade them to the Warre and defend them against their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable successe which followed the rule of Eli his sonnes, when those of Samuel by their first blossomes promised to yeld fruite no lesse bitter, they saw no way to put the government from out his face, whom they so much reuerenced, but by the choyce of a King.

\* Platsreb reports of Numa the second King of Rome, that when as hee was sacrificing it was told him that the enemies approached, he nothing dismayed, answered, Ego autem sacrifico. 1. Sam. 1. 10.

It was of so great consequence and alteration, Samuel sought counsaile from God: which surely hee did not for the establishing of his owne Sonnes; who being as they were, God would not haue approued his election. Now as it appeares by the Text, this speech or motion displeasing him, hee vied his best arguments to dissuade them: in which when hee perceived to be ouer-feeble, hee deliuered vnto them from Gods revelations, the inconueniences and miseries which should befall them. And yet, all which those fore-shewed was not intolerable; but such as hath beene borne, and is still by free consent of the Subiects towards their Princes. For first hee maketh them know, that the King will vse their sonnes in his owne seruice to make them his Horse-men, Chariot-men, and Foot-men; which is not onely not grieuous, but by the Vassals of all Kings, according to their birth and condition, desired: it being very agreeable to subiects to see their children to command for the King in his Warres, and to till the ground no lesse properly and profitably, as to those that are thereto bred and brought vp: so are likewise the officers of women-seruants to dresse meate, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it is threatened, *Hee will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your best Olinnyards, and giue them to his seruants;* with other oppressions; this hath giuen, and giues daily occasion for such as would be ruled by their owne discretion, to affirme that Samuel describeth here vnto them the power of a King, gouerned by his owne affections, and not a King that feareth God. But others vpon further examination construe this Text thus: that he teacheth vs what Subiects ought with patience to beare at their Soueraigns hand. The former opinion is grounded first vpon that place of *Deuteronomio*, where God fore-sheweth this change of government from Iudges to Kings; and after hee had forbidden many things vnto the Kings, as many wiues, couetousnesse, and the like: hee commaundeth that the Kings which were to raigne ouer Israel, should write the Law in his owne hand, or cause it to be written: and to shew how greatly the King should honour the Law, he addeth, *It shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the dayes of his life: that he may learne to feare the Lord his God; and so keepe all the words of this Law, and the aduises thereto do them: that hee may prolong his daies in his Kingdome, hee and his Sonnes.* But to take away any other mans field, say they, is contrary to the Lawes of God, in the same booke written. For it is said, *That which is iust and right shalt thou follow, that thou mayest* &c. Now if it be not permitted to carry away grapes more than thou canst eat out of another mans vineyard, nor forbidden by God: it is much lesse lawful to take the vineyard it selfe from the owner, and giue it to another. Neither are the words of the Text (say they) such as doe warrant the Kings of Israel, or make it proper vnto them, to take at will any thing from their vassals. For it is not said that it shall be lawful for the King, or the King may doe this or that: but it is written, that the King will take your sonnes: and againe; This shall be the manner of the King that shall raigne ouer you. God thereby fore-shewing what power, severed from piety (because it is accountable to God onely) will doe in the future. And herof we finde the first example in Achab, who took from Naboth both his Vineyard and his life, contrary to the trust which God had put in him, of gouerning well his people. For God commanded, *That his people should bee iudged with righteous iudgement.* Wherefore, though the King had offered vnto Naboth composition, as a Vineyard of better value, or the worth in money, which hee refused: yet because hee was falsely accused, and vniuilly condemned (though by colour of law,) how grieuouly Achab was punished by God, the Scriptures tell vs. Neither was it a plea sufficient for Achab against the all-righteous God, to say that it was done without his consent, and by the Elders of Israel. For God had not then left his people to the Elders, but to the King, who is called a liuing Law, euen as Dauid testifieth of himselfe; *Possidit me in caput gentium:* For this of S. Augustine is very true: *Simulatus innocentia, non est innocentia: simulata aequitas, non est aequitas: sed dupliciter peccatum in quo est iniquitas & simulatio: Fained innocencie, and fained equitie; are neither the one nor the other: but the faults or offences is shewd doubled, in which there is both iniquitie and dissimulation.* Such in effect is their disposition, who thinke this place to containe the description of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the contrary side, as they are many and forcible, so are they well knowne to all, being excellently handled in that Princely discourse of *The true Law of free Monarchies*: which Treatise I may not presume to abridge, much lesse here to insert. Onely thus much I will say, that if practice doe shew the greatness of authoritie, euen the best Kings of Iuda and Israel were not so tied by any lawes, but that they did whatsoever they pleased in the

the greatest things; and commanded some of their owne Princes, and of their own brethren to be slaine without any trial of law, being sometime by Prophets reprehended, sometime not. For though *David* confessed his offence for the death of *Uriah*, yet *Saul* was not killing his elder brother and others, the same was not imputed unto him as my offence should be.

That the State of *Israel* should receive this change of government, it was not only foretold by *Moses* in *Deuteronomie*, but percerted by *Isaiah* in this Scripture: *The Scapple shall not depart from Judah, &c.* It was also promised by God to *Abraham* for a blessing: For it was not onely assured that his issues should in number equall the stars in heaven, but that Kings should proceed of him. Which state seeing it is framed from the pattern of his sole rule, who is Lord of the Vniuersall; and the excellency thereof in respect of all other governments, hath beene by many iudicious men handled and proued, I shall not need to over-paint that which is garnished with better colours already, than I can lay on.

In the time of the Judges every man hath obserued what ciuill Warre *Israel* had: what outrageous slaughters they committed vpon each other: in what miserable seruitude they liued for many yeares: and when it fared best with them, they did but defend their owne Territories, or recover some parts thereof formerly lost. The Canaanites dwelt in the best vallies of the Countrey. The Ammonites held much of Gilead ouer Iordan; the Philistines the Sea-coasts; and the Iebusites Hierusalem it selfe, till *Dauids* time: all which that King did not onely conquer and establish, but hee mastered and subiected all the neighbour Nations; and Kings, and made them his tributaries and vassals. But whether it were for that the Israelites were moued by those reasons, which allure the most of all Nations to liue vnder a Monarch, or whether by this means they fought to be cleared from the sorbes of *Samuel*, they became deafe to all the persuasions and threats which *Samuel* vsed, insisting vpon this point, that they would haue a king, both to iudge them and defend them: whereunto when *Samuel* had warrant from God to consent, hee sine every man to his owne Citie and abiding.

## §. II. Of the election of Saul.

For that *Samuel* had dismissed the assembly at *Mizpeh*, hee forbore the election of a king, till such time as hee was thereto directed by God: who foretold him the day before, that he would present vnto him a man of the Land of Benjamin, whom hee commanded *Samuel* to anoint. So *Samuel* went vnto Ramath Sophim, to make a feast for the entertainment of *Saul* (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promises) and *Saul* also hauing wandred diuers daies to seeke his fathers Asses, length, by the aduise of his seruant, trauelled towards Ramath, to find a Seer or Prophet, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to finde his beasts. In which journey hee pleased God (who doth many times order the greatest things by the simplest passages, and performe to elect *Saul* who sought an Ass, and not a kingdom: like as formerly it had pleased him to call *Moses* while he fed the sheepe of *Jethro*; and after to make choise of *Dauid* the youngest of eight sons, and by the Scriptures called a little one, who was then keeping of beasts; and changed his sheepehook into a Scepter, making him of all other the most victorious king of Iuda and Israel. So *John* and *James* were taken from casting their nets, to become Fishers of men, and honoured with the titles of Apostles: a dignitie that died not in the graue, as all worldly Honours doe; but permanent and euermlasting in Gods euermlasting kingdom.

When *Samuel* was entered into Ramath, hee prepared a banquet for the king, whom hee expected, and stayed his arriuall at the gate. Not long after came *Saul*, whom God shewed to *Samuel*, and made him know that it was the same whom hee had foretold him of, that hee should rule the people of God. *Saul* finding *Samuel* in the gate, but knowing him not, though a Prophet and Iudge of Israel, much lesse knowing the Honour which attended him, asked *Samuel* in what part of the Citie the Seer dwelt. *Samuel* answered, that himselfe was the man hee sought, and prayed *Saul* to goe before him to the high place, where *Samuel* setting him according to his degree, about all that were inuited, conferred with him afterwards of the affaires of the kingdom, and of

Gods

## CHAP. 16. §. 3. of the Historie of the World.

Gods graces to bee bestowed on him, and the morning following annointed him King of Israel.

After this he told him all that should happen him in the way homeward, that two men should encounter him by *Rahels* Sepulchre, who should tell him that his Asses were found, and that his Fathers cares were changed from the feare of losing his beasts, to doubt the losse of his Sonne: that he should then meet three other men in the plaine of Tabor; then a company of Prophets: and that hee should be paraker of Gods Spirit, and prophetic with them: and that thereby his condition and disposition should be changed from the vulgar, into that which became a King elected and fauoured by God.

But the Prophets here spoken of, men indued with spirituall gifts, were not of the first and most reuerenced number, who by diuine reuelation foretold things to come, reprehended without feare the errors of their Kings, and wrought miracles; of which number were *Moses*, *Isaiah*, *Samuel*, and after them *Gad*, *Nathan*, *Ahiah*, *Elias*, *Elisha*, *Elijah*, *Ieremie*, and the rest; for these Prophets, saith S. *Chrysostome*, *Omnia tempora percurrunt, praeferita, praesentia, & futura*: but they were of those of whom S. *Paul* speaketh of, 1. Cor. 14. 14. who enriched with spirituall gifts, expounded the Scriptures and the Law.

At *Mizpeh* *Samuel* assembled the people, that he might present *Saul* to them, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did *Saul* acquaint his owne Vncle therewith, when he asked him what had past betwene him and *Samuel*: for either hee thought his estate not yet assured, or else that it might be dangerous for him to reueale it, till he were confirmed by generall consent. When the Tribes were assembled at *Mizpeh*, the generall opinion is, that he was chosen by lot. *Chimbi* thinks by the answer of \* *Vrim* and *Thummim*: that is, by the answer of the Priests, wearing that mystrie vpon his breast when he asked counsaile of the Lord. But the casting of lots was not onely much vsed among the Iewes, but by many others, if not by all nations. The Land of promise was diuided by lot: God commanded lots to be cast on the two Goates, which should be sacrificed, and which turned off: a figure of Christs suffering, and our deliuerance, for whose garments the Iewes also cast lots. *Cicero*, *Plautus*, *Pausanias*, and others haue remembered diuers sorts of lots, vsed by the Romanes, Grecians, and other Nations: as in the diuision of grounds or honours; and in things to be vnderaken: the two first kinds were called *Diuisory*; the third, *Diuinatory*; and vnto one of these three all may bee reduced: all which kinds howsoever they may seeme chancefull, are yet ordered and directed by God: as in the *Proverbs*: *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition is of the Lord*. And in like sort fell the kingdom of Israel on *Saul*, not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who gaue *Samuel* former knowledge of his election: from which election *Saul* withdrew himselfe in modestie, as both *Iosephus* consents it, and as it may bee gathered by his former answers to *Samuel*, when hee acknowledged himselfe the least of the least Tribe. But *Samuel* inlightened by God, found where *Saul* was hidden, and brought him among the people, and hee was taller than all the rest by the shoulders. And *Samuel* made them know that hee was the chosen king of Israel, whereupon all the multitude saluted him King, and prayed for him; yet some there were that enuied his glorie (as in all estates there are such) who did not acknowledge him by offering him presents, as the manner was: of whom *Saul*, to auoide sedition, took no notice.

## §. III. Of the establishing of Saul by his first victorie.

Sooner was *Saul* placed in the kingdom, but that hee receiued knowledge that *Nabab* king of the Ammonites prepared to besiege Iabes Gilead: which nation since the great ouerthrow given them by *Iephtha*, neuer durst attempt any thing vpon the Israelites, till the beginning of *Saul* his rule. And although the Ammonites did alwaies attend vpon the aduantage of time, to recover those Territories which first the Amorites, & then Israel dispossest them of; which they made the ground of their inuasion in *Iephtha*'s time; yet they neuer perswaded themselves of more aduantage, than at this present. For first, they knew that there were many of the Israelites that did not willingly submit themselves to this new King: secondly, they were remembered that the Philistines had not long before slaine 34000. of their men of Warre: and besides had

vsed

vsed great care and policie that they should haue no Smithes to make them swords or speares: neither was it long before that of the Bethshemites, and places adioyning, there perished by the hand of God more than 50000. and therefore in these respects, euen occasion it self inuited them to enlarge their Dominions vpon their borderers: Iabes Gilcad being one of the neerest. Besides, it may further be coniectured, that the Ammonites were inboldened against Iabes Gilcad, in respect of their weakenesse: since the Israelites destroyed a great part of them, for not ioyning with them against the Beniamites; at which time they did not onely slaughter the men and male-children, but tooke from them their young women, and gaue them to the Beniamites: and therefore they were not likely to haue bene increased to any great numbers: and if they had recouered themselves of this great calamitie, yet the Ammonite might flatter himselfe with the opinion, that Israel hauing for long time beene disarmed by the Philistims, was not apt to succour those whom they had so deeply wounded and destroyed. But contrariwise, when the tidings came to Saul of their danger, and that the Ammonites would giue them no other condition to ransom themselves, but by pulling out their right eyes, by which they should be vntirely disabled for the Warre, as elsewhere hath beene spoked: Saul, both to value himselfe in his first yeeres reigne, and because perchance hee was descended of one of those 400. Maids taken from the Gileadites, and giuen to the Beniamites, gaue order to assembl the forces of Israel, hewing a yoke of Oxen into pieces, and sending them by messengers ouer all the coasts, protesting thus: That whosoever came not forth after Saul and after Samuel, so should his Oxen be serued: threatening the people by their goods, and not by their liues at the first. Seuen dayes had Saul to assemble an Armie, by reason that the Gileadites had obtained the respite of these seuen daies to giue Nabab the Ammonite an answer: who, could they haue obtained any reasonable condition, were contented to haue serued themselves from Israel, and to become Vassals and Tributaries to the Heathen. In the meane while Saul assembled the forces which repaired vnto him at Bezer, neere Jordan; that he might readily passe the river, which done, he might in one day with a speedie marche arrive at Iabes, vnder the Hills of Gilcad.

The armie by Saul led, consisting of three hundred and thirty thousand, hee returned an answer to those of Iabes, that they should assure themselves of succour by the next day at noone. For, as it seemeth, Saul marched away in the latter part of the day, and went on all night; for in the morning watch he surprized the armie of Nabab the Ammonite. And to the end that hee might set on them on all sides, hee diuided his forces into three parts, putting them to the sword vntill the heate of the day, and the weariness of Sauls troope enforced them to giue ouer the pursuit. Now the Ammonites were become the more carelesse and secure, in that those of Iabes promised the next morning to render themselves and their Citie to their mercie. After this happie successe, the people were so farre in loue with their new king, that they would haue slaine all those Israelites that murmured against his election, had not himselfe forbidden and resisted their resolutions. Such is the condition of worldly men, as they are violent louers of the prosperous, and base Vassals of the time that flourisheth; and as despightfull and cruell without cause against those, whom any misadventure, or other worldly accident hath throwne downe.

After the armie remoued, Samuel summoned the people to meet at Gilgal, where Saul was now a third time acknowledged, and as some Commenters affirme, anointed king: and here Samuel vsed an exhortation to all the Assembly, containing precepts, and a rehearall of his owne Iustice, during the beginning of his gouernment to that day. After Saul had now reigned one yeere before he was established in Gilgal, or Gulgala, he strengthened himselfe with a good garn of 3000. chosen men, of which he assigned 1000. to attend on Jonathan his sonne at Gibeah, the Citie of his natiuitie: the rest he kept about his owne person in Micmas, and in the Hill of Bethel.

## §. IIII.

Of Sauls disobedience in his proceedings in the warres with the Philistims and Amalekites, which caused his final reiection.

**I**n Jonathan with his small Armie or Regiment that attended him, taking a time of aduantage, surprized a Garrison of Philistims: the same, as some thinke, which Saul past by, when he came from Rama, where hee was first anointed by Samuel, which

which they thinke to haue bene *Cariath-searim*: because a place where the Philistims had a Garrison, 1. Sam. 10. is called the Hill of God, which they vnderstand of *Cariath-searim*: but Iunius vnderstands this Garrison to haue bene at *Gebah* in Beniamin neere *Bibha*, where Jonathan abode with his thousand followers. Howsoeuer, by this it appeareth that the Philistims held some strong places, both in the times of Samuel, and of Saul, within the Territorie of Israel: and now being greatly enraged by this surprize, they assembled thirty thousand armed Chariots, and fixe thousand Horse, wherewith they invaded Iudah, and incamped at *Atchmas* or *Atchinas*, a Citie of Beniamin, in the direct way from Samaria to Iherusalem, and in the midst of the Land betwene the Sea and Jordan. With this sudden inuasion the Israelites were stricken in so great a feare, as some of them hid themselves in the caues of the mountaines; other fledde ouer Jordan into Gad and Gilead: Saul himselfe with some 2000. men of ordinarie, and many other people, staid at Gulgala in Beniamin, not farre from the passage of Iosua when he led Israel ouer Jordan. Heere Saul by Samuels appointment was to attend the coming of Samuel seuen daies: but when the last day was in part spent, and that Saul perceiued his forces to diminish greatly, he presumed (as some expound the place 1. Sam. 13. 9.) to exercise the office which appertained not vnto him, and to offer a burnt offering and a peace offering vnto God, contrary to the Ecclesiasticall lawes of the Hebrewes, and Gods Commandements: others expound the word, *obstulit*, in this place, by *obstulit per Sacerdotem*, and so make the sinne of Saul not to haue bene any intrusion into the Priests office, but a disobedience to Gods Commandement, in not staying according to the appointment, 1. Sam. 10. 8. secondly a diffidence or mistrust in Gods helpe, and too great relying vpon the strength of the people, whose departing from him he could not beare patiently; and lastly a Contempt of the holy Prophet Samuel, and of the helpe which the prayers of so godly a man might procure him. But whatsoeuer was his sinne, notwithstanding his excuses, he was by Samuel reprehended most sharply, in termes vnfitting his estate, had not extraordinary warrant bene giuen to Samuel so to doe, from God himselfe; at which time also Samuel feared not to let him know, that the Kingdome should be conferred to another (a man after Gods owne heart) both from Saul and his posteritie.

After this, Samuel and Saul returned to Gibeah, where Saul, when hee had taken view of his armie, found it to consist of 600. men: for the most were fled from him and scattered yea, and among those that staid, there was not any that had either sword or speare, but Saul and his sonne Jonathan onely. For the Philistims had not left them any Smith in all Israel, that made weapons; besides, they that came to Saul came hastily, and left such weapons and armour as they had, behind them in their garrisons: so if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how Saul should be able the yeere before, or in some part of this very yeere, to succour Iabes Gilcad with 300. and thirty thousand men, if there had not bene any yron weapon to defend themselves withall, saue onely in the hand of Saul and Jonathan his sonne. But howsoeuer, all the rest of the people were formerly disarmed by the Philistims, and all those craftsmen carried out of the land that made weapons: there being left vnto the Israelites onely files to sharpen and amend such stusse as serued for the Plough, and for nought else: yet that they had some kind of armes it is manifest, or else they durst not haue attempted vpon the Philistims as they did. And it is not said in the Text that there was not any sword in all Israel, but onely that there was not any found among those 600. souldiers which stayed with Saul after Samuels departure: and it seemeth that when Samuel had sharply reprehended Saul, that his owne guards forooke him, hauing but 600. remaining of his 3000. ordinarie souldiers, and of all the rest that repaired vnto him, of which many were fledde from him before Samuel arrived.

With this small troope he held himselfe to his owne Citie of Gibeah, as a place of more strength, and better assured vnto him, than Gilgal was. Neither is it obscure how it should come to passe that the Philistims should thus disarm the most part of the Israelites, howsoeuer in the time of Samuel much had bene done against them. For the victories of Samuel were not got by sword or speare, but by thunder from heauen: and when these craftsmen were once rooted out of the Cities of Israel, no maruell if they could not in a short peace vnder Samuel be replanted againe. For this tyrannic of the Philistims is to bee vnderstood, rather of the precedent times, than vnder Samuel: and yet vnder

him it is to be thought that by their crafts they proceeded in the policie, not suffering their artificers to teach the *Israelites*, and so euen to the times of *Saul* kept them from having any store of armour. The same policie did *Nabuchodonosor* vs after his Conquest in *India*: *Dionysius* in *Sicilie*; and many other Princes else-where in all ages. But these lost weapons in part the *Israelites* might repaire in *Gilead*, for ouer *Jordan* the *Philistims* had not invaded. The rest of their defences were such as antiquitie vsed and their present necessity ministred vnto them; to wit, clubs, bowes, and slings. For the *Beniamites* excelled in casting stones in slings; and that these were the naturall weapons, and the first of all nations, it is manifest; and so in the first of *Chronicles* the 12. Chapter, it is written of those that came to succour *Dauid* against *Saul*, while he lurked at *Siklag*, That they were *10* *weaponed with bowes, and could use the right and the left hand with stones*; and with a sling it was that *Dauid* himselfe slew the *Giant Goliath*.

1 Sam. 14. 12.

While the State of *Israel* stood in these hard termes, the *Philistims* hauing parted their armie into three troupes, that they might spoile and destroy many parts at once; *Jonathan* strengthened by *God*, and followed with his Esquire onely, scaled a mountaine, whereon a companie of *Philistims* were lodged: the rest of their armie (as may bee gathered by the successe) being incamped in the plaine adioyning. And though he was discouered before he came to the hill top, and in a kinde of derision called vp by his enemies: yet he so behaued himselfe, as with the assistance of *God* he slew 20. of the first *Philistims* that he encountered. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarme, and being ignorant 20 of the cause, fled away amazed altogether. In which confusion, feare, and ielousie, they slaughtered one another in stead of enemies: whereupon those *Hebrewes* which became of their partie, because they feared to be spoiled by them, tooke the aduantage of their destruction, and slew of them in great numbers. And lastly, *Saul* himselfe taking knowledge of the rout and disorder, together with those *Israelites* that shrouded themselves in mount *Ephraim*, set vpon them and obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a most happie and glorious victory ouer them. Heere was that prophesie in *Deuteronomie* fulfilled by *Jonathan*, That one of those which feared *God*, should kill a thousand, and two of them ten thousand.

1 Sam. 14.

This done, the small armie of *Israel* made retrait from the pursuit. And although *Saul* 33 had bound the people by an oath not to take food till the euening, yet his sonne *Jonathan* being infeeble with extreame labour and emptinesse, tasted a droppe of hony in his passage: for which *Saul* his father would haue put him to death, had not the people deliuered him from his crueltye.

1 Sam. 14.

The late miraculous victorie of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, seemes to haue reduced vnto the *Philistims* remembrance their former ouerthrow likewise miraculous in the daies of *Samuel*; so that for some space of time they held themselves quiet. In the meane while *Saul* being now greatly encouraged, vnderooke by turnes all his bordering enemies; namely, the *Mosites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, and the *Arabians* of *Zobah*, against all which he preuailed. He then assembled all the forces he could make, to wit, 2 10000. men, and 40 receiuing the commandement of *God* by *Samuel*, hee invaded *Amalec*, waisting and destroying all that part of *Arabia Petraea*, and the *Desart* belonging to the *Amalecites*, from *Itanilah* towards *Tigris* vnto *Shur*, which bordereth *Egypt*; in which warre hee tooke *Agag* their King prisoner. But whereas he was instructed by *Samuel* to follow this Nation without compassion, because they first of all attempted *Israel*, when they left *Egypt* in *Moses* time: hee notwithstanding did not onely spare the life of *Agag*, but reserved the best of the beasts and spoyle of the Countrey, with pretence to offer them in sacrifice to the liuing *God*. Therefore did *Samuel* now a second time make him know that *God* would cast him from his royall estate, to which he was raised when he was of base condition, and as the Text hath it, *little in his owne eyes*. And though the offence was 53 great in *Saul* for not obeying the voyce of *God* by *Samuel*, had there beene no former precept to that effect: yet seeing *Saul* could not bee ignorant how severely it pleased *God* to inioyne the *Israelites* to reuenge themselves vpon that Nation, he was in all vncexcusable. For *God* had commanded that the *Israelites* should put out the remembrance of *Amalec* from vnder heauen. For the cruelty which the predecessors of this *Agag* vsed against the *Israelites* especially on those which were ouer-wearied, faint, sicke, and aged people, was now to be reuenged on him, and his Nation about 400. yeeres afterword; and now hee was to pay the debt of blood, which his forefathers borrowed from the

Deut. 25. 17.

the innocent: himselfe hauing also sinned in the same kinde, as these words of *Samuel* witness: *As thy sword hath made other women childlesse, so shall thy mother be childlesse* *1 Sam. 15. 33.* among other women; at which time *Samuel* himselfe (after he had beene by many bootlesse intreacies perswaded to stay a while with *Saul*) did cut *Agag* in pieces before the Lord in *Gilead*, and soone after he departed to *Ramath*, and came no more to see *Saul*, until the day of his death.

## §. V.

Of the occurrents betweene the reiection of *Saul* and his death.

10 **N**OW while *Samuel* mourned for *Saul*, *God* commanded him to choose a King for *Israel*, among the sonnes of *Isbaï*: which *Samuel* (doubting the violent hand of *Saul*) feared in a sort to performe, till it pleased *God* to direct him, how he might auoid both the suspicion, and the danger. And if *Samuel* knew that it was no way derogating from the prouidence of *God*, that by his cautious care and wisdom, he fought to auoid the inconuenience or dangers of this life, then doe these men mistake the nature of his diuine ordinance, who neglecting the reason that *God* hath giuen them, doe no otherwise auoid the perils and dangers thereof, than as men stupified in the opinion of fate or destinie, neglecting either to beg counsaile at *Gods* hands by prayer, or to exercise that wisdom or foresight, wherewith *God* hath enriched the minde of man, for his preservation. Neither did the all-powerfull *God* (who made and could destroy the world in an instant) disdain here to instruct *Samuel*, to auoid the furie of *Saul*, by the accustomed cautious waies of the world.

Of the sonnes of *Isbaï*, *Samuel*, by *God* directed, made choise of *Dauid*, the youngest, hauing refused *Eliah*, the first borne: who though he were a man of a comely person and great strength; yet vnto such outward appearance, the Lord had no respect. For as it is written, *God* (eth not as man seeth, &c. but the Lord beholdeth the heart). He also refusing the other sixe brethren, made choise of one whom his Father had altogether neglected, & left in the field to attend his flocke; for of him the Lord said to *Samuel*, *Arise and anoint him, for this is he*: which done, *Samuel* departed and went to *Ramath*. Neither was it 30 long after this that *Saul* began to seeke the life of *Dauid*: in which bloody minde he continued till he died, ouercome in battell by the *Philistims*.

The *Philistims* hauing well considered (as it seemes) the increase of *Saul* his power through many victories by him obtained, whilst they had sitten still & forborne to giue impediment to his prosperous courses, thought it good to make new triall of their fortune, as iustly fearing that the wrongs which they had done to *Israel*, might bee repayed with aduantage, if euery opportunity should serue their often inured neighbours against them, as lately it had done against *Mosab*, *Ammon*, and the rest of their ancient enemies. Now for the qualitie of their Souldiers, and all warlike prouisions, the *Philistims* had reason to thinke themselves equall, if not superiours to *Israel*. The successe of their former was had for the most part beeing agreeable to their own wishes: as for late disasters, they might, according to humane wisdom, impute them to some cause; as to a tempest happening by chance, and to a mistaken alarme, whereby their Armie possessed with a needlesse feare had fallen to rout. Hauing therefore mustered their forces, and taken the field, encamping so neere to the Armie which King *Saul* drew forth against them, that they could not easily depart without the triall of a battell, each part kept their ground of aduantage for a while, not ioyning in grosse, but maintaining some skirmishes, as refusing both of them to passe the Valley that lay betweene their Camps. Iust causes of feare they had on both sides, especially the *Philistims*, whose late attempts had beene 50 founded by the angry hand of *God*. Vpon this occasion perhaps it was, that they sought to decide the matter by single combat, as willing to try in one mans person, whether any stroke from heauen were to bee feared. *Goliath* of *Gath* a strong Giant, fearing neither *God* nor Man, vnderooke to defie the whole hoste of *Israel*, prouoking them with despitfull words, to appoint a Champion that might fight with him hand to hand; offering condition, that the partie vanquished in Champion, should hold it selfe as ouertome in grosse, and become vassall to the other. This gaue occasion to young *Dauid*, whom *Samuel* by *Gods* appointment had annointed, to make a famous entrance into publick notice of the people. For no man durst expose himselfe

to encounter the great strength of *Goliath*, vntill *Dauid* (sent by his father of an errand to the campe) accepted the combat, and obtained the victorie, without other armes offensive or defensive than a sling, wherewith he ouerthrew that haughtie Gyant, and after with his owne sword strooke off his head. Hereupon the Philistims, who should haue yielded themselves as subiects to the Conquerour, according to the couenant on their owne side propounded, fled without stay, and were purried and slaughtered euen to their owne gates. By this victorie the *Philistims* were not so broken, that either any of their townes were lost, or their people discouraged from infesting the Territories of Israel. But *Dauid*, by whom God had wrought this victorie, fell into the grievous indignation of his Master *Saul*, through the honour purchased by his well-deseruing. For after such time as the spirit of God departed from *Saul* and came vpon *Dauid*, hee then became a cruell Tyrant, faithlesse, and irreligious. Because the high Priest *Abimelech* fedde *Dauid* in his necessitie with hallowed bread, and armed him with a sword of his owne conquest taken from *Goliath*; *Saul* not onely by his wicked *Edomite Dog* murdered this *Abimelech* and 85. Priests of *Nob*, but also hee destroyed the Citie, and smote with the edge of the sword both man and woman, both childe and suckling, both Oxe, and Asse, and Sheepe. And hee that had compassion on *Agag* the Amalekite, who was an enemy to God and his people, and also spared and preferred the best of his Cattell, contrary to the Commandement and Ordinance of God, both by *Moses* and *Samuel*; had not now any mercie in store, for the innocent, for the Lords seruants the Priests of Israel. Yea hee would haue slaine his owne sonne *Jonathan*, for pitying and pleading *Dauid*'s innocencie, as also once before for tasting the hony, when his fainting for hunger made him forget his fathers vnreasonable commination. The companions of cruelty are breach of faith towards men, and impietie towards God. The former he shewed in denying *Dauid* his daughter, whom he had promised him: and againe in taking her away from him, to whom he had giuen her; also in that when as *Dauid* had twice spared his life in the Territorie of *Ziph*, and *Saul* twice sworne to do him no hurt, and confessed his errours, yet hee fought still to destroy him, by all the meanes he could. His impiety towards God he shewed, in that he sought counsell of the Witch of Endor, which was the last preparative for his destruction. For whereas when he fought counsell from God he had bin alwaies victorious: from the Oracle of the Diuell this successe followed, that both himselfe, and his three sons, with his neereft & faithfull seruants, were all slaughtered by the Philistims: his bodie with the bodies of his sons (as a spectacle of shame and dishonour) were hung ouer the walls of Bethsan: and there had remained till they had found buriall in the bowels of rauenous birds, had not the gratefull Gileadites of Iabes stolne their carcases thence, and interred them. This was the end of *Saul*, after he had gouerned Israel, together with *Samuel*, 40. yeeres, & by himselfe after *Samuel* 20. yeeres according to *Cedrenus*, *Theophilus*, and *Iosephus*. But yet it seemeth to me, that after the death of *Samuel*, *Saul* did not rule very long: For in the beginning of the 25. chapter, it is written that *Samuel* died: and in the rest of the same chapter the passages are written of *Dauid*, *Nabal*, and *Abigail*, after which the death of *Saul* quickly ensued.

An exceeding valiant man he was, and gaue a faire entrance to all those victories which *Dauid* afterward obtained; for hee had beaten the Ammonites with their neighbouring Nations; cruelt the Syrians, and their adherents; broken the strength of the Amalekites; and greatly wasted the power and pride of the Philistims.

## §. VI.

Of such as liued with *Samuel* and *Saul*; of *Hellen* and *Hercules*, and of their issues: vpon occasion of the Dorcs, with the *Heraclidae*, entring *Peloponnesus* about this time.

**I**N the second yeere of *Samuel*, according to *Eusebius*, was *Dauid* borne: after *Cedrenus* later, and in the ninth yeere: after *Bunting* in the tenth. For *Dauid*, faith he, was thirtie yeeres old when hee began to reigne: whence it followeth, that he was borne in the tenth of the fortie yeeres, which are giuen to *Samuel* and *Saul*. About the eleuenth yeere of *Samuel*, *Aeneas Silvius* the sonne of *Posthumus* beganne his reigne ouer the Larines in Alba, who gouerned that State one and thirtie yeeres. There are who place before him *Latinus Sylvius*, as brother to *Posthumus*, calling him the fifth from

from *Aeneas*, and fourth King of Alba, whereof I will not stand to dispute. In the eleuenth of *Samuel*, *Dercilar* late in the Throne of *Assyria*, being the one and thirtieth King; he ruled that Empire fortie yeeres. In this age of *Samuel* the Dorcs obtained *Peloponnesus*, and at once with the *Heraclidae*, who then led and commanded the Nation, possesse a great part thereof 328. yeeres before the first *Olympiad*, according to *Diondorus* and *Erasisthenes*. For all Greece was anciently possessed by three Tribes or Kindreds, viz. the *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Aeolians*: at length it was called *Hellas*, and the people *Hellenes* of *Hellen*, the sonne of *Deucalion*, Lord of the Countrie of *Phiotis* in *Thessalie*. But before the time of this *Hellen*, yea and long after, Greece had no name common to all the inhabitants, neither were the people called *Hellenes*, till such time as partly by trading in all parts of the Land, partly by the plagation of many Colonies, and sundrie great victories obtained, the issues of *Hellen* had reduced much of the Countrie vnder their obedience, calling themselves generally by one name, and yet euery seuerall Nation after some one of the posteritie of *Hellen*, who had reigned ouer it. And because this is the firstest antiquitie of Greece, it will not be amisse to recount the Pedigree of her first planters.

*Iapetus* (as the Poets fable) was the sonne of Heauen and Earth, so accounted, either because the names of his Parents, had in the Greeke tongue such signification: or perhaps for his knowledge in *Astronomie* and *Philosophie*.

*Iapetus* begat *Prometheus*, and *Ephimetheus*: of whom all men haue read that haue read Poets. *Prometheus* begat *Deucalion*: and *Ephimetheus*, *Pyrrha*, *Deucalion* & his wife *Pyrrha* reigned in *Thessalie*, which was then called *Pyrrha* (as *Cretensis Rhianus* affirmeth) of *Pyrrha* the Queene. In *Deucalion*'s time was that great flood, of which we haue spoken elsse where. *Deucalion* begat *Hellen*: whose sonnes were *Xanthus*, *Dorvus*, and *Aeolus*: of *Dorvus* and *Aeolus*, the Dorcs and *Aeolians* had name. The *Aeoles* inhabited *Boetia*. The Dorcs hauing first inhabited sundry parts of *Thessalie*, did afterward seate themselves about *Parnassus*, and finally became Lords of the Countries about *Lacedaemon*: *Xanthus* the eldest sonne of *Hellen*, being banished by his brethren, for hauing diuerted from them to his owne vse some part of their Fathers goods, came to *Aethiops*: where marrying the Daughter of King *Eriethus*, hee begat on her two sonnes, *Achaeus* and *Ion*. Of these two, *Achaeus*, for a slaughter by him committed, fledde into *Peloponnesus*: and seating himselfe in *Laconia*, gaue name to that region: from whence (as some write) he afterwards departed; and leuying an Armie, recovered the Kingdome of his Grandfather in *Thessalie*.

*Ion* being Generall for the *Athenians*, when *Eumolpus* the *Thracian* invaded *Attica*, did obtaine a great victorie, and thereby such loue and honour of the people, that they committed the ordering of their State into his hands. He diuided the Citizens into Tribes, appointing euery one to some occupation, or good course of life. When the people multiplied, hee planted Colonies in *Sycionia*, then called *Aegialos*, or *Aegialia*: In which Countrie *Solinus* then reigning, thought it safer to giue his Daughter *Helice* in marriage to *Ion*, and make him his Heire, than to contend with him. So *Ion* married *Helice*, and built a Towne called by his Wiues name in *Aegialia*, where he and his posterity reigned long, and (though not obliterating the old name) gaue to that Land denomination. But in after-times the Dorcs assisting the Nephewes of *Hercules*, invaded *Peloponnesus*, and ouercomming the *Achaean*s, possessed *Laconia*, and all those parts which the *Achai* had formerly occupied. Hereupon the *Achai* driuen to secke a new seate, came vnto the *Ion*es, desiring to inhabit *Aegialia* with them, and alleading in vaine, that *Ion* and *Achaeus* had bene brethren. When this request could not be obtained, they fought by force to expell the *Ionians*, which they performed; but they lost their King *Tisamenus*, the sonne of *Orestes* in that Warre.

Thus were the *Ion*es driuen out of *Peloponnesus*, and compelled to remooue into *Attica*, from whence after a while they sailed into *Asia*, and peopled the Westerne coast thereof; on which they built twelue Cities, inhabited by them, euen to this day, at the least without any vniuersall or memorable transmigration. This expedition of the *Ion*es into *Asia* hath bene mentioned of all which haue written of that Age, and is commonly placed 140. yeeres after the warre of *Troy*, and 60. yeeres after the descent of the *Heraclidae* into *Peloponnesus*. These *Heraclidae* were they of whom the Kings of *Sparta* issued; which race held that Kingdome about 700. yeeres. Of their Father



*Hercules* many strange things are deliuered vnto vs by the Poets, of which some are like to haue beene true, others perhaps must bee *allegorically* vnderstood. But the most approved Writers thinke that there were many called *Hercules*, all whose exploits were by the *Greekes* ascribed to the sonne of *Alcmena*, who is said to haue performed these 12. great labours.

First, he flew the *Nemean* Lyon: secondly, he flew the Serpent *Hydra*, which had nine heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place: The third was the ouer-taking a very swift Hare: The fourth was the taking of a wilde Bore aliue, which haunted mount *Erymanthus* in *Arcadie*: The fifth was the cleaving of *Augias* his Oxe-stall in one day, which he performed by turning the Riuer *Alpheus* into it: The sixt was the chasing away to of the Birds from the Lake *Stymphalus*: The seuenth was the fetching a Bull from *Crete*: The eight was the taking of the Mares which *Diomedes* King of *Thrace* fed with humane flesh: The ninth was to fetch a Girdle of the *Queen* of the *Amazons*: The three last were, to fetch *Geryons* Beecus from *Gades*; the golden Apples of the *Hesperides*; and *Cerberus* from hell, The *Mythological* interpretation of these I purposely omit, as both ouer-long to be here set downe, and no lesse perplexed than the labours themselves. For some by *Hercules* vnderstand Fortitude, Prudence, and Constancie, interpreting the Monsters, Vices. Others make *Hercules* the *Summe*, and his traualles to bee the twelue signes of the *Zodiac*. There are others who apply his workes historically to their owne conceits; as well assured, that the exposition cannot haue more vnlikelihood, than the fables: That hee tooke *Eliu*, *Pylus*, *Oechalia*, and other Townes, being assisted by such as eyther admired his vertues, or were beholding vnto him. Also that hee slew many Theeues, and Tyrants, I take to be truly written, without addition of Poeticall vanitie. His traualles through most parts of the world are, or may seeme, borrowed from *Hercules Libycus*. But sure it is that many Cities of *Greece* were greatly bound to him: for that hee (bending all his indeouors to the common good) deliuered the Land from much oppression. But after his death no Citie of *Greece* (*Athens* excepted) requiied the vertue and defects of *Hercules*, with constant protection of his children, persecuted by the King *Eurytheus*. This *Eurytheus* was sonne of *Stenobolus*, and grand-child of *Perseus*; hee reigned in *Mycene*, the mightiest Citie then in *Greece*. He it was that imposed those hard taskes vpon *Hercules*, who was bound to obey him as Poets report for expiation of that Murder, which in his madness he had committed vpon his owne children; but as others say, because he was his Subiect and Seruant: wherefore there are who commend *Eurytheus* for imploying the strength of *Hercules* to his good purpose. But it is so generally agreed by the best writers, that *Hercules* was also of the stocke of *Perseus*, and holden in great ieaousie by *Eurytheus* because of his vertue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous seruices, wherein hee was imployed, so that he grew great in reputation and power through all *Greece*; and had by many wiues and Concubines about threecore children. These children *Eurytheus* would faine haue got into his power, when *Hercules* was dead: but they fled vnto King of *Thracina*, and from him (for he durst not withstand *Eurytheus*) to *Athens*. The *Athenians* not onely gaue them entertainment, but lent them ayde, wherewith they encountered *Eurytheus*. *Iolans* the brothers son of *Hercules*, who had assisted him in many of his trauels, was captain of the *Heraclidae*. It is said of him, that being dead, hee obtained leaue of *Pluto* to liue againe till hee might reuenge the iniuries done by *Eurytheus*: whom when he had slaine in battell, hee died againe. It seemes to me, that whereas he had led colonies into *Sicilie*, and abode there a long time forgotten: hee came againe into *Greece* to asist his cousins, and afterwards returned backe. When the *Peloponnesians* vnderstood that *Eurytheus* was slaine, they tooke *Atricus* the sonne of *Pelops* to their King: for he was rich, mighty, and fauoured of the people. Against him the *Heraclidae* marched vnder *Hyllus* the sonne of *Hercules*. But to auoide effusion of blood, it was agreed, that *Hyllus* should fight with *Echeneus* King of the *Tegae* a people of *Arcadia*, who assisted *Atricus*; with condition, that if *Hyllus* were victor, he should peaceably enioy what hee challenged as his right: otherwise the *Heraclidae* should not enter *Peloponnesus* in an hundred yeeres. In that combat *Hyllus* was slaine, and the *Heraclidae* compelled to forebare their Country, till the third generation: at which time they returned vnder *Arilodemos* (as the best authoritie doth shew, though some haue said that they came vnder the conduct of his children) and brought with them the *Doris* whom

whom they planted in that countrey, as is before shewed, hauing expelled the *Achas*, ouer whom the issue of *Pelops* had reigned after the death of *Eurytheus* four generations.

## §. VII.

Of *Homer* and *Hesiod*, and many changes in the world, that happened, about this age.

About this time that excellent learned Poet *Homer* liued, as many of the best *Chronologers* affirme. He was by race of the *Aeones*, descended (as *Fanclius* imagineth) of *Berosus* his *Amamean*, who gaue name to that people. But this *Fanclius* imagineth *Homer* the Poet to haue beene long after these times, rashly framing his *Ara* according to *Archilochus* in the tract, or rather fragment de temporibus; and makes *Homer* more of this name to haue flourished in diuers Cities in *Greece*. Whence; perhaps; he frameth the diuersitie of opinions, both of the time and of the native Citie of *Homer*. According to this, *Archilochus*, *Fanclius* finds *Homer* about the time of *Manasse* King of *Ida*, and *Numa* of *Rome*. He was called *Aclefogenes* from the place of his birth, and in length *Homer*, because blinde men follow a guide, which signification among others, is in the verbe *ἡγήμην*: for this *Homer* in his latter time was blinde. *Clemens Alexandrinus* recites many different opinions touching the question of the time when *Homer* liued. So also *Aulus Gellius*, and *Tatianus Affyrus* in his Oracion ad gentes, *Paterculus* reckons that *Homer* flourished 950. yeeres before the Consulship of *Marcus Vinnius*: which *Marcus* casteth vp in the worlds yeere 3046. and after *Troy* taken, about 260 yeeres: about the time of *Iehosaphat* King of *Iuda*. But *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Tatianus* booke named, mention authors that make him much ancients, The difference of which authors in this point is not vnworthy the readers consideration, that by this one instance he may guesse of the difficultie, and so pardon the errors in the computations of antiquity: seeing in such diuersitie of opinions a man may hardly finde out what to follow. For *Crates the Grammarian* (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports) gaue being to *Homer* about 80. yeeres after *Troy* taken, neere the time that the *Heraclidae* returned into *Peloponnesus*: and *Eratosthenes* after *Troy* 100. yeeres. *Theopompus* 500. yeeres after the arme of *Greece*, failed into *Phrygia* for the warre of *Troy*. *Euphorion* makes him contemporarie with *Gyges*, who began to reigne in the 18. Olympiad (which was 45. yeeres after *Rome* was built) and *Sosibius* saith, that he was 90. yeeres before the first Olympiad: which hee seeks to proue by the times of *Charillus* and his sonne *Nicander*: *Philochorus* placeth him 180. after *Troy*: *Aristarchus* 140. in the time of the seating of the Colonies in *Ionis*. *Apollodorus* affirmes that he liued while *Agessilaus* gouerned *Lacedaemon*; and that *Encyrops* in his young yeeres, about 100. yeeres after the *Ionian* plantations, came to visit him, neere 240. yeeres after *Troy* taken. *Heraclides* findes *Homer* flourishing 622. yeeres before *Xerxes* enterprised against the *Gracians*: which *Berosus* accounteth at 168. yeeres after the *Troian* warre. *Ensebius* seemes to make him to haue beene about the time of *Ius* King of *Iuda*, 124. yeeres before *Rome* built: though elsewhere in his *Chronologie* hee notes that some place him in the time of *Samuel*, and others in the end of *Dauid*, and others in other ages. In his *Euangelicall* Preparation, where out of *Tatianus Affyrus* he citch sundry opinions touching the time when *Homer* liued, hee reckoneth many other *Greece* writers more ancient than *Homer*; as *Linus*, *Phalamus*, *Epimenides*, *Pheonius*, *Ariflaus*, *Orpheus*, *Museus*, *Thamyris*, *Amphion*, and others.

Now whether *Homer* or *Hesiod* were the elder, it is also much disputed. *Aulus Gellius* reports that *Philochorus* and *Xenophanes* affirme, that *Homer* preceded *Hesiod*: and on the contrary, that *Luc. Accius* the Poet, and *Ephorus* the Historian, make *Hesiod* of an elder time than *Homer*. *Varro* leaves it vncertaine which of these learned fablers was first borne: but he findes that they liued together some certaine yeeres, where hee confirms himselfe by an *Epigram*, written vpon a Treuit, and left by *Hesiod* in a *Thun* number *Helicon*.

*Cornelius Nepos* reports that they both liued 160. yeeres before *Rome* built: while the *Siluius* reigned in *Alba*, about 140. yeeres after the fall of *Troy*. *Euthymenes* findes them both 200. yeeres after *Troy* taken; in the time of *Acisus* the sonne of *Pelias*, King of *Lycia*.

of *Thyffaly*. For my selfe, I am not much troubled when this Poet liued; neither would I offend the Reader with these opinions, but onely to shew the vncertainty and disagreement of Historians, as well in this particular, as in all other questions and dispute of time. For the curiositie of this mans age is no lesse ridiculous, than the iniquition why he began his *Iliades* with the word *Menin*, as perhaps containing some great mysterie. In definition whereof *Lucian* faining himselfe to haue bene in hell, and to haue spoken with *Homer*, there asked him the cause why he began his booke with that word: who answered, That he began in that sort, because it came in his head so to doe.

It seemeth that *Senyes*, or after *Macrobis*, *Senemives*, ruled *Egypt* at this time: for *Tanepherfabris* was his succellour, who preceded *Vaphres*, father in law to *Salomon*.

About the end of *Sauls* gouernment, or in the beginning of *Dauids* time according to *Cassiodorus*, the *Amazones* with the *Cymmerians* invaded *Asia*, *Latinus Sylvius* then ruling in *Italie*. And besides the ouerthrow of that famous State of *Troy* (which fell 103. yeeres before *Dauids* time) there were many other changes in the middle part of the world, not onely by reason of those Northerne Nations: but there sprung vp somewhat neerely together, fixe Kindgomes into greatnesse not before erected. In *Italie*, that of the *Latines*: in the South part of *Greece*, those of *Lacedæmon*, *Corinth*, and the *Achei*. In *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Saba*, and *Damascus*; the *Adads* made themselves Princes, of which there were ten Kinges, which began and ended with the Kinges of *Israel* in effect: and somewhat before these, the State of the *Israelites* hauing now altered the forme of Gouernment, began to flourish vnder Kinges, of which *Dauid*, in a few yeeres, became master of all those neighbouring Nations, who by interchange of times had subiected the *Indeans*, corrupted their religion, and held them vnder in a most abiect and grievous slauerie; to wit, the *Edomans*, *Mosabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Israhams*, and the rest of the *Arabians*, with the *Philistims*, *Iebusites*, *Geshurites*, *Machabites*; all which acknowledged *Dauid* for their Soueraigne Lord, and paid him tribute.

## CHAP. XVII.

### Of *Dauid*.

#### §. I.

#### Of *Dauids* estate in the time of *Saul*.



HE hazards which *Dauid* ran into while he was yet onely designed King, and liued as a priuate man, expecting the Empire, were very many. The first personall act of fame, was his killing of *Goliath* in the view of both armies, whereby hee became knowne to *Saul*, and so highly affected of *Jonathan* the son of *Saul*, that he loued him as his owne soule: In so much as when *Saul* sought to perfwade his sonne, that *Dauid* would assuredly bee the ruine of his house, and estate, and offered him violence when hee pleaded his cause; *Jonathan* could neuer be perfwaded, neuer foret, nor euer wearied from the care of *Dauids* life, & well doing. It was not long after this signall act of *Dauid*, but that *Saul* became exceeding iealous of him, though he were become as his household seruant, and his Equire, or armor-bearer. *Saul* being vexed with an euill spirit, was aduised to procure some cunning Musician to play before him vpon the Harpe; whereby it was thought that he might find ease; which came to passe accordingly. He entertained *Dauid* for this purpose, and began to fauour him, giuing him a place of Command among the men of warre. But the iealous tyrant soone waxed wearie of his good affection, and sought to kill *Dauid*, being thereunto moued onely through enuie of his vertue. This passion first brake forth in the middelt of his rauiing fit, at which time he threw a speare at *Dauid* that was then playing on his Harpe to doe him ease.

*Censorinus* remembereth one *Aclepius* a Physician, who practised the curing of the Frenzie, by the like Musicke: and tempered thereby those diseases which grew from passion. That *Pythagoras* did also the like by such a kind of harmonic, *Seneca* in his third booke of anger witnesseth. But the madnesse of *Saul* came from the cause of causes, and

and was thereby incurable, howsoever it sometimes left him, and yeelded vnto that Musicke, which God had ordained to be a meane of more good to the Musician than to the King.

*Saul* hauing failed in such open attempts, gaue vnto *Dauid* the Command ouer 2000. souldiers, to confront the *Philistims* withall. For hee durst not trust him as before, about his person, fearing his reuenge. Now the better to couer his hatred towards him, he promised him his daughter *Merah* to wife: but hauing married her to *Adriel*, he gaue to *Dauid* his younger daughter *Michol*, but with a condition, to present him with an hundred foreskins of the *Philistims*: hoping rather (in respect of the valour of that Nation,) that the *Philistims* would take *Dauids* head, than hee their foreskins. This hope failing, when as now *Dauids* victories begat new feares and iealousies in *Saul*, hee practised with *Jonathan*, and afterwards with his owne hands attempted his life; but his purposes were still frustrated. After all this he sought to murder him in his owne house, but *Michol* his wife deliuered him. So *Dauid* sought *Samuel* at *Ramah*, and being pursued by *Saul*, fled thence vnto *Nob* in *Beniamin*, to *Abimelech*, then to *Achis* the *Philistim*, 1 Sam. 19. Prince of *Geth*: where to obfcure himselfe, he was foret to counterfeit both simplicitie and distraction. But being ill assured among the *Philistims*, hee couered himselfe in the Case of *Adullam*: and after conueyng such of his kinsfolkes as were not fit to follow him, vnto *Moab*, he hid himselfe in the deserts of *Ziph*, *Maon* and the hills of *Engaddi*, where he cut off the lap of *Sauls* garment, and spared his life: as he did a second time in the desert of *Ziph*, after his passage with *Nabal* and *Abigail*. After which he repaired to *Achis* of *Geth* the second time, and was kindly entertained, in regard of the hatred with which his master *Saul* was knowne to persecute him.

Of *Achis* *Dauid* obtained \* *Siklag* in *Simcon*, pretending to inuade *Iudæa*: but he bent his forces another way and strooke the *Amalekites*, with other enemies of *Israel*, letting none liue to complaine vpon him. *Achis* supposing that *Dauid* had drawne bloud of his owne Nation, thought himselfe assured of him: and therefore preparing to inuade *Israel*, summoneth *Dauid* to assist him, who dissembling his intent, seemeth very willing thereto. But the rest of the *Philistim* Princes knowing his valour, and doubting his disposition, liked not his company, and therefore he withdrew himselfe to *Siklag*. At his returne he found the town burnt, his two wiues, with the wiues and children of his people, taken by the *Amalekites*: Hereupon his followers mutined, but God gaue him comfort and assistance to recover all againe: which he did.

This armie of the *Philistims* commanded by *Achis*, encountered *Saul* at *Gilboa*, in which he and his three sonnes were slaine. The newes, with *Sauls* Crowne and bracelets, were brought to *Dauid* at *Siklag*, in his returne from being victorious ouer *Amalech*, by a man of the same Nation, who auowed (though falsly) that himselfe at *Sauls* request had slaine him. *Dauid*, because he had accused himselfe, made no scruple to cause him to be slaine at the instant: and the sooner, because the probabilities gaue strong euidence withall. Otherwise it followeth not that euery man ought to be beleued of himselfe to his owne prejudice. For it is held in the law; *Confessio criminum non habenda est pro explorato crimine, nisi approbatio alia instruit religionem cognoscens*. The prisoners confession must not be taken for an euidence of the crime, unless some other prooff informe the conscience of the Iudge. For a men may confesse those things of himselfe, that the Iudge by examination may know to be impossible. But because it is otherwise determined in the title de custodiendis reorum l. si confessus, & in cap. de penis l. qui sententiam, therefore doth the Gloffe reconcile these two places in this sort: *Si quoniam in iudicio sponte de seipso confitetur, & postea maneat in confessione, id est satis. If any man in iudgements doe confesse of himselfe, of his owne accord, and after doth perseuere in his confession, it is enough.* That *Dauid* greatly bewailed *Saul*, it is not improbable; for death cutteth asunder all competition: and the lamentable end that befell him, being a King, with whom in effect the strength of *Israel* also fell, could not but stirre vp sorrow, and moue compassion in the heart of *Dauid*.

The victorie which the *Philistims* had gotten, was so great, that some townes of the *Israelites*, euen beyond the riuer of *Iordan*, were abandoned by the inhabitants, and left vnto the enemy, who tooke possession of them without any resistance made. Wherefore it may seeme strange, that a Nation so warlike and ambitious as were the *Philistims*, did not follow their fortune with all diligence; and seeke to make the Conquest entire.

Most

Most like it seemes, that the Ciuill warre immediately breaking out betwene *Dauid* and the house of *Saul*, wherein *Iuda* was diuided from the rest of *Israel*, gaue them hope of an easie victory ouer both; and thereby caused them to attempt nothing at the present, lest by so doing they should inforce their disagreeing enemies to a necessarie reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part should consume the other, by which means, both the victors, and the vanquished, would become a prey to the violence of such as had beaten them, when their forces were vnited.

## §. II.

*Of the beginning of Dauids reigne, and the warre made by Abner for Isbosheth.*

**A**fter the death of *Saul*, *Abner*, who commanded for *Saul* in the warre, sought to aduance *Isbosheth* (or *Ishbush*, according to *Iosephus*) though hee had no right to the Kingdome of *Israel*: for *Athiabosheth* the first son of *Jonathan* liued. Against this *Abner*, and *Isbosheth*, *Dauid* made a defensive warre, till *Abner* past *Jordan*, and entered the border of *Iuda*; at which time he sent *Joab* with such forces as he had, to resist *Abner*: *Isbosheth* remaining in *Gilead*, and *Dauid* in *Hebron*. The armies encountered each other neere *Gibeon*, where it seemeth, that *Abner* made the offer to trie the quarrell by the hands of a few; like to that Combat betwene the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Argives*, remembered by *Herodotus*, 300. being chosen of each Nation, of which number three persons were onely left vnslaine. The like triall by a farre lesse number was performed by the *Horaty* and *Curiaty* for the *Romans* and *Latines*. The same challenge *Goliath* the *Philistim* made, whom *Dauid* slew: a custome very ancient. *Edward* the third offered the like triall in his own person to the French King; and *Francis* the French King to *Charles* the Emperour. There were twelue chosen of each part, in this warre of *Dauid* with the house of *Saul*, to wit, so many of *Beniamin*, and as many of *Iuda*: whose force and valor was so equal, as there furnished not any one to challenge the victorie. But the quarrell staid not here: for the Armie of *Iuda* prest *Abner* in grosse, and brake him. Three hundred and sixtie men of *Abners* companions were slaine, and but twentie of *Iuda*: whereof *Asahel* the brother of *Joab* was one: who when hee would needes pursue *Abner*, and by *Abners* perswasions could not be moued to quit him, hee was forced to turne vpon him, wounded him to death, with the stroke of his speare. For though *Asahel* was an excellent footman, and as it is written in the Text, as light as a wilde doe, and as *Iosephus* reporteth, contended not onely with men, but with horses; and hoped to haue gotten great fame, if he could haue mastered *Abner* (who, as *Asahel* perswaded himselfe, had by being ouerthrowne and flying away lost his courage) yet here it fell out true, *That the race is not to the swift.*

That this ciuill warre lasted two yeeres, wee finde it written in the second of *Samuel*, the second Chapter; though in the beginning of the third it is againe made probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter resteth still in dispute, and some of the *Rabbins* conceiue that *Isbosheth* had then reigned two yeeres, when this was written, the warre as yet continuing a longer time. For *Abner* held for the partie of *Isbosheth* after this, and till such time as there grew ialousie betwene him and *Isbosheth* for *Sauls* concubine: neither did the death of *Isbosheth* instantly follow; but how long after the murder of *Abner* it happened, the same doth not certainly appeare.

## §. III.

*Of the death of Abner slaine by Joab, and of Isbosheth by Rechab and Baanah.*

**A***Abner*, reconciled to *Dauid*, was anon by *Joab* murdered; for *Joab* could not endure a companion in *Dauids* fauour, and in the commandement of his forces; by which he was growne so powerfull, as *Dauid* forbore to call him to account: for thus much he confesseth of himselfe; *I am this day weake, and these men of the houses of Zenuah be too hard for me.* In this sort *Dauid* complained after *Abners* death; and to make it cleare that he hated this fact of *Joab*, he followed him with this publike imprecation; *Let the blood fall on the head of Joab, and on all his fathers house: and let them*

be subiect to vicers, to the leprosie, to lunencie, to the sword, and to penurie, &c. For could any thing haue withstood the ordinance of God, this murder committed by *Joab* might greatly haue endangered *Dauids* estate, *Abner* being the mouth and trust of all the rest of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This mischance therefore *Dauid* openly bewailed, so that all *Israel* perceiued him to be innocent of that fact. The place which *Abner* held, being General of the men of warre, was of such importance, that the Kings themselves were faine to giue them great respect, as hath beene already shewed more at large. This office *Joab* held in the armie of *Iuda*, and thought himselfe worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtaine the whole Kingdome. For he was neere to *Dauid* in kindred, and had beene partaker of all his aduersitie; wherefore he did not thinke it meete, that an old enemy should in reward of new benefits, be made his partner. In deede he was by nature so ialous of his dignitie and place; that he afterward slew *Amasa* his owne kinsman and the Kings, vpon the same quarrell, taking it in high disdain to see him ioyned with himselfe as captain of the hoste of *Iuda*; much lesse could hee brooke a superiour, and such a one as had slaine his brother, and beene beaten himselfe in battell. But howsoeuer *Joab* did hate or despise *Abner*, *Dauid* esteemed highly of him as of a Prince, and a great man in *Israel*, excusing the oversight by which he might seeme to haue perished, by affirming that he died not like a foole, nor a man vanquished, but as a man falleth before wicked men, so (said he) diddest thou fall. And certainly it is no error of wit, nor want of valour and vertue in him whom a stronger hand destroyed vnawares, or whom subtiltie in free trust bringeth to confusion. For all vnder the *Sunne* are subiect to worldly miseries and misaduentures. Howsoeuer *Isbosheth* meant to haue dealt with *Abner*, yet when he heard of his death, he despaired greatly of his estate, and with him all *Israel* were possit with great feare: in so much as two of *Isbosheths* owne Captaines, *Rechab* and *Baanah*, murdered *Isbosheth*, and presenting his head to *Dauid*, received the same reward that the *Amalekite* lately did, for pretending to haue slaine *Saul*. *Isbosheth* being dead, all the Elders of *Israel* repaired to *Dauid* at *Hebron*, where he was the third and last time anointed by generall consent.

## §. IIII.

*Of the flourishing time of Dauids Kingdome, the taking of Ierusalem, with two overthrowes giuen to the Philistims, and the conduction of the Arke to the Citie of Dauid.*

**W**hen *Dauid* was now established in the Kingdome, his first enterprise was vpon the *Iebusites*, who in derision of his force, and confident in the strength of the place (as is thought) manned their walls with the blinde and lame of their Citie; which *Dauid* soone after entered: all their other forces notwithstanding. For hauing mastered the fort of *Zion* (which was afterward the Citie of *Dauid*) hee became Lord of *Ierusalem*, without any great danger, expelling thence the *Iebusites*, who had held it from the foundation, to the times of *Moses* and *Iosua*, and after them almost 400. yeeres. There are who expound this place otherwise: Except thou take away the blinde and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither. For some thinke that it was meant by the *Idols* of the *Iebusites*: others, that it had reference to the Couenant made long before with *Isaac*, and *Isaac* the one blinde by nature and age, the other made lame by wrestling with the *Angell*, and that therefore till those (that is, till that Couenant) be broken, *Dauid* ought not to molest them. But for my selfe, I take it with *Iosephus*, that they armed their walls with certaine impotent people at first, in scorn of *Dauids* attempt. For they that had held their Citie about 400. yeeres against all the children of *Israel*, *Iosua*, the *Judges*, and *Saul*, did not doubt but to defend it also against *Dauid*.

When he had now possit himself of the very heart and Center of the Kingdome, and received congratulatory Embassadors and presents from *Hiram* King of *Tyre*; he entertained diuers other concubines and married moe wiues, by whom he had ten sons in *Ierusalem*, and by his former wiues he had fixe in *Hebron* where he reigned 7. yeeres.

The *Philistims* hearing that *Dauid* was now anointed King, as wel of *Iuda* as of *Israel*, they thought to try him in the beginning, before he was fully warme in his seat. And being encountered by *Dauid* at two severall times in the Valley of *Rephaim*, or of the *Giantes*, they were at both times ouerthrowne. After which he called the place *Baalperazim*.

Then *Dauid* assembled 30000. choice *Israelites* to conduct the Arke of God from the house

house of *Abinadab* in *Gibea* to the Citie of *David*; which businesse was interrupted by the death of *Uzzah* the sonne of *Abinadab*, whom the Lord slew for presuming to touch the *Arke*, though it were with intent to stay it from taking harme, when it was shaken. But after three yeeres it was with great solemnity brought into the Citie with sacrifices, musick, dances, and all signes of ioyfulness, in which *David* himselfe gladly bare a part. Hereupon *Michol* derided him for dancing before the *Arke*, and afterward told him in scorn, *I had he was uncovered as a foole in the eyes of the maidens his servants*; namely that he forgot his regal dignity both in apparel and behaviour; and mixed himselfe among the base multitude, dancing as fooles doe in the wayes and streetes: not that she disliked *Dauids* behaviour (as I take it) though she made it the colour of her derision; but rather the abundant griefe, which this spectacle stirred vp, beholding the glory of her husband to whom she was deliuered lastly by force, and remembering the miserable end of her father and brethren, out of whose iuiues she conceiued that the sonne of *Isai* had built this his greatness: together with the many new wiues and concubines embraced since his possession of *Ierusalem*, made her breake out in those despitfull tearmes, for which she remained barren to her death.

1 Chr. 15. 3.

This done, *David* consulted with the Prophet *Nathan* for the building of the Temple or house of *God*: out was forbidden it, because he was a man of warre, and had shed blood. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all detest homicide; hauing threatened, not in vaine, that he would require the blood of man, at the hand of man and beast. The wars, which *Dauid* had made were iust, and the blood therein shed was of the enemies of *God*, and his Church: yet for this cause it was not permitted that his hands should lay the foundation of that holy Temple. Herby it appears how greatly those Princes deceiue themselves, who thinke by blood-shed & terror of their warres, to make themselves in greatness like to the Almighty, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercie and goodness, or seeke the blessednesse promised by our Saviour vnto the peace-makers.

Now although it was not pleasing to the Lord to accept a Temple of *Dauids* founding, yet was his religious intent so well accepted, that hereupon he receiued both a confirmation of the Kingdome to him and his heires, and that happie promise of the everlasting Throne, that should be established in his seede.

## §. V.

## The ouerthrow of the Philistims and Moabites.

2 Sam. 8. 1.

Soone after this, *Dauid* ouerthrew the *Philistims*, which made them altogether powerlesse, and vnable to make any inuasion vpon *Israel* in haste. For it is written, *Acceptit frenum Amgaris manu Philistheorum*; which place our English Genes conuers in these words, And *Dauid* tooke the bridle of bondage out of the hand of the *Philistims*. The Latine of *Iunius* giueth another and a better sense; for by that bridle of *Amgar* was meant the strong Citie of *Gath*, or *Geth*, and so the *Genes* hath it in the marginal note. This Citie of *Gath* was the same which was afterward *Dio-Cesarea*, set on the frontier of *Palestina* at the entrance into *Iudea* and *Ephraim*. From thence they made their incursions, and thereinto their retreat in all their inuasions; which being taken by *Dauid* and demolished, there was left no such frontier towne of equall strength to the *Philistims* on that part. The hill whercon *Geth* or *Gath* stood, the Hebrews call *Amme*, wherof and of the word *Gar* is made *Amgar*, of which *Plinie* in his first book, and Chap. 13. This exposition is made plaine and confirmed in the first of *Chro.* the 18.

Iunius in 2. of sam.

There was no nation bordering the *Iewes* that so greatly afflicted them as the *Philistims* did, who before the time of *Saul*, (to the end they might not sharpen any weapon against them) did not leave one Smith in all their Cities and Villages of that kinde, but infor'them to come downe into their territorie, for all iron worke whatsoever they needed; so as the *Israelites* till this time of *Dauid* were seldome free, from paying tribute to the *Philistims*.

2 Sam. 13.

After this he gaue them foure other ouerthrowes: but the war of the *Moabites* and *Arauians* came betwene. In the first of which he was indangered by *Ishbi-benob*, the head of whose speare weighed 300. sheekles of brasse, which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time *Abisai* succoured *Dauid* and slew the *Philistim*; wherupon the

the Counsellors and Captaines of *Dauid* (lest the light of *Israel* might by his losse be quenched) vowed that he should not thenceforth hazzard himselfe in any battail. The second and third incounter and ouerthrow of the *Philistims* was at *Gob*, a place neere *Gesar*, and the last at *Gath* or *Geth*. And being now better assured of the *Philistims* by the taking of *Geth*, he invaded *Moab*, from whom notwithstanding in his aduersitie hee sought succour, and left his parents with him in trust. But whether it were the same King or no, it is not knowne.

2 Sam. 21. 17.

The *Rabbies* saie that *Moab* slew those kinsfolkes of *Dauid*, which liued vnder his protection in *Sauls* time; but questionlesse *Dauid* well knew how that Nation had bin alwayes enemies to *Israel*, & tooke all the occasions to vex them that were offered. And he also remembred that in the 23. of *Deut.* God commanded *Israel* not to seek the peace or prosperity of the *Moabites*, which *Dauid* well obserued, for hee destroyed two parts of the people, leauing a third to till the ground. This victory obtained, he led his army by the border of *Ammon* towards *Syria* *Zobah*, the region of *Adadezer* the son of *Rehob* King thereof. The place is set downe in the description of the holy Land: to which I referre the Reader.

## §. VI.

## The warre which Dauid made vpon the Syrians.

It is written in the Text: *Dauid smote also Hadadezer, &c. as he went to recover his border as the river Euphrates*. Now whether the words (as hee went to recover his border) bee referred to *Dauid* or *Hadadezer*, it is not agreed vpon. *Iunius* thinks that the article (hee) hath relation to *Dauid*, who finding *Tobu* oppress by *Hadadezer*, ouerthrew the one, and succoured the other. But the ancient and most receiued opinion, that this recovery hath reference to the Syrian, is more probable. For if *Dauid* had intended any such enterprize towards *Euphrates*, he was in farre better case to haue proceeded after his victory than before: seeing that (*Adadezer* being taken) he had now left no enemy on his back, either to pursue him, to take victuals and supplies from him, or to stop the passages of the mountaines vpon him at his returne.

Againe, seeing *Dauid* was either to passe through a part of *Arabia* the desert, or by the plaines of *Palmyrena*, his army consisting of footmen, for the most, if not all: He had now both horse and chariots good store to carry his provisions through those vnclutted places, by which hee was to haue marched before he could haue reached *Euphrates* or any part thereof. But wee finde that *Dauid* returned to *Ierusalem*, after he had twice ouerthrowne the Syrian army, not bending his course towards the river *Euphrates*, but seeking to establish his purchases already made. Whereby it may appeare, that it was the Syrian, and not King *Dauid*, that was going to enlarge his border, as afore is said.

The king of *Syria*, *Damascena*, & of *Damascus*, whereof that region is so called, hearing that *Adadezer* was ouerthrown by the *Israelites*, fearing his own estate, & the losse of his own country which adioined to *Syria* *Zoba* of *Hadadezer*, sent for an army of *Aramites* or *Syrians* to his succour: but these, as it appeareth, came too late for *Adadezer* and too soone for themselves: for there perished of those supplies 22000. This king of *Damascus*, *Iosephus* (out of *Nicholaus* an ancient Historian) calleth *Adad*, who was also of the same name and family as all those other *Adads* were: which now began to grow vp in greatness, and so continued for ten descents, till they were extinguished by the *Assyrians*, as is shewed heretofore. *Dauid* hauing now reduced *Damascus* vnder his obedience, left a garrison therein, as he did in *Edom*: hauing also sackt the adioyning Cities of *Betah*, & *Berath*, belonging to *Adadezer*, of which Cities *Ptolomie* calleth *Betah*, *Taubas*; and *Berath* he nameth *Barathena*. *Tobu* or *Thoi*, whose country of *Hamath* ioyned to *Adadezer* (as in the description of the Holy Land the reader may perceiue) sent his son *Torani* to congratulate this success of *Dauid*; partly because he had war with *Adadezer*, & partly because he feared *Dauid* now victorious. He also presented *Dauid* with vessels of gold, silver, and brasse; all which together with the golden shields of the *Aramites*, and

2 Sam. 8.

the best of all the spoiles of other Nations, *David* dedicated vnto God at his returne. *Iunius* translated the words (*elyceos aureos*) by *umbones*, as if all the parts of the targets were not of gold but the bosses onely. The *Septuagint* call them bracelets: *Aquila* golden chains. But because *Roboam* made shields of brasle in place of these of *Adadezer*, at such time as *Shicab* the Egyptian sackt the Temple of Ierusalem, it may be gathered thereby that those of *Adadezer* were golden shields.

2 Sam. 11.

This done, *David* sent Embassadours to *Hannum* King of the Ammonites to congratulate his establishment in his fathers Kingdome: for *David* in the time of his affliction vnder *Saul*, had bene relieved by *Nahab*, the father of *Hannum*. But this Ammonite being ill aduised, and ouer-zealous of his estate, vsed *David*s messengers so barbarously, and contemptuously (by curtailing their beardes, and their garments), as hee thereby drew a warre vpon himselfe, which neither his owne strength, nor all the aydes purchased could put off, or sustaine. For notwithstanding that hee had waged three and thirtie thousand Souldiers of the Amalekites, and their confederates; to wit, of the vassalles of *Adadezer* twentie thousand, and of *Machab* and *Ishob* thirteene thousand (for which hee disbursed a thousand talents of silver) yett all these great armies together with the strength of the Ammonites, were by *Iosh* and his brother *Abisbai* easily broken and put to ruine: and that without any great losse or slaughter at that time. And it is written, that when the Aramites fled, the Ammonites also retreated into their Cities, the one holding themselves within the walles, the other in their desarts adioyning, till *Iosh* was returned to Ierusalem.

*Machab* & *Ishob* North part of *Leuon* remembered in *Dant*. 114. *Ephraim* & *Beniamin* 2 country neere to *Jerusalem* under the rocke of *Ararat*. 2 Sam. 10.

*Helam* not *Chelam* which *Isaiah* calleth *Chelam* the neere the founts of *Euphrates*. 2 Sam. 10.

\* See c. 18 §. 2.

*Adadezer* hearing that *Iosh* had dismissed his armie, assembled his forces againe, and sent all the companies that hee could leuie out of *Mesopotamia*, who vnder the command of *Shobach* passed *Euphrates*, and incamped at *Helam*, on the South side thereof. *David* hearing of this new preparation, assembled all the ablest men of Israel, and marched towards the Syrian armie in *Palmyrena*, not yett entred into *Arabia*; to wit, at *Helam*, a place no lesse distant from *Damascus*, towards the North-east, than *Ierusalem* was towards the Southwest. Now *David* (speaking humbly) might with the more confidence goe on towards *Euphrates* (which was the farthest off iourney that euer hee had) because hee was now Lord of *Damascus*, which lay in the midway. Hee also posselt himselfe of \* *Thadmor* or *Palmyrena*, which *Solomon* afterward strongly fortified; and this Citie was but one dayes iourney from *Helam*, and the riuer *Euphrates*. So had he two safe retraites, the one to *Thadmor*, and the next from thence to *Damascus*. In this encounter betwene *David* and the Syrians, they lost 40000. horsemen, and 700. chariots, together with *Shobach* Generall of their armie. The *Chronicles* call these 40000. Souldiers footmen, and so *Iustus* conuerts it, and so is it very probable. For the armie of Israel consisting of footemen, could hardly haue slaughtered 40000. horsemen, except they quitted their horse and fought on foote. So are the chariots taken in this battell, numbered 40 at 7000. In the first of *Chronicles* the ninth; in which number, as I conceiue, all the Souldiers that serued in them with the conductors are included: so as there dyed of the Syrians in this warre against *David*, before hee forc't them to tribute, 100000. footmen, besides all their horsemen and waggons, and besides all those that *Iosh* slew, when they fled at the first encounter, together with the Ammonites, before *Rabbah*. Notwithstanding all which, the *Adads* in following ages gathered strength againe, and afflicted the Kings of *Luda* often: but the Kings of Israel they impouerished euen to the last end of that State.

*David* hauing now beaten the Arabians and *Mesopotamians*, from the partie and confederacy of *Ammon*: He sent out *Iosh* the Lieutenant of his armies to forradge and destroy their territorie, and to besiege *Rabbah*, afterward *Philadelphia*, which after a while the Israelites mastered and posselt. The Kings crowne which weighed a talent of gold, garnished with precious stones, *David* set on his owne head, and carried away with him the rest of the riches and spoile of the Citie. And though *David* stayed at *Ierusalem*, following the war of *Uriah* his wife, till such time as the Citie was brought to extremitie and ready to be entred: yett *Iosh* in honour of *David* forbore the last assault, & entrance thereof, till his masters arriuall. To the people he vsed extreame rigour (if wee may so call it being exercised against heathen Idolaters,) for some of them hee tare with har-

rowes

rowes, some hee sawed asunder, others hee cast into burning kilns; in which hee baked ryle and bricke.

## §. VII.

Of *David*s troubles in his reign, and of his forces.

**B**UT as victorie begetteth securitie, and our present worldly felicitie a forgetfulness of our former miseries, and manie times of God himselfe the giuer of all goodnesse: so did these changes, in the fortune and state of this good King, change also the zealous care which formerly he had to please God in the precise obseruation of his Lawes and Commandements. For hauing now no dangerous apparant enemy (against whom he was wont to aske counsaile from the Lord) he began to be aduised by his owne humane affections and vaine desires. For hee was not onely satisfied to take *Uriah*s wife from him, and to vse her by stealth; but hee intebrodered his adulterie with *Uriah*s slaughter, giuing order to his trustie seruant *Iosh* to marshall him in the front or point of those Israelites, which gaue an assault vpon the suburbs of *Rabbah*, when there was not as yett any possibility of preuailing. And, that which could no lesse displease God than the rest, he was content that manie others of his best seruants and souldiers should perish together with *Uriah*, hoping thereby to couer his particular ill intent against him. After which hee began by degrees to fall from the highest of happinesse, and his dayes then to come were filled with ioyes and woes interchangeable, his troden-downe sorrowes began againe to spring; and those perils which he had pulked vp by the routes (as he hoped) gaue him an after-haruest of many cares and discontentments. And if it had pleased God to take the witness of *David*s own mouth against him, as *David* himselfe did against the Amalekite, which pretended to haue slain *Saul*, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehension as the other was of the death hee suffered. For when *Nathan* the Prophet propounded vnto him his owne error in the person of another, to wit, of him that tooke the poore mans sleepe that had none else, the becauser being Lord of manie: He then vowed it to the liuing Lord, that such a one should die the death. And hereof, although it pleased God to pardon *David* for his life, which remission the Prophet *Nathan* pronounced: yett hee deliuered him Gods iustice together with his mercie in the tenour following; Now therefore the sword shall neuer depart from thy house &c. because thou hast taken his wife to be thy wife, and hast slaine *Uriah* with the sword of the children of *Ammon*. Soone after this, *David* lost the child of adulterie which he begot on *Bathsheba*. Secondly, his own sonne *Amnon* being in loue with his halfe sister *Thamar*, by the aduice of his cousin-german the sonne of *Shimeah* *David*s brother, posselt her by force: which when he had performed, he thrust her from him in a carelesse and despittefull manner. Two yeares after which foule and incestuous act, *Abisalom* caused him to be murdered, at the feast of his sheepe-shearing: not perchance in reuenge of *Thamar*s raiishment alone; but hauing it in his heart to vsurpe the kingdome: in which, because he could not in anie sort be assured of *Amnon*, he thought his affaire greatly aduanced by his destruction. So the one brother hauing raiuished his owne sister, and then despised her; the other after a long dissembled malice, first made his owne brother drunken, and then slaughtered him; which done, he fled away, and liued vnder the safeguard of *Talmay* king of *Gessur*, neere *Damascus*, who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen King: Thirdly, when *Abisalom* by the inuention of *Iosh* (but chiefly because of the great affection of *David* towards his sonne) was brought againe, first to the Kings fauour, and then to his presence; he began instantly to practise against *David* his father, seeking by the pretence of common iustice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all men, and by detracting from his fathers equitie, to win vnto himselfe a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction, threatened by the Lord as a punishment of *David*s sinne.

The companie which *Abisalom* gathered at the first were but 200. men: which he carried with him from *Ierusalem* to *Hebron*, pretending, though impiously, the performance of a vow to God. There when *Achisophel* repaired vnto him, & many troupes of people

people from all places, he proclaimed himself King, & was by the people (whose hearts God had turned from their lawfull Prince) accepted so readily, that *David* doubting to be set vpon on the suddaine, durst not trust himselfe in his owne Citie of Ierusalem, nor in any other walled towne for feare of surpris: but incamped in the fields and deserts with some 600. of his guard, and few else. The Priests hee left in Ierusalem with the Ark of God, from whom hee desired to be aduertised of those things that chanced; to whom he directed *Iushai* his trustie friend, & servant, praying him to make himselfe in all his outward actions and counsels of *Abisalom*s party and confederacy, thereby the better to discouer vnto him the purposes of *Achitophel*, a reuolting Counsailler, whose practices hee greatly doubted. And now when treason was in fashion, *Ziba* also sought to betray his master *Mephibosheth* the sonne of *Jonatham*: And *Shimei* of the house of *Saul* (the sic of whose hatred *David* prosperitie had smothered, but his aduersitie illightned) holding himselfe vpon the aduantage of a mountaine side, cast stones at *David*, and most despitefully cursed him to his face: but *David* attending no priuate reuenges, forbade *Iushai* to pursue him for the present, yet left him among others in the roll of his reuenges, to his sonne *Salomon*. *Abisalom* being now possesse of Ierusalem, was aduised by *Achitophel* to vse his fathers concubines in some such publique place, as all Israel might assure themselves, that he was irreconcilable to his father: whereof being perswaded, they would then resolutely adhere to *Abisalom* and his cause, without feare of being giuen vp vpon a reconciliation betwene them. This saluage and impious (though craftie counsaile) *Achitophel* intended: vrged for his owne respect, as fearing that this rebellion might take end to his destruction; who most of all other inflamed *Abisalom* against his father. And now was it fulfilled that *Nathan* had directly foretold *David*: I will raise vp euill against thee out of thine owne house, and will take thy wiues before thine eyes, and give them vnto thy neighbour, and bee shall lie with thy wiues in the sight of the Sunne: for thou diddest it secretly, but I will do this thing before all Israel, and before the Sunne. Hee also gaue aduice to *Abisalom*, that himselfe with an armie of 12000. men might bee employed at the instant for the surprizing of *David*; which had willingly become embraced by *Abisalom*, had not *Iushai* *David*s faithfull seruant giuen counter-advice, and swayed it: perswading *Abisalom* that it was fitter and more safe for him with all the strength of Israel, to ouercome his father, than by such a troupe, which *David*s valour and those of his attendants might easily rindanger or resist. This delay in *Abisalom*, and aduantage of time gained by *David*, was indeede, after God, the losse of the one, and deliuey of the other. Whereupon *Achitophel* rightly fearing (by the occasion fore-shewed) the successe which followed, disposed of his owne estate, and then forooke both the party and the care of *Abisalom*, and of his owne life.

*David* being aduertised of this enterprize against him, marched away all night, and past Iordan, possesseing himselfe in the tribe of *Gad*: the same wherein *Ishai* himselfe in the war against *David*, after *Saul*s death seated himselfe. To which place there repaired vnto him *Shobi* the sonne of *Nahab* the Ammonite, whom *David* loved, the same which *Iosephus* calleth *Shiphar*. And though it bee greatly disputed, what this *Shobi* was, yet the most generall and probable opinion makes him a second brother to *Hannan*, whom *David* for his fathers sake established in the kingdome, after *Hannan*s ouerthrow: in thankfulness whereof he relieved *David* in this his extremity. There came also to *David*s assistance *Machir* of *Lodabar*, Guardian in former times to *Mephibosheth*, and among others *Barzillai* the Gileadite, who willingly fed *David* and all his company.

In the meane time both the king and *Abisalom* prepared to fight; *Abisalom* made *Amasa* Commander of the armie of Israel, the same place which *Joab* held with *David*; an officer next the king himselfe, like vnto that of the Maiors of the Palace anciently in France. *David*, perswaded by his company, stayed in Mahanaim, and disposed the forces he had to *Joab*, *Abisai*, and *Ittai*, giuing them charge in the hearing of all that issued out of the port of Mahanaim, that they should spare the life of *Abisalom*. But *Joab*, besides that hee was very cruell by nature, remembered that *Abisalom* had lately disposed of his government to *Amasa*, and therefore the victory being obtained, & newes brought him that *Abisalom* hung by the haire of his head on a tree, when hee could not perswade the messenger to returne and kill him, he himselfe with his owne seruants dispatcht him.

It appeared also by the sequell that *Joab* affected *Adonijah* whom he afterward acknowledged, *David* yet liuing; and fearing the disposition of *Abisalom*, he embraced the present aduantage offered.

Hereof, together with newes of the victorie, when knowledge was brought to *David*, he mourned and sorrowed, not only as a man that had lost a sonne, but as one that had outliued all his worldly ioyes, and sene euerie delight of life interred. For hee so hid himselfe from his people, as those which hoped for honour and reward after so great a victorie, couered themselves also in the citie, as if they had committed the greatest offences, and had rather deserved death than recompence. Whereupon *Joab* presenting himselfe before *David*, perswaded him to dissemble his sorrow for the present, and to shew himselfe to the armie. For first, he told him that he had discountenanced his faithfull seruants, who had that day preferred his life; inferring that nothing could bee more dangerous to a King, than not onely not to acknowledge so great a loue and constancie in his people, who being but few in number, did yet resolutely expose themselves to great perils for his sake: but on the contrarie, grieve and lament at their good successe. For, no doubt, they might all haue bought their peace of *Abisalom* at an easie rate. Secondly, he vrged that it was generally beleued, that hee loued his enemies & hated his friends; and that hee witnessed by this his mourning, that he had not anie respect of his Princes, and others his faithfull seruants, but would more haue ioyed if they had all perished, and *Abisalom* liued, than in the victorie by their faithfulness and approved valour gotten.

Lastly, he vsed this preualent argument, That if the King came not out and shewed himselfe publickly to his men of warre, that they would all that vnto night abandon him, and returne: concluding with this fearefull threatening, And that will be worse vnto thee than all the euill that fell on thee from thy youth hitherto. By these ouer-bold and arrogant speeches (though perchance vttered with a good intent) *Joab* raised *David* from his bed of sorrow, and brought him to the gates of the citie among the people, whom he assured of his loue and affection, especially *Amasa*, who commanded the armie of *Abisalom*, to whom he promised the office of Lieutenantship; the same which *Abisalom* had giuen him, and which *Joab* now enioyed. For *David* doubted, that if *Amasa* were not satisfied, he might draw from him a great part of the strength of Israel, now vnder his commandment.

This done, the King marched towards Iordan homeward, where in his passage hee pardoned *Shimei*, who had lately reuiled him to his face: but this remission was but external, as appeared afterward. He also accepted of *Mephibosheth* his excuse, whom *Ziba* had falsely accused and betrayed.

He also intreated *Barzillai* the Gileadite, his late liberall Oast, to follow him to Ierusalem, that he might reward his seruice done him; who excusing himselfe by his age, appointed his sonne *Chimham* to attend the King.

At Gilegal on this side Iordan, all the Tribes assembled, and after some contention which of them ought to haue most interest in *David*, the Armie brake, & *David* returned to Ierusalem. But *Sheba* the son of *Bichri*, a Beniamite, of the faction of the house of *Saul*, finding some discontent among the Israelites, withdrew them from *David*, as from a stranger in whom they had no interest, and it seemeth that manie of the people of the out Tribes, and in effect of all but Iuda, bare still a good affection to the issues of their first King. *David* employed his reconciled Captaine *Amasa*, to giue him contentment, and to witnesse his trust, as also because hee conceiued that *Amasa* had interest in those reuolts of Israel more than *Joab* had. He received commandment from *David* to assemble the Armie within three dayes, which hee foreflowed: but being onward on his way, *Abisai*, *Joab*s brother, was sent after him, with *David*s guard and best Souldiers, whom also *Joab* accompanied: and ouertaking *Amasa* neere Gibeon, pretending to embrace him, gaue him a wound, whereof hee fell dead, being no lesse zealous of *Amasa* than he was of *Abner*, whom he murdered in the same manner, and out of the same impatient ambition. This done, hee pursued *Sheba*; and finding him inclosed in *Abel*, assaulted the citie with that furie, that the citizens by the perswasions of a wife woman there inhabiting, cut off *Sheba* his head, and sung it to *Joab* ouer the walls: which done, hee retrained his Armie to Ierusalem, and commanded, as before, all the Host of Israel.



The next act of Dauid, was the deliuerie of Sauls sons or kinsmen to the Gibeonites, whom those citizens hung vp in reuenge of their fathers crueltie. Dauid had knowledge from the Oracle of God, that a famine which had continued on the land three yeeres, came by reason of Saul and his house, to wit, for the slaughter of the Gibeonites: and therefore he willingly yielded to giue them this satisfaction, both because he had warrant from God himselfe, as also, if wee may iudge humanely, to rid himselfe of Sauls line, by whom he and his might, as well in the present as in the future, he greatly molested and endangered; only he spared Mephiboseth the sonne of Ionathan, both for the loue he bare to his father, as for his oath and vow to God.

2 Sam. 21.

Now whereas it is written in the Text, *The King took the two sonnes of Rishai, whom he bare vnto Saul, and the five sonnes of Michol the daughter of Saul, whom he bare to Adriel, and deliuered them to the Gibeonites*: Iunius calls this Michol the sister of her that was Dauids wife, since whom Saul married to Phaltiel: but Michol here named, had Adriel to her husband; the same which is named Merab in the first of Samuel the eighteenth, who was first promised to Dauid when he slew Goliath in the valley of Raphaim: and because it is written that Michol loued Dauid, which perchance Merab did not, whether Dauid had anie humane respect in the deliuerie of her children, it is onely knowne to God.

Now where the Genea nameth Michol for Merab the wife of Adriel: the better translation were out of the Hebrew word here vsed, hauing an eclipsis or defect, & significeth, as I am informed, one of the same kinred, as in the 19. verse of the same one and twentieth chapter it is said of Goliath, whose speare was weightie as a Weauers beame, when as by the same eclipsis it must be vnderstood by the brother of Goliath; Goliath himselfe being formerly slaine.

As by the death of Sauls children God secured the house of Dauid, leauing no head vnto rebellion; so did hee strengthen both the King and Nation against forreine enemies, by the valour of many braue Commanders, the like of whom, for number & quality, that people of Israel is not knowne to haue had at any time before or after. Thirty Captaines of thousands there were, all men of marke, and great reputation in warre. Ouer these were sixe Coronels, whose valour was so extraordinary, that it might be well held as miraculous. These Coronels had some difference of place and honour, which seemeth to haue beene giuen vpon meere consideration of their vertue. For Abishai the brother of Ioab, who in the warre against the Ammonites & Aramites was Lieutenant, and commanded halfe the armie, could not attaine to the honour of the first ranke, but was faine to rest contented with being principall of the three Coronels of the second order, notwithstanding his neerness of blood vnto the King, the flourishing estate of his owne house, and his well approued seruices. All these Coronels and Captains, with the Companies belonging to them, may seeme to haue beene such as were continually retained, or at the least kept in readines for anie occasion, considering that the numbers which were mustered and drawne out, if need required, into the field, verie farre exceeded thirtie thousand, yea, or thirty times as manie. They were most of them such as had followed the King in Sauls time, and beene hardened with his aduersities. Others there were verie manie, and principall men in their severall Tribes, that repaired vnto him after the death of Saul; but these Captaines and Coronels; (who with Ioab, that was General of all the Kings forces, make vp the number of 37.) were the speciall men of warre, and reckoned as Dauids Worthies. The long reigne of Dauid, as it is knowne to haue consumed many of these excellent men of warre, so may it probably be guessed to haue wasted the most of those whose deaths we find no where mentioned. For the sonnes of Zeruia, who had beene too hard for Dauid, were worne away, and only Ioab left in the beginning of Salomon, who wanted his brother Abishai to stand by his side in his last extremitie.

2 Sam. 23. 3.

By the actions forepassed in the time of Dauid, it is gathered that he had reigned now 33. yeeres or thereabouts, when the posterity of Saul was rooted out, so that he enjoyed about seuen yeeres of entire quiet and securitie, wherein it pleased God to remoue all impediments that might haue troubled the succession of Salomon in his fathers throne. In this time also Dauid hauing established all things in Iuda and Israel, and the borders thereof, he againe displeased God by numbring the people, as in ostentation of his power: in which he employed Ioab, with other Captaines of his Armie, who after

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nine moneths and twentie dayes trauell, returned with the account & register of all the people, able and fit to beare Armes, and they amounted to the number of thirtie hundred thousand, besides Leui and Benjamin, whereof in Iuda and the cities thereof five hundred thousand, and in Israel eight hundred thousand.

2 Sam. 24. 1. Chr. 21.

For this, when by the Prophet Gad he was offered from God the choice of three punishments, whereof he might submit himselfe to which he pleased; to wit, seuen yeeres famine; three moneths warre, wherein he should be vnprosperous in all attempts, and be chased by his enemies; or a generall pestilence to last three dayes: Dauid made choise to bow himselfe vnder the hand of God only, and left himselfe subiect to that cruell disease, which hath no compassion or respect of persons, of which there perished 70. thousand. And hereby hee hath taught all that liue, that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of men; whereof he giueth this diuine reason, *For his mercies are great.*

2 Sam. 24.

## S. VIII.

Of the last acts of Dauid; Adonijahs faction; the reuenge vpon Ioab and Shimci.

ASTLY, when he grew weake and feeble, and past the acts and knowledge of women, he was yet aduised to lie in the armes of a young and well complexioned maiden, to keepe him warme. In this his weake estate of bodie, when hee was in a manner bed-ridden, Adonijah his eldest sonne (Ammon & Absalom being now dead) hauing drawn vnto his partie that inuincible, renowned and feared Ioab, with Abiathar the Priest, began manifestly to prepare for his establishment in the Kingdome after his father. For being the eldest now liuing of Dauids sonnes, and a man of goodly personage, Salomon yet young, and borne of a mother formerly attainted with adulterie, for which her name was omitted by S. Matthew (as Beda, Hugo, Thomas, and others suppose) he presumed to carrie the matter without resistance. Hereof when Dauid had knowledge by Bersabe the mother of Salomon, who did put him in mind of his faithfull promise, that Salomon her son should reigne after him (Nathan the Prophet affirming the same thing vnto the King, & seconding her report of Adonijah his presumption) the King calling vnto him Zadoc the Priest, Nathan the Prophet, & Benaiah the Captain of his guard, gaue charge and commission to anoint Salomon, and to set him on the Mule whereon himselfe vsed to ride in his greatest state: which done, Salomon attended, and strongly guarded by the ordinarie and choyce men of warre, the Cherethites and Pelethites, shewed himselfe to the people. These tidings being reported to Adonijah, he presently abandoned his assistants, and for the safety of his life, he held by the horns of the Altar, whom for the present Salomon pardoned. After this, Dauid had remaining two especiall cares, whereof he was desirous to discharge his thoughts; the one concerning the peace of the land, which might be disturbed by some rebellion against Salomon; the other concerning the building of the Temple, which he sought by all means to aduaunce, and make the businesse publicke. To bring these intentions to good effect, he summoned a Parliament, consisting of all the Princes of Israel, the Princes of the severall Tribes, all the Captaines and Officers, with all the mightie, and men of power; who did repaire vnto Ierusalem.

1 Reg. 1.

2 Chron. 28. 1.

1 Chr. 29. 2.

In this assembly the King stood vp, & signified his purpose of building the Temple; shewing how the Lord had approued the motion. Herein he took occasion to lay open his owne title to the Crowne, shewing that the Kingdome was by Gods ordinance due to the Tribe of Iuda (as Iacob in his blessing prophetically bequeathed it) and that God himselfe was pleased to make choise of him among all his fathers sonnes. In like manner he said that God himselfe had appointed Salomon by name to be his successor: whereupon he earnestly charged both the people and his sonne to conforme themselves vnto all that God had commanded, and particularly to goe forward in this worke of the Lords house, which Salomon was chosen to build. Then produced he the patterne of the worke, according to the forme which God himselfe had appointed; and so laying open his owne preparations, he exhorted all others to a voluntarie contribution.

The Kings proposition was so well approued by the Princes & people, that where as hee himselfe had giuen three thousand talents of gold, and seuen thousand of silver, they added vnto it seuen thousand of gold, & ten thousand of silver, besides brasse, iron, and

and jewels, heartily rejoycing in the advancement of so religious a worke. This bu-  
nelfe being so well dispatched, a solemn feast with great sacrifice was made, at which  
time *Salomon* was againe anointed King, & received fealtie of all the Princes & people  
of the Land, & of all the Princes his brethren, the sonnes of King *David*. *Salomon* being  
thus established King, his Father *David* finding himselfe euen in the hands of death, first  
exhorted his sonne to exercise the same courage and strength of minde, which him-  
selfe had done in all his attempts: and to the end that a happy end might follow the  
beginning of all his enterprizes, he vttered these mighty words; *Take heed to the charge*  
*of the Lord thy God, to walke in his wayes, and keepe his statutes, and his commandments, and*  
*his iudgements, and his testimonies, as it is written in the Law of Moses, &c.* to the per-  
formance of which, G O D fastened the succession, and prosperitie of his issues. For  
this done (saith G O D himselfe) *Thou shalt not want one of thy posteritie to sit upon the*  
*Throne of Israel.*

Secondly, he aduiled him concerning *Iaob*, who out of doubt had serued *Dauid* from the first assault of *Ierusalem* to the last of his warres, with incomparable valour and fidelitie, sauing that he fastened himselfe to *Adonijah* (his master yet liuing) & thereby vexed him in his feeble age. But as God hath neuer left cruelty vnuenged, so was it his will that *Iaob* should drinke of the fume cup, whereof he hath enforced other men to taste, & suffer the same violence which himselfe had vniustly brooken others withall, *Qui gladio percussit, gladio peribit*: for he had bereaued *Abner* & *Amasa* of their liues, hauing against the one the pretence onely of his brothers slaughter, whom *Abner* had slaine in the time of warre, and could not auoyd him: against the other but a mere ieaousie of his growing great in the fauour of *Dauid*. And though *Iaob* assured himselfe that *Abner* & *Amasa* being dead, there was none left either to equal him or supplant him, yet God (deniding the policies of wicked men) raised vp *Benaiab* the sonne of *Ichabiah*, to pull him from the Sanctuary, and to cut him in peeces. For *Dauid* giueth this cause to *Salomon* against *Iaob*, that he slue the Captaines of the hoste of *Israel*, and shed bloud of battell in peace; and to this apparant & iust cause, it is not improbable but that *Dauid* remembered the ill affection of *Iaob* towards *Salomon*, which *Iaob* made manifest by the vntimely setting vp of *Adonijah*, *Dauid* yet liuing. Some other offence *Iaob* had committed against *Dauid*, of which in these words he put his sonne *Salomon* in minde; *Thou knowest also what Iaob the sonne of Scruiah did to me, &c.* Now whether this were meant by the killing of *Abalom*, contrary to the Kings desire, or by the proud words vsed to him when he mourned in *Mahanaim* for *Abalom*; or whether it were the publishing of *Dauids* letter vnto him for the killing of *Uriah*, thereby to disgrace *Salomon* as defended of such a mother, the Scriptures are silent. True it is, that those great men of warre doe oftentimes beaue themselues exceeding insolently towards their Princes, both in respect of their seruice done, as also because they flatter themselues with an opinion, that either their masters cannot misse them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kinde of pride hath overthrowne many a worthy man otherwife deseruing great honour and respect.

- He also gaue order to *Salomon* to rid himselfe of *shimei*, who not long before had cast stones at *Dauid*, and cursed him to his face. And albeit by reason of his oath and promise *Dauid* spared *shimei* all the time himselfe liued, yet being dust and in the grave, hee slew him by the hand of *Salomon* his sonne. Hence it seemeth that King *Henry* the seventh of England had his patterne, when he gaue order to *Henry* the eight to execute *Paul* as soone as himselfe was buried, hauing made promise to the King of Spaine when he deliuered *Paul* vnto him, that while hee liued hee would neuer put him to death, nor suffer violent hands to be layd vpon him.

And yet did not the execution of *Iaob* yeeld vnto *Salomon* any such great profit or  
 surfeace as he hoped for. For he found a young *Adad* of Idumea, & *Rezin* of Damascus  
 to vex him : who, as the Scriptures witnesse, were emboldened to enterprize vpon *So-*  
*lomon*, hearing that *Dauid* slept with his fathers, and that *Iaob* the Captaine of the Host  
 was dead. Now when *Dauid* had reigned in all fortie yeares, to wit, in Hebron 7. yeares,  
 and in Ierusalem three and thirty, he died.

For his person, he was of small stature, but exceeding strong. For his internall gifts and graces he so farre exceeded all other men, as putting his humane frailtie apart, he was said by God himselfe to be a man according to his owne heart. The Palmes which he wrote, witness his pietie and his excellent learning : of whom Hierome to

*Paulinus: David Simonides noſter, Pindarus, & Alcæus, Flaccus, quoque Catullus, & Serenus, Chriſtum lyre perſonæ, & in deſchordato Pſalterio ad inferu ſuſcitāt reſurgentem; David (ſith he) our Simonides, Pindarus, Alcæus, Horace, Catullus and Serenus, hee playeth Chriſt on his harpe, and on a ten ſtringed Pſalter he raiſeth him up riſing from the dead. And being both a King and a Prophet, he foretelleth Chriſt more lightſomly & liuely than all the reſt.*

The booke of the Psalmes, saith *Glycas*, was diuided, ordered and distinguished by *Bezks*; but whether all the Psalmes were written by *David*, it is diuersly disputed. For *Athanasius*, *Cyprian*, *Lyrannus*, and others conceiue diuers Authors answering the titles of the severall Psalmes, as *Moses*, *Salomon*, and the rest hereafter named; and that onely 73. Psalmes were composed by *David* himselfe, namely, those which are intituled *ipsius David*. For the 90. and the 72. with the ten that follow, are bestowed on *Asaph* the son of *Harathi*, eleuen other on the sonnes of *Korath*; and eleuen are ascribed to *Moses*, to wit, the 89. and the ten following, and so they are intituled in the old Hebrew Copies, though the vulgar and Septuagint (three excepted) stile them other wise. The supposed nine Authors of these Psalmes which *David* wrote not, *Sext. Senensis* nameth as followeth, *Salomon*, *Moses*, (whom *Aben Ezra*, contrary to *Hierome*, maketh one of *Dauids* singers) *Asaph*, *Eliab*, *Ezrahi*, *Eman*, *Ezaiara*, *Idithum*, and the three founes of *Chore*. But *S. Chrysostome* makes *David* the sole Author of all the Psalmes, and so doth *S. Augustine*, reasoning in this manner: Although (saith he) some there are that ascribe those Psalmes onely to *David*, which are ouer-written *ipsius David*, and the rest intituled *ipsi David*, to others, this opinion (saith he) *Pace Evangelice Saluatoris ipsius refutatur, ubi ait quod ipse David in spiritu Christum dixerit esse suum Dominum, quoniam Isaiabus 109. sic incipit, Dixit Dominus Domino meo, Sede a dextris meis, &c.* The voyce of the Gospell refutes this opinion, where it saith, that *David* himselfe in the spirit called Christ his Lord, because the 109. Psalm he begins thus: *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, &c.* Lastly, his testimonies are vsed both by Christ and the Apostles, and hee was as a patron to all the kings and princes that succeeded him.

His Story and all his particular actions, were written by the Prophets; *Samuel, Nathan and Gad*, as it is in the first of *Chron. 29. vers. 19.* For the severall parts of the bookes of *Samuel* which intreate chiefly of *Dauid*, were as it seemes written by these three holy men.

*Consulantine Manasses* hath an opinion, that the Troians during the time of the siege, fought for succour from *David*, and that hee stayed neuter in that warre. But it seemeth that *Manasses* did miscast the time twixt *David* and the Trojan warre. For it is generally received that Troy fell between the times of *Abdon* and *Samson* Judges of Israel, about the worlds yeere 2848. and *David* died in the yeere 2931.

§.IX:

*Of the treasures of David and Salomon.*

**H**is treasures were exceeding great. For it is written in the 22. of the first of *Chronicles*, that he left *Salomon* for the building of the Temple a hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver, and of brass & iron passing all weight, which is more than any king in the world possesse besides himselfe; and his sonne to whom he left it. For it amounteth to three thousand three hundred thirty & three cartload, & a third of a cartload of silver, allowing two thousand weight of silver or sixe thousand pound sterling to every cartload, besides threecore & seenteene millions of French Crownes, or of our money twenty three millions and a thousand pound: a matter, but for the testimony of the Scriptures, exceeding all beleefe. For that any riches were left him, it doth not appeare, seeing that the Iudges had not any treasure, nor any soveraign power to make leuies: but when they went to the wars, they were followed by such voluntaries as the severall tribes by turns gaue them: seeing also that *Saul* who was of a mean parentage, and perpetually vexed and invaded by the Philistines, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his Territories being exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part possesse by his enemies.

Therefore it were not amisse to consider how *David* within the space of not very many yeeres, might amasse vp such mighty treasures. For though parsimony be it selfe a great

great reueneue, yet needs there must haue beene some other great meanes. It seemes that he made the vtermoſt profit of all that he had, that was profitable. *Eusebius* in his ninth booke and last chapter of *preparatione Evangelica*, citeth the words of *Eupolemus*, who reporteth that *Dauid*, among other preparations for the Temple, built a Navy in *Melania* (or as *Villalpandus* corrects it, *Achana*) a citie of Arabia, and from thence sent men to digge for gold in the Iland Vrphie, which *Ortelius* thinks was Ophir, though *Eupolemus* in this place of *Eusebius* (erring perhaps in this circumstance) saith that this Iland is in the red Sea: from whence, saith this *Eupolemus*, they brought gold into Iurie. *Pineda*, *de rebus Salomonis*, &c. thinks that *Dauid* did this way also enrich himselfe, and cyteth this testimonie of *Eupolemus*: and yet certainly *Dauid* had many other wayes to gather riches. Much land doubtlesse he gained by conquest from the Canaanites & Philistines; besides those fruitfull vallies neere Iordan in Trachonitis & Bafan, and the best of Syria, and other countries bordering the Israelites. These demaines belike he kept in his own hands, and with his infinite number of captiues, which he took in his warres, which were not able to redeeme themselves, husbanded those grounds for his greatest advantage. For it is written, 1. *Chron.* 17. that *Ichonathau* was ouer his treasures in the field, in the villages, in the cities, in the townes; that *Ezri* was ouer the labourers that tilled his ground; *Simeï* ouer the vineyards, and *Sabdi* ouer the store of the wine; *Baal Hanan* ouer the olive trees, and *Iosab* ouer the store of the oyle: also that hee had heard men that had charge ouer his cattell, both in the high lands and in the plaines, ouer his Sheepe, Camels and Asses. And this custome of enriching themselves by husbandrie and cattell, the ancient Kings euerie where held, both before and after *Dauid*'s time. For we reade of *Pharaoh*, that hee spake to *Ioseph* to appoint some of his brethren or of their seruants, to be rulers ouer his cattell. Wee reade of *Vezza*, that hee loued husbandrie, had much cattell, and plough-men, and dressers of Vines: likewise wee reade in all Greeke Poets, that the wealth of the ancient Kings did specially consist in their Herds and Flocks, whereof it were needlesse to cyte *Augem* and *Admetum*, or anie other for examples, the rule holding true in all. Now concerning *Dauid* it is not vnlikely, but that those captiues which were not employed in husbandrie, were manie of them vsed by him in all sorts of gainfull professions, as the ancient Romanes in like manner vsed their slaues.

To these profits (besides the tributes and impositions, which doubtlesse were great; and besides the innumerable presents which yearly were brought him, or extraordinarily sent him, by Tohu and others) wee may adde the great spoyle which hee found in the cities and countries which hee conquered: also the head money which was gathered *per legem capitacionis*; By the law of capitacion, or head money, euerie man rich or poore paying halfe a sickele of the Sanctuarie, which is about as much as foure pence, and so in all it amounted to a wondrous summe in that Kingdome: wherein one thousand thousand five hundred and seentie thousand fighting men were numbered by *Iosab*. Now although this law of capitacion be thought by some verie learned, not to haue beene perpetuall (which opinion of theirs neuerthelessse they confesse is against the Hebrew expositions) yet *Dauid* vpon this occasion is not vnlikely to haue put it in practise. And by these meanes might he be able to leaue those huge treasures to *Salomon*. Yet it may seeme that this great masse of gold and siluer left by *Dauid*, the least part was his owne in priuate, and so will it appeare the lesse wonderfull that hee left so much. Of his owne liberalitie we finde, that hee gaue to the building of the Temple three thousand talents of gold, and seuen thousand talents of siluer: a great summe, but holding a verie small proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to consider, that the treasures of the Sanctuarie it selfe were exceeding great, as needs they must haue beene, hauing receiued continual encrease, without any losse or diminution euer since the time of *Moses* and *Iosab*. The reuenues of the Sanctuarie (besides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defrayed the daily expences, and maintained the Priests and Lewites) were partly raised out of the head money before mentioned, partly out of the spoyle gotten in warre. For all the bootie was diuided into two parts, whereof the Souldiers had one, and the people which remained at home, had the other halfe; whereby all the country receiued benefite of the victorie, yet so, that the Souldiers had a farre greater proportion than the rest, as being fewer, and therefore receiuing more for euerie single share.

Out of this purchase was deducted the Lords tribute, which was one in fiftie, of that which the people receiued and one in fise hundred, of that which was giuen to the Souldiers; namely one hundred and one thousand part of the whole bootie. So in the spoyle of *Midian*, thirty two thousand women being taken, the armie had sixteene thousand of them for slaues, and the Congregation had other sixteene thousand; but out of the sixteene thousand giuen to the Armie, were exempted two and thirty for the Lords tribute. Out of the peoples number were taken three hundred and twenty. By this meanes, the lesser that the Armie was which had exposed it selfe to danger, the greater profit had euerie Souldier; but when it consisted of many hands, they who remaining at home were faine to vndergoe more than ordinarie trouble in domesticall affaires, did receiue by so much the greater portion. But the Lords tribute was alwaies certaine, yea many times it was increased, either by some especiall commandement, as when all the gold, and siluer, and other mettalls found in *Ierico*, were consecrated vnto God; or by thankfulness of the Rulers and People, as when after the victorie obtained against the *Midianites* without the losse of one man, all Iewells, Bracelets, Eare-rings, and the like, were offered vp, as voluntarie presents.

Now howeouer the Israelites were many times oppressed, & troden downe by other Nations, yet were not these treasures robbed or spoiled; for the enemies neuer gat possession of the Tabernacle that was in *shilo*. Wherefore it cannot otherwise be, than that the wealth of the Sanctuarie must haue bin exceeding great; as containing aboute one hundred part of all the money and other goods found by the Israelites in the whole Land of *Canaan*; and of all that was purchased by so many victories, as they obtained against the bordering Nations. For that this treasure was not defrauded of the due portion, it is euident; seeing that before the time of *Dauid* and his Lieutenant *Iosab*, it is recorded that *Saul* and *Abner*, & before them *Samuel*, had vsed to dedicate of the spoiles obtained in warre to maintaine the house of the Lord: the like whereof may be well presumed of the former Iudges and Captaines of other Ages. Certaine it is, that the Conquest of *Dauid* brought into the Land far greater abundance of riches, than any former victories had purchased, those of *Iosua* perhaps excepted: but these vast summes of an hundred thousand Talents of siluer, may seeme rather to haue bin made vp, by the addition of his winnings and liberalitie, to the treasures laid vp in many former Ages, than to haue beene the meere fruits of his owne industrie.

Now concerning the riches of *Salomon*, it is more manifest how he gathered them; for hee receiued yearly reuenues with his tributes 666. Talents of gold, besides the Customs of Spices. He had also fixe rich Returnes from the East India, which greatly increased his store. For his ships performed that voyage euerie three yeeres, and he began that trade in the two and twentieth yeere of his reigne, and ruled fortie yeeres. Besides this, all Iudaea and Israel were now mastered to his hands; all the *Arabians* his borderers, the *Syriacs* of *Zobah*, of *Damascena*, of *Palmirena*, of *Ituraa*; all of *Idumaea*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, paid him tribute; as likewise did the *Hittites*, who with the *Perizzites*, *Heuites*, *Iebusites*, and other races of the Canaanites, were not as yet extinguished, though subiected.

Into this flourishing estate was the Kingdom of Israel reduced by *Dauid*, who after 40 years reigne, and 70. yeeres of life, dyed in a good age, full of dayes, riches, and honour, and was buried in the Citie of *Dauid*. It is written by *Iosephus* that there was hid in *Dauid*'s Tombe a maruailous quantitie of treasures, inso much as *Hircanus* (who first of the *Chasmanis*, or race of Maccabees, called himself King) one thousand and three hundred yeeres after, drew thence three thousand Talents, to rid himself of *Antiochus* then besieging *Ierusalem*; & afterward *Herod* opening another Cell, had also an exceeding masse of gold and siluer therein. And it was an ancient custome to burie treasure with the dead. So the Peruvians & other Americans did the like, which being discovered by the Spaniards, they enriched themselves by nothing so much in their first Conquest. That *Salomon* did burie so much treasure in his fathers graue, it would hardly be beleued, in regard of the great exactions with which hee was faine to burthen the people, notwithstanding all the riches which he got otherwise, or which were left vnto him: were it not withall considered that his want of mony grew from such magnificent employments. Particularly of the Sepulchre of *Dauid* the Scriptures haue no mention, but only the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Iuda*, as of an honourable place of buriall. Yet the

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yceres before *Salomon*; vnlesse more credit should bee giuen to those Tyrian records which are cited by *Iosephus*, than to the plaine words of Scripture contradicting them. For that it was the same *Hiram* which liued both with *Dauid* and with *Salomon*, the Scriptures make it plainly manifest.

## CHAP. XVIII. OF SALOMON.

### §. I.

*Of the establishing of Salomon: of birthright, and the cause of Adonijahs death, and of Salomons wisdom.*

**S**ALOMON, who was brought vp vnder the Prophet *Nathan*, began to reigne ouer Iuda and Irael, in the yeere of the World 2991. He was called *Salomon* by the appointment of God: hee was also called *Iedidias*, or *Theophilus* by *Nathan*, because the Lord loued him.

*Hiram* King of Tyre, after *Salomons* anointing, dispatched Embassadors toward him, congratulating his establishment: a custome betwene Princes very ancient. Whence, wee reade that *Dauid* did in like sort salute *Hannun* King of the Ammonites, after his obtaining the Kingdom.

The beginning of *Salomon* was in bloud, though his reigne were peaceable. For soon after *Dauids* death, hee caused his brother *Adonijah* to be slaine by *Benaiah* the sonne of *Iehoiada*, taking occasion from *Adonijahs* desiring by *Berisbea*, that the young maide *Abisag* (which lay in *Dauids* bosome in his latter dayes, to keepe him warme) might be giuen to him. Whatsoeuer hee pretended, it was enough that *Adonijah* was his elder brother, and fought the kingdom contrary to the will of *Dauid* whom God inclined towards *Salomon*. And yet it is said that a word is enough to the wife, & he that sees but the claw, may know whether it be a Lyon or no: so it may seem that to the quick-fighted wisdom of *Salomon*, this motion of *Adonijahs*, was a demonstration of a new treason. For they which had bene Concubines to a king, might not after bee touched but by a king: whence *Achitophel* wished *Abisag* to take his fathers Concubines as a part of the Royaltie. And *Dauid* after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, did not giue them to any other, but shut them vp, and they remained widowed vntil their death. And this it seemes was the depth of *Isobeths* quarrell against *Abner*, for hauing his Fathers Concubine. And some signification of this custome may seeme too in the words of God by *Nathan* to *Dauid*; *I haue giuen thee thy masters house, and thy masters wiue*. And in the words of *Saul* vbraiding *Jonathan*, that hee had chosen *Dauid* to the shame of the nakednesse of his Mother. Hereupon perhaps was some reference to this purpose of *Adonijah*, to marrie with her that was alwaies present with *Dauid* in his latter daies, and who belike knew all that was past, for the conueying of the kingdom to *Salomon*. There might be diuers further occasions, as either that hee would learn such things by her as might be for the aduantage of his ambition, or that he would perswade her to forge some strange tale about *Dauids* last Testament, or any thing else that might preiudice the title of *Salomon*.

As for the right of an elder brother which *Adonijah* pretended, though generally it agreed both with the law of Nations, & with the customes of the Iewes: yet the kings of the Iewes were so absolute, as they did therein, & in all else what they pleased. Some examples also they had (though not of kings) which taught them to vse this paternall authoritie in transferring the birthright to a younger sonne: namely of *Jacobs* disheriting *Reuben*, and giuing the birthright (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to *Ioseph*: of whom hee made two tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in *Dauid*, it appeareth by the words of *Berisbea* and *Nathan* to *Dauid*, and of *Jonathan* to *Adonijah*. For, as for popular election, that it was necessarie to confirme, or that the refusal of the people had authoritie to frustrate the

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elder brothers right to the Kingdom, it now here appears in the stories of the Iewes. It is said indeed that the people made *Saul* King at Galgal: that is, they acknowledged & established him. For that he was King long before, no man can doubt. In like manner elsewhere the phrase of chusing or making their King, is to be expounded: as where in the prohibition, that they should not make themselves a King, it is said, *Thou shalt make him King whom the Lord shall chuse*.

But to proceed with the acts of *Salomon*: at the same time that hee put *Adonijah* to death, he rid himselfe also of *Iosab*, and three yeers after of *Shimei*, as *Dauid* had aduised him: he displaced also the Priest *Abiathar*, who tooke part with *Adonijah* against him: but in respect of his office, and that he followed *Dauid* in all his afflictions, and because he had borne the Arke of God before his Father, he spared his life. And thus being established in his Kingdom, hee tooke the daughter of *Naphres* King of Egypt to Wife: for so *Eusebius* out of *Epiphanus* calls him. He offered a thousand Sacrifices at Gibeon, where God appearing vnto him in a dreame, bade him aske what he would at his hands; *Salomon choseth wisdom, which pleased God*. And God said vnto him, *Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thy selfe long life, neither hast thou asked riches for thy selfe, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies, behold, I haue done according to thy words*: by which we may informe our selues, what desires are most pleasing to God, and what not. For the conueying after long life in respect of our selues, cannot but proceed of selfe-loue, which is the roote of all impiety: the desire of priuate riches is an affection of countenance, which God abhorreth; to affect reuenge, is as much as to take the sword out of Gods hand, and to distrust his iustice. And in that it pleased God to make *Salomon* know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in minde of his brothers slaughter, for which hee had not any warrant either from *Dauid*, or from the Law of God. But because *Salomon* desired wisdom onely, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule men, it pleased God to giue him withall that which he desired not. And I haue also giuen thee (saith God) *that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honour*. This gift of wisdom our Commentators stretch to almost all kindes of learning: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plants and liuing creatures the Scripture testifieth, though no doubt the chiefe excellencie of *Salomons* wisdom, was in the knowledge of governing his Kingdom: whence, as it were for an example of his wisdom, the Scripture telleth how soone hee iudged the contumacie between the two harlots.

### §. II.

*Of Salomons building and glorie.*

**H**EE then entred into league with *Hiram* King of Tyre, from whom he had much of his materials for the Kings Palace and the Temple of God: for the building whereof he had receiued a double charge, one from his father *Dauid*, and another from God. For like as it is written of *Dauid*, that he called *Salomon* his sonne, and charged him to build a house for the Lord God of Israel: so doth *Tostatus* giue the force of a diuine precept to these words, *Behold, a sonne is borne vnto thee, &c. Hee shall build an house for my Name*.

He began the worke of the Temple in the beginning of the fourth yeer of his reigne, at which time also he prepared his fleet at Esiongaber to trade for gold in the East Indies, that nothing might be wanting to supply the charge of so great a worke. For that the Temple was in building, while his fleets were passing to and fro, it is manifest. For the pillars of the Temple were made of the *Almaggin* trees brought from Ophir. Of this most glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof the forme and example was giuen by God himselfe) many learned men haue written, as *Salmeron*, *Montanus*, *Ribera*, *Barraza*, *Alcorius*, *Villalpandus*, *Pineda*, and others, to whom I refer the Reader.

For the cutting and squaring of the Cedars which serued that building, *Salomon* employed 30. thousand Carpenters, 10. thousand euery month by course: he also vsed 80. thousand Mafons in the mountain, and 70. thousand labourers that bare burdens, which it is conceived, he selected out of the *Profelites*, besides three thousand three hundred masters of his worke; so as he paid and employed in all one hundred eighty three thousand and three hundred men; in which number the *Sidonians*, which were there more

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skillfull

skillfull in hewing timber than the Israelites, may (as I thinke) be included. For *Hiram* caused his seruants to bring down the Cedars and Firres from Libanon to the sea, and thence sent them in raftes to Ioppe, or the next port to Ierusalem. For in the second of *Chronicles* the second Chapter, it is plaine, that all but the thirtie thousand Carpenters, and the ouer-seers, were strangers, and as it seemeth, the vassalls of *Hiram*, and of *Pharaoh* King of Egypt. In recompence of all this timber and stone, *Salomon* gaue *Hiram* twenty thousand measures of wheate, and twenty measures of pure oyle yeerely. *Eusebius* out of *Eusepius* in the ninth booke of his preparation, the last Chapter, hath left vs a Copie of *Salomons* Letter to *Suron* (which was the same as *Hiram* and *Hiram*) King of Tyre in these words:

**R**ex Salomon Suroti, Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phœnicie regi, Amico paterno salutem. Scias me a Deo magno David patris mei regnum accepisse, cumque mihi pater præcepit templum Dei, qui terram creauit, condere, ut etiam ad te scriberem præcepit: Scribo igitur, & peto ut ut artifices atque fabros ad ædificandum Templum Dei mittere velis.

**K**ing Salomon to King Suron, of Tyre, Sydon, and Phœnicia King, and my fathers friend, sendeth greeting. You may understand that I haue receiued of the great God of my father David, the Kingdome: and when my father commanded me to build a Temple to God which created heauen and earth, hee commanded also that I should write to you: I write therefore you, and beseech you, that you would be pleased to send me Artificers and Carpenters to build the Temple of God.

To which the King *Suron* made this answer.

**S**uron, Tyri, Sydonis, & Phœnicie Rex, Salomoni Regi salutem. Lectis literis gratias regi Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quoniam scribis fabros ministrumq; ad condendum Templum esse tibi mittendos, misi ad te milia hominum octoginta, & Architectum Tyrium huiusmodi ex matre Iudea, virum in rebus architecturæ mirabilem. Curabis igitur ut necessarii non egeant, & Templo Dei condito ad nos redeant.

**S**uron of Tyre, Sydon and Phœnicia King, to King Salomon greeting: When I read your letters, I gaue God thanks, who hath installed you in your fathers Kingdome. And because you write, that Carpenters and Workemen may be sent to build Gods Temple, I haue sent you four-score thousand men, and a Master-builder a Tyrian, borne of a Iewish woman, a man admirable in building. You will be carefull that all necessaries be provided for them, and when the Temple of God is built, that they come home to vs.

The Copies of these letters were extant in *Iosephus* time, as himselfe affirmeth, and to be seene, saith he, *Tam in nostris quam in Tyriorum annalibus, as well in our owne as the Tyrian annals*. But he deliuereth them somewhat in different termes, as the Reader may finde in his Antiquities. But were this intercourse betweene *Salomon* and *Hiram* either by message or by writing, it is somewhat otherwise deliuered in the Scriptures, than either *Eusepius* or *Iosephus* set it downe, but so, that in substance there is little difference betweene the one and the other.

The like letter in effect *Salomon* is said to haue written to *Pharaoh* King of Egypt, and was answered as from *Hiram*.

But whereas some Commentors vpon *Salomon* finde that *Hiram* King of Tyre, and *Pharaoh* King of Egypt, gaue *Salomon* the title of *Rex magnus*, and cite *Eusepius* in *Eusebius*, I do not finde any such addition of *magnus* in *Eusebius* in the last chapter of that ninth booke; neither is it in *Iosephus* in the eight booke and second chapter of the Jewes Antiquities: it being a vain title vsed by some of the Assyrian and Persian Kings, and vsed likewise by the Parthians, and many other after them, in so much as in later times it grew common, and was vsurped by meane persons in respect of the great *Hermes* the first, which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his mightynesse.

After the finishing and dedication of the Temple and house of the Lord, *Salomon* fortified Ierusalem with a treble wall, and repaired *Hazor* which had bene the ancient Meropolis of the Canaanites, before *Iosias* time: so did he Gaza of the Philistines: he built Berothay, Gerar, & the Millo or munition of Ierusalem. For *Pharaoh* (as it seemeth

in fauour of *Salomon*) came vp into the edge of Ephraim, and tooke Gerar, which place the Canaanites yet held, and put them to the sword, and burnt their Citie. The place & Territorie he gaue *Salomons* wife for a dowrie. And it is probable that because *Salomon* was then builde in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the war, that hee treated his father in law to rid him of these neighbours, which *Pharaoh* performed. But hee thereby taught the Egyptians to visit those parts againe before they were sent for; and in his sonne *Rehoboams* time *Shebäck* this mans successor did sacke Ierusalem it self.

*Salomon* also built Megiddo in Manasse, on this side Iordan, and Balah in Dan: also Thadmor, which may be either *Protemius* Thamorin in the desert of Iuda, or (as *Iosephus* 10. l. 8. ant. c. 2.) thinks) Palmyra in the desert of Syria, which Palmyra because it stood on the vtmost border of *Salomons* dominion to the northeast of Libanus, and was of *Dauids* conquest when hee wan Damascus, it may seeme that *Salomon* therfore bestowed thereon the most cost, and fortified it with the best Art that that age had. *Iosephus* calls this place Thadmora, by which name (saith he) giuen by *Salomon*, the Syrians as yet call it. *Hierom* in his booke of Hebrew places, calls it Thermeth. In after times, when it was rebuilt by *Adrian* the Emperour, it was honoured with his name, and called Adrianopolis. In respect of this great charge of building *Salomon* raised tribute through all his Dominions, besides an hundred and twenty talents of gold receiued from *Hirams* seruants; *Salomon* offered *Hiram* twenty townes in or neere the vpper Galilee, but because they stood in an vnfruitfull and marish ground, *Hiram* refused them, and therefore was the territory called Chabul.

These townes, as it is supposed, lay in Galilee of the gentiles, *Non quod gentes ibi habitarent: sed quia sub ditione regis gentilis erat*, Not that it was possess'd by the Gentiles (saith *Nicæus*) but because it was vnder the rule of a King that was a Gentile. Howsoeuer it were, it is true that *Salomon* in the 21. yeere fortified those places, which *Hiram* refused. Further, he made a iourney into Syria Zobah, and established his tributes; the first and last warre in that expedition hee were driuen to fight that he made in person in all his life. Hethen visited the border of all his dominions, passing from Thadmor to the North of Palmyrena, & so to the Desarts of Idumæa, from whence hee visited Eziongaber & Eloth the vttermoost place of the South of all his territories, bordering to the red sea: which Cities I haue described in the Storie of *Moses*.

### §. III.

Of *Salomons* sending to Ophir, and of some seeming contradictions about *Salomons* riches, and of *Pinedas* conceits of two strange passages about Africke.

**E**re *Salomon* prepared his Fleet of Ships for India, with whom *Hiram* ioyned in that voyage, and furnished him with Mariners and Pilots, the Tyrians being of all other the most expert sea-men. From this part of Arabia, which at this time belonged to Edom, and was conquered by *Dauid*, did the Fleet passe to the East India, which was not farre off, namely to Ophir, one of the Islands of the Moluccas, a place exceeding rich in gold: witnesseth the Spaniards, who notwithstanding all the abundance which they gather in Peru, doe yet plant in those Islands of the East at Manilla, and recouer a great quantitie from thence, and with lesse labour than they do in any one part of Peru, or new Spaine.

The returne which was made by these Ships amounted to foure hundred and twenty talents, but in the second of *Chronicles* the eight, it is written 450. talents: whereof 30. talents went in expence for the charge of the fleet, and wages of men; and 420. talents which makes five and twenty hundred and twenty thousand Crownes, came cleere. And thus must those two places be reconciled. As for the place 1. Reg. 10. 14. which speaketh of fixe hundred sixty and fixe talents of gold, that summe, as I take it, is of other receipts of *Salomons* which were yeerly, and which came to him besides those profits from Ophir.

My opinion of the land of Ophir, that it is not Peru in America (as diuers haue thought) but a Countrey in the East Indies, with some reason why at those times they could not make more speedily returne to Ierusalem from the East Indies than in three yeeres; and that *Tharhis* in Scripture is diuers times taken for the Ocean, hath bene already declared in the first booke.



Only it remaineth that I should speake somewhat of *Pineda* his strange conceits, who being a Spaniard of *Batrica*, would faine haue *Gades* or *Calis-malis*, in old times called *Tartellus*, which is the Southwest corner of that Prouince, to bee the *Tharhis* from whence *Salomon* fetcht his gold; for no other reason, as it seemes, but for loue of his own country, and because of some affinity of sound betwene *Tharhis* and *Tartellus*. For whereas it may seeme strange that it should be three yeeres ere they that took ship in the red sea, should return from the East Indies to Ierusalem, this hath been in part answered already. And further, the intelligent may conceiue of sundry lets, in the digging and refining of the mettall, and in their other trafficke, and in their land-carriages between Ierusalem and the red sea, and perhaps also elsewhere: so that we haue no need to make *Salomons* men to goe many thousand miles out of their way to *Gades*, round about all *Africk*, that so they might bee long a coming home.

For the direct way to *Gades* (which if *Salomon* and the *Israclites* knew not, the *Tyrians* which went with them, could not haue been ignorant of) was along the *Mediterran sea*, and so (besides many wonderfull inconueniences, and terrible nauigation in rounding *Africa*) they should haue escaped the troublefome land-carriage betwene Ierusalem and the red sea through drie, desert, and the theeuish Countries: and within 30. mile of Ierusalem at *Soppe*, or some other hauen in *Salomons* owne Country, haue laden and vnladen their ships.

But this direct course they could not hold (saith *Pineda*) because the huge Island of *Atlantis* in largenes greater than all *Africk* and *Asia*, being swallowed vp in the *Atlantick Ocean*, hindred *Salomons* ships from passing through the Straits of *Gibraltar*: for this hee allegeth *Plato* in *Timæo*. But that this calamitie happened about *Salomons* time, or that thereby the Straights of *Gades* were filled with mud and made vnpassable, that there could be no coming to *Gades* by the *Mediterran sea*: or that this indraught where the sea runneth most violently, and most easily scoureth his channell, should be filled with mud, and not also the great Ocean in like manner, where this huge Island is supposed to haue stood: or that *Salomons* ships being in the red sea, should neglect the golden Mines of the East Indies (which were infinitely better and neerer to the red sea, than any in Spain) to seeke gold at *Cadyz* by the way of compassing *Africa*; it is most ridiculous to imagine. For the Spaniard himselfe that hath also the rich *Peru* in the West, fortifieth in the East Indies, and inhabites some part thereof, as in *Manilia*, finding in those parts no lesse quantitie of gold (the small territorie which hee there possesseth considered) than in *Peru*.

The same *Pineda* hath another strange passage round about all *Africa*, which elsewhere he dreames of: supposing whereas *Ionas* sailing to *Tharhis* the Citie of *Cilicia*, was cast out in the *Mediterran sea*, and taken vp there by a Whale, that this Whale in three daies swimming about twelue thousand English miles, along the *Mediterran seas*, and so through the freights of *Gades*, and along all the huge seas round about *Africa*, cast vp *Ionas* vpon the shore of the Red sea, that so hee might haue perhaps some fixe miles the shorter (though much the worse) way to *Niniue*. This conceit he grounds only vpon the ambiguity of the word *Suph*, which oftentimes is an Epitheton of the Red sea (as if we should call it *mare algosum*, the sea full of weeds) for the red sea. But in *Ionas* 2.5. it is generally taken in the proper signification for weeds, and not as *Pineda* would haue it, who in this place against his own rule (which elsewhere he giueth vs) supposeth strange miracles without any need. For this long voyage of the Whale finished in three daies, is a greater miracle, than the very preferuation of *Ionas* in the belly of the Whale: and therefore seeing there is no necessity of this miracle, we send it back vnto him, keeping his owne rule, which in this place hee forgets; *Miracula non sunt multiplicanda*. And againe, *Non sunt miracula gratis danda, nec pro arbitrio nona fingenda*. Miracles are not to be multiplied without necessity, nor delusured without cause, nor faimed as pleasure. Therefore we leaue this man in his dreames, which (where hee not otherwise very learned and iudicious) might be thought vnworthy the mentioning. But to proceed with our storie of *Salomon*.

The Queene of *Sabaes* coming from farre to *Salomon*, (as it seemes, from *Arabia* foelix, & not, as some thinke, from *Ethiopia*) and her rich presents, & *Salomons* reciprocal magnificence, and his resolving of her difficult questions, those are set downe at large in the Text. But herein *Iosephus* is greatly mistaken, who calls this Queene of *Saba*

*Nicaules*,

*Nicaules*, the successor (saith hee out of *Herodotus*) of those thirty and eight Egyptian Kings which succeeded *Ateneus* the founder of *Memphis*; adding, that after this Egyptian, and the father in law of *Salomon*, the name of *Pharaoh* was left off in Egypt. For as it is elsewhere proued that the Queene was of *Arabia*, not of Egypt and *Ethiopia*: so were there other *Pharaohs* after the father in law of *Salomon*. Yea, about three hundred yeeres after *Salomon*, *Pharao Necho* slew *Iosias* King of *Iuda*.

It is also written of *Salomon*, that he kept in garrisons fourteene thousand Chariots, and twelue thousand horsemen; that hee spent in Court euery day thirty measures of fine flower, threescore measures of wheat, one hundred sheepe, besides stags and fallow deare, bugles and fowle; foure thousand stables of horses he had for his chariots & other vses, & for the twelue thousand horsemen of his guard. For the ten thousand stables in the first of Kings the fourth, are to be taken but for so many horses, whence in the second of *Chronicles* the ninth, it is written but foure thousand stables or stables, and in *Jeremy* teeme ten horses, as *Iunius* and the *Geneua* vnderstand it. He was said to be wiser than any man, yea than were *Ethan* the *Ezrahite*, than *Heman*, *Chalcal*, or than *Darda*, to which *Iunius* addeth a fift, to wit, *Ezrah*. For the *Geneua* maketh *Ethan* an *Ezrahite* by Nation. *Iosephus* writes them *Atham*, *Aman*, *Chalcens* and *Danan* the sonnes of *Heman*. He spake three thousand Prouerbes, and his songs were one thousand and five, whereof either the most part perished in the Captiuitie of *Babylon*, or else because many acts of *Salomon* were written and kept among the publike Records of *Ciuill causes* and not Ecclesiasticall, therefore they were not thought necessary to bee inserted into Gods Booke.

### §. IIII.

Of the fall of *Salomon*, and how long hee liued.

NOW as he had plenty of all other things, so had hee no scarcitie of women. For besides his seuen hundred Wiues, hee kept three hundred Concubines, and (forgetting that God had commanded that none of his people should accompany the daughters of Idolators) he tooke Wiues out of Egypt, Edom, Moab, Ammon, *Zidon* and *Heth*: and when hee fell adoring, his Wiues turned his heart after other gods, as *Asteroth* of the *Zidonians*, *Milcom* or *Molech* of the *Ammonites*, and *Chemosh* of *Moab*.

These things God punished by *Adad* of *Idumæa*, *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and by *Ieroboam* his owne seruant, and one of the masters of his workes, who by the ordinance of God tare from his sonne *Roboam*, ten of the twelue parts of all the territorie hee had. *Deus dum in peccatores animaduertit, aliorum peccatis utitur, quæ ipse non fecit*: God in punishing sinners, vseth the sins of others, which hee himselfe wrought not.

In the reign of *Salomon* (as in times of long peace) were few memorable actions by him performed, excepting his buildings with other workes of magnificence, and that great Indian voyage already mentioned. Fortie yeeres he reigned: how many he liued, it is not written, and must therefore be found only by coniecture. The most likely way to guesse at the truth in this case is, by considering the actions of *Dauid* before and after *Salomons* birth, whereby we may best make estimation of the yeeres which they consumed, and consequently learne the true, or most likely yeere of his natiuitie. Scauen yeeres *Dauid* reigned in *Hebron*: in his eighth yeere he tooke Ierusalem, and warred with the *Philistines*, who also troubled him in the yeere following. The bringing home of the *Arke* seemes to haue been in the tenth yeere of *Dauid*, and his intention to build the Temple in the yeere ensuing, at which time hee had sufficient leisure, liuing in rest. After this he had warres with the *Philistines*, *Moabites*, *Aramites* and *Edomites*, which must needs haue held him fixe yeeres, considering that the *Aramites* of *Damasco* raised warre against him, after such time as hee had beaten *Hadadezer*; and that in euery of these warres, hee had the entire victorie. Neither is it likely that these seruices occupied any longer time, because in those dayes and places there were no wintering camps in vse, but at conuenient seasons of the yeere Kings went forth to warre, dispatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their armies, partly vpon the spoyle of the enemies country, partly vpon the priuate prouision which euery soldier made for himselfe. The 17. yeere of *Dauid*, in which he tooke *Metaphiseth* the son

of

of *Jonathan* into his Court, appeareth to haue passed away in quiet; and the yeere following to haue begun the warre with *Ammon*; but somewhat late in the end of Summer perhaps, it came to triall of a battaile (for *Isaiah* after the victory, returned immediately to Ierusalem) the causes and preparations for that warre taking vp all the Summer. *Dauids* personall expedition against the *Aramites* wherein he brought all the tributaries of *Adadazer* vnder his owne allegiance, appeares manifestly to haue bene the next yeeres worke, wherein he did cut off all meanes of succour from the Ammonites; all Syria, Moab and Idumaea being now at his owne deuotion. By this reckoning it must haue been the 20. yeare of *Dauids* reigne, and about the fiftieth of his life, in which hee sent forth *Isaiah* to besiege *Rabba*, and finished the warre of *Ammon*: wherein also fell out the matter of *Uriahs* wife. So one halfe of *Dauids* reigne was very prosperous: in the other halfe hee felt great sorrow by the expectation, execution, and sad remembrance of that heauie Iudgement laid vpon him by God for his foule and bloody offence.

Now very manifest it is, that in the yeere after the death of that child which was begotten in adulterie, *Salomon* was borne, who must needs therefore haue been nineteene yeeres old or thereabout, when he began to reigne at the deceale of his father, as being begotten in the 21. yeere of his fathers reigne, who reigned in all fortie.

This account hath also good coherence with the following times of *Dauid*, as may be collected out of ensuing actions: for two yeeres passed ere *Abisalon* slew his brother *Amnon*: three yeeres ere his father pardoned him; and two yeeres more ere he came into the Kings presence. After this he prepared horses and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which seemes to haue been one yeeres work. So the rebellion it selfe with all that happened thereupon, as the Commotion made by *Sheba*, the death of *Amasa* & the rest, may well seeme to haue been in the 30. yeere of *Dauids* reigne.

Whether the three yeeres of famine should be reckoned apart from the last yeeres of warre with the Philistines, or confounded with them, it were more hard than needfull to coniecture. Plaine enough it is, that in the ten remaining yeeres of *Dauid* there was time sufficient, and to spare, both for the three yeeres of famine, for foure yeeres of warre, and for numbring the people, with the pestilence ensuing; as also for his owne last infirmities, and disposing of the Kingdome. Yet indeed it seemes that the warre with the Philistines, was but one yeeres worke, and ended in three or foure fights, of which the two or three former were at Gob or Nob nere vnto Gezer, and the last at Gath. This war the Philistines vnderooke, as it seemeth, vpon confidence gathered out of the tumults in Israel, and perhaps emboldened by *Dauids* old age: for hee fainted now in the battaile, and was afterwards hindered by his men from exposing himselfe vnto danger any more. So *Dauid* had sixe or seuen yeeres of rest, in which time it is likely that manie of his great men of Warre died (being of his owne age) whereby the stirring spirit of *Adonijah* found little succour in the broken partie of *Isaiah* the sonne of *Zeruia*.

At this time it might both truly be said by *Dauid* to *Salomon*, *Thou art a wise man*; and by *Salomon* to God, *I am but a young child*: for nineteene yeeres of age might well agree with eyther of these two speeches.

Neuertheless there are some that gather out of *Salomons* professing himselfe a child, that hee was but eleuen yeeres old when hee began to reigne. Of these *Rabbi Salomon* seemes the first Author, whom other of great learning and iudgement haue herein followed: grounding themselves perhaps vpon that which is said of *Abisalons* rebellion, that it was after fortie yeeres, which they vnderstood as yeeres of *Dauids* reigne. But whereas *Rabbi Salomon* the sonne of *Salomon* was 41. yeeres old when hee began to reigne, it would follow hereby that his father had begotten him, being himselfe but a child of nine or ten yeeres old; the difference betweene their ages being no greater, if *Salomon* (who reigned 40. yeeres) were but eleuen yeeres old when his reigne began. To auoide this inconuenience, *Iosephus* allows 80. yeeres of reigne to *Salomon*; a report so disagreeing with the Scriptures, that it needs no confutation. Some indeede haue in fauour of this opinion construed the words of *Iosephus*, as if they included all the yeeres of *Salomons* life. But by such reckoning he should haue bene 40. yeeres old at his Fathers death; and consequently should haue bene borne long before his Father had wonne *Ierusalem*; which is a manifest vntuth. Wherefore the 40. yeeres

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remembered in *Abisalons* rebellion, may either seeme to haue reference to the space betweene *Dauids* first anointment, and the trouble which GOD brought vpon him for his wickednesse, or perhaps be read (according to *Iosephus*, *Theodoret*, and the Latine translation) foure yeeres; which passed betweene the returne of *Abisalon* to Ierusalem, and his breaking out.

### §. V.

#### Of Salomons writings.

Here remaine of *Salomons* workes, the *Proverbs*, the *Preacher*, and the song of *Salomon*. In the first he teacheth good life, and correcteth manners; in the second, the vanitie of humane nature; in the third, he singeth as it were the Epithalamion of Christ and his Church. For the Booke intituled, *The wisdome of Salomon*, (which some giue vnto *Salomon*, and some make the elder *Philo* the Author thereof) *Hierome* and many others of the best learned make vs thinke it was not *Salomon* that wrote it. *Stylus libri sapientie* (saith *Hierome*) qui *Salomonis* inscribitur, *Grecam* redolet *eloquentiam*; *The stile of the Booke of wisdome*, which is ascribed to *Salomon*, *sanoueth of the Grecian eloquence*; and of the same opinion was *S. Angustine*, and yet he consulted in the nineteenth Booke and twentieth Chapter of the Citic of God, that the Author of that Booke hath a direct foretelling of the Passion of Christ in these wordes: *Circumueniamus iustum, quoniam insinatus est nobis, &c.* Let vs circumuent the righteous, for he is vnplesant to vs, hee is contrary to our doings, hee checketh vs for offending against the Law, he makes his boast to haue the knowledge of God, and he calleth himselfe the sonne of the Lord, &c. and so doth the course of all the following words point directly at Christ. The Bookes of *Ecclesiastes*, *Proverbs*, and *Cantica Canticorum*, *Kalbi Atalos Kimchi* ascribeth to *Isaiah* the Prophet. *Suidas* & *Cedrenus* report, that *Salomon* wrote of the remedies of all diseases, and graued the same on the sides of the Porch of the Temple, which they say *Ezechias* pulled downe, because the people neglecting helpe from God by prayer, repaired thither for their recoueries.

Of *Salomons* Bookes of Inuocations, and Incantments to cure diseases, and expell euill spirits, *Iosephus* hath written at large, though (as I conceiue) rather out of his owne inuention, or from some vncertaine report, than truly.

He also speaketh of one *Eliazarus*, who by the roote in *Salomons* ring, disposeth diuers persons of euill spirits in the presence of *Vespasian*, and many others, which I will not stand to examine.

Certainly so strange an example of humane frailtie hath neuer bene read of as this King: who hauing receiued wisdome from God himselfe, in honour of whom, and for his only seruice, hee built the first and most glorious Temple of the world: he that was made King of Israel and Iudaea, not by the law of Nature, but by the loue of God; and became the wisest, richest, and happiest of all Kings, did in the end, by the perswasion of a few weak and wretched Idolatrous Women, forget and forsake the Lord of all the world, and the giuer of all goodnesse, of which he was more libellall to this King, than to any that euer the world had. Of whom *Syriacides* writeth in this manner: *Salomon reigned in a peaceable time and was glorious, for God made all quiet round about, that he might build a house to his name, and prepare the Sanctuary for ever; How wise wast thou in thy youth, and wast filled with vnderstanding, as with a fountaine? Thy minde covered the whole earth, and wast filled with graue and darke sentences. Thy name went abroad in the flect, and for thy peace thou wast beloved, &c.* but thus hee concludeth: *Thou didst bow thy loynes to women, and wast ouer come by thy body; thou didst staine thine honour, and hast defiled thy posteritie, and hast brought wrath vpon thy children, and felt sorrow for thy* 10 folly. cap. 27.

### §. VI.

#### Of the Contemporaries of Salomon.

Here the beginning of *Salomons* reigne, *Achis* the third of the *Philistines*, in Corinth, *Labotes* in Lacedaemon; and soon after *Syluius Alba* the fourth of the *Siluii*, swayed those Kingdomes: *Laonthenes* then gouerning *Affyria*: *Achiss* & *Archippus* the second and third Princes after *Dauid*, ruling the Athenians.

In the sixe and twentieth of *Salomons* reigne *Hiram* of Tyre died, to whom *Balastus* succeeded, and reigned seyntene yeers, after *Mercators* account, who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his sonnes. *Iosephus* giues him fewer yeeres. *Theophilus Antiochenus* against *Antiochus* finds *Bororius* the next after *Hiram*, if there be not some Kings omitted betweene the death of *Hiram* and the reigne of *Bororius*.

*Naphres* being dead, about the twentieth of *Salomon*, *Sesac* of Shishak (as our English Geniua termes him) began to gouern in Egypt, being the same with him whom *Diodorus* calleth *Sosachis*; *Iosephus*, *Susac*; *Cedrenus*, *Susacmus*; *Eusebius* in the coluine of the Egyptian Kings, *Suendes*; and in that of the Hebrewes, *Susac*. *Iosephus* in the eight of his Antiquities reproveth it as an error in *Herodotus*, that hee ascribeth the acts of *Susac* to *Sesofstris*, which perchance *Herodotus* might haue done by comparifon, accounting *Sesac* another *Sesofstris*, for the great things he did.

Of the great acts and vertues of King *Sesofstris* I haue spoken already in the story of the Egyptian Princes: onely in this hee was reproveth, that hee caused foure of his captiue Kings to draw his Caroch, when he was disposed to be scene, and to ride in triumph: one of which foure, saith *Entropius*, at such time as *Sesofstris* was carried out to take the aire, cast his head continually backe vpon the two fore-molt wheeles next him; which *Sesofstris* perceiuing, asked him what he found worthy the admiration in that motion: to whom the captiue King answered, that in those he beheld the instability of all worldly things; for that both the lowest part of the wheele was suddenly carried about, and became the highest, and the ypmost part was as suddenly turned down-ward, and vnder all: which when *Sesofstris* had iudiciously weighed, he dismissed those Princes, and all other from the like seruitude in the future. Of this *Sesofstris*, and that hee could not bee taken for *Sesac*, I haue spoken at large in that part of the Egyptian Kings preceding.

## CHAP. XIX.

Of *Salomons* Successors vntill the end of *Iehosaphat*.

S. I.

Of *Rehoboam* his beginnings: the defection of the ten Tribes, and *Ieroboams* Idolatrie.



*Rehoboam* the Sonne of *Salomon* by *Nahama* an Ammonitess, now forty yeeres old, succeeded his Father *Salomon*, and was anointed at *Sichem*, where the ten Tribes of *Israel* were assembled: who attended a while the returne of *Ieroboam* as yet in *Egypt*, since hee fled thither fearing *Salomon*. After his arriuall the people presented a Petition to *Rehoboam*, to be eased of those great Tributes laid on them by his Father. *Sic enim firmius ei fore Imperium, si amari mallet quam metui*; So

should his Empire (saith *Iosephus*) bee more assured, if hee desired rather to bee beloued than feared: whereof hee tooke three daies to deliberate before his answer; of whom therefore it could not be said as of *Dauid*, that hee was wiser than all his Teachers. For as of himselfe he knew not how to resolute, so had he not the iudgement to discern of counsels; which is the very test of wisdom in Princes, and in all men else. But notwithstanding that hee had consulted with those graue and aduised men, that serued his Father, who perswaded him by all meanes to satisfie the multitude: hee was transported by his familiars and fauourites, not onely to continue on the backes of his subiects those burdens which greatly cruell them; but (vaunting falsely of greatnesse exceeding his Fathers) he threatened in sharpe, or rather in terrible termes, to lay yet heavier, and more vsupportable loads on them. But as it appeared in the successe, those younger aduisers greatly mistooke the nature of seueritie, which without the temper of clemency is no other than cruelty it selfe: they also were ignorant that it ought to be vsed for the helpe, and not for the harme of subiects. For what is the strength of a King left by his people: and what cords or fetters haue euer lasted long, but those which haue been

twisted

twisted and forged by loue onely: His witlesse parasites could well iudge of the Kings disposition: and being well learned therein, though ignorant in all things else, it sufficed and enabled them sufficiently for the places they held. But this answer of *Rehoboam* did not a little aduance *Ieroboams* designs. For being fore-told by the Prophet *Achias* of his future aduancement, these the Kings threats (changing the peoples loue in to furie) confirmed and gaue courage to his hopes. For he was no sooner arriued, than elected King of *Israel*: the people cryed out, What portion haue we in *Dauid*? wee haue no inheritance in the Sonne of *Israhel*. Now though themselves, euen all the Tribes of *Israel*, had consented to *Dauids* anointing at *Hebron* the second time, acknowledging that they were his bones and his flesh: yet now after the manner of rebels, they forgot both the bands of nature, and their dutie to God; and as all alienate resolute hearts doe, they serued themselves for the present with impudent excuses. And now ouer-late, and after time, *Rehoboam* sent *Adoram*, one of the Taxers of the people, a man most hateful to all his Subiects, to pacifie them: whom they instantly beate to death with stones. Whereupon the King affrighted, got him from *Sichem* with all speed, and recovered *Ierusalem*, where preparing to inuade *Israel*, with an hundred and fourescore thousand chosen men, *Shimei* in the person of God commanding to the contrary, all was staied for the present. In the meane time *Ieroboam* the new King fortified *Sechem* on this side, and *Penuel* on the other side of *Jordan*; and fearing that the Vnion and exercise of one Religion would also ioyne the peoples hearts againe to the House of *Dauid*; and hauing in all likelihood also promised the Egyptians to follow their Idolatry, he set vp two Calues of gold for the children of *Israel* to worship, impiously perswading them that those were the Gods, or at least by these hee represented those Gods which deliuered them out of *Egypt*: and refusing the seruice of the Leuites, he made Priests fit for such gods. It must needs be that by banishing the Leuites which serued *Dauid* and *Salomon* through all *Israel*, *Ieroboam* greatly enriched himselfe: as taking into his hands all those Cities which were giuen them by *Moses* and *Iosua*; for as it is written, *The Leuites left their suburbs, and their possession, and came to Iuda, &c.* This irreligious policie of *Ieroboam* (which was the foundation of an Idolatry that neuer could be rooted out, vntill *Israel* for it was rooted out of the Land) was by prophetic and miracles impugned sufficiently when it first began; but the affections maintaining it, were so strong, that neither Prophesie nor Miracle could make them yeeld. *Ieroboam* could not be moued now by the Authority of *Achias*, who from the Lord had first promised vnto him the Kingdome; nor by the withering of his owne hand as he stretched it ouer the Altar, which also claued a sunder, according to the signe, which the man of God had giuen him by the commandement of God, who againe recovered and cured him of that defect; yet he continued as obstinate an Idolater as before, for he held it the safest course in policie to proceed as he had begun. This impious inuention of *Ieroboam*, who forsooke God, and the Religion of his Forefathers, by God and his Ministers taught them, was by a moderne Historian compared with the policies of late Ages; obseruing well the practice of his Nation, being an Italian borne. *Sic qui hodie (saith hee) politici vocantur, & propria commodis, presentibusque sibi tanquam vltimum finem constituunt, causam quam vocant statum in capite omnium ponunt: pro ipsa tuenda, promouenda, conseruanda, amplianda, nihil non faciendum putant. Si iniuria proximo irroganda, si iniuria honestatisque leges subvertenda, si religio ipsa pessandanda, si denique omnia iura diuina, & humana violanda, nihil intentatum, nil per fas nefasque relinquendum censent; cuncta ruant, omnia pereant, nihil adipsos, modo id, quod esse sibi persuadent, obtineant, ac si nullus sit qui talia curet, castigare possit Deus: So they who are now called Politicians, propounding to themselves, as their vniuersall end and scope, their owne commoditie and present profit; soe went to alleage the ease of state forsooth, as the principall point to bee regarded: for the good of the state, for aduancing, preserving, or encreasing of the state, they thinke that they may doe any thing. If they meane to oppress their neighbours, to ouerturne all lawes of iustice and honesty, if religion it selfe must goe to wracke, yea if all rights of God and Man must be violated, they will try all courses, bee it right, bee it wrong, they will doe any thing: let all goe to ruine, what care they, so long as they may haue what they would; as who should say, there were no God that would offer to meddle in such matters, or had power to correct them.*

Indeed this allegation of *ragione del stato*, did serue as well to vphold, as at the first

Amos 7. 13.

2 Kings 10. 16.

2 Kings 15. 10.

first it had done to bring in this vile Idolatrie of the ten Tribes. Upon this ground *Amos* (saith hee) *it is the Kings Court*. Upon this ground euen *Iehu* that had massacred the Priests of *Bethel*, in zeale for the Lord, yet would not in any wise depart from that politique sinne of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Nebat*, which made Israel to sinne. It was reason of it, that perswaded the last famous French King *Henry* the fourth to change his Religion, yet the Protestants whom he forooke, obeyed him, but some of the Papists whom he followed, murdered him. So strongly doth the painted vizzor of wise proceedinge blinde euen those that know the foule face of impietie lurking vnder it: and behold the wretched ends that haue euer followed it; whereof *Iehu* and all the Kings of Israel had, and were themselves very great examples.

## S. II.

Of Rehoboam his impietie; for which he was punished by Sefac: of his end and Contemporaries.



2 Chron. 12.

While *Ieroboam* was occupied in setting vp his new Religion, *Rehoboam* on the other side, hauing now little hope to recouer the Prouinces lost, strengthened the principall places remaining with all endeavour: for he fortified and victualled fiftene Cities of Iudah and Benjamin: not that hee feared *Ieroboam* alone, but the Egyptians, to whom *Ieroboam* had not only fastned himselfe, but withall inuited them to invade Iuda: laying perchance before them the incountable riches of *Dauid* and *Solomon*, which might now be easily had, seeing ten of the twelue Tribes were revolted, and become enemies to the Iudaens. So as by those two waies (of late yeeres often troden) to wit, change of Religion, and inuitation of forraigne force, *Ieroboam* hoped to settle himselfe in the seate of Israel, whom yet the powerfull God for his Idolatry in a few yeeres after rooted out, withall his. *Rehoboam* also, hauing, as he thought, by fortifying diuers places, assured his estate, forooke the Law of the liuing God, and made high Places, and Images, and Groues on euery high Hill, and vnder euery greene Tree.

2 Chron. 12. 3. 10. 14. 15. 16.

And therefore in the fifth yeere of his reigne, *Sefac* or *Shishac* before spoken of, being now King of Egypt, and with whom as well *Adad* of Idumaea, as *Ieroboam*, were familiar, and his instruments, entered Iudaea with twelue thousand Chariots, and threecore thousand Horse, besides Foot-men, which *Iosephus* numbers at foure hundred thousand. This Armie was compounded of foure Nations: Egyptians, Iudaens, Succaens, and Cusites. The Iudaens were Lybaens, the next bordering Region to Egypt, on the West-side. The Cusites were of Petrea, and of the desert Arabia, which afterward followed *Zerah* against *Asa* King of Iuda. The Succaens, according to *Iunius* his opinion, were of Succoth, which signifieth Tents: he doth suppose that they were the Troglodites, mentioned often in *Plinie*, *Ptolomie*, and other Authors. The Troglodites inhabited not farre from the banks of the red Sea, in 22. degrees from the line Northward, about fixe hundred English miles from the best and Maritimate part of Egypt: and therefore I do not thinke that the Succis, or Succai were those Troglodites, but rather those Arabians which *Ptolomie* calls *Arabes Egyptii*, or *Ichthyophagi*, which possesse that part of Egypt between the mountains called *Alabastrini*, and the red Sea, far neerer Egypt, and readier to be leuid than those remoued Sauages of the Troglodites.

2 Chron. 12. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Cap. 47. 1. 2. 3.

With this great and powerfull Army, *Sefac* inuaded Iudaea, and (besides many other strong Cities) wan Ierusalem it selfe, of which, and of the Temple, and Kings house, he took the spoyle, carrying away (besides other treasures) the golden shields which *Salomon* had made, in imitation of those which *Dauid* recouered from *Adadazer*, in the Syrian war: these *Rehoboam* supplied with Targets of brass, which were fit enough to guard a King of his quality: whom *Syracides* calleth, The foolishnesse of the people.

From this time forward the Kings of Egypt claimed the soueraigntie of Iudaea, and held the Iewes as their Tributaries: *Sefac*, as it seemes, rendering vp to *Rehoboam* his places on that condition. So much may bee gathered out of the Word of GOD, where premising the deliuerance of Iuda after their humiliation, he doth notwithstanding leaue them vnder the yoke of Egypt, in these words: *Neuerthelesse, they* (to wit, the Iudaens) *shall be his seruants, that is, the seruants of Sefac*.

After

After this ouerthrow and dishonour, *Rehoboam* reigned twelue yeeres, and his losses recieued by *Sefac*, notwithstanding, he continued the warre against *Ieroboam* all his life time. After his death *Ieroboam* gouerned Israel foure yeeres.

*Rehoboam* liued 58. yeeres, and reigned 17. his story was written at large by *Shemariah* and *Hiddean* the Prophets, but the same perished with that of *Nathan*, and the rest.

With *Rehoboam*, *Archippus*, and *Terfippus*, the third and fourth Archontes or Gouernors for life after *Codrus*, gouerned in Athens. *Abdasartus*, or *Abistartus*, in Tyre. *Doris* the fift of the Heraclidæ in Sparta, according to *Eusebius* (others make him the sixt) and *Priminus* the fourth in Corinth. Ouer the Latines reigned *Syluius Alba*, *Syluius* the fourth and fifth of the Syluii.

About the 12. of *Rehoboam*, *Abdasartus* king of Tyre was murdered by his Nurses sons, or foster-brethren, the elder of which vsurped the kingdome twelue yeeres.

Towards his latter times *Periclades*, or *Pyrrhiades*, began to gouerne Assyria, the 34. king thereof: and not long after *Asartus*, the son of *Baleasartus*, recouered the kingdome of Tyre from the Vsurpers.

## S. III.

Of the great battaile betweene Ieroboam and Abia, with a Corollarie of the examples of Gods iudgements.

*Abia* the sonne of *Rehoboam*, inherited his Fathers kingdome, and his vices. Hee raised an Armie of foure hundred thousand, with which he inuaded *Ieroboam*, who encountered him with a double number of eight hundred thousand: Both Armies ioyned neere to the Mount Ephraim, where *Ieroboam* was vtterly ouerthrowne, and the strength of Israel broken: for there fell of that side fise hundred thousand: the greatest ouerthrow that euer was giuen or receiued of those Nations. *Abia* being now master of the field, recouered Bethel, Iechanah, and Ephron: Soon after which discomfiture, *Ieroboam* died: who reigned in all 22. yeeres. *Abia*, the better to strengthen himselfe, entered into league with *Heslon*, the third of the Adads of Syria: as may be gathered out of the second of *Chronicles*: he reigned but three yeeres, & then died: the particulars of his acts were written by *Ido* the Prophet; as some part of his Fathers were.

Here wee see how it pleased God to punish the sinnes of *Salomon* in his son *Rehoboam*: first, by an Idolator and Traitor: and then by the successor of that Egyptian, whose daughter *Salomon* had married, thereby the better to assure his estate, which while he serued God, was by God assured against all and the greatest neighbouring kings; & when he forooke him, it was torne asunder by his meanest Vassals: Not that the Father wanted strength to defend him from the Egyptian *Sefac*; For the son *Abia* was able to leue foure hundred thousand men, & with the same number hee ouerthrew eight hundred thousand Israelites, and slew of them fise hundred thousand; God giuing spirit, courage, and inuention, when, and where it pleasest him. And as in those times the causes were exprest, why it pleased God to punish both Kings and their People: the same being both before, and at the instant deliuered by Prophets; so the same iust God, who liueth and gouerneth all things for euer, doth in these our times giue victorie, courage, and discouragement, raise, and throw downe Kings, Estates, Cities, and Nations, for the same offences which were committed of old, and are committed in the present for which reason, in these and other the afflictions of Israel, alwayes the causes are set downe, that they might be as precedents to succeeding ages. They were punished with famine in *Dauids* time for three yeeres, For *Saul* and his bloody house, &c. And *Dauid* towards his latter end suffered all sorts of afflictions, and sorrowes in effect, for *Vriah*.

*Salomon* had ten Tribes of twelue torne from his son for his Idolatrie: *Rehoboam* was spoyled of his riches and honour by *Sefac* of Egypt, because the people of Iuda made images, high places, and groues, &c. and because they suffered Sodomites in the Land. *Ieroboam* was punished in himselfe and his posterity, for the golden Calues that he erected. *Ioram* had all his sons slaine by the Philistims, and his very bowels torne out of his body by an excoiating flixe, for murdering his brethren. *Ahab* and *Iezabel* were slaine, the blood of the one, the body of the other eaten with dogges, for the false accusing and killing of *Naboth*. So also hath God punished the same and

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the like sines in all after-times, and in these our dayes by the same famine, plagues, warre, losse, vexation, death, sicknesse, and calamities; howsoever the wife men of the world raise these effects no higher than to second causes, and such other accidents, which, as being next their eyes and eares, seeme to them to worke every alteration that happeneth.

## S. IIII.

## Of Asa and his Contemporaries.

**T**O *Abijah* succeeded *Asa*, who enjoyed peace for his first ten yeeres, in which time he established the Church of God, breaking downe the altars dedicated to strange gods, with their images, cutting downe their groues, and taking away their high places. Hee also spared not his owne mother, who was an Idolatresse, but deposing her from her regency, brake her Idoll, stamp it, and burnt it. Hee also fortified many Cities, and other places, providing (as prouident Kings do) for the troubles of war in the leisure of peace. For not long after he was invaded by *Zerah*, who then commanded all the Arabians bordering Iudaea, and with such a multitude entered the territorie of *Asa*, as (for any thing that I haue read) were neuer assembled of that Nation, either before or since. For it is written, that there came against the Iudaeans, *Zerah* of *Aethiopia*, with an hoste of ten hundred thousand, and three hundred Chariots, which *Asa* encountered with an Armie of five hundred and fourescore thousand, leuiued out of those two Tribes of Iuda and Benjamin, which obeyed him, and with which hee overthrew this fearefull multitude, and had the spoyle both of their Cities and Campes.

\* In the former booke. c. 9. s. 13. & c. 10. s. 6. That this *Zerah* was not an *Aethiopian*, I haue \* proued already, and were it but the length betweene *Aethiopia* and Iudaea, and the strong flourishing Regions of Egypt, so fertile (who would not suffer a million of strangers to pass through them) it were sufficient to make it appear, how foolish the opinion is, that these invaders were *Aethiopians*. But in that the Scriptures acknowledge that *Gerar* was belonging to *Zerah*, & the cities thereabouts were spoiled by the Iudaeans, in following their victory, as places belonging to *Zerah*, and that all men know that *Gerar* standeth vpon the torrent of *Belor*, which *Dauid* past ouer when he surprized the Amalekites or Arabians; this proueth sufficiently, that *Zerah* was leader of the Arabians, & that *Gerar* was a frontier town standing on the vttermoost South-border of all Iudaea, from all parts of *Aethiopia* six hundred miles. Also the spoiles which *Asa* took, as the cattell, camels, and sheepe, whereof he sacrificed five thousand, shew them to be Arabians adioyning, and not far off, and not vnkowne *Aethiopians*. And if it be objected, that these desert countries can hardly yeeld a million of men fit for the wars, I answer, that it is as like that Arabia Petraea, and the Desert which compasseth two parts of the holy Land, should yeeld ten hundred thousand, as that two Tribes of the twelve, should arme five hundred and fourescore thousand. Besides, it answereth to the promise of God to *Abraham*, that these Nations should exceede in number; for God spake it of *Israel*, that hee would make him fruitful, and multiply him exceedingly; that hee should beget twelue Princes, &c.

*Baasha* a king of Israel began to reigne in the third of *Asa*, and fearing the greatness of *Asa* after his great victory, entertained *Benhadad* king of Syria, of the race of *Adadzer*, to ioyne with him against *Asa*; and to the end to block him vp, he fortified Rama, which lieth in the way from Ierusalem towards Samaria.

This warre began according to the letter of the Scriptures in the 36. yeere of *Asa* his reigne: but because in the first of Kings the 16. it is said that *Baasha* died in the 26. yeere of *Asa*; therefore could not *Baasha* begin this war in the 35. of *Asa* his reign, but in the 35. yeere of the diuision of Iuda and Israel; for so many yeeres it was from the first of *Rehoboam*, who reigned 17. yeeres, to the 16. of *Asa*. It may seeme strange, that *Asa* being able to bring into the field an Army of five hundred & fourescore thousand good Souldiers, did not easily driue away *Baasha*, and defeat him of his purposes; the victories of *Abia* against *Ieroboam*, and of *Asa* himselfe against *Zerah*, being yet fresh in minde, which might well haue emboldened the men of Iuda, and asmuch disheartened the enemies. Questionlesse there were some important Circumstances, omitted in the Text, which caused

caused *Asa* to fight at this time with money. It may be that the imployment of so many hundred thousand hands, in the late seruice against *Zerah*, had caused many mens private businesses to lye vndispatched, whereby the people being now intentiue to the culture of their lands & other trades, might be vnwilling to stir against the Israelites, choosing rather to winke at apparant incontinencie, which the building of Rama would bring vpon them in after-times. Such backwardnesse of the people might haue deterred *Asa* from aduenturing himself with the least part of his forces, & committing the success into the hands of God. Howsoever it were, he took the treasures remaining in the temple, with which he waged *Benhadad* the Syrian against *Baasha*, whose employments *Benhadad* readily accepted, and brake off confederacy with *Baasha*. For the Israelites were his borderers and next neighbours, whom neither himselfe (after his inuasion) nor his successors after him euer gaue ouer, till they had made themselves masters of that kingdom. So *Benhadad* being now entred into Nephthali, without resistance, hee spoiled diuers principall Cities thereof, & enforced *Baasha* to quit Rama, & to leave the same to *Asa*, with all the materials which he had brought thither, to fortifie the same: which done, *Benhadad*, who loued neither party, being laden with the spoiles of Israel, and the treasures of Iuda, returned to Damascus. After this, when *Hanani* the Prophet reprehended *Asa*, in that he now relied on the strength of Syria, and did not rest himselfe on the fauour and assistance of God, he not only caused *Hanani* to be imprisoned, but he began to burden and oppress his people, and was therefore strooken with the grievous paines of the gout in his feet, wherewith after he had been two yeeres continually tormented, he gaue vp the ghost when he had reigned 41. yeeres.

There liued with *Asa*, *Agesilau* the sixth of the Heraclidae, and *Bacis* the fifth king of the same race in Corinth, of whom his successors were afterward called *Bacidae*, *Asartus*, & *Asarimus* were kings in Tyre. *Asarimus* took reuenge on his brother *Phellers*, for the murder of *Israhbail* Priest of the goddesse *Asarta*, whom *Salomon* in dorage worshippd. *Asy* & *Cappis* ruled the Latines: *Pirithiades* & *Ophrateus* the Assyrians: *Tersippus* and *Dumbas* the Athenians: *Chemnis* reigned in Egypt; who dying in the 36. yeere of *Asa*, left *Cheops* his successor, that reigned fifty sixe yeeres, euen to the 16. of 30. 100.

## S. V.

## Of the great alteration falling out in the ten Tribes during the reigne of Asa.

**I**N the reigne of *Asa* the Kingdome of Israel felt great and violent commotions, which might haue reduced the ten Tribes vnto their former allegiance to the house of *Dauid*, if the wisdom of God had not otherwise determined. The wickednesse of *Ieroboam* had in his latter dayes, the sentence of heauie vengeance laid vpon it, by the mouth of *Abia*, the same Prophet which had foretold the diuision of Israel, for the sinne of *Salomon*, and his reigne ouer the ten Tribes. One son *Ieroboam* had among others, in whom onely God found so much piety, as (though it sufficed not to with-hold his wrath from that Family) it procured vnto him a peaceable end; an honourable testimony of the peoples loue, by their generall mourning and lamentation at his death, and (wherein he was most happy) the fauourable approbation of God himselfe.

After the losse of this good son, the vngodly father was soon taken away: a miserable creature, so conscions of his vile vnthankfulness to God, that he durst not suffer his owne name to be vsed in consulting with an holy Prophet, assured of the ruine hanging ouer him and his, yea of Gods extreame hatred, yet forbearing to destroy those accursed Idols that wrought his confusion. So loath he was to forsake his worldly wisdom, when the world was ready to forsake him, and all belonging to him, his hateful memory excepted:

*Nadab* the son of *Ieroboam*, reigned in the second and third yeeres of *Asa*, which are reckoned as two yeeres, though indeede his fathers last yeere of two and twenty did run along (how farre is vncertaine) with the second of *Asa*, whose third yeere was the first of *Baasha*, so that perhaps this *Nadab* enjoyed not his Kingdome one whole yeere. He did not alter his fathers courses, neither did God alter his sentence: It seemes that hee little feared the iudgements denounced against his fathers house: for as a Prince that

was secure of his owne estate, he armed all Israel against the Philistims, & besieged one of their Townes. There (whether it were so, that the people were offended with his ill successe, and recalled to mind their grievous losse of five hundred thousand vnder *Ieroboam*, counting it an vnluckie family to the Nation; or whether by some particular indiscretion, he exasperated them) slaine he was by *Baasba*, whom the Army did willingly accept for king in his stead: *Baasba* was no sooner proclaimed king, than hee began to take order with the house of *Ieroboam*, that none of them might molest him, putting all of them, without mercy, to the sword. That he did this for private respects, & not in regard of Gods will to haue it so, it is euident by his continuing in the same form of Idolatry which *Ieroboam* had begun. Wherefore he receiued the same sentence from God, that had been laid vpon *Ieroboam*; which was executed vpon him also in the same sort. He began to infect *Asa*, by fortifying Ramah; but was diuerted from thence by the Syrian *Benhadad*, who did waste his Country, destroying all the Land of *Neptalim*. Foure and twenty yeeres hee reigned, and then dying, left the Crowne to *Ela* his son; who enioyed it, as *Nadab* the son of *Ieroboam* had done, two yeeres curreant, perhaps not one complete.

*Ela* was as much an Idolater as his father: and withall a riotous person. He sent an Army against Gibbethon, the same town of the Philistims, before which *Nadab* the son of *Ieroboam* perished; but hee late at home the whilest, feasting & drinking with his Minions, whereby he gaue such aduantage against himselfe, as was not neglected. *Zimri*, an ambitious man, remaining with the king at Tirza, finding his Master so dissolute, & his behauiour so contemptible, conceiued hope of the like fortune as *Baasba* had found, by doing as *Baasba* had done. Wherefore hee did set vpon *Ela* in his drunkenness, and slew him. Presently vpon which fact, he stiled himselfe king of Israel: and began his reigne with massacring all the house of *Baasba*; extending his cruelty not onely to his children, and kinsfolke, but vnto all his friends in Tirza. These newes were quickly blowne to the Campe at Gibbethon, where they were not welcommed according to *Zimri*'s expectation. For the Souldiers in stead of proclaiming him King, proclaimed him Traitor: and being led by *Omri*, whom they saluted King, they (quitting the siege of Gibbethon) presented themselves before Tirza; which in short space they may seeme to haue forced. *Zimri* wanting strength to defend the City, not courage to keepe himselfe from falling aliae into his enemies hands, did set fire on the Palace, consuming it and himselfe together to ashes. Seven dayes hee is said to haue reigned: accounting as is most likely to the time that *Omri* was proclaimed in the Campe. For *Zimri* was also an idolater, walking in the way of *Ieroboam*; & therefore is likely to haue had more time wherein to declare himselfe, than the reigne of seven dayes, and those consumed partly in murthering the friends of *Baasba*, partly in seeking to haue defended his owne life. After the death of *Ela*, there arose another King to oppose the faction of *Omri*; whereby it may seeme, that *Zimri* had made his party strong, as being able to set vp a new head, who doubtlesse would neuer haue appeared, if there had not bene ready to his hand, some strength, not vnlike to resist and vanquish the Army which maintained *Omri*. How long this *Tibni*, the new Competitor of *Omri*, held out, I doe not finde; onely it appears that his side was decayed, and so hee died, leaving no other Successor than his concurrent.

## §. VI.

A coniecture of the causes hindering the re-union of Israel with Iuda, which might haue beene effected by these troubles.

Any man that shall consider the state of Israel in those times, may iustly wonder how it came to passe, that either the whole Nation, wearied with the calamities already suffered vnder these vnfortunate Princes, and with the present ciuill warres, did not returne to their ancient kings, and re-uite themselves with the mighty Tribes of Iuda and Benjamin; or that *Zimri* and *Tibni*, with their oppressed factions, did not call in *Asa*, but rather chose the one to endure a desperate necessity of yeelding, or burning himselfe, the other to languish away, a man forsaken; than to haue recourse vnto a remedy, so sure, so ready, and so honourable. To say that that God was pleased to haue it so, were a true, but an idle answer (for his secret will is the

the cause of all things) vnlesse it could be proued, that he had forbidden *Asa* to deale in that businesse, as hee forbade *Rehoboam* to force the rebellious people to obedience. That therewithin laid by God vpon *Rehoboam*, did only binde his hands from attempting the suppression of that present insurrection, it appears by the Warre continued betweene Israel & Iuda, so many yeeres following: wherein *Asa* so faire preuailed, that hee won a great battaile, and recouered some Townes belonging to the other Tribes, which hee annexed to his owne Dominion. Wherefore we may boldly look into the second causes, mouing the People and Leaders of the ten Tribes, to suffer any thing vnder new vsurars, rather than to cast their eyes vpon that Royall house of *Dauid*, from which the succession of true kings in lineall descent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly haue bene laid vpon the meane beginnings thereof. To thinke that *Omri* had prevented his Competitors in making peace with *Asa*, were a coniecture more bold than probable. For *Omri* was not onely an adolater, but did worse than all that were before him; which as it might serue alone to proue, that *Asa*, being a godly king, would not adhere to him, so the course which hee professed to take at the very first, of reuenging the massacre committed vpon the family and friends of *Baasba*, (*Asa* his mortall enemy) giues manifest reason, why *Zimri*, who had wrought that great execution, should more iustly than hee haue expected the friendship of Iuda in that quarrel. Wherefore, in searching out the reason of this backwardnes in the ten Tribes (which was such, that they may seeme to haue neuer thought vpon the matter) to submit themselves to their true Princes; it were not amiss to examine the causes, mouing the people to reuenge the death of *Ela*, an idle drunkard, rather than of *Nadab* the son of *Ieroboam*, who followed the wars in person, as a man of spirit & courage. Surely it is apparant, that the very first defection of the ten Tribes, was (if we looke vpon humane reason) occasioned by desire of breaking that heauie yoke of bondage wherewith *Salomon* had galled their neckes. Their desire was to haue a king that should not oppresse them; not to haue no king at all. And therefore when the arrogant follie of *Rehoboam* had caused them to renounce him, they did immediately chioose *Ieroboam* in his stead, as a man likely to afford that liberty vnto them, for which hee had contended in their behalfe. Neither were they (as it seemes) herein altogether deceiued. For his affectation of popularity appears in his building of decayed Towes, & in the institution of his new deified idolatry; where hee told the people, that it was too much for them, to trauaile so far as to Ierusalem. But whether it were so, that his moderation, being voluntary, began to cease, towards the latter end of his reigne, and in the reigne of his son, when long time of possession had confirmed his title, which at the first was onely good by courttesie of the people: or whether the people (as often happens in such cases) were more offended by some prerogatiues of a king, that hee still retained in his owne hands, than pleased with his remission of other burdens: it is cleerly apparant, that the whole army of all Israel ioined with *Baasba*, taking in good part the death of *Nadab*, and eradication of *Ieroboams* house.

Now the reigne of *Baasba* himselfe, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) euery way vnfortunate; his labour and cost at Rama was cast away; the other side of his kingdome harried by the Syrians; neither did hee win that one town of Gibbethon from the Philistims, but left that businesse to his son, who likewise appears an vnprofitable sluggard. Wherefore it must needs be, that the fauour of the people toward the house of *Baasba* grew from his good forme of Ciuill gouernment, which happely hee reduced to a more temperate method than *Ieroboam* euer meant to doe. And surely hee that shall take pains to look into those examples, which are extant of the different courses, held by the kings of Israel & Iuda, in administration of iustice, will finde it most probable, that vpon this ground it was that the ten Tribes continued to auerfe from the line of *Dauid*; so as to thinke all aduersitie more tolerable, than the weightie Scepter of that house. For the death of *Isab* and *Shimei* was indeede by them deserued; yet in that they suffered it without forme of iudgement, they suffered like vnto men innocent. The death of *Adonijah* was both without iudgement, and without any crime objected, other than the kings iealousie: out of which by the same rule of arbitrary iustice (vnder which it may be supposed that many were cast away) hee would haue slaine *Ieroboam* (if hee could haue caught him) before hee had yet committed any offence; as appears by his confident returne out of Egypt, like one that was knowne to haue endured wrong, hauing not offered anie.



The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, *Iehoram* did vpon his brethren, & vpon sundry of his greatest men, as also *Iosab* did so put to death *Zachariah* the son of *Iehiada*, who had made him king, *even in the court of the house of the Lord*: and *Manasses* did shed innocent blood exceeding much, till hee replenished *Ierusalem* from corner to corner: and this was imputed to him as another fault; besides his sinne, wherewith he made *Iuda* to sinne. Contrariwise, among the kings of *Israel* we finde no monument of such arbitrary proceeding, vnlesse perhaps the words of *Iehoram* the sonne of *Ahab* (which were but words) may be taken for amirance, when he said, *God doe so to mee, and more also, if the head of Elisba the sonne of Shaphat shall stand on him this day*: whereby it is not paine whether he meant to kill him without more adoe, or to haue him condemned as a false Prophet, that had made them hold out against the *Aramites*, till they were faine to eate their owne children; which he thought a sufficient argument to proue, that it was not Gods purpose to deliuer them. The death of *Naboth* sheweth rather the liberty which the *Israelites* enjoyed, than any peremptory execution of the kings will. For *Naboth* did not feare to stand vpon his owne right, though *Ahab* were euen sicke for anger; neither was he for that cause put to death, as vpon commandement, but made away by conspiracie, the matter being handled after a iudiciall forme, which might giue satisfaction to the people, ignorant of the deuice, thought God it could not.

The murder of the Prophet is continually ascribed to *Sezabel*, an impudent woman, and not vnto the king her husband. Neither is it certaine, that there was no Law made whereby their liues were taken from them; but certaine it is, that the people being idolaters, were both pleased with their death, & laboured in the execution. So that the doings of the kings of *Iuda* (such as are registred) proue them to vse a more absolute manner of command, than the kings of the ten Tribes. Neither doe their sufferings witness the contrary. For of those which reigned ouer *Iuda*, from the diuision of the kingdom, to the captiuitie of the ten Tribes, three were slaine by the people, and two were denied a buriall amongst their ancestors. Yea, the death of *Ahaziah* and his brethren, slaine by *Iehu*, with the destruction of all that Royall seed of *Athalia*, did not (for ought that we can read, shire vp in the people any such thirst of reuenge, as might by the suddennesse and vniuersity testifie the affection to be generall, and proceeding from a louing remembrance of their Princes: vnlesse we should thinke that the death of *Athalia*, after seven yeeres reigne, were occasioned rather by the memory of her ill purchasing, than by the present sense of her tyrannicall abusing the gouernment, whercon she had seized. On the other side, such of the kings of *Israel* as perished by treason (which were seuen of the twenty) were all slaine by conspiracie of the great men, who aspired by treason to the Crowne: the people being so far from embruining their hands in the blood of their Soueraignes, that (after *Nadab*) they did neuer forbear to reuenge the death of their kings, when it lay in their power; nor approue the good successe of treason, vnlesse feare compelled them. So that the death of two kings, being thoroughly reuenged vpon other two, namely the death of *Ela* and *Zacharia*, vpon *Zimri* and *Shallum*, who traitorously got and vltured, for a little while, their places; onely three of the seuen remain, whose ends how the people tooke, it may be doubtfull. Though indeede it is precisely said of the slaughter, committed on *Ahabs* children by *Iehu*, that the people durst not fight with him that did it, because they were exceedingly affraid: and the same feare might be in them at the death of *Peka*, whose history (as others of that time) is cursorily passed ouer. The like may be pronounced, and more absolutely, of the kings of *Engelland*, that neuer any of them perished by fury of the people, but by treason of such as did succeed them; neither was there any motiue vrging so forcibly the death of king *Edward* and king *Richard* when they were in prison, as feare lest the people should shire in their quarrell. And certainly (how focuer all that the Law calls treason, bee interpreted, as tending finally to the kings destruction) in those treasonable insurrections of the vulgar, which haue here most preuailed, the fury of the multitude hath quenched it selfe with the blood of some great Officers; no such rebellions, how focuer wicked and barbarous otherwise, thirsting after the ruine of their natural Soueraigne, but rather forbearing the advantages gotten vpon his Royall person: which if any man impute vnto grosse ignorance, another may more charitably, and I thinke, more truly, ascribe to a reuerent affection. Wherefore that fable of *Briareus*, who

who, being loosened by *Pallas*, did with his hundred hands giue assistance to *Iupiter*, when all the rest of the gods conspired against him, is very fitly expounded by Sir *Francis Bacon*, as signifying that Monarches need not to feare any curbing of their absolutenes by mighty subjects, as long as by wisdom they keep the hearts of the people; who will be sure to come in on their side. Though indeed the storie might very well haue borne the same interpretation, as it is rehearsed by *Homer*, who tells vs that *Pallas* was one of the conspiracie, and that *Theseus* alone did marre all their practice, by loosening *Briareus*. For a good forme of gouernment sufficeth by it selfe to retaine the people, not onely without assistance of a laborious Wit, but euen against all deuices of the greatest and shrewdest Politicians: euerie Sheriffe and Constable, being sooner able to arme the multitude, in the Kings behalfe, than any ouer-wecning Rebel, how mighty focuer, can against him.

This declaration of the peoples loue, being seldome found in *Iuda*, makes it very likely, that the rule it selfe of gouernment there was such, as neither gaue occasion of contentment vnto the subjects, nor of confidence in their good affection to the kings. Vpon which reasons it may seem that the multitude was kept vniually disarmed, for otherwise it would haue bene almost impossible, that *Athalia* the sister of *Ahab*, a stranger to the royall blood of *Iuda*, should by the onely authority of a Queene-mother, haue destroyed all the seed of *Dauid*, and vltured the Kingdom very neere 7. yeeres, without finding any resistance. Yea when *Iehiada* the high Priest had agreed with the Captains and principall men of the Land to set vp *Iosab* their lawfull King, whereunto the whole nation were generally well affected; hee was faine to giue to these Captaines and their men, the speares and the shields that were King *Dauids*, and were in the house of the Lord. But we need not enter into such particulars. Questionlesse, the Tribes which thought obedience to their Princes to be a part of their duty toward God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had Kings of their owne choice or aduision, holding the Crowne by a more vncertaine tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reason, why the ten Tribes did neuer seek to returne to their ancient Lords: but after the destruction of their sixe first Kings, which died in the reigne of *Ase*, admitted a seventh of a new family, rather than they would confusethemselues, with those of *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, vnder a more honourable, but more heauie yoke.

So *Ase* hauing seen the death of 7. kings of *Israel*, died himselfe after one and fortie yeeres reigne, leauing *Iehosaphat* his sonne to deale with *Ahab* the sonne of *Omri*, who was the eighth King ouer the ten Tribes.

## S. VII.

Of *Iehosaphat* and his contemporaries.

*Iehosaphat*, who succeeded *Ase*, was a Prince religious and happy; hee destroyed all the Groves, Altars, and high places dedicated to idolatry, and sent teachers to all places and people wanting instruction; he recovered the tribute due vnto him by the Arabians and Philistims: from the one he had siluer, from the other sheepe and goates to the number of fifteene thousand and foure hundred. The numbers of men of war were more than admirable; for it is written that *Adnah* had the command of three hundred thousand, *Iehohanan* of two hundred and fourescore thousand, and *Amasia* of two hundred thousand; also that he had, besides these, in *Beniamin* of those that bare shields, which we call *Targetiers*, and of Archers vnder *Eliada*, two hundred thousand, and vnder the commandement of *Iehozabad* a hundred and fourescore thousand: which so numbered together, make eleuen hundred and sixty thousand, all which are said to haue waited vpon the King besides his garisons.

That *Iuda* & *Beniamin*, a territory not much exceeding the Countie of Kent, should muster eleuen hundred and sixtie thousand fighting men, it is very strange, and the number farre greater than it was found vpon any other view. *Iosab* in *Dauids* time found five hundred thousand: *Rebeboam* found but an hundred and fourescore thousand: *Abia* foure hundred and eight thousand: *Ase* five hundred and fourescore thousand: *Amaziah* inrolled all that could beare armes, & they amounted to three hundred thousand. Surely,

ly, whereas it is written that when news was brought to *Iehosaphat* that *Moab* & *Ammon* were entred his territory to the West of Iordan, and that their numbers were many, hee feared (to wit) the multitude, it is not likely that he would haue feared even the army of *Xerxes*, if hee could haue brought into the field a hundred and 60. thousand fighting men, leaving all his strong Cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (referring my selfe to better judgement) that these numbers specified in the second of *Chronicles* the 17. distributed to severall Leaders, were not all at one time, but that the 300. thousand vnder *Ahab*, and the 200. and fourscore thousand vnder *Iehosaphat*, were afterward commanded and mustered by *Amasiah*, *Eliada*, and *Iehosabad*: for the grosse and totall is not in that place set downe, as it was vnder the other kings formerly named. Again, as the aydes which *Iehosaphat* brought to *Ahab* did not shew that he was a Prince of extraordinary power, so the *Moabites* & *Ammonites* which he feared, could neuer make the one halfe of those numbers, which he that commanded least among *Iehosaphats* Leaders had vnder him.

This mighty Prince notwithstanding his greatnesse, yet he ioynd in friendship with *Ahab* king of Israel, who had married that wicked woman *Iezabel*. Him *Iehosaphat* visited at Samaria, and caused his son *toram* to marry *Atalia*, this *Achabs* daughter.

*Ahab* perswaded *Iehosaphat* to assist him in the Warre against the Syrians, who held the City of Ramoth Gilead from him, & called together foure hundred of his Prophets, or Balaits to foretell the successe: who promised him victory. But *Iehosaphat* beleued nothing at all in those diuiners, but resolved first of all to conferre with some one Prophet of the Lord God of Israel. Hereupon *Ahab* made answer that hee had one called *Michaiab*, but he hated that Prophet, because hee alwayes foretold of euill, and neuer of any good towards him. Yet *Michaiab* was sent for to the king; but by the way the messenger prayed him to consent with the rest of the Prophets, and to promise victory vnto them as they did. But *Michaiab* spake the truth, and repeated his vision to both the kings, which was, that *God asked who should perswade Ahab, that hee may goe up and fall at Ramoth Gilead?* to whom a spirit that stood before the Lord answered, that hee would enter into his Prophets, and be in them a false spirit to delude. For as it is said by Christ: *Non enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris vestri loquitur in vobis*: It is not you, that spake, but the Spirit of your Father speaks in you: so in a contrary kinde did the deuill in the Prophets of *Baal*, or *Satan*, incourage *Ahab* to his destruction. And as *Martyr* vpon this place well obserueth, these euill spirits are ministers of Gods vengeance, & are vied as the hangmen and tormentors, which Princes sometime employ. For as it pleaseth God by his good Angels, to saue & deliuer from destruction, of which the Scriptures haue many examples: so on the contrary, it is by the euill that hee punisheth and destroyeth; both which are said to performe the will of their Creator, *sicut non eodem animo. Ecclesiasticus* remembreth a second sort of malignant natures, but they are euerie where visible. There are spirits, faith he, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on sure stroakes. In the time of destruction they shew forth their power, and accomplish the wrath of him that made them.

Now *Michaiab* hauing by this his reuelation greatly displeased the King, and the Prophets whose spirit hee discouered, was stroken by *Zidkiah* one of *Baals* Prophets, and by *Ahab* himselfe committed to prison: where he appointed him to be refused and fed with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But *Michaiab*, not fearing to reply answered, *If thou returne in peace, the Lord hath not spoken by mee*. Neuertheless *Ahab* went on in that warre, and was wounded to death. *Iehosaphat* returned to Ierusalem, where he was reprehended by *Iehu* the Prophet for assisting an idolatrous Prince, and one that hated God.

After this the Aramites or Damascens, ioynd with the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* & *Idumians* means to invade Iudea: who passe Iordan & encamp at Engaddi; & when *Iehosaphat* gathered his army, the prophet *Iahaziel* foretold him of the victory, which should be obtained without any blood-shed of his part: & so when *Iehosaphat* approached, this assembly of Nations, the *Ammonites* & *Moabites*, disagreeing with the *Idumians*, & quarrelling for some causes among themselves, those of *Ammon* & *Moab* set vpon the *Idumians*, & brake them vtterly; which done, they also invaded each other; in which broile *Iehosaphat* arriuing took the spoile of them all without any loss of his part, as it was foretold & promised

2. Chron. 18.

2. Chron. 10.

misied by God. Notwithstanding this victory, *Iehosaphat* forgetting that he was formerly reprehended for assisting an Idolatrous king, did notwithstanding ioyne with *Ochazias*, the son of *Achab*, in preparing a Fleet to send to Ophir: hoping of the like return which *Salomon* had: but as *Eliezar* the Prophet foretold him, his ships perished, & were broken in the port of Ezion Gaber, and so that enterprize was ouerthrowne.

Yet he taketh part with *Iehoram* the brother of *Ochazias*, against the *Moabites*, with which kings of Iuda & Israel the *Edomites* ioyne their forces, not forgetting, it seemes, that the *Moabites* assisted by the *Ammonites*, had not long before destroyed their army.

The *Moabites*, subiects to *Dauid* & *Salomon*, forsaking the kings of Iuda; gaue themselves for vassals to *Ieroboam*, & so they continued to his successours till the death of *Achab*: but *Iehosaphat*, notwithstanding the Idolatry of his Colleague, yet as it seemeth, he was drawne into this war both to be auenged of the *Moabites* for their defection from Iuda to Israel, as also because they had lately ioynd themselves with the Syrians against *Iehosaphat*, & thirdly, to punish their double rebellion who first forsook Iuda & now Israel.

Both kings resolved to passe by the way of Idumaea, thereby the better to assure that Nation; for we find that both *Moab*, *Ammon* & *Edom* were all in the field together at Engaddi against *Iehosaphat*: But whether they had then declared themselves against *Iehosaphat*, it is not certaine; for in the 2. of *Chron.* 11. vers. 8. it is written that in the time of *Iehoram* the son of *Iehosaphat*, *Edom* rebelled: and therefore it seemeth to mee that the *Edomites*, when they were slain by *Moab* & *Ammon*, not finding themselves satisfied in such conditions as they required, offered to turne from them, & to ioyne themselves with the army of Iuda. For, that they were numbred among the enemies of *Iehosaphat*, it is plaine in the 2. of *Chron.* the 20. and as plain c. 2. v. 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a king, till *Iehosaphats* death. Now in the passage of these kings towards *Moab*, whether it were by the extraordinary heat of the yeer, or whether the *Idumians* hauing a purpose to rebell, misied the army of Iuda & Israel, with intent to infecte them for want of water; true it is, that they suffered the same, if not a greater thirst than the armies of *Crausus* & *M. Antoninus* did in their Parthian expeditions; and had in all likelihood vtterly perished, had not *Elisba* taught them to cut trenches when into the water spring, by which not only *Iehosaphat* and his army, but *Iehoram* king of Israel an Idolator was relieved: the great mercy & goodnes of God hauing euer been prone to saue the euill for the good, whereas he neuer destroyed the good for the euill.

The miserable issue of this warre, and how *Moab* burnt his son, or the son of the king of *Edom*, for sacrifice on the rampire of his owne Citie, I haue already written in the life of *Iehoram* among the kings of Israel. *Iehosaphat* reigned 25. yeeres and died; hee was buried in the valley of *Iehosaphat*, and a part of the Pyramis set ouer his graue is yet to be seen, saith *Brocard*. His acts are written at large by *Iehu* the son of *Hanani*.

There liued with *Iehosaphat*, *Ophraemes* in *Allyria*, *Capetus* & *Tiberinus* kings of the *Albans* in Italy; of the latter the riuer *Tiber* (formerly *Albulas*) tooke name.

In *Iehosaphats* time also ruled *Mecades* or *Mexades* in Athens: *Agelaus* or *Agelans* in Corinth; and *Archilauus* of the same race, of the Heraclidæ the seventh in Lacedæmon; *Baleforus* ruled the Tyrians; *Achab*, *Ochazias* and *Iehoram* the Israelites.

## CHAP. XX.

### Of Iehoram the sonne of Iehosaphat and Ahazias.

#### S. I.

That Iehoram was made king sundry times.



**I**ehoram the son of *Iehosaphat* king of Iuda began to reigne at thirty two yeeres of age, and liued vntill he was forty yeeres old, being eight yeeres a king: but of these eight yeeres, which *Iehoram* is said to haue reigned, foure are to be reckoned in the life of his father, who going to the Syrian warre with *Ahab*, left this *Iehoram* king in his stead, as *Ahab* did his son *Ahazias*.

This appeares by the seuerall beginnings, which are giuen in Scripture to the two *Iehoram* kings of Israel and Iuda, and to *Ahazias* the eldest son of *Ahab*. For *Ahazias* is

said

2. Chron. 10.

2. Kings. 3.

2. Chron. c.

Brocard. Hist.

1. King. 22. v. 51.

said to haue begun his reigne, in the seventeenth yeer of *Iehosaphat*. *Iehoram* the brother of *Ahazias* succeeded him in the second yeer of *Iehoram* the sonne of *Iehosaphat* king of *Juda*; that is, in the next yeere after that *Iehoram* of *Juda* was designed king by his father; it being (as we finde elsewhere) the eighteenth yeer of *Iehosaphat* himselfe, who went with the Israelite against *Moab*. Hereby it appears that the full power and execution of the royall office was retained still by *Iehosaphat*, who gouerned absolutely by himselfe, nor communicating the rule with his son. But in the fifth yeere of *Iehoram* King of *Israel*, which was the two and twentieth of *Iehosaphat*, the old king took vnto him, as partner in the Gouernment, this his eldest son, who was at that time 32. yeeres old, his Father being 57. Now forasmuch as *Iehosaphat* reigned 25. yeeres, it is euident that his sonne did not reigne alone till the eighth of *Ioram* king of *Israel*. The like regard is to be had in accounting the times of other kings of *Juda* & *Israel*, who did not alwaies reigne precisely so long as the bare letter of the text may seem at first to affirme: but their yeeres were sometimes compleat, sometimes onely current, sometimes confounded with the yeeres of their successors or foregoers, and must therefore be found by comparing their times with the yeeres of those others, with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing lesse needfull than curious, to enquire into the reasons mouing *Iehosaphat* either to assume vnto him his son as partner in the kingdome, whilst hee was able himselfe to command both in peace and in warre, the like hauing neuer beene done by any of his progenitors, or hauing once in the 17. of his reigne vouchsafed vnto him that honour, to refuse it vnto himselfe, or at leastwise to deferre the confirmation of it, vntill foure or fve yeeres were passed. Yet forasmuch as to enter into the examination of these passages, may be a meane to find some light, whereby we may more clearly discover the causes of much extraordinary businesse ensuing, I hold it not amisse to make such coniecture, as the circumstances of the Story briefly handled in the Scriptures may seeme to approue.

We are therefore to consider, that this king *Iehosaphat* was the first of *Rehoboams* issue that euer entred into any streight league with the kings of the ten Tribes. All that reigned in *Juda* before him, had with much labour and long war, tired themselves in vaine, making small profit of the greatest advantages that could be wished. Wherefore *Iehosaphat* thought it the wisest way, to make a league offensive & defensive betwene *Israel* and *Juda*, whereby each might enioy their owne in quiet.

This confederacy made by a religious king, with one that did hate the Lord, could not long prosper, as not issuing from the true root and fountaine of all wisdom: yet as a piece of found policy, doubtlesse it wanted not faire pretences of much common good thereby likely to arise, with mutuall fortification of both those kingdoms, against the circumcised nations their ancient enemies. This apparrant benefit, being so inestimable & iewell, that it might not easily be lost, but continue as hereditary from father to son, it was thought a very good course to haue it confirmed by some sure bond of affinity, and thereupon was *Athalia* the daughter of *Omri* and sister of *Ahab* king of *Israel*, giuen in marriage to *Iehoram*, who was son and heire apparant to the king of *Juda*. This Lady was of a masculine spirit, and had learned so much of *Queen Iesabel* her brothers wife, that she durst vndertake, & could thoroughly performe a great deale more in *Jerusalem*, than the other knew how to compass in *Samaria*. Shee was indeed a fire-brand ordained by God to consume a great part of the noblest houses in *Juda*, and perhaps of those men or their children, whose worldly wisdom, regardless of Gods pleasure, had brought her in.

The first fruits of this great league, was the Syrian war at *Ramoth Gilead*, wherein *Juda* & *Israel* did aduenture equally, but the profit of the victory should haue redounded wholly to *Ahab*: as godly Princes very seldomethrue by matching with Idolators, but rather sene the turnes of those false friends, who being ill affected to God himselfe, cannot be well affected to his seruants. Before their setting forth, *Ahab* designed, as king, his son *Ahaziah*; not so much perhaps in regard of the vncertaine quents of war (for some of his predecessors had euer done the like vpon the like occasions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the Prophet *Micheia* (for he despised them) as inuiting *Iehosaphat* by his owne example, to take the same course, wherein he prevailed.

§. I. Pro

§. I. I.

Probable coniectures of the motives inducing the old King *Iehosaphat* to change his purpose of ten, in making his sonne *Iehoram* King.

Any arguments do very strongly proue *Iehoram* to haue been wholly ouer-ruled by his wife; especially for his forsaking the religion of his godly Ancestors, and following the abominable superstitions of the house of *Ahab*.

That she was a woman of intolerable pride, and abhorring a liue priuate life, the whole course of her actions witnesseth at large. Much vaine matter she was able to produce, whereby to make her husband thinke that his brethren and kindred were but meane and ynworthy persons in comparison of him, & of his children, which were begotten vpon the daughter and sister of two great Kings, not vpon base women & meere subiects. The Court of *Ahab*, and his famous victories obtained against the Syrian *Rehobads*, were matter sufficient to make an insolent man thinke highly of himselfe, as being allied so honourably; who could otherwife haue found in his heart well enough, to despise all his brethren, as being the eldest, and heire apparant to the Crown, whereof already he had in a manner, the possession.

How soone his vices brake out, or how long he dissembled them and his idolatrous religion, it cannot certainly be knowne. Like enough it is, that some smoke, out of the hidden fire, did very soone make his fathers eyes to water; who thereupon caused the yonger man to know himselfe better, by making him fall backe into ranke among his yonger brethren. And surely the doings of *Iehosaphat* about the same time, argue no small distemper of the whole country, through the misgouernment of his vngodly son. For the good king was faine to make his progresse round about the Land, reclaiming the people vnto the seruice of God, and appointing Iudges throughout all the strong Cities of *Juda* City by City. This had beene a needlesse labour, if the religion taught and strongly maintained by *Asa*, and by himselfe, had not suffered alteration, & the course of Iustice bene perverted, by the power of such as had borne authority. But the necessitie that then was of reformation, appears by the charge which the King did giue to the Iudges; and by his commission giuen to one of the Priests in spiritual causes, & to the Steward of his house in temporall matters, to be generall ouer-seers.

This was not till after the death of *Ahazias* the son of *Ahab*; but how long after it is vncertain. For *Iehoram* the brother of *Ahazias* began his reign (as hath been already noted) in the eighteenth of *Iehosaphat*, which was then accounted the second of *Iehoram*, *Iehosaphats* sonne; though afterward this *Iehoram* of *Juda* had another first and second yeeres, euen in his fathers time, before he reigned alone, as the best Chronologers and Expositors of the holy Text agree. So he continued in priuate estate, vntill the two and twentieth of his fathers reign, at which time, though the occasions inducing his restitution to former dignity are not set downe, yet we may not thinke, that motives thereto, appearing substantiall, were wanting. *Iehoram* of *Israel* held the same correspondency with *Iehosaphat* that his father had done, & made vse of it. He drew the *Judean* into the war of *Moab*, at which time it might well be, that the yonger Prince of *Juda* was again ordained King by his father, as in the Syrian expedition he had bene. Or if wee ought rather to thinke, that the preparations for the enterprise against *Moab* did not occupy so much time, as from the eighteenth of *Iehosaphat*, in which yeere that Nation rebelled against *Israel*, vnto his two and twentieth; yet the daily negotiations between the two kings of *Juda* and *Israel*, and the affinity between them contracted in the person of *Iehoram*, might offer some good occasions thereunto. Neither is it certain how the behaviour of the yonger sons, in their elder brothers disgrace, might cause their Father to put him in possession for feare of tumult after his death; or the deep dissimulation of *Iehoram* himselfe might win the good opinion both of his Father and Brethren; it being a thing vsuall in mischieuous fell natures, to be as abiect & sennile in time of aduersity, as insolent and bloudy vpon aduantage. This is manifest, that being repossessed of his former estate, he demeaned himself in such wise toward his brethren, as caused their father to enable them, not onely with store of silver and gold, and of precious things, (which kind of liberality other kings doubtlesse had vied vnto their yonger sons) but with the custody of strong Cities in *Juda*, to assure them, if it might haue bene, by vnwonted means, against vnwonted perils.

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## S. III.

*The doings of Iehoram when he reigned alone; and the rebellion of Edom and Libna.*

**B**Vt all this prouidence auailed nothing; for an higher prouidence had otherwise determined of the sequell. When once the good old man, their Father, was dead, the yonger sonnes of *Iehosaphat* had strong Cities, a weak defence, against the power of him vnto whom the Citizens were obedient. If they came in vpon the summons of a king their brother, then had he them without any more ado; if they stood vpon their guard, then were they Traitors, & so vnable to hold out against him, who besides his owne power, was able to bring the forces of the Israelitish kingdom against them; so that the apparant likelihood of their final ouerthrow, sufficed to make all forsake them in the very beginning. Howsoeuer it was, they were all taken and slaine, and with them for company many great men of the Land; such belike, as either had taken their part, when the Tyrant fought their liues, or had been appointed Rulers of the Country, when *Iehoram* was depoled from his Gouvernment; in which Office they, without forbearing to doe iustice, could hardly auoide the doing of many things, derogatory to their yong Master; which if he would now call treason, saying that he was then king, who durst say the contrary?

After this *Iehoram* took vpon him, as being now Lord alone, to make innouations in Religion: wherein he was not contented as other Idolatrous Princes, to giue way and safe conduct vnto Superstition and Idolatry, nor to prouoke and encourage the people to that sinne, whereto it is wonderfull that they were so much addicted, hauing such knowledge of God, and of his detesting that about all other sinnes; but he vsed compulsion, and was (if not the very first) the first that is registred, to haue set vp Idolgry on by force.

Whilest he was thus busied at home, in doing what he listeth, the Edomites his Tributaries rebelled against him abroad; and hauing hitherto, since *Dauids* time, bene gouerned by a vice-Roy, did now make vnto themselves a king. Against these *Iehoram* in person made an expedition, taking along with him his Princes, and all his Chariots, with which he obtained victory in the field, compelling the rebels to flie into their places of aduantage, whereof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that he had gotten in beating and killing some of those whom hee should haue subdued, and kept his seruants. Now began the prophecy of *Isaac* to take effect, wherein he foretold, that *Esaü* in proceesse of time should breake the yoke of *Jacob*. For after this the Edomites could neuer be reclaimed by any of the kings of Iuda, but held their owne so well, that when, after many ciuill and forraigne wars, the Iewes by sundry Nations had bene brought low; *Antipater* the Edomite, with *Herod* his son, and others of that race following them, became Lords of the Iewes, in the decrepit age of Israel, & reigned as Kings, euen in Ierusalem it selfe.

The freedome of the Edomites, though purchased somewhat dearly, encouraged *Libna*, a great Citie within Iuda, which in the time of *Iosua* had a peculiar king, to rebell against *Iehoram*, and set it selfe at liberty. *Libna* stood in the confines of *Beniamin* & of *Dan* farre from the assistance of any bordering enemies to Iuda, and therefore so vnluckily it was to haue maintained it selfe in liberty, that it may seem strange how it could escape; from vtter destruction, or at the least from some terrible vengeance, most likely to haue bene taken, by their powerfull, cruell, and thoroughly incensed Lord. The Israelitish held such good intelligence at that time with Iuda, that he would not haue accepted the Towne, had it offered it selfe vnto him: neither doe we reade that it fought how to cask it selfe into a new subiection, but continued a free estate. The rebellion of it against *Iehoram*, was, because he had forsaken the Lord God of his Fathers; which I take to haue not onely been the first and remote cause, but euen the next and immediate reason, mouing the inhabitants to doe as they did: for it was a Towne of the Leuites, who must needs be driven into great extremities, when a religion, contrary to Gods Law, had not onely som allowance to countenance it by the king, but compulsiue authority to force vnto it: all that were vnwilling. As for the vse of the Temple at Ierusalem (which, being deuout men, they might feare to lose by this rebellion) it was neuer denied to those of the

1 Chron. 21. 10.

ten reuolued Tribes by any of the Religious Kings, who rather inuited the Israelites thither, and gaue them kinde entertainment: vnder Idolaters they must haue bin without it, wherewith they liued free or in subiection. Yet it seemes that priuate reasons were not wanting, which might moue them rather to doe than suffer that which was vnwarrantable. For in the generall visitation before remembered, wherein *Iehosaphat* reformed his kingdom, the good old king appointing now Gouvernours, and giuing them speciall charge to doe iustice without respect of persons, vsed these words, *The Leuites shall bee Officers in Ierusalem. Be of good courage, and doe it, and the Lord shall bee with the good.* By these phrases it seemes, that he encouraged them against the more powerfull, than iust proceedings of his son, whom if the Leuites did (according to the trust reposed in them) neglect in discharging their duties, likely it is that hee meant to be euen with them, and make them now to feele, as many Princes of the land had done, his heauie indignation. How it happened that *Libna* was not hereupon destroyed, yea, that it was not for ought that we can read) so much as besieged or molested, may iustly seeme very strange. And the more strange it is in regard of the mighty Armies which *Iehosaphat* was able to raise, being sufficient to haue ouerwhelmed any one Towne, and buried it vnder the earth, which they might well in one moneth haue cast into it with shouels, by ordinary approaches.

But it seemes that of those great numbers which his Father could haue leued, there were not many whom *Iehoram* could well trust; and therefore perhaps he thought it an easier losse, to let one Towne goe, than to put weapons into their hands, who were more likely to follow the example of *Libna*, than to punish it. So desperate is the condition of Tyrants, who thinking it a greater happinesse to bee feared, than to be loued; are faine themselves to stand in feare of those, by whom they might haue bene dreadfull vnto others.

## S. IV.

*Of the miseries falling vpon Iehoram, and of his death.*

**H**ese afflictions not sufficing to make any impression of Gods displeasure in the minde of the wicked Prince; a Prophecy in writing was deliuered vnto him, which threatened both his people, his children, his viuiues, and his owne body. Hereby likewise it appears that he was a cruell Persecutor of Gods seruants; in as much as the Prophets durst not reprove him to his face, as they had done many of his predecessors, both good and euill kings; but were faine to denounce Gods Iudgements against him by letters, keeping themselves close and farre from him. This Epistle is said to haue been sent vnto him from *Elias* the Prophet. But *Elias* was translated, and *Elizema* prophesied in his stead before this time, euen in the daies of *Iehosaphat*. Wherefore it may be that *Elias* left this prophesie in writing behind him, or that (as some coniecture) the error of one letter in writing, was the occasion that we reade *Elias* for *Elizema*. Indeed any thing may rather be beleued than the Tradition held by some of the Iewish Rabbins, that *Elias* from heauen did send this Epistle; a tale somewhat like to the fable of our Ladies letters, deuised by *Erasmus*, or of the Verse that was sent from heauen to *S. Giles*.

But whosoeuer was the Author of this threatening Epistle, the accomplishment of the prophesie was as terrible as the sentence. For the Philistims and Arabians brake into Iudaea, and tooke the Kings house, wherein they found all, or many of his children, and wiues; all which they slew, or carried away, with great part of his goods. These Philistims had not presumed since the time of *Dauid*, to make any offensive warre till now; for they were by him almost consumed, and had lost the best of their Townes, maintaining themselves in the rest of their small Territories, by defensive armes, to which they were constrained at Gibbethon by the Israelites. The Arabians were likely to haue bin then as they are now, a naked people, all horsmen, and ill appointed; their countrey affording no other furniture, than such as might make them fitter to rob and spoyle in the open fields, than to offend strong Cities such as were thicke set in Iuda. True it is that in ages long after following, they conquered all the South parts of the world then knowne, in a very short space of time, destroying some, and building other some very stately Cities. But it must bee considered, that this was when they had learned of the

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Romanes the Art of Warre; and that the provisions which they found, together with the Arts which they learned, in one subdued Prouince, did make them able and skilfull in pursuing their conquest, and going on into Regions far removed from them. At this day hauing lost in effect all that they had gotten, such of them as liue in Arabia it selfe good soldiers, but ill appointed; very dangerous passengers, but vnablen to deale with good Hordiers, as riding starke naked, and rather trusting in the swiftnesse of their horses, than in any other meanes of resistance, where they are well opposed. And such, or little better, may they seeme to haue been, that spoyled Iudaea in the time of *Iehoram*. For their Country was alwaies barren and desert, wanting mannaual Arts whereby to supply the naturals with furniture: neither are these bands named as chief in that action, but rather adherents of the Philistims. Out of this we may infer, that one halfe, yea, or one quarter of the numbers found in the least muster of *Iuda* and *Beniamin* vnder *Iehosaphat* (wherin were inrolled three hundred and eighty thousand fighting men) had bene enough to haue driuen away far greater forces than these enemies are likely to haue brought into the field, had not the people bene vnablen to deale with them, for lack of weapons, which were now kept from them by their Princes icalousie, as in *Sauls* time by the policie of the Philistims.

It may seeme that the house of the King which these inuaders tooke, was not his Palace in Ierusalem, but rather some other house of his abroad in the Country, where his wiues and children at that time lay for their recreation: because we reade not that they did sacke the City, or spoyle the Temple, which would haue inuited them as a more commodious bootie, had they got possession thereof. Yet perhaps they took Ierusalem it selfe by surprize, the people being disarmed, and the Kings guards too weake to keep them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, because it was so large and populous: and therefore hauing done what spoyles they could, with-drew themselves with such purchase as they were able safely to conueigh away.

The slaughter committed by *Iehu* on the two and fortie brethren of *Ahaziah*, or (as they are called elsewhere) so many of his brothers sons, and the cruell massacre wherein all the Royall seede perished (onely *Ias* excepted) vnder the tyrannie of *Athalia*, following within two yeeres after this inuasion of the Philistims, and Arabians, make it seeme probable, that the sonnes of *Iehoram* were not all slaine at once, but that rather the first murder beganne in his owne time, and was seconded by many other heauie blowes, wherewith his house was incessantly stricken, vntill it was in a manner quite hewed downe.

After these calamities, the hand of God was extended against the body of this wicked King, finiting him with a grievous disease, in his bowels, which left him not vntill his guts fell out, and his wretched soule departed from his miserable carcase. The people of the Land, as they had small cause of comfort in his life, so had they not the good manners to pretend sorrow for his death; wherefore hee was denied a place of buriall among his Ancestors the Kings of *Juda*, though his owne sonne succeeded him in the Kingdome, who was guided by the same spirits that had bene his Fathers cuill Angels. *Athalia* had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous entering of a dead husband. Shee was thinking how to provide for the future, to maintaine her owne greatnesse, to retaine her fauourites in their authoritie, and to place about her Sonne such Counsellors of the house of *Abab*, as were fittest for her turne. Wherefore shee thought it vnreasonable to make much ado about a thing of nothing, and offend the peoples eyes, with a stately funerall of a man by them detested: but rather chose to let the blame of things passed be laid vpon the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her selfe and hers, which it now did concerne her to auoyd. Such is the qualitie of wicked Instigators, hauing made greedy vse of bad imployments, to charge, not only with his own vices, but with their faults also, the man whose cuill inclinations their sinister counsailes haue made worse, when once he is gone, and can profit them no longer. The death of *Iehoram* fel out indeed in a busie time, when his friend & cousin the Israélite, who had the same name, was entangled in a difficult warre against the Aramites; and therefore could haue had no better leasure to help *Athalia*, in setting of things according to her owne minde, than hee had (perhaps through the same hinderance) to helpe her husband, when hee was distressed by the Philistims. Yea rather hee needed and craved the assistance of the men of *Juda*, for the taking in of *Ramoth Gilead*, where they had

not sped so well the last time, that they should willingly run thither againe, vnlesse they were very fairely intreated.

The acts of this wicked man I haue thought good to handle, the more particularly (pursuing the examination of all occurrences, as farre as the circumstances remembered in holy Scripture, would guide mee by their directions) to the end that it might more plainly appeare, how the corrupted affections of men, impugning the reuealed will of God, accomplish neuerthelesse his hidden purpose, and without miraculous meanes, confound themselves in the seeming-wise deuices of their owne folly: as likewise to the end that all men might learne, to submit their iudgements to the ordinance of God, rather than to think, that they may safely dispense with his comandements, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly wisdom dictateth vnto them. For in such kind of vnhappy subtilties, it is manifest that *Athalia* was able to furnish both her Husband and her Sonne; but the issue of them partly hath appeared already, and partly will appear, in that which immediately followeth.

## S. V.

Of the reigne of Ahazia, and his businesse with the King of Israel.

*Ohaziah*, or *Ahazia*, the sonne of *Iehoram* and *Athalia*, beganne his reigne ouer *Juda* in the twelfth yeere of *Iehoram* the son of *Abab* King of Israel, and reigned but one yeere. Touching his age, it is a point of much more difficultie than importance to know it; yet hath it bred much disputation, whereof I see no more probable conclusion, than that of *Tornicellus*, alleging the Edition of the *Septuagint* at Rome; *Anno Domini* 1588. which saith that he was twenty yeeres old in the beginning of his Kingdome; and the Annotations thereupon, which cite other Copies, that doe giue him two yeeres more. Like enough he is to haue bene yongue: for he was gouerned by his Mother, and her Ministers, who gaue him counsaile, by which hee perished. In matter of Religion he altered none of his fathers courses. In matter of State he likewise vpheld the league made with the house of *Abab*. Hee was much busied in doing little, and that with ill successe. Hee accompanied his Cousin the Israélite against *Ramoth Gilead*, which they wan, but not without blowes: for the Aramites fought so well, that the King of Israel was faine to aduenture his owne person, which escaped not vnwounded.

The Towne being won was manned strongly, in expectation of some attempt likely to be made by *Hazael* king of Aram: which done, *Iehoram* king of Israel with-drew himselfe to the Citie of *Izrael*, where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his wounds; and *Ahazia* returned to Ierusalem. It seemes that he was but newly come home (for he reigned in all scanty one yeere, whereof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had taken vp a great part, when he did make a new iourney, as it were for good manners sake, to visit the King of Israel, who lay fore of his wounds. Belike *Athalia* was brewing some new plots, which his presence would haue hindered, and therefore sought euery occasion to thrust him abroad: for otherwise it was but a vaine piece of worke so to leaue his kingdome, hauing no other businesse than by way of complement to goe see one whom he had seen yesterday. Certaine it is, that the Lord had resolu'd at this time to put in execution that heauie iudgement, which he had laid by the mouth of *Elias* the Prophet vpon the house of *Abab*. And hereupon at this time had he desposed not only the concurrence of all other things, which in mans eyes might seeme to haue been accidental; but the very thoughts and affections of such persons, as intended nothing lesse than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these *Athalia* doubtlesse was one; whose mischieuous purposes it will shortly bee needfull for explanation of some difficulties arising, that we diligently consider and examine.

## S. VI.

*How Ahaziah perished with the house of Ahab: and how that Family was destroyed by Iehu.*

**I**He whole Armie of Israel, with all the principall Captaines lying in Ramoth Gilead, a Disciple of *Elizeus* the Prophet came in among the Captaines that were sitting together; who calling out among them *Iehu* a principall man, tooke him apart, and anointed him king ouer Israel, rehearsing vnto him the Prophecie of *Eliz* against the house of *Ahab*, and letting him vnderstand that it was the pleasure of God to make him executioner of that sentence. The fashion of the Messenger was such as bred in the Captaines a desire to know the errand, which *Iehu* thought meet to let them know, as doubting whether they had ouerheard all the talke or no. When he had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but forthwith proclaimed him King. For the Prophecie of *Eliz* was well knowne among them, neither durst any one oppose himselfe against him, that was by God ordained to performe it.

*Iehu*, who had vpon the sudden this great honour throwne vpon him, was not slow to put himself in possession of it, but vsed the first heat of their affections who ioyced with him, in setting on foot the businesse which neerey concerned him, and was not long before, flowed, being no more his owne than Gods.

The first care taken was that no newes of the reuolt might be carried to *Iezabel*, where by the King might haue had warning either to fight or flee: this being foreseen, he marched swiftly away, to take the Court while it was yet secure. King *Iehoram* was now so well recovered of his wounds, that hee could endure to ride abroad, for which cause it seemed that there was much feasting, and ioy made, especially by Queene *Iezabel*, who kept her state so well, that the brethren of *Ahaziah* comming thither at this time, did make it as well their errand to salute the Queen, as to visit the King.

Certaine it is, that since the rebellion of *Mab* against Israel, the house of *Ahab* did neuer so much flourish as at this time. Seventy Princes of the blood royall there were, that lived in Samaria; *Iehoram* the sonne of Queene *Iezabel* had won Ramoth Gilead, which his Father had attempted in vaine, with losse of his life; and hee wonne it by valiant fight, wherein hee received wounds, of which the danger was now past, but the honour likely to continue. The amitie was so great between Israel and Iuda, that it might suffice to daunt all their common enemies, leauing no hope of success, to any rebellious enterprizer: so that now the Prophecie of *Eliz* might be forgotten, or no otherwise remembered, than as an unlikely tale by them that beheld the maiestical face of the Court, wherein so great a friend as the King of Iuda was entertained, and fortie Princes of his blood expected.

In the midst of this securitie, whilst these great Estates were (perhaps) either consulting about prosecution of their intents, first against the Aramites, and then against *Mab*, *Edom*, and other rebels & enemies: or else were triumphing in ioy of that which was already achieved, and the Queene-Mother dressing her selfe in the brauest manner to come downe amongst them; tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from a Tower discovered a company coming. These newes were not very troublesome: for the Armie that lay in Ramoth Gilead, to be readie against all attempts of the Aramites, was likely enough to be discharged vpon some notice taken that the enemy would not, or could not stirre. Onely the King sent out an Horse-man to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The messenger comming to *Iehu*, and asking whether all were well, was requied by him, who intended to giue the King as little warning as might bee. The seeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an answer, might argue the matter to be of small importance: yet the king to be satisfied, sent out another that should bring him word how all went; and hee was likewise detained by *Iehu*. This dumbe shewes bred some suspicion in *Iehoram*, whom the watchman certified of all that happened. And now the company drew so neere, that they might, though not perfectly, bee discerned, and notice taken of *Iehu* himselfe by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the king that was loth to discouer any weakness, caused his Chariot to bee made ready, and issued forth with *Ahaziah* king of Iuda in his company,

company, whose presence added maiestie to his traine, when strength to resist, or expedition to flee, had become more needfull. This could not be done so hastily, but that *Iehu* was come euen to the Townes end, and there they met each other in the field of *Nabor*. *Iehoram* began to salute *Iehu* with termes of peace, but receiuing a bitter answer, his heart failed him, so that tyeing out vpon the treason to his fellow king, he turned away to haue fled. But *Iehu* soone ouertooke him with an arrow, where-with hee strooke him dead, & threw his carcasse into that field, which purchased with the blood of the rightfull owner, was to be watered with the blood of the vniust possessor. Neither did *Ahaziah* escape so well, but that he was arrested by a wound, which held him till death did seize vpon him.

The Kings Palace was ioyning to the wall, by the gate of the Citie, where *Iezabel* might soon be aduertised of this calamitie, if she did not with her owne eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercie, whose iudgement pronounced against her long before, had ouer-taken her, when she least expected it. But she, full of indignation and proud thoughts, made her selfe ready in all haste, and painted her face, hoping with her stately and imperious looks to daunt the Traitor; or at least to utter some Apophthegme, that should expresse her braue spirit, and brand him with such a reproach as might make him odious for euer. Little did she thinke vpon the hungry dogs that were ordained to deuoure her, whose paunches the *Stibium*, with which she beset her eyes, would more offend, than the scolding language whitewith shee armed her tongue, could trouble the eares of him that had her in his power. As *Iehu* drew neere, he opened her window, & looking out vpon him, began to put him in minde of *Zimri*, that had not long enioyed the fruits of his treason, and murder of the King his Master. This was in mere humane valuation stoutly spoken, but was indeede a part of miserable folly; as are all things, howsoeuer laudable, if they haue an ill relation to God the Lord of all. Her owne Eunuches that stood by and heard her, were not affected so much as with arly compassion of her fortune; much lesse was her enemy daunted with her proud spirit. When *Iehu* saw that shee did vse the little remainder of her life in seeking to vex him, hee made her presently to vnderstand her owne estate, by deeds and not by words. He only called to her seruants to know which of them would be on his side; and soone found them ready to offer their seruice, before the very face of their proud Ladie. Hereupon hee commanded them to cast her downe head-long: which immediately they performed, without all regard of her greatnesse and state, wherein shee had a few houres before shined so gloriously in the eyes of men; of men that considered not the iudgements of God that had been denounced against her.

So perished this accursed woman by the rude hands of her own seruants, at the commandment of her greatest enemy, that was yesterday her subiect, but now her Lord: and she perished miserably, struggling in vaine with base groomes, vvhich continually did hale and thrust her, whilst her insulting enemy sat on Horse-backe, adding indignitie to her griefe by scornfull beholding the shamefull manner of her fall, and trampling her body vnder foot. Her dead carcasse that was left without the walls, was deuoured by dogs, and her very memorie was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatrie, murder, and oppression, with slow, but sure painment, and full interest.

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## CHAP. XXI.

Of Athalia, and whose Sonne he was that succeded her.

## S. I.

Of Athalia her usurping the Kingdome, and what pretences she might forge.



After the death of *Ahaziah*, it is said that his house was not able to retain the Kingdome: which note, and the proceedings of *Athalia* vpon the death of her sonne, haue giuen occasion to diuers opinions concerning the Pedegree of *Ioad*, who reigned shortly after. For *Athalia* being thus dispoyle of her sonne, vnder whose name shee had ruled at her pleasure, did forth-with lay hold vpon all the Princes of the blood, and slew them, that so she might occupie the Royall Throne her self, and reigne as Queen, rather than liue a Subiect. Shee had before-hand put into great place, & made Counsellors vnto her son, such as were fittest for her purpose, & ready at all times to execute her will: that she kept a strong guard about her, it is very likely, & as likely it is that the great execution done by *Iehoram*, vpon the Princes, & many of the Nobilitie, had made the people tame, and fearfull to stir, whatsoeuer they saw or heard.

Yet ambition, how violent soeuer it be, is seldome or neuer so shamelesse as to refuse the comoditie of goodly pretences offering themselves; but rather scrapes together all that will any way serue to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were not absurd for vs to think, that *Athalia*, when she saw the Princes of the Royal blood, all of them in a manner, slain by her husband, and afterwards his own children destroyed by the Philistines, began euen then to play her owne game, reducing by artificiall practice, into faire likelihoods, those possibilities wherewith her husbands bad fortune had presented her. Not without great shew of reason, either by her owne mouth, or by some trustie creature of hers, might she giue him to vnderstand, how needfull it were to take the best order whilst as yet he might, for feare of the worst that might happen. If the issue of *Dauid*, which now remained only in his Family, should by any accident faile (as wofull experience had already shewed what might after come to passe) the people of Iuda were not vnlikely to chooseth a King of some new stocke, a popular seditious man peraduenture, one that to countenance his owne vnworthinesse, would not care what aspersions he laid vpon that Royall house, which was fallen downe. And who could assure him, that some ambitious spirit, fore-seeing what might be gotten thereby, did not already contriue the destruction of him, and all his seede? Wherefore it were the wisest way to designe by his authoritie, not only his successour, but also the reuertioner, and so to prouide, that the Crowne might neuer be subiect to any rising, but remaine in the disposition of them that loued him best, if the worst that might be feared comming to passe, his own posteritie could not retain it.

Such persuasions being vrged, and earnestly followed, by the importunate sollicitation of her that gouerned his affections, were able to make the ialous Tyrant thinke, that the onely way to frustrate all deuices of such as gaped after a change, was to make her Heire the last and youngest of his house, whom it most concerned, as being the Queen-Mother, to vphold the first and eldest.

If *Athalia* took no such course as this in her husbands times, yet might she do it in her sonnes. For *Ahaziah* (besides that he was wholly ruled by his mother) was not likely to take much care for the securitie of his halfe-brethren, or their children; as accounting his Fathers other wiues, in respect of his owne-born-Mother, little better than Concubines, and their children basely begotten. But if this mischieuous woman forgat her self so far in her vicked policie, that she lost all opportunitie which the weaknesse of her husband and sonne did afford, of procuring vnto her selfe some seeming Title; yet could shee afterwards faime some such matter, as boldly shee might: being sure that none would aske to see her euidence, for feare of being sent to learne the certaintie of her sonne or husband in another World. But I rather thinke that shee tooke order

der for her affaires before-hand. For though shee had no reason to suspect or feare the sudden death of her sonne, yet it was the wisest way to prouide betimes against all that might happen, whilst her husbands issue by other women was young and vnable to resist. We plainly finde that the Brethren or Nephewes of *Ahaziah*, to the number of two and fortie, were sent to the Court of Israel, only to salute the children of the King, and the children of the Queen. The slender occasion of which long iourney, considered together with the qualitie of these persons (being in effect all the stocke of *Iehoram* that could be growne to any strength) makes it very suspicious, that their entertainment in *Iezabels* house would onely haue beene more formall, but little differing in substance, from that which they found at the hand of *Iehu*. Hee that looks into the courses held both before and after by these two Queenes, will finde cause enough to thinke no lesse. Of such as haue aspired vnto Lordships not belonging to them, and thrust out the right Heires by pretence of Testaments, that had no other validitie than the sword of such as claimed by them could giue, Histories of late, yea of many Ages, afford plentifull examples: and the rule of *Salomon* is true: *Is there any thing wherewith one may say, Behold, this is new? It hath beene already in the old time that was before vs.* That a King might shed his brothers blood, was proued by *Salomon* vpon *Adonias*; that he might alien the Crown from his natural Heires, *Dauid* had giuen proofe; but these had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that please them, will neglect the reasons of those examples, if they please them not, and rest contented with the practice, as more willingly shewing what they may doe, than acknowledging why *Salomon* slew his brother that had begun one rebellion, and was entering into another. *Iehoram* slew all his brethren, which were better than hee: *Dauid* purchased the kingdome, and might the more freely dispose of it, yet he disposed of it as the Lord appointed: if *Iehoram*, who had lost much and gotten nothing, thought that hee might alien the remainder at his pleasure, or if *Ahaziah* sought to cut off the succession of his brethren, or of their issue: either of these was to bee answered with the words which *Iehoiada* the Priest vsed afterwards, in declaring the title of *Iasab*: *Behold, the Kings sonne must reigne; as the Lord hath said of the sonnes of Dauid.* Wherefore though I hold it very probable, that *Athalia* did pretend some title, whatsoeuer it might be, to the Crown of Iuda; yet it is most certaine that shee had thereunto no right at all, but onely got it by treachery, murder, and open violence; and so she held it fixe whole yeeres, and a part of the seauenth, in good seeming securitie.

## S. II.

How *Iehu* spent his time in Israel, so that he could not molest *Athalia*.

In all this time *Iehu* did neuer goe about to disturbe her; which in reason hee was likely to desire, being an enemy to her whole House. But hee was occupied at the first in establishing himselfe, rooting out the posteritie of *Ahab*, and reforming somewhat in Religion: afterwards in warres against the Aramite, wherein hee was so far ouercharged, that hardly he could retain his own, much lesse attempt vpon others. Of the line of *Ahab* there were seuentie living in Samaria, out of which number *Iehu* by letter aduised the Citizens to set vp some one as King, and to prepare themselves to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident he was; which they well vnderstood to proceede from greater power about him, than they could gather to resist him. Wherefore they tooke example by the two Kings whom he had slain, and being exceedingly afraid of him, they offered him their seruice; wherein they so readily shewed themselves obedient, that in lesse than one daies warning, they sent him the heads of all those Princes, as they were inioyned by a second letter from him. After this he surprized all the Priests of *Baal* by a subtiltie, faining a great sacrifice to their god, by which meanes hee drew them altogether into one Temple, where hee slew them: and in the same zeale to God utterly demolished all the monuments of that impietie.

Concerning the Idolatrie deuised by *Ierobasm*, no king of Israel had euer greater reason than *Iehu* to destroy it. For he needed not to feare lest the people should bee allured vnto the house of *Dauid*; it was in appearance quite rooted vp, and the Crown of Iuda in the possession of a cruell Tyrannesse: he had receiued his kingdom by the vnexpected grace

grace of God; and further in regard of his zeal; expressed in destroying *Baal* out of Israel; hee was promised, notwithstanding his following the name of *Ieroboam*, that the kingdome should remaine in his Familie, to the fourth Generation. But all this would not serue; he would needs helpe to peece out Gods providence with his owne circumspection; doing therein like a foolish greedy gamester, who by stealing a needlesse Card to assure himselfe of winning a stake, forfeits his whole rest. Hee had questionlesse displeased many, by that which hee did against *Baal*; and many more he should offend by taking from them the vse of a superstition, so long practised as, was that Idolatrie of *Ieroboam*. Yet all these, how many fouler they were, had never once thought vpon making him king, if God, whom (to retaine them) hee now forsooke, had not giuen him the Crown, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after be found in the meanes of holding it.

This ingratitude of *Ahu* drew terrible vengeance of God vpon Israel, whereof *Hazael* king of Damascus was the executioner. The cruelty of this barbarous Prince we may finde in the propheticke of *Elihu*, who fore-told it, saying: *Their strong Cities shall be set on fire; and their young men shall blow with the sword, and shall dash their infants against the stones, and rent in pieces their women with child.* So did not only the wickednesse of *Ahab* cause the ruine of his whole house, but the obstinate Idolatry of the people bring a lamentable misery vpon all the Land. For the furie of *Hazael*s victory was not quenched with the destruction of a few Townes, nor wearied with one invasion; but hee smote them in all the coast of Israel, and wasted all the Countrey beyond the River of Iordan. Notwithstanding all these calamities, it seemes that the people repented not of their Idolatry; (For in those daies the Lord began to loose Israel), but rather it is likely, that they benoied the noble House of *Ahab*, vnder which they had beaten those enemies to whom they were now a prey, and had brauely fought for the conquest of Syria, where they had enlarged their border, by winning Ramoth Gilead, and compelled *Benhadad* to restore the Cities which his Father had won: whereas now they were faine to make wofull shifts, liuing vnder a Lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his Master that had put him in trust, than in defending his people from their cruell enemies. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can finde all manner of difficulties in seruing him, to whom nothing is difficult, are, in stead of the ease & pleasure to themselves propounded by contrary courses, ouerwhelmed with the troubles which they sought to auoid; and therein by God whom they first forsooke, forsaken, and left vnto the wretched labours of their owne blinde wisdom, wherein they had reposed all their confidence.

S. III.  
Of Athaliahs Government.

THESE calamities falling vpon Israel, kept *Athalia* safe on that side, giuing her leisure to looke to things at home; as hauing little to doe abroad, vnlesse it were so that shee held some correspondence with *Hazael*, pretending therein to imitate her husbands grand-father king *Aha*, who had done the like. And some probability that shee did so, may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For wee finde, that this wicked *Athalia* and her children brake up the house of God, and all things that were dedicate for the house of the Lord did they bestow vpon Baalim. Such a sacrifice, though it proceeded from a desire to set out her owne Idolatry, with such pompe as might make it the more glorious in the peoples eyes, was not likely to want some faire pretext of necessity of the State so requiring: in which case others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next successour was faine to doe the like, being thereunto forced by *Hazael*, who perhaps was delighted with the taste of that which was formerly thence extracted for his sake.

Vnder this impious government of *Athalia*, the deuotion of the Priests and Leuites was very notable, and serued (no doubt) very much to retaine the people in the religion taught by God himselfe, howsoeuer the Queenes proceedings aduanced the contrary. For the poverty of that sacred Tribe of *Leui* must needs haue been exceeding great at this time, all their lands and possessions in the ten Tribes being vtterly lost, the oblations and other perquisites, by which they liued, being now very few, and small; and the

store

store laid vp in better times vnder godly Kings, being all taken away by shamefull robbery. Yet they vp-held in all this misery the seruice of God, and the daily sacrifice, keeping daily their courses, and performing obedience to the high Priest, no lesse than in those daies wherein their entertainment was farre better.

S. IV.  
Of the preservation of Ioas.

*Ehiada* then occupied the high Priesthood, an honourable, wise, and religious man. To his carefulnes it may be ascribed, that the state of the Church was in some slender sort vp-held in those vnhappy times. His wife was *Iehosabab*, who was daughter of king *Iehoram*, & sister to *Ahaziah*, a godly Lady and vertuous, whose pietie makes it seeme that *Athalia* was not her mother, though her access to the Court argue the contrary; but her discreet carriage might more easily procure her welcome to her owne Fathers house, than the education vnder such a Mother could haue permitted her to bee such as she was. By her care, *Ioas* the yongue Prince that reigned soone after, was conueighed out of the newbery, when *Athalia* destroyed all the Kings children, and was carried secretly into the Temple, where as secretly hee was brought vp. How it came to passe that this yongue childe was not hunted out, when his body was missing, nor any great reckoning (for ought that we finde) made of his escape, I will not stand to examine: for it was not good in policie, that the people should heare say, that one of the children had auoyded that cruell blow; it might haue made them hearken after innovations, and so be the lesse conformable to the present government. So *Ioas* was deliuered out of that slaughter, he and his nurse being gone no man could tell whither, and might be thought peraduenture to be cast away, as hauing no other guard than a poore woman that gaue him sucke, who foolishly doubting that she her selfe should haue been slaine, was fled away with him into some desolate place, where it was like enough that she and he should perish. In such cases flatterers, or men desirous of reward, easily come such tales, and rather sweare them to be true in their owne knowledge, than they will loose the thanks due to their ioyfull tidings.

S. V.  
whose sonne Ioas was.

†. I.  
whether Ioas may be thought likely to haue been the son of Ahaziah.

NOW concerning this *Ioas*, whose sonne hee was, it is a thing of much difficultie to asseure, and hath caused much controuersie among writers. The places of Scripture, which call him the sonne of *Ahaziah*, seeme plain enough. How any figure of the Hebrew language might giue title of Sonne vnto him, in regard that hee was his Successour, I neither by my selfe can finde, nor can by any helpe of Authors learne how to answer the difficulties appearing in the contrary opinions of them, that thinke him to haue bene, or not, the naturall sonne of *Ahaziah*. For whereas it is said, that the house of *Ahaziah* was not able to retaine the Kingdome; some doe inferre that this *Ioas* was not properly called his Son, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore succeeded him, as a sonne in the inheritance of his father. And hereunto the murder committed by *Athalia*, doth very well agree. For shee perceiving that the Kingdome was to fall into their hands, in whom shee had no interest, might easily finde cause to feare, that the tyranny exercised by her husband at her instigation vpon so many noble Houses, would now bee reuenged vpon her selfe. The ruine of her Idolatrous religion might in this case terrifie both her and her Minions; the sentence of the Law rewarding that offence with death; and the Tragedy of *Iezabel* teaching her what might happen to another Queene. All this had little concerned her, if her owne grand-child had been heire to the Crowne; for she that had power enough to make her selfe Queene, could with more ease, and lesse enuie, haue taken vpon her the office of a Protector, by which authoritie she might haue done her pleasure, and been the more both obeyed by others, and

and secure of her owne estate, as not wanting an Heire. Wherefore it was not needfull, that it should be so vnnaturally, as to destroy the childe of her owne son, of whose life she might haue made greater vse, than she could of his death: whereas indeed, the loue of Grand-mothers to their Nephewes, is little lesse than the Mothers to their children.

This argument is very strong. For it may seeme incredible, that all naturall affection should be cast aside, when as neither necessity nor any commoditie thereby gotten requirerh it; yea when all humane policie doth teach one the same, which nature without reason would haue perswaded.

## †. II.

*That Ioas did not descend from Nathan.*

**B**Vt (as it is more easie to finde a difficultie in that which is related, than to show how it might haue otherwise bin) the pedigree of this *Ioas* is, by them which think him not the sonne of *Ahaziah*, set downe in such sort that it may very iustly be suspected. They say that he descended from *Nathan* the sonne of *Dauid*, and not from *Salomon*: to which purpose they bring a Historie (I know not whence) of two families of the race of *Dauid*, saying that the line of *Salomon* held the kingdom with this condition, that if at any time it failed, the familie of *Nathan* should succeed it. Concerning this *Nathan* is the sonne of *Dauid*, there are that would haue him to bee *Nathan* the Prophet, who, as they thinke, was by *Dauid* adopted. And of this opinion was *Origene*, as also *S. Augustine* sometime was, but afterward he reuoked it, as was meete; for this *Nathan* is reckoned among the sons of *Dauid*, by *Bathsua* the daughter of *Amme*, and therefore could not be the Prophet. *Gregory Nazianzen* (as I finde him cited by *Peter Martyr*) and after him, *Erasmus*, and *Faber Stapulensis*, haue likewise held the same of *Ioas*, deriuing him from *Nathan*. But *Nathan* and those other brethren of *Salomon* by the same Mother, are thought, vpon good likelihoods, to haue been the children of *Yria* the Hittite: and so are they accounted by sundry of the fathers, and by *Lyra*, & *Abulenfis*, who follow the Hebrew Expositors of that place in the first of *Chronicles*. The words of *Salomon* calling himselfe the only begotten of his mother, doe approue this exposition: for we read of no more than two sons which *Bathsua* or *Bathscha* did beare vnto *Dauid*, whereof the one begotten in adultery, died an infant, and *Salomon* onely of her children by the King did liue. So that the rest must needs haue bene the children of *Yria*, and are thought to haue bene *Dauid*'s only by adoption. Wherefore if *Ioas* had not bene the son of *Ahaziah*, then must that pedigree haue bene false, wherein *S. Matthew* deriueh him lineally from *Salomon*; yea, then had not our blessed Saviour issued from the loynes of *Dauid*, according to the flesh, but had only bene of his line by courtesie of *Philo*, and forme of Law, as any other might haue been. As for the authoritie of *Philo*, which hath drawne many late writers into the opinion that *Ioas* was not of the posteritie of *Salomon*, it is enough to say, that this was *Frier Annianus* his *Philo*: for no other edition of *Philo* hath any such matter; but *Annianus* can make Authors to speake what he list.

## †. III.

*That Ioas may probably be thought to haue been the sonne of Ichoram.*

**I**N so doubtfull a case, if it seeme lawfull to hold an opinion that no man hath yet thought vpon, methinks it were not amisse to lay open at once, and peruse together two places of Scripture, whereof the one telling the wickednesse of *Ichoram* the son of *Iehosaphat* King of Iuda, for which he and his children perished, & clearseth it as one of Gods mercies towards the house of *Dauid*, that according to his promise hee would giue him a light, and to his children for ever: the other doth say, that for the offences of the same *Ichoram*, there was not a sonne left him, save *Iehoahaz* the youngest of his sonnes. Now, if it were in regard of Gods promise to *Dauid*, that after those massacres of *Ichoram* vpon all his brethren, and of the Philistims and Arabians vpon the children of *Ichoram*, one of the seed of *Dauid* escaped; why may it not bee thought that he was said to haue escaped, in whom the line of *Dauid* was preserved: for had all the race of *Salomon*

man bene rooted vp in these wofull Tragedies, and the progenie of *Nathan* succeeded in place thereof; like though it is that some remembrance more particular would haue bene extant, of an euent so memorable. That the race of *Nathan* was not extinguished, it is indeed apparant by the Genealogie of our Lord, as it is recounted by *S. Luke*: but the preservation of the house of *Dauid*, intioned in the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, was performed in the person of *Iehoahaz*, in whom the Royall branch of *Salomon*, the natural, and not only legall issue remaining of *Dauid*, was kept alieue. Wherefore it may bee thought that this *Ioas*, who followed *Athalia* in the Kingdome, was the youngest sonne of *Ichoram*, whose life *Athalia* as a stepdame, was not likely to pursue. For it were not easily vnderstood, why the preservation of *Dauid*'s line, by Gods especiall mercy, in regard of his promise made, should pertaine rather to that time, when besides *Athalia* himselfe, there were two and fortie of his brethren, or (as in another place they are called) sonnes of his brethren remaining alieue, which afterwards were all slain by *Iehoi*; than haue reference to the lamentable destruction and little lesse than extirpation of that progenie, wherein one only did escape. Certainly that inhumane murder which *Ichoram* committed vpon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the Historie) reuenged vpon his owne children; then was not this vengeance of God accomplished by the Philistims and Arabians, but being only begun by them, was afterwards prosecuted by *Iehoi*, and finally tooke effect by the hands of that same wicked woman, at whose instigation hee had committed such barbarous outrage. And from this execution of Gods heauie iudgement laid vpon *Ichoram* and all his children, only *Iehoahaz* his youngest son was exempted; whom therefore if I should affirme to be the same with *Ioas*, which is called the son of *Ahaziah*, I should not want good probability. Some further appearance of necessity there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwise haue bene. For it was the youngest sonne of *Ichoram* in whom the race was preferred; which could not in any likelihood be *Ahaziah*, seeing that hee was twenty yeeres old at the least (as is already noted) when he began to reigne; and consequently, was borne in the eighteenth or twentieth yeere of his Fathers age. Now I know not whether of the two is more vnikely, either that *Ichoram* should haue begotten many children before hee was eighteene yeeres old, or that hauing (as hee had) many wiues and children, hee should vpon the suddaine, at his eighteenth yeere, become vsuitfull, and beget no more in twenty yeeres following: each of which must haue bene true, if this were true that *Ahaziah* was the same *Iehoahaz*, which was his youngest sonne. But this inconuenience is taken away, & those other doubts arising from the causelesse cruelty of *Athalia*, in seeking the life of *Ioas*, are easily cleared, if *Ioas* and *Iehoahaz* were one. Neither doth his age withstand this opinion. For he was *seuen yeeres old when he began to reigne*; which if we vnderstand of yeeres compleat, he might haue been a yeere old at the death of *Ichoram*, being begotten somewhat after the beginning of his sicknesse. Neither is it more absurd to say that he was the naturall son of *Ichoram*, though called the son of *Ahaziah*, than it were to say, as great Authors haue done, this difficultie notwithstanding, that he was of the posteritie of *Nathan*. One thing indeed I know not how to answer; which, had it concurred with the rest, might haue serued as the foundation of this opinion. The name of *Iehoahaz*, that soundeth much more neere to *Ioas*, than to *Ahaziah*, in an English eare, doth in the Hebrew (as I am informed by some, skilfull in that language) through the diuersitie of certaine letters, differ much from that which it most resembleth in our Westerne manner of writing, and little from the other. Now, although it bee so that *Athalia* himselfe bee also called *Azaria*, and must haue had three names, if hee were the same with *Iehoahaz*; in which manner *Ioas* might also haue had severall names; yet, because I finde no other warrant hereof than a bare possibility, I will not presume to build an opinion vpon the weake foundation of mine owne coniecture, but leaue all to the consideration of such as haue more abilitie to iudge, and leasure to consider of this point.

## †. IV.

*Vpon what reasons Athalia might seeke to destroy Ioas, if he were her owne grandchilde.*

**I**F therefore we shall follow that which is commonly receiued, and interpret the text according to the letter, it may be said, that *Athalia* was not only blinded by the passions

ons of ambition and zeale to her idolatrous worship of *Baalim*, but pursued the accomplishment of some vnnaturall desires, in seeking the destruction of her grand-child, and the rest of the bloud Royall. For whether it were so that *Athalia* (as proud and cruel women are not alwaies chaste) had imitated the libertie of *Iezabel* her sister in law, whose whoredomes were vpbraided by *Iehu* to her sonne; or whether she had children by some former husband, before she was married vnto *Iehoram* (which is not vnlikely in regard of her age, who was daughter of *Ommi*, and sister to *Ahab*) certaine it is that shee had sonnes of her own, and those old enough to be employed, as they were, in robbing the Temple. So it is not greatly to be wondred at, that to settle the Crown vpon her own children, shee did seeke to cut off, by wicked policie, all other claimes. As for *Iehoi*, if he were his grand-mother, yet shee might mistrust the interst which his mother would haue in him, lest when he came to yeeres, it might draw him from her deuotion. And hereof (besides that women doe commonly better loue their daughters husbands, than their sonnes wiues) there is some appearance in the reigne of her sonne: for shee made him spend all his time in idle iourneys, to no other apparant end, than that shee might rule at home; and hee liuing abroad be estranged from his wife, and entertaine some new fancies, wherein *Iezabel* had cunning enough to be his *tutor esse*. But when the sword of *Iehu* had rudely cut in sunder all these fine deuises, then was *Athalia* faine to go roundly to worke, and doe as shee did, whereby she thought to make all sure. Otherwise, if (as I could rather thinke) shee were onely stepdame to *Iosi*, we need not seeke into the reasons mouing her to take away his life; her owne hatred was cause enough to dispatch him among the first.

## S. VI.

*A digression, wherein is maintained the liberty of vsing coniecture in Historie.*



Thus much concerning the person of *Iosi*, from whom, as from a new root, the tree of *Dauid* was propagated into many branches. In handling of which matter, the more I consider the nature of this History, and the diuersitie between it and others, the lesse me thinkes I need to suspect mine owne preiudice, as defending blame, for curiosity in matter of doubt, or boldnesse in liberty of coniecture. For all Historie doe giue vs information of humane counsailes & euents, as farre forth as the knowledge and faith of the writers can afford; but of Gods will, by which all things are ordered, they speak only at randome, and many times fallibly. This we often finde in profane writers, who ascribe the ill successe of great vntakings, to the neglect of some impious Rites, whereof indeed God abhorred the performance as vehemently, as they thought him to be highly offended with the omission. Hereat we may the lesse wonder, if we consider the answer made by the Iewes in Egypt vnto *Ieremy* the Prophet reprehending their Idolatry. For howfoeuer the written Law of God was known vnto the people, and his punishments laid vpon them for contempt thereof, were verie terrible, and euen then but newly executed; yet were they so obstinately bent vnto their wils, that they would not by any meanes be drawne to acknowledge the true cause of their affliction. But they told the Prophet roundly, that they would worship the *Queen of Heauen*, as they and their fathers, their Kings and their Princes had vsed to doe: For then (said they) *had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and felt no euill*: adding that all manner of miseries were befall them, since they left off that seruice of the *Queen of Heauen*. So blinde is the wisdom of man, in looking into the counsaile of God, which to finde out, there is no better nor other guide than his owne written will not peruerbed by vaine additions.

But this Historic of the Kings of Israel & Iuda hath herein a singular prerogative above all that haue bene written by the most sufficient of merely humane authors: it setteth downe expressly the true, and first causes of all that happened, not in imputing the death of *Ahab* to his ouer-forwardnesse in battaile, the ruine of his family, to the securitie of *Iehoram* in Izrel; nor the victories of *Hazael*, to the great commotions raised in Israel, by the coming of *Iehu*; but referring all vnto the will of God, I meane, to his reuealed will: from which that his hidden purposes doe not vary, this Storie, by many great examples, giues most notable proofe. True it is, that the concurrence of second causes with their effects, is in these bookes nothing largely described; nor perhaps

haps exactly in any of those Histories that are in these points most copious. For it was well noted by that worthy Gentleman, Sir *Philip Sidney*, that Historians doe borrow of Poets, not onely much of their ornament, but somewhat of their substance. Informations are often false, records not alwaies true, and notorious actions commonly insufficient to discouer the passions which doe set their first on foot. Wherefore they are faine (I speake of the best, and in that which is allowed, for to take out of *Luce* euery one circumstance of *Claudius* his iourney against *Afrubal* in Italy, sitting all to another businesse, or any practice of that kinde, is neither Historically, nor Poetically) to search into the particular humour of Princes, and of those which haue gouerned their affection; or the instruments by which they wrought, from whence they doe collect the most likely motives or impediments of euery businesse; and to figuring as neere to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they iudiciously consider the defects in counsaile, or obliquity in proceeding.

Yet all this, for the most part, is not enough to giue assurance, howfoeuer it may giue satisfaction. For the heart of man is vnsearchable: and Princes, howfoeuer their intents be seldom hidden from some of those many eyes which pierce both into them, and into such as liue about them; yet sometimes either by their owne close temper, or by some subtil mist, they conceal the truth from all reports. Yea, manie times the affections themselves lye dead, and buried in oblivion, when the preparations which they begat, are conuerted to another vfe. The industrie of an Historian, having so many things to wearie it, may well bee excused, when finding apparant cause enough of things done, it forbeareth to make further search; though it often fall out, where sundry occasions worke to the same end, that one small matter in a weak mind is more effectually, than many that seeme farre greater. So comes it manie times to passe, that great liues, which continue whole houses or townes, begin with a few straws, that are wasted or not teene; when the time is discovered, hauing saluted vpon some wood-pile, that catcheth all about it. Questionlesse it is, that the warre commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes* against the Greekes, proceeded from desire of the Persians to enlarge their Empire: howfoeuer the enterprize of the Athenians vpon *Sardes*, was noised abroad as the ground of that quarrell; yet *Herodotus* telleth vs, that the wanton desire of *Queen Atossa*, to haue the Grecian dames her bondwomen, did first moue *Darius* to prepare for this warre before hee had received any injury; & when hee did not yet so much desire to get more, as to enioy what was already gotten.

I will not here stand to argue whether *Herodotus* be more iustly reprehended by some, or defended by others, for alleading the vaine appetite, and secret speech of the *Queen* in bed with her husband, as the cause of those great euils following; this I may boldly asseme, hauing, I thinke, in euery estate some sufficient witness that matters of much consequence, founded in all seeming vpon substantiall reasons, haue issued indeed from such pettie trifles, as no Historian would either thinke vpon, or could well search out.

Therefore it was a good answer that *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope made to a certaine Friar, comming to visit him in his Popedome, as hauing long before in his meaner citate, been his familiar friend. This poore Friar, being emboldened by the Pope to vfe his old liberty of speech, aduentured to tell him, that hee very much wondred how it was possible for his Holinesse, whom he rather tooke for a direct honest man, than any cunning Politician, to attaine vnto the Papacy; in compassing of which, all the subtilty (said he) of the most crafty brames, finde worke enough: and therefore the more I thinke vpon the Art of the Conelinge, and your vnaptnesse thereto, the more I needes must wonder. To Pope *Sixtus* to satisfie the plaine dealing Friar, dealt with him againe as plainly, saying, Hadst thou liued abroad as I haue done, and seen by what follie this world is gouerned, thou wouldest wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this bee referred vnto those exorbitant engines, by which the course of affaires is moued, the Pope said true. For the wisest of men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutuall toleration, worke more closely, and earnestly; than right reason either needes or can. But if wee lift vp our thoughts to that supreme Gouernour, of whose Empire all that is true, which by the Poet was said of *Iupiter*:

*Qui terram inersent, qui mare temperat  
Ventosum, & vrbes, regnaq; tristitia  
Dinosa, mortaleq; turmas,  
Imperio regit vnus aquo.*

Who rules the duller earth, the windeswolne streames,  
The ciuill Cities and th' infernall realmes,  
Who th' host of heauen, and the mortall band,  
Alone doth governe by his iust command.

Then shall we finde the quite contrary. In him there is no vncertainty nor change; he foreseeth all things, and all things deposeeth to his owne honour; He neither deceiveth nor can be deceived, but continuing one and the same for ever, doth constantly governe all creatures by that Law, which he hath prescribed, and will neuer alter. The vanities of men beguile their vaine contriuers, and the prosperity of the wicked, is the way leading to their destruction: yea this broad and headlong passage to hell, is not so delightfull as it seemes at the first entrance, but hath growing in it, besides the poysons which infect the soule, many cruell thorns deeply wounding the body; all which, if any few escape, they haue only this miserable aduantage of others, that their descent was the more swift and expedite. But the seruice of God is the path guiding vs to perfect happiness, & hath in it a true, though not compleat felicity, yeelding such abundance of ioy to the conscience, as doth easily counteruaile all afflictions whatsoever; though indeede those brambles that sometimes teare the skin of such as walke in this blessed way, do commonly lay hold vpon them at such time as they sit down to take their ease, & make them with themselves at their iournies end, in the presence of their Lord whom they faithfully serue, in whose presence is the fulnesse of ioy, and at whose right hand are pleasures for euermore.

1. Iul. 16. 11.

Wherefore it being the end and scope of all History, to teach by example of times past, such wisdom as may guide our desires and actions, we should not maruaile though the *Chronicles of the Kings of Iuda and Israel*, being written by men inspired with the Spirit of God, instruct vs chiefly, in that which is most requisite for vs to know; as the means to attaine vnto true felicity, both here, and hereafter, propounding examples which illustrate this infallible rule, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom*. Had the expedition of *Xerxes* (as it was foretold by *Daniel*) beene written by some Prophet after the captivity: wee may well beleue that the counsaile of God therein, and the executioners of his righteous will, should haue occupied either the whole or the principall roome in that narration. Yet had not the purpose of *Darius*, the desire of his Wife, and the buisnesse at Sardes, with other occurents, beene the lesse true, though they might haue beene omitted, as the lesse materiaall: but these things it had beene lawfull for any man to gather out of prophane Histories, or out of circumstances otherwise appearing, wherein he should not haue done iniury to the Sacred Writings, as long as he had forbore to derogate from the first causes, by ascribing to the second more than was due.

Such, or little different, is the buisnesse that I haue now in hand: wherein I cannot beleue that any man of iudgement will take me, as either fabulous or presumptuous. For he doth not faile, that rehearseth probabilities as bare coniectures; neither doth he depraue the Text, that seeketh to illustrate and make good in humane reason, those things which authority alone, without further circumstance, ought to haue confirmed in euery mans beliefe. And this may suffice in defence of the liberty, which I haue vsed in coniectures, and may hereafter vsd when occasion shall require, as neither vnlawfull, nor misbecoming an Historiographer.

#### §. VII.

##### *The conspiracie against Athalia.*

When *Athalia* had now fixe yeeres and longer worne the Crowne of Iuda, and had found neither any foreine enemy, nor domestically aduersarie to disturbe her possession, suddenly the period of her glory, and reward of her

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wickednesse meeting together, tooke her away without any warning, by a violent and shamefull death. For the growth of the yongue Prince began to bee such, as permitted him no longer to be concealed, and it had been very vnfitting that his education should be simple, to make him seeme the childe of some poore man (as for his safety it was requisite,) when his capacity required to haue beene indued with the stomacke and qualities meete for a King. All this *Iehoiada* the Priest considered, and withall, the great increase of impiety, which taking deepe roote in the Court, was likely to spread it selfe ouer all the Country, if care were not vsed to weede it vp very speedily. Wherefore he associated vnto himselfe fiue of the Captaines, in whose fidelity he had best assurance, and hauing taken an oath of them, and shewed them the Kings sonne, he made a Councen-  
10 tant with them, to aduance him to the Kingdome. These drew in others of the principall men, to countenance the action, procuring at the first only that they should repaire to Ierusalem, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many persuasions to win them to the buisnesse: the promise of the Lord vnto the house of *David*, was enough to assure them, that the action was both lawfull, & likely to  
10 succeede as they desired.

But in compassing their intent, some difficulties appeared: For it was not to be hoped, that with open force they should bring their purpose to good issue; neither were the Captaines, and other associats of *Iehoiada* able by close working, to draw together so many trusty & seruicable hands as would suffice to manage the buisnesse. To helpe in this  
10 case, the Priest gaue order to such of the Leuites, as had finished their courses in waiting on the Diuine seruice at the Temple, and were now relieved by others that succeeded in their turnes, that they should not depart vntill they knew his further pleasure. So by admitting the new commers, and not discharging the old, he had, without any noyse, made  
10 vp such a number, as would be able to deale with the Queenes ordinary Guard: and that was enough, for if the Tyrannesse did not preuaile against them at the first brunt, the fauour of the People was like to shew it selfe on their side, who made head against her. These Leuites were placed in the inner Court of the Temple, about the person of the King, who as yet was kept close; the followers of the Captaines, and other adherents,  
10 were belowered in the vtter Courts: As for weapons, the Temple it selfe had store enough; King *David* had left an Armory to the place, which was now employed to defence of his issue.

All things being in a readinesse, and the day come, wherein this high designe was to be put in execution; *Iehoiada* deliuered vnto the Captaines, Armour for them and their adherents, appointed a guard vnto the Kings person, produced him openly, and gaue  
10 vnto him the Crowne; vsing all ceremonies accustomed in such solemnities, with great applause of the people. Of these doings, the Queene was the last that heard any word. Which is not so strange as it may seeme: for insolent natures, by dealing outrageously  
10 with such as bring them ill tidings, doe commonly lose the benefit of hearing what is to be feared, whilest yet it may be prevented, and haue no information of danger, till their owne eyes, amazed with the suddennesse, behold it in the shape of ineuitable mischief.

All Ierusalem was full of the rumour, and entertained it with very good liking. Some carried home the newes, others ran forth to see, and the common ioy was so great, that  
10 without apprehension of perill, vnder the windowes of the Court, were the people running and praising the King. *Athalia* hearing & beholding the extraordinary concourse, and noyse of folkes in the streetes, making towards the Temple, with much vnusuall passion  
10 in their looks, did presently conceiue, that somewhat worthy of her care was happened; though, what it might be, she did not apprehend. Howsoever it were, shee meant  
10 to vse her owne wisdom in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occasion might happen to require. It may bee, that shee thought it some especiall solemnity vsed in the Diuine seruice, vvhich caused this much adoe; and hercof the vnaccustomed number of Leuites, and of other deuout men, about the towne, might giue some  
10 presumption.

Many things argue that shee little thought vpon her owne Tragedy; although *Iosaphus* would make it seeme otherwise. For we finde in the Text, *Shee came to the people into the house of the Lord* (which was neere to her Palace) and that when she looked and saw  
10 the King stand by his pillar, as the manner was with the Princes, or great men of the  
1. Chron. 23. 12.  
2. Chron. 23. 13.  
1. K. 11. 17. v.



Land by him, and the Trumpeters proclaiming him, shee rent her clothes, and cryed Treason, Treason. Hereby it appeares that she was quietly going, without any mistrust or feare, to take her place; which when she found occupied by another, then she began to afflict her selfe, as one cast away, and cryed out in vaine vpon the Treason, whereby she saw that she must perish. But that she came with a guard of armed men to the Temple, (as *Iosephus* reporteth) and that her company being beaten backe, shee entred alone, and commanded the people to kill the yong Tyrant, I finde no where in Scripture, neither doe I hold it credible. For had she truly known how things went, she would surely haue gathered her friends about her, and vsed those forces in defence of her Crown, by which she gat it, and hitherto had held it. Certainly, if it were granted, that she, like a new *Semiramis*, did march in the head of her troupe, yet it had beene mere madnesse in her, to enter the place alone, when her assistants were kept out; but if shee, perceiving that neither her authority, nor their owne weapons, could preuaile to let in her guard, would neuertheless take vpon her to command the death of the new Kings, calling a childe of seuen yeeres old a Conspirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom she saw to be armed in his defence, may we not thinke that shee was mad in the most extreame degree? Certaine it is that the counsaile of God would haue taken effect, in her destruction, had she vsed the most likely meanes to disappoint it: yet wee neede not so cut her throate with any morall impossibilities. It is enough to say, that the godly zeale of *Iehoiada* found more easie successe, through her indifferencie, than otherwise could haue beene expected; so that at his appointment, shee was without more ado, carried out of the Temple and slaine, yea so, that no blood, saue her owne, was shed in that quarrell; her small train that she brought along with her, not daring to stand in her defence.

## §. VIII.

*The death of Athalia, with a comparison of her and Iezabel.*

**M**ost like it is, that *Athalia* had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the rashnesse of her Nephew *Iehoram* the Israelite, who did foolishly cast himselfe into the very throate of danger, gaping vpon him, onely through his eager desire of quickly knowing what the matter meant: yet, shee her selfe, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap, and hauing liued such a life as *Iezabel* had done, was rewarded with a sutable death. These two *Queenes* were in many points much alike, each of them was Daughter, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of them ruled her husband; was an Idolatresse and a Murtheresse. The onely difference appearing in their conditions, is, that *Iezabel* is more noted as incontinent of body, *Athalia* as ambitious: So that each of them furniuing her husband about eight yeeres, did spend their time in satisfying her owne affections; the one vsing tyrannic, as the exercise of her haughty minde; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her vnhaste body. In the manner of their death little difference there was, or in those things which may seeme in this world to pertaine vnto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the spot slaine by Conspirators, and each of them exclaiming vpon the Treason, received sentence from the mouth of one that had liued vnder her subiection; in execution whereof, *Iezabel* was trampled vnder the feet of her enemies horses, *Athalia* slaine at her owne horse-gate; the death of *Athalia* hauing (though not much) the more leisure to vex her proud heart; that of *Iezabel* the more indignitie, and shame of bodie. Touching their buriall, *Iezabel* was deuoured by Dogges, as the Lord had threatened by the Prophet *Elias*; what became of *Athalia* wee doe not finde. Like enough it is, that she was buried, as hauing not persecuted and slaine the Lords Prophets, but suffered the Priests to exercise their function; yet of her buriall there is no monument, for she was a Church-robber. The seruice of *Baal* erected by these two *Queenes*, was destroyed as soone as they were gone, and their Chaplaines, the Priests of that Religion, slaine. Herein also it came to passe, alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the Kings who slew them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the same hand of *Hazeael* the Syrian; in which point *Athalia* had the greater honour, if the Syrian (who seemes to haue beene her good friend) pretended her reuenge, as anie part of his quarrell to Iuda. Concerning children, all belonging to *Iezabel* perished in few

few dayes after her: whether *Athalia* left any behinde her, it is vncertaine; she had sons liuing after she was *Queene*, of whom, or of any other, that they were slaine with her, we doe not finde.

This is a matter not vnworthy of consideration, in regard of much that may depend vpon it. For if the children of *Athalia* had beene in Ierusalem when their Mother fell, their death would surely haue followed hers as necerely, and beene registred, as well as the death of *Mattan* the Priest of *Baal*. That Law by which God forbade that the children should die for the fathers, could not haue faued these vngacious Impes, whom the clause following would haue cut off, which commands, that euerie man should die for his owne sinne. Seeing therefore that they had beene professors and aduancers of that vile and Idolatrous worship of *Baal*, yea had robbed the Temple of the Lord, and enriched the house of *Baal* with the spoyle of it; likely it is, that they should not haue escaped with life, if *Iehoiada* the Priest could haue gotten them into his hands. As there was lawfull cause enough requiring their death, for the security of the King and his friends, that is, of all the Land, craued as much, and that very earnestly. For these had beene esteemed as heires of their mothers Crowne, and being reckoned as her assistants in that particular businesse of robbing the Temple, may bee thought to haue carried a great sway in other matters, as Princes, & fellowes with their Mother in the Kingdome. Therefore it is euident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps) following *Hazeael* in his warres against *Iehu* absent from Ierusalem; whereby *Iehoiada* might, with the more confidence, aduenture to take Armes against their Mother, that was desolate.

## CHAP. XXII.

*Of Ioas and Amasia, with their Contemporaries; where somewhat of the building of Carthage.*

## §. I.

*Of Ioas his doings, whilst Ichoiada the Priest liued.*

**I**N the death of *Athalia*, the whole Countrie of Iuda was filled with great ioy and quietnesse; wherein *Ioas*, a childe of seuen yeeres old or there-about, began his reigne, which continued almost fortie yeeres. During his minority, he liued vnder the protection of that honourable man *Iehoiada* the Priest, who did as faithfully gouerne the Kingdome, as he had before carefully preferred the Kings life, & restored him vnto the Throne of his ancestors. When he came to mans estate, he tooke by appointment of *Iehoiada* two wiues, and began to Sonne and Daughters, repairing the family of *Dauid*, which was almost worne out. The first Act that hee tooke in hand, when hee began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of the Temple. It was a needfull piece of worke, in regard of the decay wherein that holy place was fallen, through the wickednesse of vngodly Tyrants; and requisite it was that he should vp-hold the Temple, whom the Temple had vp-held. This businesse he followed with so earnest a zeale, that not only the Leuites were more slacke than he, but euen *Iehoiada* was faine to be quickened by his admonition. Money was gathered for the charges of the worke, partly out of the taxe imposed by *Moses*, partly out of the liberality of the people: who gaue so freely, that the Temple, besides all reparations, was enriched with vessels of gold and silver, and with all other Vntiles. The sacrifices likewise were offered, as vnder godly Kings they had beene, and the seruice of God was magnificently celebrated.

## §. II.

*The death of Iehoiada, and Apostasie of Ioas.*

**B**Vt this endured no longer than the life of *Iehoiada* the Priest: who hauing liued an hundred and thirtie yeers, dyed before his Countrie could haue spared him. He was buried among the kings of Iuda, as he well deserued, hauing preferred the race of them, & restored the true Religion, which the late Princes of that house, by attempting to eradicate, failed but a little, of rooting vp themselves, and all their issue. Yet this honourable Funerall seems to haue bin giuen to him, at the motion of the people; it being said, *They buried him in the Citie of Dauid*. As for the king himselfe, who <sup>10</sup> did owe to him no lesse than his Crowne and life, he is not likely to haue been Author of it, seeing that he was as easily comforted after his death, as if he had thereby been discharged of some heauie debt.

For after the death of *Iehoiada*, when the Princes of Iuda began to flatter their king, he soone forgot, not onely the benefits, receiued by this worthy man his old Counsellour, but also the good precepts which he had receiued from him, yea & God himselfe, the Author of all goodnesse. These Princes drew him to the worship of Idols, wherewith *Iehoram* and *Athalia* had so infected the Countrey, in fifteene or sixteene yeeres; that thirty yeeres, or there-about, of the reigne of *Ioas*, wherein the true Religion was exercised, were not able to cleere it from that mischiefe. The king himselfe, when once <sup>20</sup> he was entred into these courses, ran on head-long, as one that thought it a token of his libertie, to despise the seruice of God; and a manifest prooffe of his being now king in-deed, that he regarded no longer the lowre admonitions of deuout Priests. Hereby it appears, that his former zeale was only counterfeited, wherein like an Actor vpon the stage, he had striven to expresse much more liuely affection, than they could shew, that were indeede religious.

## §. III.

*The causes and times of the Syrians invading Iuda in the dayes of Ioas.*

**B**Vt God, from whom he was broken loose, gaue him ouer into the hands of men, that would not easily be shaken off. *Hazael* king of Aram, hauing taken Gath, a Town of the Philistims, addrest himselfe towards Ierusalem, whither the little distance of way, and great hope of a rich booty, did inuite him. He had an Army heartned by many victories, to hope for more; and for ground of the war (if his ambition cared for pretences) it was enough that the kings of Iuda had assisted the Israelites, in their enterprises vpon Aram, at Ramoth Gilead. Yet I thinke he did not want some further instigation. For if the kingdome of Iuda had molested the Aramites, in the time of his predecessour, this was thoroughly recompensed, by forbearing to <sup>40</sup> succour Israel, and leauing the ten Tribes in their extream misery, to the fury of *Hazael* himselfe. Neither is it likely, that *Hazael* should haue gone about to awake a sleeping Dogge, and stirre vp against himselfe a powerfull enemy, before he had assured the conquest of Israel, that lay between Ierusalem and his owne kingdome, if some opportunity had not performed such easie and good successe, as might rather aduance, than any way disturbe his future proceedings against the ten Tribes. Wherefore I hold it probable, that the sonnes of *Athalia*, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promising (as men expelled their Countries vsually doe) to draw many partakers of their owne to his side; and not to remaine, as *Ioas* did, a neutrall in the warre betweene him and Israel, but to ioyne all their forces with his, as they had cause, for the <sup>50</sup> rooting out of *Iehu* his posterity, who, like a bloudy Traytor, had utterly destroyed all the kindred of the Queenes, their mother, euen the whole house of *Ahab*, to which hee was a subiect. If this were so, *Hazael* had the more apparant reason to invade the Kingdome of Iuda. Howsoeuer it were, we finde it plainly, that *Ioas* was afraid of him, and therefore took all the hallowed things, and all the gold that was found in the treasures of the house of the Lord, or in his owne house, with which present hee redeemed his peace: the Syrian (questionlesse) thinking it a better bargaine, to get so much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazzard the assurance of this, for

for the possibility of not much more. So *Hazael* departed with a rich bootie of vnhappy treasure, which belonging to the liuing God, remained a small while in the possession of this mighty, yet corruptible man, but sent him quickly to the graue. For in the thirtie seventh yeere of *Ioas*, which was the fiftieth of *Iehoiada*, hee made this purchase; but in the same or very next yeere he died, leauing all that hee had vnto his Sonne *Behadad*, with whom these treasures prospered no otherwise, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

This enterprise of *Hazael*, is, by some, confounded with that warre of the Aramites vpon Iuda, mentioned in the second Booke of *Chronicles*. But the reasons alledged by <sup>10</sup> them that hold the contrary opinion, doe forcibly proue, that it was not all one warre. For the former was compounded without blood-shed or fight; in the latter, *Ioas* tryed the fortune of a battaile, wherein being put to the worst, he lost all his Princes, and hardly escaped with life: In the one, *Hazael* himselfe was present; in the other, he was not named: but contrariwise, the king of Aram then reigning (who may seem to haue then been the Sonne of *Hazael*) is said to haue bene at Damascus. The first Armie came to conquer, and was so great, that it terrified the king of Iuda; The second was a *small company of men*, which did animate *Ioas* (in vaine, for God was against him) to deale with them, as hauing a *very great Armie*. 2. Chron. 24. 24

Now, concerning the time of this former inuasion, I cannot perceiue that God <sup>20</sup>ooke him, till he had first forsaken God. There are indeed some, very learned, who thinke that this expedition of *Hazael* was in the time of *Iehoiada* the Priest, because that storie is ioyned vnto the restauration of the Temple. This had bene probable, if the death of *Iehoiada* had bene afterwards mentioned in that place of the second Book of Kings; or if the Apostasie of *Ioas*, or any other matter implying so much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indee to be doubted, that the Lord of all may dispose of all things, according to his own will & pleasure; neither was he more vniust in the afflictions of *Iob* that righteous man, or the death of *Iosias* that godly king, than in the plagues which he laid vpon *Pharaoh*, or his iudgements vpon the house of *Ahab*. But it appears plainly, that the rich furniture of the Temple, and the magnificent seruice of God there- <sup>30</sup>withall, which are ioyned together, were vfed in the house of the Lord continually, all the dayes of *Iehoiada*; soone after whose death, if not immediately vpon it, that is (as some very learnedly collect) in the sixe, or thirty seventh yeere of this *Ioas* his reign, the king falling away from the God of his Fathers, became a foule Idolater. 2. Chron. 24. 24

And indeed we commonly obserue, that the crosses which it hath pleased God sometimes to lay vpon his seruants, without any cause notorious in the eyes of men, haue alwaies tended vnto the bettering of their good. In which respect, euen the sufferings of the blessed Martyrs (the death of his Saints being precious in the sight of the Lord) are to their great aduantage. But with euill and rebellious men, God keepeth a more euene and strict account; permitting vsually their faults to get the start of their punishment, and either <sup>40</sup>delaying his vengeance (as with the Amorites) till their wickednesse be full: or not working their amendment by his correction, but suffering them to run on in their wicked courses, to their greater miserie. So hath he dealt with many; and so it appears that he dealt with *Ioas*. For this unhappy man did not onely continue an obstinate Idolater, but grew lo forgetfull of God and all goodnesse, as if he had strouen to exceed the wickednesse of all that went before him, and to leaue such a villainous patterne vnto others, as few or none of the most barbarous Tyrants should endure to imitate.

## §. IV.

*How Zacharia was murdered by Ioas.*

**S**Vndry Prophets hauing laboured in vaine to reclaim the people from their superstition, *Zacharia* the sonne of *Iehoiada* the Priest, was stirred vp at length by the Spirit of God, to admonish them of their wickednesse, and make them vnderstand the punishment due vnto it, whereof they stood in danger. This *Zacharia* was a man so much honoured, and sonne to a man so exceedingly beloued in his life-time, and reuerenced, that if *Ioas* had reputed him (as *Ahab* did *Elias*) his open enemy, yet ought he in common honestie, to haue cloaked his ill affection, and haue vfed

at least some part of the respect that was due to such a person: On the other side, the singular affection which he and his father had borne vnto the King, and the vnrecountable benefits, which they had done vnto him, from his first infancie, were such; as should haue placed *Zacharia* in the most hearty and assured loue of *Iosias*, yea though he had bin otherwise a man of very small make, and not very good condition. The truth is, that the message of a Prophet sent from God, should be heard with reuerence, how simple soeuer he appeares that brings it. But this King *Iosias*, hauing already scorned the admonitions and protestations of such Prophets as first were sent, did now deale with *Zacharia*, like as the wicked husbandmen in that parable of our Saniour, dealt with the heire of the Vineyard; who said, *This is the heyre, come let vs kill him, that the inheritance may be ours.* By killing *Zacharia* he thought to become an absolute Commander, supposing be like that he was no free Prince, as long as one durst tell him the plain truth, how great fouler that mans deserting were, that did so, yea though Gods commandement required it. So they conspired against this holy Prophet, and stoned him to death at the kings appointment; but whether by any forme of open Law, as was practised vpon *Naboth*; or whether surprising him by any close treachery; I doe neither reade, nor can coniecture. The dignitie of his person, considered together with their treacherous conspiracie, makes it probable, that they durst not call him into publique iudgement, though that the manner of his death, being such as was commonly, and by order of Law, inflicted vpon malefactors, may argue the contrary. Most likely it is, that the kings commandement, by which hee suffered, tooke place in stead of Law: which exercise of power (as hath been already noted) was nothing strange amongst the kings of Iuda.

## §. V.

*How Iosias was shamefully beaten by the Amorites, and of his death.*

**I**his odious murder, committed by an vnthankfull snake vpon the man in whose bosome he had been fostered, as of it self alone it sufficed to make the wretched Tyrant hateful to men of his own time, & his memory detested in all ages; so had it the well-describ'd curse of the blessed Martyr, to accompanie it vnto the throne of God, & to call for vengeance from thence; which fell downe swiftly, & heavily vpon the head of that vngatefull monster. It was the last yeere of his reign; the end of his time comming then vpon him, when he thought himself beginning to lue how he lifted without controulment. When that yeer was expired, the Aramites came into the Countrey, rather as may seeme to get pillage, than to performe any great action; for they came with a small company of men: but God had intended to doe more by them, than they themselves did hope for.

That *Iosias* naturally was a coward, his bloody malice against his best friend, is in my iudgement, proofe sufficient: though otherwise his base compolition with *Hazael*, when he might haue leauied (as his son after him did muster) three hundred thousand chosen men for the warre, doth well enough shew his temper. Yet now he would needs be valiant, and make his people know, how stout of disposition their King was, when hee might haue his owne will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. For to encounter with a few bands of Routers, hee tooke a very great Armie, so that wife men might well perceiue, that he knew what he did, making shew as if he would fight for his Countrey, and expose himselfe to danger of warre, when as indeed all was mere ostentation, and no perill to be feared; hee going forth so strongly appointed, against so weak enemies. Thus might wife men thinke, and laugh at him in secret; considering what adoe he might be about that, which in all apparent reason was (as they say) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wisdom of this world is foolishnesse, did laugh not only at this vaine-glorious King, but at them that thought their King secure, by reason of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the Aramites & King *Iosias* met, whether it were by some folly of the Leaders, or by some amercement happening among the fouldiers, or by what foucer means it pleased God to work, so it was, that that great Army of Iuda receiued a notable ouerthrow, and all the Princes were destroyed: the Princes of Iuda, at whose perswasion the King had become a Rebelle to the King of kings. As for *Iosias* himselfe (as *Abulenfis* and others

expound

expound the story) he was sorely beaten and hurt by them, being (as they thinke) taken and shamefully tormented, to wring out of him an excecutive ranfome.

And (swely) all circumstances doe greatly strengthen this coniecture. For the Text (in the old translation) saith, they exercised vpon *Iosias* ignominious iudgements; and that departing from him, they dismissed him in great languor. All which argues, that they had him in their hands, and handled him ill-faououredly. Now at that time *Iosias* the sonne of *Iehoshaphat* reigned ouer Israel, and *Benhadad* the son of *Hazael* ouer the Syrians in Damascus; the one a valiant vnder-taking Prince, raised vp by God to restore the State of his miserable Countrey; the other inferiori euery way to his father, of whose purchases hee lost a great part, for want of skill to keepe it. The difference in condition found betweene these two Princes, promising no other euent than such as afterward followed, might haue giuen to the king of Iuda good cause to be bold, and plucke vp his spirits; which *Hazael* had beaten downe, if God had not bene against him. But his fearefull heart being likely to quake vpon any apprehension of danger, was able to put the Syrian king in hope; that by terrifying him with some shew of Warre at his doores, it were easie to make him craue any tolerable conditions of peace. The vnexpected good successe hereof, already related, & the (perhaps as vnexpected) ill successe, which the Aramites found in their following Warres against the king of Israel, sheweth plainly the weakenesse of all earthly might, resisting the power of the Almighty. For by his Ordinance, both the kingdome of Iuda, after more than forty yeeres time of gathering strength, was vnable to driue out a small companie of Enemies; and the kingdome of Israel, hauing been trodden downe by *Hazael*, that onely fifty Horsemen, tenne Chariots, and tenne thousand Footmen were left; pretailed against his Sonne, and recovered all from the victorious Aramites. But examples hereof are euerie where found, and therefore I will not insist vpon this; though indeede wee should not, if we be Gods children, thinke it more tedious to heare long and frequent reports of our heavenly Fathers honour, than of the noble acts performed by our fore-fathers vpon earth.

When the Aramites had what they listed, & saw that they were notable, being so few, to take any possession of the Countrey, they departed out of Iuda loaden with spoyle, which they sent to Damascus, themselves belike falling vpon the ten Tribes, where it is to be thought that they sped not halfe so well. The king of Iuda being in ill case, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the sons of an Ammonitess, & of a Moabitess, whom some (because onely their Mothers names, being strangers, are expressed) thinke to haue bene bondmen. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or feare, lest (as Tyrants vse) he should reuenge his disaster vpon them, imputing it to their fault, or what foucer else it were that animated them to murder their king: the Scripture tels vs plainly, that, *For the blood of the children of Iehoiada*, this befell him. And the same appears to haue bene vsed as the pretence of their conspiracy, in excuse of the fact when it was done. For *Amazias*, the sonne and successor of *Iosias*, durst not punish them, till his kingdome was established: but contrariwise, his body was iudged vnworthy of buriall in the Sepulchres of the kings: whereby it appeares, that the death of *Zacharia* caused the treason, wrought against the king, to find more approbation, than was requisite, among the people, though afterwards it was recompensed by his Sonne, vpon the Traytors, with well-deserued death.

## §. VI.

*Of the Princes lining in the time of Iosias: of the time when Carthage was built; and of Dido.*

**H**ere liued with *Iosias*, *Mezades* & *Diogenes* in Athens; *Eudemus* and *Aristomides* in Corinth: about which time *Agrippa Sylus*, and after him *Syllius Aladimus*, were kings of the Albans in Italy. *Orraxares*, commonly called *Anacyn-daraxes*, the thirty seventh king succeeding vnto *Ophrasanes*, began his reigne ouer the Assyrians, about the eighteenth yeere of *Iosias*, which lasted forty two yeeres. In the sixteenth of *Iosias*, *Cephrenes*, the fourth from *Sesac*, succeeded vnto *Cheops* in the kingdome of Egypt, and held it fifty yeeres.

In this time of *Iosias*, was likewise the reigne of *Punonius* in Tyre; and the foundation of

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of Carthage by *Dido*, the building of which City is, by diuers Authors, placed in diuers ages, some reporting it to be 700. yeeres yonger than Rome, others about 400. yeeres elder, few or none of them giuing any reason of their assertions, but leauing vs vncertaine whom to follow: *Iosephus*, who had read the Annals of Tyre, counting one hundred forty and three yeeres and eight moneths from the building of *Salomons* Temple, in the twelfth yeer of *Hiram* king of Tyre, to the founding of Carthage by *Dido*, in the seventh of *Isimilion*. The particulars of this accompt (which is not rare in *Iosephus*) are very perplexed, and ferue not very well to make cleer the totall summe. But whether it were so that *Iosephus* did omit, or else that he did mis-write some number of the yeeres, which he reckoneth in Fractions, as they were diuided among the Kings of Tyre, from *Hiram* to *Pigmalion*, we may well enough beleue, that the Tyrian writers, out of whose books hee giues vs the whole summe, had good meanes to know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, betweene two works no longer following one the other than the memory of three or four generations might easily reach. This hundred forty and some yeeres current, after the building of *Salomons* Temple, being the eleuenth yeere of *Ious*, was a hundred forty and three yeeres before the birth of Rome, and after the destruction of Troy, two hundred eighty and nine: a time so long after the death of *Aeneas*, that wee might truly conclude all to be fabulous which *Virgil* hath written of *Dido*, as *Ausonius* noteth, who doth honour her Statua with this Epigram:

Aut. Ep. 117.

*Illa ego sum Dido vultu quam conspicias hospes,  
Asimulata modis pulchraq; mirificis.  
Talis eram, sed non Maro quam mihi finxit, erat mens,  
Vita nec incestus lata cupidinisibus;  
(Namq; nec Aeneas vidit me Troius unquam  
Nec Lybiam aduenit, clausibus Iliaei.  
Sed furis fugiens, atq; arma prociis Iarbae,  
Seruauit, fatcor, nocte pudicitiam;  
Pellora transfixo, castos quod pertulit enses)  
Non furor, aut leso crudus amore dolor.  
Sic cecidisse iuuat: vixi, sine vulnere fame,  
Vlta virum, pestis manibus oppeti.  
Inuida cur in me stimulasit Musa Maronem,  
Fingeret ut nostra damna pudicitia?  
Vos magis Historicis leiores credite de me  
Quam qui surta Deum concubitusq; canunt.  
Falsidici vates: temerant qui carmine verum,  
Humanisq; deos asimulant vitijis.*

Which in effect is this,

**I** Am that *Dido* which thou here do'st see,  
Cunningly framed in beauteous Imag'ie.  
Like this I was, but had not such a soule,  
As *Maro* fained, incestuous and foule.  
As *Aeneas* neuer with his *Troian* hoast  
Beheld my face, or landed on this coast.  
But flying proud *Iarbas* villanie,  
Not mou'd by furious loue or iealousie;  
I did with weapon chaste, to saue my fame,  
Make way for death vntimely, ere it came.  
This was my end: but first I built a Towne,  
Reueng'd by husbands death, liu'd with renoune.  
Why did'st thou stirre vp *Virgil*, enuious Muse,  
Falsely my name and honour to abuse?  
Readers beleeue *Historians*, not those  
Which to the world *loves* thefts and vice expose.  
Poets are liers, and for verses fake  
Will make the gods of humane crimes partake.

From

From the time of *Dido* vnto the first Punick warre, that Carthage grew and flourished in wealth and conquests, we finde in many Histories: but in particular we finde little of the Carthaginian affaires before that war, excepting those few things that are recorded of their attempts of the Isle of Sicil. We will therefore deferre the relation of matters concerning that mighty Citie, vntill such time as they shall encounter with the State of Rome, by which it was finally destroyed, and prosecute in the mean while the History that is now in hand.

## §. VII.

The beginning of Amazia his reigne. Of Ioas King of Israel, and Elisha the Prophet.

**M**azias, the son of *Iosab*, being twenty five yeeres old when his Father died, took possession of the Kingdome of Iuda, wherein he laboured so to demean himself, as his new beginning reign might be least offensive. The Law of *Moses* he professed to obserue; which howsoever it had bene severely despised since the time of *Iehoram*, by many great persons of the Land, yet had it by prouision of good Prince, yea & of bad ones (in their best times) imitating the good, but especially by the care of holy Priests, taken such deepe roote in the peoples hearts, that no King might hope to be very plausible, who did not conform himselfe vnto it. And at that present time the slaughter, which the Aramites had made of all the Princes, who had withdrawn the late king from the seruice of God, being seconded by the death of the king himselfe, euen whilst that execrable murder, committed by the king vpon *Zecharia*, was yet fresh in memory, did serue as a notable example of Gods iustice against Idolaters, both to animate the better sort of the people in holding the Religion of their fathers, and to discourage *Amazia* from following the way, which led to such an euill end. He therefore, hauing learned of his father the art of dissimulation, did not onely forbear to punish the Traytors that had slain king *Iosab*, but gaue way to the time, and suffered the dead body to be interred, as that of *Iehoram* formerly had been, in the City of *David*, yet not among the Sepulchres of the kings of Iuda. Neuerthelesse, after this; when (belike) the noyse of the people hauing wearied it selfe into silence, it was found that the Conspirators (howsoever their deed done, was applauded as the handie worke of God) had neither any mighty partakers in their fact, nor strong maintainers of their persons, but rested secure, as hauing done well, seeing it was not ill taken: the king, who perceived his government well established, called them into question, at such a time, as the heate of mens affections being well allayed, it was easie to distinguish between their treasons and Gods iudgements, which, by their treasons, had taken plausible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their children (as the Law did require) were suffered to liue: which could not but giue contentment to the people, seeing that their king did the office of a iust Prince, rather than of a reuenging sonne. This being done, and his owne life better secured, by such examplary iustice, against the like attempts; *Amazia* carried himselfe outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religion, & so continued in rest, about twelue or thirteen yeeres.

As *Amazia* gathered strength in Iuda by the commodity of a long peace, so *Iosab* the Israelite grew as fast in power, by following the warre hotly against the Aramites. Hee was a valiant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, as his Predecessors had bene, worshipping the Calues of *Ieroboam*. For this sinne had God so plagued the house of *Iehu*, that the ten Tribes wanted little of being vtterly consumed, by *Hazeal* and *Benhadad*, in the time of *Iehu* and his sonne *Iehoashaz*. But as Gods benefites to *Iehu*, sufficed not to withdraw him from this politike Idolatry; so were the miseries, rewarding that impietie, vnable to reclaim *Iehoashaz* from the same impious course: yet the mercy of God beholding the trouble of Israel, did condescend vnto the prayers of this vngodly Prince, euen then when hee and his miserable subiects, were obstinate in following their owne abominable waies. Therefore in temporall matters the ten Tribes recovered apace; but the fauour of God, which had bene infinitely more wroth, I doe not finde, nor beleue that they fought: that they had it not, I finde in the words of the Prophet, saying plainly to *Amazia*, *The Lord is not with Israel, neither with all the house of Ephraim.*

x. ch. 25. v. 2.

Whether

Whether it were so, that the great Prophet *Elisha*, who lived in those times, did foretell the prosperity of the Israelites under the reign of *Joas*; or whether *Jehoaahaz*, wearied and broken with long adversity, thought it the wisest way, to discharge himselfe in part of the heauie cares attending those vnhappy Syrian Warres, by laying the burthen vpon his hopefull sonne; wee finde that in the thirtie seventh yeere of *Joas*, King of *Iuda*, *Joas* the sonne of *Iehoaahaz* began to reigne ouer Israel in *Samaria*; which was in the 15. yeere of his fathers reigne, and some two or three yeeres before his death.

It appeares that this yongue Prince, euen from the beginning of his Rule, did so well husband that poore stock that he receiued from his Father, often Chariots, fifty Horsemen, and ten thousand Foot, that he might seeme likely to proue a thriner. Amongst other circumstances, the words which he spake to *Elisha* the Prophet, argue no lesse. For *Joas* visiting the Prophet, who lay sicke, spake vnto him thus; *O my father, my father, shew chariot of Israel, and the horsemen of the same*: by which manner of speech he did acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy man had stood his Kingdome in more stead, than all the Hories and Chariots could doe.

This Prophet who succeeded vnto *Elias*, about the first yeere of *Soram* the sonne of *Israh* King of *Israhel*, died (as some haue probably collected) about the third or fourth yeere of this *Joas*, the Nephew of *Iehu*. To shew how the spirit of *Elias* was doubled, or did rest vpon him; it exceedeth my facultie. This is recorded of him, that hee did not onely raise a dead childe vnto life, as *Eliu* had done, but when hee himselfe was dead, it pleased God that his dead bones should restore life vnto a carcass, which touched them in the graue. In fine, hee bestowed as a legacie, three victories vpon King *Joas*, who thereby did set *Israhel* in a faire way of recouering all that the Aramites had vsurped, and weakened the Kings of *Damascus* in such sort, that they were neuer after terrible to *Samaria*.

## §. VIII.

Of *Amazia* his warre against *Edom*; His Apostasie; and ouerthrow by *Joas*.

HE happy successe which *Joas* had found in his war against the Aramites, was such as might kindle in *Amazia* a desire of vnder-taking some expedition, wherein himselfe might purchase the like honour. His kingdome could furnish three hundred thousand ferreable men for the Wars; & his treasures were sufficient for the payment of these, & the hire of many more. Cause of war he had very nift against the Edomites, who hauing rebelled in the time of his grand-father *Iehoram*, had about fifty yeeres beene vnreclained, partly by reason of the troubles happening in *Iuda*, partly through the sloth and timorousnesse of his father *Joas*. Yet, forasmuch as the men of *Iuda* had in many yeeres beene without all exercise of Warre (excepting that vnhappy fight wherein they were beaten by a few bands of the Aramites) hee held it a point of wisdom to increase his forces, with soldiers waied out of *Israhel*, whence hee lured for an hundred talents of siluer, an hundred thousand valiant men, as the Scripture telleth vs, though *Iesephus* diminish the number, saying that they were but twentie thousand.

This great Armie, which with so much cost *Amazia* had hired out of *Israhel*, hee was faine to dismiss before he had employed it, being threatened by a Prophet with ill successe, if he strengthened himselfe with the helpe of those men, whom God (though in mercy hee gaue them victory against the cruell Aramites) did not loue, because they were Idolaters. The Israelites therefore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this dismissal as an high disgrace, which to reuenge, they fell vpon a piece of *Iuda* in their returne, and shewed their malice in the slaughter of three thousand men, and some spoile, which they carried away. But *Amazia* with his owne forces, knowing that God would be assistant to their iourney, entered courageously into the Edomites Country; over whom obtaining victory, he slew ten thousand, and tooke other ten thousand prisoners, all which he drew from an high rocke; holding them, it seemes, rather as Traytors, than as iust enemies. This victory did not seeme to reduce *Edom* vnder the subiection of the Crowne of *Iuda*, which might be the cause of that fecerity, which was vsed to the prisoners: the Edomites that had escaped, refusing to buy the liues of their friends & kinsmen at so deere a rate, as the losse of their owne libertie. Some townes in mount

Seir,

Seir, *Amazia* took as appeares by his carrying away the Idols thence; but it is like they were the places most indefensible, in that he left no garrisons there, whereby he might another yeere the better haue pursued the conquest of the whole country. How soeuer it were, he got both honour by the iourney, and gaines enough, had he not lost himselfe.

Among other spoyles of the Edomites, were carried away their gods, which being vanquished and taken prisoner, did deserue well to be led in triumph. But they contrariwise, know not by what strange witchcraft, so befottered this vnworthy King *Amazia*, that he set them up to be his gods, and worshipped them, and burned incense vnto them.

2 Chron. 25. 14.

For this when he was rebuked by a Prophet sent from God, hee gaue a churlish and threatening answer; asking the Prophet, Who made him a Counsellor, and bidding him hold his peace for feare of the worst. If either the costly stuffe, whereof these idols were made, or the curious workmanship and beautie, with which they were adorned by Artificers, had rauished the kings fancie; me thinks, he should haue rather turned them to matter of profit, or kept them as house-hold ornaments and things of pleasure, than thereby haue suffered himself to be blinded, with such vnreasonable deuotion towards them. If the superstitious account wherein the Edomites had held them, were able to worke much vpon his imagination; much more should the bad seruice which they had done to their old Clients, haue moued him thereupon to laugh, both at the Edomites, and them. Wherefore it seemes to me, that the same affections carried him from God, vnto the seruice of Idols, which afterwards moued him to talke so roughly to the Prophet reprehending him. He had already obeyed the warning of God by a Prophet, & sent away such auxiliarie forces as he had gathered out of *Israhel*; which done, it is said, that he was encouraged, and led forth his people, thinking belike, that God would now rather assist him by miracle, than let him faile of obtaining all his hearts desire. But with better reason he should haue limited his desires by the will of God, whose pleasure it was, that *Esau* hauing broken the yoke of *Jacob* from his necke, accordingly as *Isaac* had fore-told, should no more become his seruant. If therefore *Amazia* did hope to reconquer all the Countrey of *Edom*, hee failed of his expectation; yet so, that he brought home both profit and honour, which might haue well contented him.

2 Chron. 25. 15.

But there is a foolish and a wretched pride, wherewith men being transported, can ill endure to ascribe vnto God the honor of those actions, in which it hath pleased him to vie their owne industrie, courage, or fore-sight. Therefore it is commonly scene, that they, who entering into battell, are careful to pray for aide from heauen, with due acknowledgement of his power, who is the giuer of victorie; when the field is won, doe vaunt of their owne exploits: one telling how he got such a ground of aduantage; another, how he gaue checke to such a battalion; a third, how he seized on the enemies Canon; euery one struing to magnifie himself, whilest all forget God, as one that had not beene present in the action. To ascribe to fortune the effects of another mans vertue, is I confesse, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he which findeth better successe, than he did, or in reason might expect, is deeply bound to acknowledge God the Author of his happinesse; so he whose more wisdom and labour hath brought things to a prosperous issue, is doubly bound to shew himselfe thankfull, both for the victory, and for those vertues by which the victory was gotten. And indeed so far from weaknesse is the nature of such thanksgiuings, that it may well be called the height of magnanimity; no vertue being so truly heroicall, as that by which the spirit of man aduanceth itselfe with confidence of acceptation, vnto the loue of God. In which sense it is a braue speech that *Euander* in *Virgil*, vseth to *Aeneas*, none but a Christian being capable of the admonition:

*Aude vosse contemnere opes, & te quoque dignum  
Finge Deo.*

With this Philosophy *Amazia* (as appeares by his carriage) troubled not his head: he had shewed himselfe a better man of war than any king of *Iuda*, since the time of *Iehosaphat*, and could be well contented, that his people should think him little inferior to *Dauid*: of which honour he saw no reason why the Prophets should rob him, vvhoo had made him lose an hundred talents, and done him no pleasure; hee hauing preuailed by plaine force and good conduct, vwithow any miracle at all. That hee was discomperced vwith such vaine thoughts as these (besides the vvitnesse of his impiety following) *Iesephus* doth

Ios. Ant. 8. 9. 10.

Aaa

testific;

testifie, saying, That he despised God, and that being putt vp with his good successe, of which neuertheless he would not acknowledge God to be the Author, he commanded *Ioas* King of Israel to become his subiect, and to let the tenne Tribes acknowledge him their Soueraigne, as they had done his Ancestors King *Dauid* and *Salomon*. Some thinke that his quarrell to *Ioas* was rather grounded vpon the iniury done to him by the Israelites, whom hee dismissed in the iourney against Mount Seir. And likely it is, that the sense of a late wrong had more power to stirre him vp, than the remembrance of an old title, forgotten long since, and by himselfe neglected thirtene or fourteene yeeres. Neuertheless it might so be, that when he was thus prouoked, hee thought it not enough to requite new wrongs, but would also call old matters into question; that so the kings of Israel might, at the least, learne to keepe their subiects from offending Iuda, for feare of endangering their owne Crownes. Had *Amazias* desired onely recompence for the iniurie done to him, it is not improbable that hee should haue had some reasonable answer from *Ioas*, who was not desirous to fight with him. But the answer which *Ioas* returned, likening himselfe to a Cedar, and *Amazias* in respect of him to no better than a thistle, shewes that the challenge was made in insolent termes, stust perhaps with such proud comparison of Nobilitie, as might bee made (according to that which *Iosephus* hath written) between a king of ancient race, and one of lesse nobilitie than vertue.

*Sophacles* in *A-  
liace* 1. 1. 1.

It is by *Sophacles* reported of *Aiax*, that when going to the warre of Troy, his father did bid him to be valiant, and get victory by Gods assistance, he made answer, That by Gods assistance, a coward could get victorie, but hee would get it alone without such helpe: after which proud speech, though he did many valiant acts, he had small thanks, and finally, killing himselfe in a madnesse, whereinto hee fell vpon disgrace receiued, was hardly allowed the honour of buriall. That *Amazias* did vtter such wordes, I doe not finde: but hauing once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of such wordes, he was rewarded with successe according. The very first counsaile wherein this warre was concluded, serues to proue that hee was a wise Prince indeed at Ierusalem, among his Parasites; but a foole when he had to deale with his equals abroad. For it was not all one, to fight with the Edomites, a weak people, trusting more in the site of their Countrey, than the valour of their Souldiers; and to encounter with *Ioas*, who from 30 so poore beginnings had raised himselfe to such strength, that hee was able to lend his friend a hundred thousand men, and had all his Nation exercised, and trained vp in a long victorious warre. But as *Amazias* discovered much want of iudgement, in vnder-taking such a match; so in prosecuting the businesse, when it was set on foot, he behaued himselfe as a man of little experience, who hauing once onely tried his fortune, and found it to bee good, thought that in Warre there was nothing else to doe, than lend a defiance, fight, and winne. *Ioas* on the contrary side, hauing bene accustomed to deale with a stronger enemy than the king of Iuda, vsed that celeritie, which peraduenture had often stood him in good stead against the Aramite. Hee did not sit waiting till the enemies brake in and wasted his Countrey, but presented himselfe with an Army in 40 Iuda, ready to bid battell to *Amazias*, and saue him the labour of a long iourney. This could not but greatly discourage those of Iuda; who (besides the impression of feare vvhich an inuasion beates into people, not inured in the like) hauing decoured in their greedy hopes, the spoyle of Israel, fully perswading themselves to get as much, and at as easie rate as in the iourney of Edom; were so farre disappointed of their expectation, that well they might suspect all new assurance of good lucke, when the old had thus beguiled them. All this notwithstanding, their king that had stomach enough to challenge the patrimonie of *Salomon*, thought like another *Dauid* to winne it by the sword. The issue of which foole-hardinesse might easily haue bene foreseene in humane reason; comparing together, either the two kings, or the qualitie of their Armies, or the first and ominous beginning of the Warre. But mere humane wisdom, howsoever it might foresee much, could not haue prognosticated all the mischief that fell vpon *Amazias*. For as soone as the two Armies came in sight, God, whose helpe this wretched 107 man had so despised, did (as *Iosephus* reports it) strike such terrour and amazement into the men of Iuda, that without one blow giuen, they fled all away, leauing their king to shift for himselfe; which he did so ill, that his enemy had soone caught him, and made him change his glorious humour into most abiect basenesse. That the Army which

led, sustained any other losse than of honour, I neither finde in the Scriptures nor in *Iosephus*; it being likely that the soone beginning of their flight, which made it the more shamefull, made it also the more safe. But of the mischief that followed this ouerthrow, it was Gods will that *Amazias* himselfe should sustaine the whole disgrace. For *Ioas* carried him directly to Ierusalem, where he had him procure that the gates might bee opened to let him in and his Army; threatening him otherwise with present death. So much amazed was the miserable captiue, with these dreadful wordes, that he durst do no other, than perswade the Citizens, to yeeld themselves to the mercie of the Conqueror. The Towne, which afterwards being in weaker state, held out two yeeres, against *Nebuchad-  
nezzar*, was vterly dismayed, when the King, that should haue giuen his life to save it, vied all his force of command and intreaty to betray it. So the gates of Ierusalem were opened to *Ioas*, with vvhich honour (greater than any King of Israel had euer obtained) he could not rest contented, but, the more to despise *Amazias* and his people, he caused 400 cubits of the wall to be thrown downe, and entred the citie in his Chariot through that breach, carrying the king before him, as in triumph. This done, he sackt the Temple, and the Kings Palace, and so, taking hostages of *Amazias*, he dismissed the poor creature that was glad of his life, and returned to Samaria.

## §. IX.

*A discourse of the reasons hindering Ioas from uniting Iuda to the Crowne of Israel, when hee had won Ierusalem, and held Amazias prisoner. The end of Ioas his Reigne.*

It were iustly maruell how it came to passe, that *Ioas*, being thus in possession of Ierusalem, hauing the King in his hands, his enemies forces broken, & his own entire, could be so content to depart quietly, with a little spoyle, when he might haue seized vpon the whole Kingdome. The reigne of *Athalia* had giuen him cause to hope, that the issue of *Dauid* might be dispossessed of that crowne; his owne Nobility, being the sonne and gran-child of Kings, together with the famous acts that hee had 30 done, were enough to make the people of Iuda thinke highly of him; who might also haue preferred his forme of government, before that of their owne Kings, especially at such a time, vvhhen a long succession of vicked Princes had smothered the thanks, which were due to the memory of a few good ones. The commodity that vould haue ensued, vpon the vnion of all the twelue Tribes, vnder one Prince, is so apparant, that I neede not to insist on it. That any message from God forbad the Israelites (as afterwards in the victorie vvhich *Peka* the son of *Romelia* got vpon *Ahaz*) to turne his present aduantage, to the best vse, wee doe not reade. All this makes it the more difficult to resolue the question, why a Prince so vvell exercised, as *Ioas* had bene, in recouering his own, and winning from his enemy, should forsake the possession of Ierusalem, and wilfully neglect the possibilities, or rather cast away the full assurance of so faire a conquest, as the 40 kingdome of Iuda.

But concerning that point, vvhich, of all others, had been most materiall, I mean the desire of the vanquished people to accept the Israelite for their king, it is plainly seene, that entering Ierusalem in triumphant manner, *Ioas* was vnable to concoct his own prosperitie. For, the opening of the gates had bene enough to haue let him not onely into the Citie, but into the Royall Throne, and the peoples hearts, whom by faire intreaty (especially hauing sure meanes of compulsion) hee might haue made his owne, vvhhen they saw themselves betrayed, and basely giuen away by him whose they had bene before. The faire marke which this opportunitie presented, he did not ayme at, because his ambition was otherwise and more meanelly busied, in leuellling at the glory of a triumphant entry through a breach. Yet this error might afterwards haue been corrected well enough, if entering as an enemy, and shewing what he could doe, by spending his anger vpon the wals, he had within the Citie done offices of a friend, and laboured to shew good will to the inhabitants. But when his pride had done, his countenance beganne, and sought to please it selfe, with that which is commonly most ready to the spoyler, yet should be most forborne. The Treasure wherewith *Sesac*, *Hazeael*, and the Philistims, men ignorant of the true God and his Religion, had quenched their greedy thirst, ought not to haue tempted the appetite of *Ioas*, who though an Idolater,



yet acknowledged also and worshipped the eternall God, whose Temple was at Ierusalem. Therefore when the people saw him take his way directly to seise that holy place, and lay his rauinous hands vpon the consecrated vessels, calling the familie of *Obed Edom* (whose children had hereditarie charge of the treasure) to a strict account, as if they had bene officers of his owne Exchequer; they considered him rather as an execrable Church-robber, than as a noble Prince, an Israelite and their brother, though of another Tribe. Thus following that course, which the most vertuous King of our age (taxing it with the same phrase) hath wisely auoyded; by stealing a few Apples, he lost the inheritance of the whole Orchard. The people detested him, and after the perspire of a few dayes, might by comparing themselves one to one, perceiue his Souldiers to be no better than men of their owne mould, and inferiour in number to the inhabitants of so great a Citie. It is not so easie to hold by force a mighty town entered by capitulation, as to enter the gates opened by vnauoided feare. For when the Citizens, not being disarmed, recover their spirits, and begin to vnderstand their first error; they will thinke vpon euery advantage, of place, of prouisions, of multitude, yea of women armed with tile-stones; and rather choose by desperate resolution, to correct the euills growne out of their former cowardise, than suffer those mischiefs to poyson the body, which in such halfe-conquests, are easily tasted in the mouth. A more liuely example hereof cannot be desired, than the City of Florence, which through the weaknesse of *Peter de Medices*, gouerning therein as a Prince, was reduced into such hard teames, so that it opened the gates vnto the French King *Charles* the Eighth, who not plainly professing himselfe either friend or foe to the State, entred the Towne, with his Armie, in triumphant manner, himself and his horse armed, with his lance vpon his thigh. Many inuolencies were therein committed by the French, and much argument of quarrell ministred, betweene them and the Townes-men: so farre forth that the Florentines, to preserve their libertie, were driuen to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, *Charles* propounds intolerable conditions, demanding huge summes of ready money, and the absolute Signorie of the State, as conquered by him, who entred the Citie in Armes. But *Peter Caponi*, a principall Citizen, catching these Articles from the Kings Secretarie, and tearing them before his face, bad him sound his Trumpets, and they would ring their Bells: which peremptorie words made the French betinke themselves, and come readily to this agreement, that for forty thousand pounds, and not halfe of that money to bee paid in hand, *Charles* should not onely depart in peace, but restore whatseuer hee had of their Dominion, and continue their assured friend. So dangerous a matter did it seeme for that braue Armie, which in few moneths after wanne the Kingdome of Naples, to fight in the streets, against the armed multitude of that populous Citie. It is true, that *Charles* had other businesse (and so perhaps had *Joas*, as shall anon bee shewed) that called him away: but it was the apprehension of imminent danger that made him come to reason. In such cases the firing of houses, vually drawes euery Citizen to saue his own, leauing victory to the Souldier: yet where the people are prepared and resolu'd, women can quench, as fast as the enemy, hauing other things to looke vnto, can set on fire. And indeede that Commander is more giuen to anger than regardfull of profit, who vpon the vncertain hope of destroying a Towne, forsakes the assurance of a good composition. Diueritie of circumstance may alter the case: it is enough to say, that it might be in Ierusalem, as we know it was in Florence.

How strongly soeuer *Joas* might hold himselfe within Ierusalem, he could not easily depart from thence, with his bootie safe, if the armie of Iuda, which had been more terrified than weakened in the late encounter, should re-enforce it selfe, & giue him a check vpon the way. Wherefore it was wisely done of him, to take hostages for his better security, his Army being vpon returne, and better loden than when it came forth; for which causes it was the more vnapt to fight.

Besides these impediments, within the Citie and without, seruing to coole the ambition of *Joas*, and keepe it down from aspiring to the Crown of Iuda; it appears that some what was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of *Elisba* the Prophet, who when this *Joas* had smitten the ground with his arrowes thrice, told him that hee should no officer smite the Aramites. The three victories which Israel had against *Aram*, are by some, and with great probability, referred vnto the fifth, sixth and seauenth yeeres

yeeres of *Joas*, after which time, if any losses ensuing had blemished the former good success, might the King of Israel haue likened himselfe to a stately Cedar, and worse could hee haue either seen the Iudaea one hundred thousand men, or meet him in battell, who was able to bring into the field three hundred thousand of his own. Seeing therefore it is made plaine by the words of *Elisba*, that after three victories, *Joas* should finde some change of fortune, and suffer losse, we must needs conclude, That the Aramite prevailed vpon him this yeere, it being the last of his Reigne. That this was so, and that the Syrians, taking advantage of *Joas* his absence, gaue such a blow to Israel, as the king at his return was not able to remedie, but rather fell himself into new misfortunes, which increased the calamity, wee may evidently perceiue in that which is spoken of *Ieroboam* his sonne. For it is said, That the Lord saw the exceeding bitter afflictions of Israel, and that hauing not decreed to put out the name of Israel from vnder the heauen, he preserved them by the hands of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Joas*. This is enough to proue, that the victorious Reigne of *Joas* was concluded with a sad catastrophe, the riches of the Temple halting in his miserie and death, as they had done with *Sesac*, *Abalia*, and *Hazeel*, and as afterwards they wrought with *Antiochus*, *Craffus*, and other sacrilegious Potentates.

Thus either through indignation conceiued against him, by the people of Ierusalem, and courage which they tooke to set vpon him within the Walls; or through preparation of the Armie that lay abroad in the Country, to bid him battell in open field, and to recover by a new charge the honor which was lost at the former encounter; or through the miseries daily brought vpon his own Countrey, by the Syrian in his absence (if not by all of these) *Joas* was driuen to lay aside all thought of winning the kingdome of Iuda; and taking hostages for his quiet passage, made all haste homewards, where he found a sad welcome, and being vtterly forsaken of his wonted prosperitie, forsook also his life in few moneths after; leauing his kingdome to *Ieroboam* the second, his fortunate and valiant sonne.

## §. X.

## The end of Amazia his Reigne and Life.

Any man is able to ghesse how *Amazia* looked, when the enemy had left him. Hee that had vaunted so much of his owne great prowesse and skill in Armes, threatening to worke wonders, and set vp a new the glorious Empire of *Dauid*, was now vncafed of his Lyons hide, and appeared nothing so terrible a beast as he had bene painted. Much argument of scoffing at him he had ministred vnto such, as held him in dislike; which at this time, doubtlesse, were very many: for the shame that falls vpon an insolent man, feldeme failes of meeting with abundance of reproach. As for *Amazia* (besides that the multitude are alwaies prone to lay the blame vpon their Gouernours, euen of those calamities which happen by their owne default) there was no child in all Ierusalem, but knew him to be the roote of all this mischiefe. He had not onely challenged a good man of War, being himselfe a Dastard; but when hee was beaten and taken by him, had basely pleaded for the common enemy, to haue him let into the Citie, that with his owne eyes he might see what spoyle there was, and not make a bad bargain by heare-say. The father of this *Amazia*, was a beastly man; yet when the Aramites tooke him and tormented him, he did not offer to buy his owne life at so dear a rate, as the Citie and Temple of Ierusalem. Had he offered, should they haue made his promise good? surely the haste which they had made in condescending to this hard match, was very vnfortunate: for by keeping out the Israelite (which was easie enough) any little while, they should soon haue been rid of him, seeing that the Aramites would haue made him run home, with greater speed than hee came forth. Then also, when hauing trusted vp his baggage, he was ready to be gone, a little courage would haue serued to perswade him to leaue his load behind; had not their good K. deliuered vp hostages, to secure his return, as loath to defraud him of the recompence due to his paines taken.

Such exprobrations could not but vex the heart of this vnhappy king: it had been well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his fault vnto God, that had punished him by all this dishonour. But wee finde no mention of his amendment. Rather it appeares, that hee continued an Idolator to the very last. For it is said of him, that after his turning away from the Lord, they wrought treason against him in Ierusalem: a manifest



necessity hath enforced all good Writers, to acknowledge the like vacancy, twice happening within few yeeres, in the Kingdome of Israel: The space of time betwene *Ishbosheth's* death, and the beginning of *Davids* Reign, and such another gap found between the death of *Pekah*, and the beginning of *Hosias*, haue made it easily to be admitted into Samaria; which the consideration of things as they stood in Iuda, when *Adamsia* was slaine, doth make more probable to haue happened there, yea although the necessity of computation were not so apparant.

For the publicke furie, hauing so farre extended it selfe, as vnto the destruction of the kings own person, was not likely to be appeased without order taken for obtaining some redresse of those matters, which had caused it at the first to break forth into such extremity. Wee neede not therefore wonder how it came to passe, that they which already had throwne themselves into such an horrible treason, should afterwards dare to withhold the Crowne from a Prince of that age, which being inuested in all ornaments of Regality, is neuertheless exposed to many iniuries, proceeding from head-strong, and forgetfull subiects.

As for their cōpicure, who make *Azaria* to haue bene King but one and sonie yeeres, after hee came out of his non-age; I dare not allow it, because it agrees too harshly with the Text. The best opinion were that, which giues vnto *Ieroboam* cleauen yeeres of Reigne with his Father, before hee began to reigne single in the fifteenth of *Amasia*; did it not swallow vp almost the whole reigne of *Iotham*, and extending the yeeres of those which reigned in Israel (by making such of them compleat, as were onely current) and take at the shortest the Reignes of Princes ruling in other Nations. But I will not stand to dispute further of this: euery man may follow his owne opinion, and see mine more plainely in the Chronologicall Table, drawne for these purposes.

## S. XII.

Of Princes Contemporarie with *Amasia*, and more particularly of *Sardanapalus*.

**T**He Princes liuing with *Amasia*, and in the cleauen yeeres that followed his death, were *Iotham* and *Ieroboam* in Israel; *Cephrenes* and *Mycerinus* in Egypt; *Syluius Alladius*, and *Syluius Auentinus* in Alba; *Agamemnon* in Corinth; *Diognus Phereclis*, and *Ariphran* in Athens; in Lacedæmon *Theclis*, in whose time the Spartans wan from the Achaians, Geræuthæ, Amyclæ, and some other Townes.

But more notable than all these, was Assyrian *Sardanapalus*, who in the one and twentieth yeere of *Amasia*, succeeding his father *Oeraces* or *Anacyndaraxes*, reigned twenty yeeres, and was slaine the last of the eleuen void yeeres which fore-went the Reign of *Azaria*. In him ended (as most agree) the line of *Ninus*, which had held that Empire one thousand, two hundred and forty yeeres. A most luxurious and effeminate Palliard he was, passing away his time among strumpets, whom he imitated both in apparell and behauiour.

In these voluptuous courses he liued an vnhappy life, knowing himselfe to be so vile, that he durst not let any man haue a sight of him; yet seene he was at length, and the sight of him was so odious, that it procured his ruine. For *Arbaces*, who gouerned *Media* vnder him, finding meanes to behold the person of his King, was so incensed with that beastly spectacle, of a man disguised in womans attire, & struing to counterfeite an harlot, that hee thought it a great shame to liue vnder the command of so vnworthy a creature. Purposing therefore to free himselfe and others from so base subiection, hee was much encouraged by the prediction of *Belshis* or *Belosus* a Chaldean, who told him plainly, that the Kingdome of *Sardanapalus* should fall into his hands. *Arbaces* well pleased with the prophetic, did promise vnto *Belosus* himself the gouernment of *Babylon*; and so concluding how to handle the businesse, one of them stirred vp the Medes, and allured the Persians into the quarrell, the other perswaded the Babylonians and Arabians to venture themselves in the same cause. These foure Nations armed forty thousand men against *Sardanapalus*, who in this danger was not wanting to himselfe, but gathering such forces as he could, out of other Nations, encountred the rebels, as one that would by deedes refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that warre, answer to the manner of his retirednesse. For in three

battailes he carried away the better, driving *Arbaces* and his followers into such fearful termes, that had not *Belosus* promised them constantly some vnexpected succours, they would forthwith haue broken vp their Camp. About the same time, an Armie out of *Bactria* was coming to assist the King; but *Arbaces* encountering it vpon the vway, perswaded so strongly by promise of liberty, that those forces ioynd themselves with his. The sudden departure of the enemy seeming to be a flight, caused *Sardanapalus* to cast his Armie, triumphing before victory. But the Rebels being strengthened with this new supply, came vpon him by night, and forced his Campe, which through ouer-great security was vnprepared for resistance.

This ouerthrow did so vveaken the kings heart, that leauing his viues brother *Salamennus* to keep the field, he withdrew himself into the City of *Niniue*; which, till new aides that hee sent for should come, hee thought easily to defend; it hauing bene prophesied, that *Niniue* should neuer be taken, till the Riuer were enemy to the Towne. Of the greatnesse and strength of *Niniue*, enough hath bene spoken in our discourse of *Ninus*. It was so well victualled, that *Arbaces* (hauing in two battailes ouerthrowne the Kings Armie, and slaine *Salamennus*) was faine to lye two vvhole yeeres before it, in hope to vvinne it by famine; vvhetherof yet he saw no appearance. It seemes that he wanted Engines and skill to force those vuals, vvhich were a hundred foote high, and thicke enough for three Chariots in front to passe vpon the rampire. But that vvhich he could not doe in two yeeres, the Riuer of *Tygris* did in the third: for being high swolne with raines, it not onely drowned a part of the city through vvhich it ranne, but threw downe twenty furlongs of the vvall, and made a faire breach for *Arbaces* to enter.

*Sardanapalus*, either terrified with the accomplishment of the old Oracle, or seeing no meanes of resistance left, shutting vp himselfe into his Palace, with his viues, eunuchs, and all his treasures, did set the house on fire, wherewith hee and they were together consumed. *Strabo* speakes of a monument of his, that was in *Anchiale* a Citie of *Cilicia*, wheron was found an inscription, shewing that he built that Citie and *Tharsus* vpon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding men eate and drink, and make merry, encouraging others, with verses well knowne, to a voluptuous life; by his owne example testified that his nature was more prone to sensuality, than to any vertue becomming a Prince.

There are some that faintly report otherwise of his end, saying that *Arbaces*, when he first found him among his Concubines, was so enraged, that suddenly he slew him with a dagger. But the more general consent of Writers agrees with this relation of *Diodorus Siculus*, who citeth *Ctesias* a Greeke Writer, that liued in the Court of Persia, where the truth might best be known.

Concerning the Princes which reigned in Assyria; from the time of *Semiramis*, vnto *Sardanapalus*, though I beleue that they were sometimes (yet not, as *Orosius* hath it, incessantly) busied in offensive or else defensive armes; yet for the most part of them I doe better trust *Diodorus Siculus*, who saith that their names were ouerpasse by *Ctesias*, because they did nothing worthy of memory. Whatsoeuer they did; that which *Thophibas Anthesius* hath said of them is very true; *Silence* and *Oblivion* hath oppressed their names.

## CHAP. XXIII.

## Of Vzzia.

## S. I.

The prosperitie of Vzzia, and of Ieroboam the second, who reigned with him in Israel, Of the Anarchie that was in the ten Tribes after the death of Ieroboam. Of Zacharia, Salum, Menahem and Pekahia.

**V**zzia, who is also called *Abazia*, the sonne of *Iotham*, was made king of Iuda, when hee was sixteen yeeres old, in the seauen and twentieth yeere of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Ioa* king of Israel. Hee serued the God of his father *Dauid*, and had therefore good successe in all his enterprises. Hee built Eloth, a Towne that stood neere to the Red Sea, and restored it to Iuda. He ouercame the Philistims, of whose Townes hee dismanted some, and built others in sundry parts of their Territories. Also he got the maiestie ouer some parts of Arabia, and brought the Ammonites to pay him tribute. Such were the fruites of his prosperous warres, wherein (as *Iosephus* rehearseth his acts) hee began with the Philistims, and then proceeded vnto the Arabians and Ammonites. His Armie consisted of three hundred and seauen thousand men of warre, ouer which were appointed two thousand and sixe hundred Captaines. For all this multitude the king prepared *shields*, and *spearres*, and *helmets*, and other Armes requisite; following therein happily a course quite opposite vnto that which some of his late predecessours had held, who thought it better policie to vse the seruice of the Nobilitie, than of the multitude, carrying forth to warre the Princes and all the Nobles.

As the victories of Vzzia were farre more important, than the atchieuements of all that had reigned in Iuda, since the time of *Dauid*; so were his riches and magnificent workes, equall, if not superiour to any of theirs that had bene kings betwene him and *Salomon*. For, besides that great conquests are wonne to repay the charges of Warre with triple interest, he had the skill to vse, as well as the happinesse to get. He turned his Lands to the best vse, keeping Ploughmen and Dressers of Vines, in grounds conuenient for such husbandry. In other places he had Cattell feeding; whereof hee might well keepe great store, hauing wonne so much from the Ammonites and Arabians, that had abundance of waste ground seruing for pasturage. For defence of his Cattell and Heardsmen, hee built Towres in the wilderness. He also digged many Cisternes or Ponds, *Iosephus* calls them Water-courses; but in such dry grounds, it was enough that he found water, by digging in the most likely places. If by these Towres hee commanded the water, that none could without his consent, releue themselves therewith; questionlesse hee tooke the onely course, by which hee might securely hold the Lordship ouer all the Wilderness; it being hardly passable, by reason of the extreme drought, when the few Springs therein found, are left free to the vse of Trauailers.

Besides all this cost, and the building both of Eloth by the Red Sea, and of sundry Townes among the Philistims; he repaired the wall of Ierusalem, which *Ioa* had broken downe, and fortified it with Towres, whereof some were an hundred and fifty Cubits high.

The State of Israel did neuer so flourish, as at this time, since the diuision of the twelve Tribes into two kingdome. For as Vzzia prevailed in the South, so (if not more) *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Ioa*, king of the ten Tribes, enlarged his border on the North; where obtaining many victories against the Syrians, hee wan the Royall citie of Damascus, and hee wan Hamath, with all the country therabout from the entring of Hamath, vnto the Sea of the wilderness, that is, (as the most expound it) vnto the vast deserts of Arabia, the end whereof was vndiscovered. So the bounds of Israel in those parts, were in time of this *Ieroboam*, the same (or not much narrower) which they had bene in the Reigne of *Dauid*.

But

But it was not for the pietie of *Ieroboam*, that hee thrived so well; for hee was an Idolater: it was onely the compassion vvhich the Lord had on *Israel*, seeing the exceeding bitter affliction, vvhetherinto the Aramites had brought his people, vvhich caused him to alter the succession of warre, and to throw the victorious Aramites vnder the feet of those vvhom they had so cruelly oppressed. The line of *Iehoua*, to which God had promised the kingdome of *Israel* vnto the fourth generation, was now as farre from the end; and now againe it was inuited vnto repentance, by new benefites, as it had been at the beginning. But the sinne of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Nabat*, was held so precious, that neither the Kingdome it selfe, giuen to him by God, was able to draw *Iehoua* from that politike Idolatry; nor the misery falling vpon him and his posteritie, to bring them to a better course of Religion; nor yet, at the last, this great prosperitie of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Ioa*, to make him tender the honour that was due, to the onely giuer of victorie. Wherefore the promise of God, made vnto *Iehoua*, that his sons, vnto the fourth generation, should sit on the throne of *Israel*, was not enlarged; but, being almost expired, gaue warning of the approaching end, by an accident (so strange, that we, who liue no particulars recorded, can hardly ghesse at the occasions) foregoing the last accomplishment.

When *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Ioa*, after a victorious reigne of one and forty yeeres, had ended his life; it seemes in all reason that *Zacharia* his sonne, should forthwith haue been admitted, to reign in his stead; the Nobilitie of that race hauing gotten such a lustre, by the immediate succession of foure Kings, that any Competitor, had the Crown passed by election, must needs haue appeared bafe; and the vertue of the last king, hauing bene so great, as might well serue to lay the foundation of a new house, much more to establish the already confirmed right of a family so rooted in possession. All this notwithstanding, two or three and twenty yeeres did passe, before *Zacharia* the sonne of *Ieroboam* was, by vniforme consent, receiued as king. The true originall causes hereof were to be found at Dan and Bethel, where the golden Calues did stand: yet second instruments of this disturbance, are likely not to haue bene wanting, vpon which, the wilddome of man was ready to cast an eye. Probable it is, that the Captaines of the army (who afterwards slew one another, so fast, that in fourteen yeeres there reigned fiftie kings) did now by head-strong violence, rend the kingdome asunder, holding each what hee could, and either despising or hating some qualities in *Zacharia*, until, after many yeeres, wearied with dissention, and the principall of them perhaps, being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they consented to yeeld all quietly to the son of *Ieroboam*. That this Anarchie lasted almost three & twenty yeeres, we find by the difference of time, betwene the fiftieyth yeere of Vzzia, which was the last of *Ieroboam* his one and fortieth (his seauen and twentieth concurring with the first of Vzzia) and the eight and thirtieth of the same Vzzia, in the last sixe moneths whereof *Zacharia* reigned in Samaria. There are some indeede, that by supposing *Ieroboam* to haue reigned with his father eleuen yeeres, do cut off the interregnum in Iuda (before mentioned) and by the same reason, abridge this Anarchie, that was before the reigne of *Zacharia* in Israel. Yet they leaue it twelve yeeres long: which is time sufficient to proue, that the kingdome of the ten Tribes was no lesse distemper'd, than as is already noted. But I chooseth rather to follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times, of other Princes reigning abroad in the World, than this doubtful coniecture, that giues to *Ieroboam* two and fifty yeeres, by adding three quarters of his fathers Reigne vnto his owne, which was it selfe indeed so long, that hee may well seeme to haue begun it very young: for I do not think, that God blessed this Idolater, both with a longer reign, and with a longer life, than hee did his seruant *Dauid*.

Thus much being spoken of the time, wherein the Throne of Israel was voyde, before the reigne of *Zacharia*; little may suffice to bee said of his Reigne it selfe, which lasted but a little while. Sixe moneths onely vvas hee king; in vvvhich time hee declared himselfe a vvorshipper of the golden Calues, vvvhich vvas enough to iustifie the iudgement of God, vvvhether hee vvas slaine. Hee vvas the last of *Iehoua*'s house, being (inclusively) the first of that line, vvvhich may haue bene some cause of the troubles impeaching his orderly succession: the propheticke hauing determined that race in the fourth generation. But besides that Gods promise was extended vnto the vtmost, there was no warrant giuen to *Salum* or to any other, for the death of *Zacharia*, as had bene giuen to *Iehoua*, for the slaughter of *Ieroboam*, and for the eradication of *Abahs* house.

Zacharia

*Zacharia* having bene sixe moneths a King, was then slaine by *Sallum*, who reigned after him, the space of a moneth in *Samaria*. What this *Sallum* was, I doe not finde; save onely that hee was a Traytour, and the sonne of one *Iabesh*, whereby his father got no honour. It seemes that hee was one of those, who in time of faction had laboured for himselfe; and now when all other Competitors were sitten downe, thought easily to prevaile against that King, in whose person the race of *Iehu* was to faile. Manifest it is, that *Sallum* had a strong party: for *Tiphah* or *Thapsa*, and the coast thereof cuen from *Tirzah*, where *Menabem* his enemy and supplanter then lay, refused to admit, as King in his head, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one moneth, *Sallum* receiued the reward of his treason, and was slaine by *Menabem* who reigned in his place.

*Menabem* the sonne of *Gadi*, reigned after *Sallum* ten yeeres. In opposition to *Sallum*, his hatred was deadly, and inhumane: for he not onely destroyed *Tiphah*, and all that were therein, or therabouts, but he ript vp all their women with childe, because they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this cruelty bene vsed in reuenge of *Zacharia* death, it is like that he would haue been as earnest, in procuring vnto him his Fathers Crown when it was first due. But in performing that office, there was vsed such long deliberation, that we may plainly discouer Ambition, Disdain, and other private passions, to haue bene the causes of this beauly outrage.

In the time of *Menabem*, and (as it seemes) in the beginning of his Reigne, *Pul* King of *Assyria*, came against the Land of *Israel*, whom this new King appeald, with a thousand talents of silver, lequied vpon all the substantiall men in his Countrey. With this money the *Israelite* purchased, not onely the peace of his kingdome, but his owne establishment therein: some factious man (belike) hauing either inuited *Pul* thither, or (if he came vncalled) sought to vse his helpe, in deposing this ill beloued King. *Iosephus* reports of this *Menabem*, that his Reigne was no milder than his entrance. But after ten yeeres, his tyrannie ended with his life: and *Pekahia*, his Sonne, occupied his roome.

Of this *Pekahia* the storie is short: for he reigned onely two yeeres; at the end whereof, he was slaine by *Peka*, the sonne of *Remalia*, whose treason was rewarded with the Crowne of *Israel*, as, in time comming, another mans Treason against himselfe shalbe. There needs no more to be said of *Menabem*, and his sonne, saue that they were, both of them, Idolaters; and the sonne (as we finde in *Iosephus*) like to his father in cruelty. Concerning *Pul* the *Assyrian* King, who first opened vnto those Northern Nations the way into *Palastina*; it will shortly follow in order of the Story, to deliuer our opinion: whether he were that *Belosus* (called also *Belses*, and by some, *Phul Belochus*) who ioynd with *Arbaces* the *Median*, against *Sardanapalus*, or whether he were some other man. At the present it is more fit that we relate the end of *Vzzia*'s life, who out-liued the happinesse wherein we left him.

## S. II.

The end of *Vzzia* his Reigne and Life.

**X**S the zeale of *Iehoiada*, that godly Priest, was the meane, to preserue the lineage of *Dauid*, in the person of *Ious*; so it appeares, that the care of holy men was not wanting to *Vzzia*, to bring him vp, and aduance him to the Crown of *Juda*, when the hatred borne to his Father *Amaziah*, had endangered his succession. For it is said of *Vzzia*, That he sought God in the daies of *Zacharia* (which vnderstood the vision of God) and when as he sought the Lord, God made him prosper.

But, when hee was strong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction: for hee transgressed against the Lord his God, and went into the Temple of the Lord to burne incense, vpon the Altar of incense. Thus he thought to enlarge his own authority, by meddling in the Priests office; whose power had in euery extremity been so helpfull to the kings of *Juda*, that meere gratitude, and ciuill policie, should haue held backe *Vzzia* from inchoching therevpon; yea, though the Law of God had been silent in this case, and not forbidding it. Howsoever, the king forgot his duty, the Priests remembered theirs, and God forgot not to assist them. *Azaria* the high Priest interrupted the kings purpose, and gaue him to vnderstand, how little to his honour it would proue, that he tooke vpon him the office of the sonnes of *Aaron*. There were with *Azaria* fourscore other Priests, valiant men, but their

their valour was shewed onely in assisting the high Priest, when (according to his duty) he reprehended the Kings presumption. This was enough, that God himselfe persecuted. Wherein in *Iehoiada*, that the King had apparelled himselfe in Priestly habit, and that hee had taken *Azaria* and his Companions, to punish them with death, vnlesse they would be quiet. *Iosephus*, indeed, enlargeth the Story; by inserting a great Earthquake, which did teare downe halfe an Hill, that rowled foure furdings, till it rested against another Hill, stopping vp the high wayes; and spoyleing the Kings Garden in the passage. With this Earth-quake, he saith, that the rooffe of the Temple did cleaue, and that a Sunne-beame did light vpon the Kings face; which was presently infected with leprosie. All this may haue bene true; and some there are who thinke that this Earth-quake is the same, which is mentioned by the Prophet *Amos*, wherein they doe much misse reckon the times. For the Earth-quake spoken of by *Amos*, was in the daies of *Ieroboam* King of *Israel*, who dyed seven and thirty yeeres before *Vzzia*; so that *Iobam* the Sonne of *Vzzia*, which supplied his Fathers place in government of the Land, should, by this account, haue bene then vnborne: for he was but five and twenty yeeres old, when he began to reigne as King. Therefore, thus farre onely we haue assurance; that while *Vzzia* was with the Priests, the leprosie rose up in his forehead, beset the Priests. Hereupon he was caused, in all haste, to depart the place, and to lye in a house by himselfe, vntill he dyed; the rule over the Kings house; and ouer all the Land, being committed to *Iotham*, his Sonne and Successor. *Iotham* tooke not vpon himselfe the stile of a King, till his Father was dead, whom they buried in the same field wherein his Ancestors lay interred; yet in a Monument apart from the rest, because hee was a Leper.

## S. III.

Of the Prophets which lived in the time of *Vzzia*, and of Princes then ruling in *Egypt* and in some other Countries.

**I**N the time of *Vzzia* were the first of the lesser Prophets, *Hosea*, *Iael*, *Amos*, *Obadiah*, and *Ionas*. It is not indeede set downe, when *Iael* or *Obadiah* did prophesie: but if the Prophets, whose times are not expresse, ought to be ranged (according to *Saint Hieromes* rule) with the next before them; then must these two be iudged contemporary with *Hosea* and *Amos*, who liued vnder King *Vzzia*. To enquire which of these fue was the most ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at least a superfluous labour, yet if the age wherein *Homer* liued, hath so painfully bene sought, without reprehension; how can he be taxed, which offers to search out the antiquity of these holy Prophets? It seemes to me, that the first of these, in order of time, was the Prophet *Iuas*; who foretold the great victories of *Ieroboam* King of *Israel*; and therefore is like to haue prophesied in the daies of *Ious*, whilst the affliction of *Israel* was exceeding bitter; the Text it selfe intimating no lesse; by which consequence, he was elder than the other Prophets, whose workes are now extant. But his prophecies that concerned the Kingdome of *Israel*, are now lost. That which remaineth of him, seemes, not without reason vnto some very learned, to haue belonged vnto the time of *Sardanapalus*, in whose daies *Nineue* was first of all destroyed. This Prophet rather taught Christ by his sufferings, than by his writings now extant: in all the rest are found expresse promises of the Messias.

In the reigne of *Vzzia* likewise it was, that *Esay*, the first of the foure great Prophets, began to see his visions. This difference of great and lesser Prophets, is taken from the Volumes which they haue left written (as *S. Augustine* giues reason of the distinction) because the greater haue written larger Bookes. The Prophet *Esay* was great indeede, not only in regard of his much writing, or of his Nobility, for their opinion is receited, who thinke him to haue bene the sonne of *Amos* the Prophet; and the high account wherein he liued; but for the excellency, both of his stile & argument, wherein he so plainly foretelleth the Birth, Miracles, Passion, and whole History of our Saviour, with the calling of the Gentiles, that he might as well be called an Euangelist, as a Prophet, hauing written in such wise, That (as *Hierome* saith) one would thinke he did not foretell of things to come, but compile an History of matters already past.

*Bochoris* was King of *Egypt*, and the ninth yeere of his Reigne, by our computation (where-

whereof in due place we will give reason) was current, when *Vezia* tooke possession of the Kingdome of *Inda*.

After the death of *Sacharis*, *Affshis* followed in the Kingdome of *Egypt* vnto him succeeded *Amphis*; and these two occupied that Crowne sixe yeeres. Then *Sabacus*, an *Aethiopian*, became King of *Egypt*, and held it fifty yeeres; whereof the ten first ranne along with the last of *Vezia* his Reigne and life. Of these and other *Egyptian* Kings, more shall be spoken, when their affaires shall come to be intertied with the busines of *Inda*.

In *Athens*, the two last yeeres of *Atriphron* his twenty, the seuen and twentieth of *Thespeus*, the twentieth of *Agamnestor*, and three the first of *Aeschylus* his three and twenty, made euen with the two and fifty of *Vezia*: as likewise did in *Alba* the last seuen of *Siluius Anentius* his seuen and thirty, together with the three and twenty of *Siluius Prius*, and two and twenty the first of *Siluius Amulius*. In *Media* *Arbaces* began his new Kingdome, in the first of *Vezia*, wherein, after eight and twenty yeeres, his Sonne *Sofarmus* succeeded him, and reigned thirty yeeres. Of this *Arbaces*, and the diuision of the *Affrian* Empire, betwene him and others, when they had oppressed *Sardanapalus*, I hold it conuenient to vse more particular discourse, that we may not wander in too great vncertainty in the Story of the *Affrian* kings, who haue already found the way into *Palestina*, and are not likely to forget it.

## S. IIII.

Of the *Affrian* Kings, descending from *Phul*: and whether *Phul* and *Belofus* were one person, or heads of sundry Families, that reigned a-part in *Nineue* and *Babylon*.

**B**Y that which hath formerly bene shewed of *Sardanapalus* his death, it is apparant, that the chiefe therein was *Arbaces* the *Median*; to whom the rest of the Confederates did not onely submit themselves in that Warre, but were contented afterwards to be iudged by him; receiuing by his authority sentence of death, or pardon of their forfeited liues. The first example of this his power, was shewne vpon *Belofus* the *Babylonian*, by whose especiall aduice and helpe, *Arbaces* himselfe was become so great: Yet not this power of *Arbaces* exercised in so tyrannicall a manner, as might giue offence in that great alteration of things, either to the Princes that had assisted him, or to the generality of the people. For in the condemnation of *Belofus*, he vsed the counsaile of his other Captaines, and then pardoned him of his owne grace; allowing him to hold not onely the City and Prouince of *Babylon*, but also those treasures, for embelzling whereof his life had bene endangered.

In like manner, he gaue rewards to the rest of his partakers, and made them Rulers of Prouinces; retaining (as it appeares) onely the Soueraignty to himselfe, which to vse immoderately he did naturally abhorre. He is said, indeede, to haue excited the *Medes* against *Sardanapalus*, by propounding vnto them hope of transferring the Empire to their Nation. And to make good this his promise, he destroyed the City of *Nineue*, permitting the Citizens neuerthelesse to take and carry away euery one his owne goods. The other Nations that ioyned with him, as the *Persians* and *Babylonians*, he drew to his side, by the allurements of liberty; which he himselfe so greatly loued, that by slackning too much the reins of his owne Soueraignty, hee did more harme to the generall estate of *Media*, than the pleasure of the freedome, which it enjoyed, could recompence. For both the Territory of that Countrey was pared narrower by *Salmansar* (or perhaps by some of his Progenitors) whom wee finde in the Scriptures to haue held some Townes of the *Medes*; and the ciuill administration was so disorderly, that the people themselves were glad to see that reformation, which *Deioces*, the first of *Arbaces* his Line, did make in that gouernment, by reducing them into stricter tearmes of obedience.

How the force of the *Affrians* grew to be such, as might in fourescore yeeres, if not sooner, both extend it selfe vnto the conquest of *Israel*, & tear away some part of *Media*, it is a question hardly to be answered, not only in regard of the destruction of *Nineue*, & subuersion of the *Affrian* Kingdome, whereof the *Medes*, vnder *Arbaces*, had the honor, who may seeme at that time to haue kept the *Affrians* vnder their subiection, when the rest of the Prouinces were set at liberty; but in consideration of the Kings themselves,

who

who reigning afterwards in *Babylon* and *Nineue*, are confounded by some, and distinguished by others; whereby their History is made vncertaine.

I will first therefore deliuer the opinion generally receiued, and the grounds whereupon it stands: then, producing the obiections made against it, I will compare together the determination of that worthy man *Ioseph Scaliger*, with those learned that subscribe thereunto, and the iudgement of others that were more ancient Writers, or haue followed the Ancients in this doubtfull case. Neither shall it be needfull to set down a-part the seuerall authorities & arguments of sundry men adding somewhat of weight or of clearnesse one to another: it will be enough to relate the whole substance of each discourse: to which I will do as briefly as I can, and without fear to be taxed of partiality, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancy of mine owne, but meereley led by those reasons which vpon examination of each part, seemed to me most forcible, though to others they may perhaps appeare weak.

That which, vntill of late, hath passed as currant, is this; That *Belofus* was the same King, who, first of the *Affrians*, entred *Palestina* with an Army; being called *Pal*, or *Phul*, in the Scriptures, and by *Annius* his Authors with such as follow them, *Phul Belochus*. Of this man it is said, that he was a skilfull Astrologer, subtil, and ambitious; that he got *Babylon* by composition made with *Arbaces*; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of *Affria*: finally, that he reigned eight and forty yeeres, and then dying, left the Kingdome to *Teglas-phalassar* his Sonne, in whose Posterity it continued some few descents, till the house of *Merodach* preuailed. The truth of this, if *Annius* his *Metasthenes* were sufficient prooffe, could not be gainesaid: for that Author (such as he is) is peremptory herein. But, howsoeuer *Annius* his Authors deserue to bee suspected, it stands with no reason, that we should conclude all to be false which they affirme. They, who maintaine this Tradition, iustifie it by diuers good Allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumstances found in all Authors, and repugnant vnto no History at all. For it is manifest by the relation of *Diodorus* (which is indeede the foundation whereupon all haue built) that *Arbaces* and *Belofus* were Partners in the action against *Sardanapalus*; and that the *Babylonians*, who ioyned with them, were thought well rewarded with liberty, as likewise other Captaines were with gouernements: but that any third person was so eminent, as to haue *Affria* it selfe, the chiefe Countrey of the Empire, bestowed vpon him, it is a thing whereof not the least appearance is found in any History. And certainly it stood with little reason, that the *Affrians* should be committed vnto a peculiar King, at such time as it was not thought meete to trust them in their owne wals and houses. Rather it is apparant, that the destruction of *Nineue* by *Arbaces*, & the transplantation of the Citizens, was held a needfull policy, because thereby the people of that Nation might be kept downe from aspiring to recover the Soueraignty, which else they would haue thought to belong, as of right, vnto the Seat of the Empire.

40 Vpon such considerations did the *Romanes*, in ages long after following, destroy *Carthage*, and dissolve the Corporation, or Body politike, of the Citizens of *Cappas*; because those two Towns were capable of the Empire: a matter esteemed ouer-dangerous, euen to Rome it selfe, that was Mistresse of them both. This being so, how can it be thought that the *Affrians* in three or foure yeeres had created their Kingdome a-new, vnder one *Pal*? or what must this *Pal* haue bene (of whose descents, or entermedling, or indeed of whose very name, we finde no mention in the Warre against *Sardanapalus*) to whom the principall parts of the Empire fell, either by generall consent in diuision of the Prouinces, or by his owne power and purchase very soone after? Surely he was none other than *Belofus*; whose neer Neighbourhood gaue him opportunity (as he was wise enough to play his owne game) both to get *Affria* to himselfe, and to empeach any other man, that should haue attempted to seize vpon it. The Prouince of *Babylon*, which *Belofus* held, being (as *Herodotus* reports) in riches, and power, as good as the third part of the *Persian* Empire, was able to furnish him with all that was requisite for such a businesse: if that were not enough, he had gotten into his owne hands all the gold and siluer that had bin in the Palace of *Nineue*. And questionlesse to restore such a City as *Nineue*, was an enterprise fit for none to take in hand, except he had such means as *Belofus* had; which *Pal*, if he were not *Belofus*, is likely to haue wanted.

Besides all this, had *Pal* been a distinct person from *Belofus*, and Lord of *Affria*, which

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lay beyond the Countries of *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia*, it would not have beene an easie matter for him, to passe quite through another mans Kingdome with an Army, seeking booty as farre off in *Israel*: the onely action by which the name of *Phul* is knowne. But if we grant, that he, whom the Scriptures call *Pul* or *Phul*, was the same whom prophane writers haue called *Belofus*, *Belofes*, and *Belofus*, (in like manner as *Iosephus* acknowledgeth, that he, whom the Scriptures called neuer otherwise than *Darius* the *Mede*, was the sonne of *Affages*, and called of the *Greekes* by another name, that is, *Cyaxares*, then is this scruple vtterly remoued. For *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia* did border vpon *Syria* and *Palestina*: so that *Belofus* hauing settled his affaires in *Affyria* towards the East and North, might with good leisure encroache vpon the Countries that lay on the other side of his Kingdome, to the South and West. He that lookes into all particulars, may finde euery one circumstance concurring, to proue that *Phul* who invaded *Israel*, was none other than *Belofus*. For the Prince of the *Arabians*, who ioyued with *Arbaces*, and brought no small part of the forces wherewith *Sardanapalus* was ouerthrowne, did enter into that action, merely for the loue of *Belofus*. The friendship of these *Arabians* was a thing of maine importance, to those that were to passe ouer *Euphrates* with an Army into *Syria*. Wherefore *Belofus*, that held good correspondence with them; and whose most fruitfull Prouince, adioyning to their barraine quarters, might yeerly doe them inestimable pleasures; was not onely likely to haue quiet passage through their borders, but their vtmost assistance: yea, it stands with good reason, that they, who loued not *Israel*, should for their owne behoofe haue giuen him intelligence, of the destruction and ciuill broyles among the ten Tribes; whereby as this *Pul* got a thousand talents, so it seemes that the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, that had felt an heauie neighbour of *Ieroboam*, recovered their owne, setting vp a new King in *Damasco*, and clearing the coast of *Arabia*, (from the Sea of the Wildernesse to *Hanath*) of the *Hebrew* Garrisons. Neither was it any new acquaintance, that made the Nations, diuided by *Euphrates*, hold together in so good termes of friendship: it was ancient consanguinity; the memory whereof was auailable to the *Syrians*, in the time of *Dauid*, when the *Aramites* beyond the Riuer came ouer willingly, to the succour of *Hadadezer*, and the *Aramites* about *Damasco*. So *Belofus* had good reason to look into those parts: what a King reigning so farre off as *Nimene*, should haue to doe in *Syria*, if the other end of his Kingdome had not reached to *Euphrates*, it were hard to shew.

But concerning this last argument of the businesse which might allure the *Chaldeans* into *Palestina*, it may be doubted, lest it should seeme to haue ill coherence with that which hath beene said of the long Anarchie that was in the tenne Tribes. For if the Crowne of *Israel* were worne by no man in three and twenty years, then is it likely that *Belofus* was either vnwilling to stirre, or vnable to take the aduantage when it was fauourable, and first discovered. This might haue compelled those, who alone were not strong enough, to seeke after helpe from some Prince that lay further off; and so the opinion of those that distinguish *Phul* from *Belofus*, yvould be somewhat confirmed. On the other side, if we say, that *Belofus* did passe the riuer of *Euphrates*, as soon as he found likelihood of making a prosperous iourney, then may it seeme that the inter-regnum in *Israel* was not so long as we haue made it: for three and twenty yeeres leisure would haue afforded better opportunity, which ought not to haue beene lost.

For answer hereunto, we are to consider, what *Orosius* and *Eusebius* haue written concerning the *Chaldees*: the one, that after the departure of *Arbaces* into *Media*, they laid hold on a part of the Empire: the other, that they preuailed and grew mighty, between the times of *Arbaces* and *Deiaces* the *Medes*. Now, though it bee held an error of *Orosius*, where he supposeth that the occupying of *Babylonia* by the *Chaldeans*, was in manner of a rebellion from the *Medes*; yet herein he and *Eusebius* doe concur, that the authority of *Arbaces* did restrain the ambition, which by his absence grew bold, and by his death, regardfull onely of it selfe. Now, though some haue coniectured that all *Affyria* was giuen to *Belofus* (as an ouerplus, besides the Prouince of *Babylonia* which was his by plain bargain made aforehand) in regard of his high deseruings; yet the opinion more commonly receiued, is, that hee did onely encroache vpon that Prouince by little and little, whilst *Arbaces* liued, and afterwards dealing more openly, got it all himselfe. Seeing therefore, that there passed but twelue yeeres betwene the death of *Arbaces*, and the beginning of *Nabonassar* his Reigne; manifest it is, that the conquest

of *Affyria*, and settling of that Countrey, was worke enough to hold *Belofus* occupied, besides the restauration of *Nimene*, which alone was able to take vp all the time remaining of his Reigne, if perhaps he liued to see it finished in his owne dayes. So that this argument may rather serue to proue that *Phul* and *Belofus* were one person, so farre as the iourney of *Phul* against *Israel* was not made vntill *Belofus* could finde leisure; & the time of aduantage which *Belofus* did let slip, argued his businesse in some other quarter, namely in that Prouince of which *Phul* is called King. Briefely, it may be said, that he who conquered *Affyria*, and performed somewhat vpon a Countrey so farre distant as *Palestina*, was likely to haue beene, at least, named in some Historie, or, if not himselfe, yet his Countrey to haue beene spoken of for those victories: but we neither heare of *Phul*, in any prophane Author, neither doth any Writer, sacred or prophane, once mention the victories or acts whatsoever of the *Affyrians*, done in those times; whereas of *Belofus*, and the power of the *Chaldeans*, we finde good Record.

Surely, that great slaughter of so many thousand *Affyrians*, in the quarrell of *Sardanapalus*, together with other calamities of that long and unfortunate warre, which ouerwhelmed the whole Countrey, not ending but with the ruine & vtter desolation of *Nimene*, must needs haue so weakened the state of *Affyria*, that it could not in thirty yeeres space be able to invade *Palestina*, which the ancient Kings, reigning in *Nimene*, had, in all their greatnesse, forborne to attempt. Yet these afflictions, disabling that Countrey, did helpe to enable *Belofus* to subdue it, vvho hauing once extended his Dominion to the borders of *Media*, and being (especially if he had compounded vvith the *Medes*) by the interposition of that Countrey, secure of the *Scythians*, & other war-like Nations on that side, might very well turne Southward, and try his fortune in those Kingdomes, whereinto ciuill dilention of the inhabitants, & the bordering enuy of the *Arabians* and *Aramites* about *Damasco*, friends and Cousins to the *Chaldeans* and *Mesopotamians*, did invite him. For these, and the other before alleadged reasons, it may be concluded, That what is said of *Pul* in the Scriptures, ought to be vnderstood of *Belofus*; euen as by the names of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Darius* the *Mede*, *Artabastus*, and *Ahasuerus*, vvith the like, are thought, or knowne, to be meant the same, vvhom prophane Historians, by names better knowne in their owne Countreies, haue called *Nabopolassar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Artaxerxes*: especially considering, that hereby we shall neither contradict any thing that hath bene written of old, nor neede to trouble our selues and others with framing new coniectures. This in effect is that, vvhich they alleadged in maintenance of the opinion commonly receiued.

Now this being once granted; other things of more importance will of themselves easily follow. For it is a matter of no great consequence to know the truth of this point (considering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether *Pul* were *Belofus*, or some other man: the whole race of these *Affyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings, vvhercin are found those famous Princes, *Nabonassar*, *Mardacempadus*, and *Nabopolassar* (famous for the Astronomical observations recorded from their times) is the maine ground of this contention. If therefore *Belofus*, or *Belifus* were that *Phul* which invaded *Israel*; if he and his posterity reigned both in *Nimene* & in *Babylon*; if he were father of *Tahar*, *Phul*, *Asor*, from vvhom *Salmanassar*, *Sennacherib*, and *Asarhaddon* descended; then it is manifest, that we must seeke *Nabonassar*, the *Babylonian* King, among these Princes; yea, and conclude him to be none other than *Salmanassar*; who is knowne to haue reigned in those yeeres, which *Ptolemy* the Mathematician hath assigned vnto *Nabonassar*. As for *Mardac*, vvho supplanted *Asarhaddon*, manifest it is, that he and his successors were of another house. This is the scope and end of all his disputation.

But they that maintaine the contrary part, will not be satisfied with such coniectures. They lay hold vpon the conclusion, and by shaking that into pieces, hope to ouerthrow all the premisses, vpon which it is inferred. For (say they) if *Nabonassar* that reigned in *Babylon*, could not be *Salmanassar*, or any of those other *Affyrian* Kings, then is it manifest, that the races were distinct, and that *Phul* and *Belofus* were seuerall Kings. This consequence is so plaide, that it needes no confirmation: To proue that *Nabonassar* was a distinct person from *Salmanassar*, are brought such arguments as would stagger the resolution of him that had sworn to hold the contrary. For first, *Nabonassar* was King of *Babylon*; and not of *Affyria*. This is proued by his name; vvhich is merely *Chaldean*, vvheras *Salman*, the first part of *Salmanassars* name; is proper to the *Affyrians*.

It is likewise proued by the Astronomical obseruations, which proceeding from the *Babylonians*, not from the *Assyrians*, doe shew, that *Nabonassar*, from whom *Ptolemy* drawes that *Epocha*, or account of times, was a *Babylonian*, and no *Assyrian*. Thirdly, and inore strongly, it is confirmed by the successe of *Nabonassar*, which was *Mardocempadus*, called in his owne language *Mero-dac-ken-pad*, but more briefly in *Esay* his prophetic, *Merodach*, by the former part of his name; or *Merodach Baladan*, the sonne of *Baladan*. Now if *Merodach*, the sonne of *Baladan*, King of *Babel*, were the sonne of *Nabonassar*, then was *Nabonassar* none other than *Baladan* King of *Babel*, and not *Salmanassar* King of *Assyria*.

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of these two names, *Nabonassar* and *Salmanassar*; which in *Greece* or *Latine* writing hath no difference, we are taught by *Scaliger*, that in the *Hebrew* letters there is found no affinity therein. So concerning the places of *Babylonia*, whereinto *Salmanassar* carried captive some part of the ten Tribes; it may well be granted, that in the Prouince of *Babylon*, *Salmanassar* had gotten somewhat, yet will it not follow that he was King of *Babylon* it selfe. To conclude, *Merodach* began his reign ouer *Babylon* in the sixtyeare of *Hezekias*, at which time *Salmanassar* tooke *Samaritania* therefore, if *Salmanassar* were King of *Babylon*, then must we say that he and *Merodach*, yea *Nabonassar*, were all one man. These are the arguments of that noble and learned Writer *Ioseph Scaliger*; yvho not contented to follow the common opinion, founded vpon likelihood of coniectures, hath drawne his proofes from matter of more necessary inference.

Touching all that was said before of *Phul Belosus*, for the prouing that *Phul* and *Belosus* were not sundry Kings, *Ioseph Scaliger* pitties their ignorance, that haue spent their labour to so little purpose. Honest and painefull men he confesseth that they were, who by their diligence might haue won the good liking of their Readers, had they not, by mentioning *Annius* his Authors, giuen such offence, that men refused thereupon to read their Bookes and Chronologies. A short answer.

For mine owne part, how much I beleue nothing that *Annius* his *Berosus*, *Metasthenes*, and others of that stamp affirm, in respect of their bare authority; yet am I not so squeamish, but that I can well enough digest a good Booke, though I finde the names of one or two of these good fellows alledged in it: I haue (somewhat peraduenture too often) already spoken my mind of *Annius* his Authors: Neuerthelesse, I may say here againe, that where other Histories are silent, or speake not enough, there may we without shame borrow of these, as much as agrees with that little which elsewhere we finde, and set forth to explaine or enlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeede are those honest and painfull men (as *Scaliger* tearmes them, meaning, if I mistake him not, good silly fellows) who set downe the *Assyrian* Kings from *Pul* forwards, as Lords also of *Babylon*, taking *Pul* for *Belosus*, and *Salmanassar* for *Nabonassar*, such Writers as a man should be ashamed or vnwilling to reade. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow *Annius*, though disliking him in general) *Girard Mercator*, is not so slight a Chronologer, that he should be laughed out of doores, with the name of an honest meaning fellow.

But I will not make comparisons betweene *Scaliger* and *Mercator*; they were both of them men worthily learned: let vs examine the arguments of *Scaliger*, and see whether they be of such force, as cannot either be resisted or avoided. It will easily be granted, that *Nabonassar* was King of *Babylon*; that he was not King of *Assyria*, some men doubt whether *Scaliger*'s reasons be enough to proue. For though *Nabonassar* be a *Chaldean* name, and *Salmanassar* an *Assyrian*; yet what hinders vs from beleeuing, that one man in two languages might bee called by two severall names? That Astronomy flourished among the *Chaldees*, is not enough to proue *Nabonassar* either an Astrologer, or a *Chaldean*. So it is, that *Scaliger* himselfe calls them, *Prophetae nescio quos, qui Nabonassarum*

*Scal. Canon. 13.* *Astronomum fuisse in somnia uiderunt, Prophetas I know not who, that in their sleepe haue dreamt of Nabonassar, that he was an Astrologer.*

Whether *Nabonassar* were an Astrologer or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintaine the contrary: But as his being Lord ouer the *Chaldeans*; doth not proue him to haue bene learned in their sciences; so doth it not proue him, not to haue bene also King of *Assyria*. The Emperour *Charles* the first, who was borne in *Gant*, and *Philip* his Sonne, King of *Spain*; and Lords of the *Netherlands*, had men farre more learned in all Sciences,

Sciences, and particularly in the Mathematicks, among their Subjects of the Low Countries, than were any that I read of then liuing in *Spain*, if *Spain* at that time had any; yet I thinke, Posterity will not vse this as an argument, to proue that *Spain* was none of theirs. It may well be, that *Salmanassar* or *Nabonassar*, did vse the *Assyrian* Souldiers, & *Babylonian* Schollers: but it seemes, that hee and his posterity, by giuing themselves wholly to the more warlike Nation, lost the richer, out of which they first issued, as likewise *Philip* lost partly, & partly did put to a dangerous hazzard all the *Netherlands*, by such a course. As for the two vn-answerable arguments, (as *Scaliger* tearmes them, being me-thinks none other than answers to somewhat that is or might be alledged on the contrary side) one of them vvich is drawne from the vnlike found and writing of those names, *Salmanassar* and *Nabonassar* in the *Hebrew*, I hold a point about which no man vvill dispute; for it is not likeness of found, but agreement of time; and many circumstances else, that must take away the distinction of persons: the other likewise may be granted; which is, that *Salmanassar* might be Lord of some places in the Prouince of *Babylon*, yet not king of *Babylon* it selfe: this indeed might be so, and it might be otherwise. Hitherto there is nothing faue coniecture. But in that which is alledged out of the Prophet *Esay* concerning *Merodach* the sonne of *Baladan*; and in that which is said of this *Merodach*, or *Mardocempadus*, his being the Successor of *Nabonassar*, and his beginning to reigne in the sixth yeare of *Hezekias*, I finde matter of more difficulty, than can be answered in haste. I will therefore deferre the handling of these obiections vntill I meet with their subject in his proper place; vvich will bee vvhen wee come to the time of *Hezekias*, vvherin *Merodach* liued and vvvas King. Yet that I may not leaue too great a scuple in the minde of the Reader, thus farre vvill I heree satisfie him; that how strong soeuer this argument may seeme, *Scaliger* himselfe did liue to retract it, ingenuously confessing, that in thinking *Merodach* to be the son of *Nabonassar*, he had beene de- ceued.

Now therefore let vs consider, in what sort they haue fashioned their Story, vvho taking *Pul* to bee a distinct person from *Belosus* or *Belsus*, haue in like sort, as was necessary, distinguished their off-spring, making that of *Pul* to faile in *Asarhaddon*, vvich left also *Merodach* the *Babylonian*. And heere I must first confesse my vvant of Bookes, if perhaps there be many, that haue gone about to reduce this narration into some such order, as might present vnto vs the body of this History, in one view. Diuers, indeede, there are, vvhom I haue seene, that since *Ioseph Scaliger* deliuered his opinion, haue written in fauour of some one or other point thereof: but *Serbus Caluissus* himselfe, who hath abridged *Scaliger*'s learned Worke, *De emendatione Temporum*, hath not beene careful to giue vs notice, how long *Belosus*, *Baladan*, *Pul*, or *Tiglat Palsar*, did reigne; (perhaps because he found it not expressed in *Scaliger*) but is content to set downe *Baladan*, for the same person vvith *Nabonassar*, which *Scaliger* himselfe reuoked. In this case therefore I must lay downe the plot of these diuided Kingdomes, in such sort as I find it continued by *Augustinus Tornicius*; who onely of all that I haue seene, sets downe the succession, continuance, and acts, of those that reigned in *Assyria* after *Sardanapalus*, distinguishing them from *Belosus*, and his Posterity, of vvhom hee hath the like remembrance. This *Tornicius* is a Regular Clarke of the congregation of *S. Paul*, whose *Annales* were printed the last yeare; he appeares to me a man of a curious industry; found iudgement, and free Spirit; yet many times (and I take it, vvillfully) forgetfull of thanking, or mentioning those Protestant Writers, by whose Bookes hee hath receiued good information, and enriched his vvorkes by inserting somewhat of theirs. But in this business hee hath openly professed to follow *Scaliger*, vvho help, vvithout wrong or dishonour to himselfe, he hath both vsed and acknowledged. For mine owne part, I will not spare to doe vvhat right vvill *Tornicius*; but confesse my selfe to haue receiued benefit by his writing; and vvith that his *Annales* had sooner come to light; for that as he hath much confirmed mee in some things, so vvould he haue instructed and emboldned me, to write more fully and less timorously in other things, which now I haue not leisure to reuise. Particularly in that coniecture, vvich I had faintly deliuered, and yet feared lest it had ouer-hastily passed out of my hand, and bene expoled to other mens constructions) of the foure Kings that inuaded the Vally of *Sidaim*, and were slaine by *Abraham*, I finde him aduenturing, as I haue done, to say, that they may probably bee thought to haue bene some petty Lords; the contrary opinion of all Writers notwithstanding. But now let vs consider

how he hath ordered these last *Affirian* and *Babylonian* Kings. After the destruction of *Sardanapalus*, *Arbaces* being the most mighty, sought to get all to himselfe, but was opposed by *Belofus*; in which contention, one *Phul*, a powerfull man in *Affiria*, sided with *Belofus*, and they two prevailed so farre, that finally *Arbaces* was content to share the Empire with them, making such a diuision thereof, as was long after made of the *Roman* Empire, between *Ositanian*, *Anthony*, and *Lepidus*.

Another coniecture is (for *Tornilius* offers not this, or the rest, as matter of certainty) that *Arbaces* made himselfe Soueraigne Lord of all, and placed the seate of his Empire in *Media*, appointing *Belofus* his Lieutenant in *Babylonia*, and *Phul* in *Affiria*. But in short space, that is, in foure yeeres, it came to passe, by the iust iudgement of God, that *Phul* and *Belofus* rebelled against *Arbaces*, like as *Arbaces* had done against *Sardanapalus*; and in stead of being his Vice-Royes, made themselves absolute Kings. And to this latter opinion *Tornilius* himselfe leans, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in prophane Histories. Why he did make and publish the former supposition, resolving to hold the later, I shall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to guesse. Having thus deuised, how *Phul* and *Belofus* might, at the first, attaine to be Kings, he orders their time, and their successors, in this manner.

Foure yeeres after *Arbaces*, *Phul* begins to reigne, and continues eight and forty yeeres. *Theglathphalasar* (whose name, and the names of other Princes, I vviue diuerly, according to the Authors whom I haue in hand are pleased to diuerfifie them) succeeding vnto *Phul*, reigned three and twenty. *Salmanassar* followed him, and reigned tenne. After him *Senacherib* reigned seuen; and when he was slaine, *Asarhaddon* his sonne ten yeeres; in whom that Line failed.

The same time that *Phul* tooke vpon him as King of *Affiria*, or not long after, (why not rather afore, for so it had bene more likely) *Belofus* vsurped the Kingdome of *Babylon*, and held it threescore and eight yeeres; at the least threescore and eight yeeres did passe, before *Nabonassar* followed him in the possession.

To *Nabonassar*, whom (with *Scaliger*) he thinks to be *Badadan*, are assigned fixe and twenty yeeres: vnto two and fifty to *Merodach*, or *Mardocempadus*: foure and twenty to *Ben Merodach*: and lastly, one and twenty to *Nabonassar*, the father of *Nabuchodonosor*, vvhich is like to offer matter of further disputation.

Concerning the original of these *Affirian* and *Babylonian* Kingdomes, I may truly say, That the coniectures of other men, who giue all to *Belofus*, and confound him vvvith *Phul*, appeare to me more needrely resembling the truth. Neither doe I thinke, that *Tornilius* would haue conceived two different vvaies, by which *Phul* might haue gotten *Affiria* (for how *Belofus* came to get *Babylon*, it is plaine enough) if either of them alone could haue contented him. He adheres to the latter of the two, as better agreeing with *Diodore*, and other Historians. But he perceived, that to make *Phul* on the suddain King of *Affiria*; or to giue him so noble a Prouince, as would, of it selfe, inuite him to accept the name and power of a King, was a thing most vnlikely to haue happened, vntill his desert (whereof wee finde no mention) had bene proportionable to so high a reward. And for this cause (as I take it) hath he deuised the meanes, wherby *Phul* might be made capable of so great a share in the Empire. If this vvere a true or probable supposition, then would a new doubt arise. Why this *Phul*, being one of the three that diuided all betwene them, was vtterly forgotten by all Historians: yea, why this Diuision it selfe, and the ciuill Warres that caused it, were neuer heard of? Questionlesse, the interturing of some Treasures by *Belofus*, with his Iudgement, Condemnation; and Wardon following, were matters of farre lesse note. Therefore I doe not see, how one of the two inconueniences can this way be auoyded; but that eyther we must confesse, the Dominion giuen to *Phul* to haue bene exceeding his merits; or else his merits, and name withall, to haue bene strangely forgotten: either of which is enough to make vs thinke, that rather the coniecture, inferring such a sequele, is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of *Phul* and *Belofus* against *Arbaces*, it was almost impossible for the *Affirians* to recouer such strength in foure yeeres, as might serue to hold out in rebellion: for *Belofus* it was needlesse to beell, considering, that *Arbaces* did not seeke to molest him, but rather permitted (as being an ouer-great fauourer of liberty) euen the *Aedes*, that were vnder his owne Government, to doe what they listed.

But

But it is now fit that wee peruse the Catalogue of these Kings, not passing through them all (for some will require a large discourse in their owne times) but speaking of their order and time in general. If it be so vnlawfull to thinke, that some of *Annius* his tales (let them all be counted his tales, which are not found in other Authors as well as in his) may be true, especially such as contradict not acknowledged truth, or apparrant likelihood; why then is it said, that *Phul* did reigne in *Affiria* eight and forty yeeres? For this hath no other ground than *Annius*. It is true, that painefull and iudicious Writers haue found this number of yeeres, to agree fitly with the course of things in History: yet all of them took it from *Annius*. Let it therefore be the punishment of *Annius* his forgery (as questionlesse he is often guilty of this crime) that when he tells truth, or probability, he be not belieued for his owne sake; though for our owne sakes wee make vse of his boldnesse, taking his words for good, whereas (nothing else being offered) we are unwilling our selues to be Authors of new, though not vnprofitable coniectures. Herein we shall haue this commodity, that we may without blushing alter a little, to helpe our owne opinions, and lay the blame vpon *Annius*, against whom vve shall be sure to finde friends that will take our part.

The reignes of *Theglathphalasar* and *Salmanassar* did reach, by *Annius* his measure, to the length of fixe and twenty yeeres the one, and seenteene the other; *Tornilius* hath cut off two from the former, and seuen from the later of them, to fit (as I thinke) his own computation; vsing the liberty whereof I spake last: for that any Author, laue our good *Metaphyses*, or those that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of these did reigne, it is more than I haue yet found. To *Senacherib* and *Asarhaddon*, *Tornilius* giues the same length of reigne, vvhich is found in *Metaphyses*. I thinke there are not many, that will arrogate so much vnto themselves, as may very well be allowed vnto a man so iudicious as is *Tornilius*; and yet I could wish that hee had forborne to condemne the followers of *Annius*, in this businesse, wherein hee himselfe hath chosen, in part, rather to become one of them, than to say, as else he must haue done, altho not nothing.

The like liberty we finde that he hath vsed in measuring the reignes of the *Chaldeans*; filling vp all the space betwene the end of *Sardanapalus*, and the beginning of *Nabonassar*, with the threescore and eight yeeres of *Belofus*. In this respect it was, perhaps, that he thought *Belofus* might haue begun his reign somewhat later than *Phul*: for threescore and eighty yeeres would seem a long time for him to hold a Kingdome, that was no young man when he tooke possession of it. But how is any vvith of his age abated by shortning his reigne, seeing his life reacheth to the end of such a time, as were alone, without adding the time wherein he was a priuate man, enough for a long liuer? Indeed, eight and forty yeeres had been somewhat of the most, considering that he seemes by the story to haue bene little lesse, at such time as he ioyned with *Arbaces*; and therefore the addition of twenty yeeres, did well deferre that note (which *Tornilius* aduisedly giues) that if his reigne extended not so far, then the reigne of such as came after him, occupied the mid-dle time, vnto *Nabonassar*.

Neither doe we reprehend the boldnesse of *Tornilius*, in coniecturing, nor the modesty of *Scaliger* and *Seclus Calvisius*, in forbearing to set downe as warrantable, such things as depend only vpon likelihood. For things, whereof the perfect knowledge is taken away from vs by Antiquity, must be described in History, as Geographers in their Maps describe those Countries, whereof as yet there is made no true discovery, that is, either by leaving some part blanke, or by inserting the Land of Pigmies, Rocks of loades, *Mon* with Head-lands, Bayes, great Riuer, and other particularities, agreeable to common report, though many times controlled by following experience, and found contrary to truth. Yet indeed the ignorance growing from distance of place, allowes not such liberty to a Describer, as that which ariseth from the remediable obliuion of consuming time. For it is true that the Poet saith;

— Neg. seruius  
Partim in scacalibus  
Mundi, nec Boreæ simissimum Latas,  
Duratæ, sole Niues,  
Adoratorem abigunt: horrida callidi  
Vincunt æquora Nauitas.

Not

Nor Southerne heate, nor Mortherne snow  
 That freezing to the ground doth grow,  
 The subiect Regions can fence,  
 And keep the greedy Merchant thence:  
 The subtle Shipmen way will finde,  
 Storme neuer lo the Seas with Winde.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called coniectures) painted in Maps, doe serue only to mis-lead such discouersers as rashly belecue them, drawing vpon the publishers, either some angry curses, or well deserved scorne; but, to keepe their owne credit, they cannot serue alwaies. To which purpose I remember a pretty iest of *Don Pedro de Sarmiento*, a worthy *Spanish* Gentleman, who had bene employed by his King in planting a Colony vpon the Streights of *Magellan*: for when I asked him, being then my Prisoner, some question about an Island in those Streights, which, mee thought, might haue done either benefit or displeasure to his enterprize, he told me merrily, that it was to be called the *Painters wines Island*; saying, That whilest the fellow drew that Map, his wife sitting by, desired to put in one Country for her; that she, in imagination, might haue an Island of her owne. But in filling vp the blankes of old Histories, wee need not be so scrupulous. For it is not to be feared, that time should runne backward, and by restoring the things themselves to knowledge, make our coniectures appeare ridiculous: What if some good Copy of an ancient Author could be found, shewing (if we haue it not already) the perfect truth of these vncertainties? would it bee more shame to haue beleued in the meane while, *Annius* or *Tornielius*, than to haue beleued nothing? Here I will not say, that the credit, which wee giue to *Annius*, may chance otherwhiles to be giuen to one of those Authors whose names he pretendeth. Let it suffice, that in regard of authority, I had rather trust *Scaliger* or *Tornielius*, than *Annius*, yet him than them, if his assertion be more probable, and more agreeable to approved Histories than their coniecture, as in this point it seemes to me; it hauing moreover gotten some credit, by the approbation of many, and those not meanly learned.

To end this tedious disputation; I hold it a sure course in examination of such opinions, as haue once gotten the credit of being generall, so to deale as *Pacuvius* in *Capuadid* with the multitude, finding them desirous to put all the Senatours of the City to death. He lockt the Senatours vp within the State-house, and offered their liues to the Peoples mercy; obtaining thus much, that none of them should perish, vntill the Commonalty had both pronounced him worthy of death, and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was hasty; for as fast as euery name was read, all the town cried, Let him die: but the execution required more leisure; for in substituting of another, some notorious vice of the Person, or baseness of his condition, or insufficiency of his quality, made each new one that was offered, to be reiectet: so that finding the worse and lesse choice, the further and the more that they fought, it was finally agreed, what the old should be kept for lacke of better.

## §. V.

## Of the Olympiads, and the time when they began.

After this diuision of the *Affrian* Empire, follows the instauration of the *Olympian* games, by *Iphitus*, in the reigne of the same King *Vezia*, and in his one and fiftieth yeere. It is, I know, the generall opinion, that these games were established by *Iphitus* in the first of *Iobam*: yet is not that opinion so generall, but that Authors, weighty enough, haue giuen to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting those things vnto the sacred History, which are found in prophane Authors, wee should not be too carefull of drawing the *Hebrewes* to those workes of time, which had no reference to their affaires; it is enough, that setting in due order these beginnings of accounts, we ioyne them to matters of *Israel* and *Juda*, where occasion requires.

These *Olympian* games and exercises of actiuitie, were first instituted by *Hercules*, who measured the length of the race by his owne foote; by which *Pythagoras* found out the stature and likely strength of *Hercules* his body. They tooke name, not from the Mountaine *Olympus*, but from the City *Olympia*, otherwise *Pisa*, neere vnto *Eliu*; where also

Jupiter

*Jupiter* Temple in *Eliu*, famous among the *Grecians*, and reputed among the wonders of the World, was knowne by the name of the Temple of *Iupiter Olympius*. These games were exercised from euery fourth yeere compleat, in the plaines of *Eliu*, a City of *Peloponnesus*, neere the river *Alphemus*.

After the death of *Hercules*, these meetings were discontinued for many yeeres, till *Iphitus*, by aduice from the Oracle of *Apollo*, re-established them, *Licurgus* the Law-giuer then liuing: from which time they were continued by the *Grecians*, till the reigne of *Theodosius* the Emperor, according to *Cedrenus*: others thinke that they were dissolved vnder *Constantine* the Great.

From this institution, *Varro* accompted the *Grecian* times, and their stories, to be certaine: but reckoned all before either doubtfull, or fabulous: and yet *Pliny* giues little credit to all that is written of *Greece*, till the reigne of *Cyrus*, who began in the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, as *Eusebius* out of *Diodore*, *Cassor*, *Polybius*, and others hath gathered, in whose time the seuen wise *Grecians* flourished. For *Solan* had speech with *Craesus*, and *Craesus* was ouerthrowne and taken by *Cyrus*.

Many patient and piercing braines haue laboured to finde out the certaine beginning of these *Olympiads*, namely, to set them in the true yeere of the World, and the reigne of such and such Kings: but seeing they all differ in the first accompt, that is, of the Worlds yeare, they can hardly iump in particulars thereon depending.

*Cyril* against *Julian* and *Didymus*, begin the *Olympiads* the nine and fortieth of *Ofias*, or *Asarabab*.

*Eusebius*, who is contrary to himselfe in this reckoning, accounts with those that find the very first *Olympiad* in the beginning of the foure hundredth and sixth yeere after *Troy*, yet he telleth vs, that it was in the fiftieth yeere of *Vezia*, which is (as I finde it) two yeeres later.

*Erastosthenes* placeth the first *Olympiad* foure hundred and seuen yeeres after *Troy*, reckoning the yeeres that passed betwene; to whom *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Solinus*, and many others adhere.

The difference betweene the destruction of *Troy*, and the first *Olympiad*, is thus collected by *Erastosthenes*. From the taking of *Troy*, to the descent of *Hercules* his Posterity into *Peloponnesus*, were fourescore yeeres; thence to the *Ionian* expedition, threescore yeeres; from that expedition to the time of *Lycurgus* his gouernment in *Sparta*, one hundred fiftie nine; and thence to the first *Olympiad*, one hundred and eight yeeres. In this account the first yeare of the first *Olympiad* is not included.

But vaine labour it were, to seeke the beginning of the *Olympiads*, by numbring the yeeres from the taking of *Troy*, which is of a date farre more vncertaine. Let it suffice, that by knowing the instauration of these games, to haue been in the foure hundredth and eight yeere current after *Troy*, wee may reckon backe to the taking of that City, setting that, and other accidents, which haue reference thereto, in their proper times. The certainty of things following the *Olympiads*, must needs teach vs how to finde when they began.

To this good vse, we haue the ensuing yeeres, vnto the death of *Alexander* the Great, thus diuided by the same *Erastosthenes*. From the beginning of the *Olympiads*, so the passage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, two hundredth fourescore and seuentene yeeres; from thence to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, eight and forty yeeres; forwards to the victory of *Lyfander*, seuen and twenty; to the battaile of *Leuctra*, thirty foure; to the death of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, five and thirty; and finally to the death of *Alexander*, twelue. The whole summe ariseth to 453. yeeres; which number he otherwise also collecteth, and it is allowed by the most.

Now for placing the institution of the *Olympiads* in the one & fiftieth yeere of *Vezia*, we haue arguments grounded vpon that which is certaine, concerning the beginning of *Cyrus* his reigne, and the death of *Alexander*; as also vpon the Astronomically calculation of sundry Eclipses of the Sunne; as of that which happened when *Xerxes* set out of *Sardis* with his Army to inuade *Greece*; and of diuers other.

Touching *Cyrus*, it is generally agreed that his reigne as King, before he was Lord of the great Monarchy, began the first yeere of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and that he reigned thirty yeeres: they who giue him but twenty nine yeeres of reigne (following *Herodotus* rather than *Tully*, *Iustine*, *Eusebius*, and others) begin a yeere later, which comes

all

all to one reckoning. So is the death of *Alexander* set by all good Writers, in the first year of the hundredth and fourteenth Olympiad. This later note of *Alexanders* death, serueth well to leade vs backe to the beginning of *Cyrus*, as many the like obseruations do. For if wee reckon vpwads from the time of *Alexander*, wee shall finde all to agree with the yeeres of the Olympiads, wherein *Cyrus* began his reigne, either as King, or (taking the word Monarch, to signifie a Lord of many Kingdomes) as a great Monarch: From the beginning of *Cyrus*, in the first yeere of the fise and fiftieth Olympiad, vnto the end of the Persian Empire, which was in the third of the hundredth and twelfth Olympiad, wee finde two hundred and thirty yeeres compleat: from the beginning of *Cyrus* his Monarchy, vvhih lasted but seven yeeres, we finde compleat two hundred and seven yeeres, vvhih vvvas the continuance of the Persian Empire.

Now therefore seeing that the first yeere of *Cyrus* his Monarchy (vvhih vvvas the last of the sixtieth Olympiad; and the two hundredth and fortieth yeere from the institution of those games by *Iphitus*) followed the last of the seventy yeeres of the captivity of *Juda*, and desolation of the Land of *Israel*: manifest it is, that vve must reckon backe those seventy yeeres, and one hundred threecore and ten yeeres more, the last vvhih passed vnder the Kings of *Juda*, to finde the first of these Olympiads; vvhih by this accompt is the one and fiftieth of *Vzziah*, as vve haue already noted.

The Eclipses vvwhereof we made mention, serue vvell to the same purpose. For examples sake; that vvhih vvvas scene when *Xerxes* mustred his Army at *Sardis*, in the vv hundredth threecore, and seuenth yeere of *Nabonassar*, being the last of the threecore and fourteenth Olympiad, leades vs back vnto the beginning of *Xerxes*, and from him to *Cyrus*, whence we haue a faire way through the threecore and ten yeeres, vnto the destruction of *Ierusalem*; and so vpwads through the reignes of the last Kings of *Juda*, to the one and fiftieth yeere of *Vzziah*.

Thus much may suffice, concerning the time wherein these Olympiads began.

To tell the great solemnity of them, and with what exceeding great concourse of all Greece they were celebrated, I hold it a superfluous labour. It is enough to say that all bodily exercises, or the most of them, were therein practised; as Running, Wrestling, Fighting, and the like. Neither did they onely contend for the Mastery in those feats, vvwhereof there was good vse, but in running of Chariots, fighting with Whorle-bus, and other the like ancient kindes of exercises, that serued onely for ostentation. Thurther also repaired Orators, Poets, Musicians, and all that thought themselves excellent in any laudable quality, to make triall of their skill. Yea the very Cryers which proclaimed the victories, contended which of them should get the honour of hauing plaidd the best part.

The Eleans were Presidents of those Games; whose iustice, in pronouncing without partiality who did best, is highly commended. As for the rewards giuen to the Victors, they were none other than Garlandes of Palme, or Oliue, without any other commodity following, than the reputation. Indeede there needed no more. For that was held so much, that when *Diagoras* had scene his three sonnes crowned for their severall victories in those games, one came running to him with this gratulation: *Morere, Diagoras, non enim in celum ascensus es*; that is, *Pie, Diagoras, for thou hast not climed vp to heauen*: as if there could be no greater happinesse on earth, than what already had befallen him. In the like sense *Horace* speaks of these Victors, calling them,

*Quos Elea domum reducit  
Palma celestes.*

Such as like heauenly wights doe come  
With an Elzan Garland home.

Neither was it only the voice of the People, or songs of Poets, that so highly extolled them, which had wonne those Olympian prizes; but euen graue Historians thought it a matter worthy of their noting. Such was (as *Tully* counts it) the vanity of the Greeks, that they esteemed it almost as great an honour, to haue wonne the Victory at Running or Wrestling in those games, as to haue triumphed in *Rome* for some famous victorie, or conquest of a Prouince.

That these Olympian games were celebrated at the full of the Moone, and vpon the fiftieth

*Horat. Catin.  
l. 4. ode. 2.*

*Tully in Orat.  
pro Clodio.*

fiftieth day of the Moneth *Hecatombion*, which doth answer to our *June*; and what means they vsed to make the Moneth begin with the new Moone, that the fiftieth day might be the full, I haue shewed in another place. Wherefore I may now returne vnto the Kings of *Juda*, & leaue the merrie Greeks at their games, whom I shall meet in more serious employments, when the Persian quarrells draw the bodie of this Historie into the coasts of *Ionie* and *Hellefpont*.

## §. VI.

Of *Iotham* and his Contemporaries.

**I**otham the sonne of *Vzziah*, when he was fise and twenty yeeres old, and in the second of *Pekah* King of *Israel*, was anointed King in *Ierusalem*, his Father being liuing. He built an exceeding high Gate to the Temple, of threecore cubits ypright, and therefore called *Ophel*: besides diuers Cities in the Hills of *Juda*, and in the Forreys, Towers and Palaces: he enforced the *Ammonites* to pay him Tribute, to wit, of Silver an hundreth talents, and of Wheat and Barly two thousand measures: he reigned fixe and twentie yeeres: of whom *Isephus* giues this testimonie: *Etia/modi vero princeps huius, ut nullum in eo virtutis genus desideres: ut qui Deum adeo pie coluerit, humanis suis adeo infle praefuerit, orbem ipsam tanta sibi cura esse passus sit, & tantopere auxerit, ut vniuersum regnum hostibus quidem contemendum, domesticis autem suis inuictis atque cinibus felix, sanctum & fortunatum sua virtute effecerit*. This was such a Prince, as a man could finde no kinde of vertue wanting in him: hee worshipped God so religiously, hee governed his men so righteously, hee was so prouident for the Citie, and did so greatly amplyfye, that by his vertue and proffesse he made his whole Kingdome not contemptible to his enemies, but to his Seruants, Inhabitants and Citizens, prosperous and happy.

This is all that I find of *Iotham*: his reigne was not long, but as happie in all things, as he himselfe was deuout and vertuous.

*Autumenes* about this time succeeded *Phelsteus* in *Corinth*: after whom, the *Corinthians* erected Magistrates, which gouerned from yeare to yeare. And yet *Pausanias* in his second Booke, with *Strabo* and *Plutarch*, in many places, are of opinion, That *Corinth* was gouerned by Kings of the race of the *Bacidae*, to the time of *Cypselus*, who droue them out.

*Tiglathphalassar*, or *Tiglathpeleser*, the son of *Phul* the second of the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* that was of this new race, about this time inuaded *Israel*, while *Pekah* (who murdered his Master *Pekaiiah*) was King thereof. In which Expedition he tooke most of the Cities of *Nephthalis* and *Galile*, with those of *Gilead*, ouer *Jordan*, and carried the inhabitants captiue. This *Tiglath* reigned fise and twenty yeeres, according to *Metasthenes*. But *Krentzschmius* findes, that with his sonne *Salmannassar* he reigned yet two yeeres longer: in which yeeres I would not ascribe to the sonne, because the *Aera* of *Nabonassar* begins with his single reigne, but reckon them to *Tiglath Phalassar* himselfe, who therewith reigned 27. yeeres.

*Aristylus*, the sonne of *Agamemnon*, about the same time, the twelfth Archon in *Athens*, ruled 25. yeeres. *Alcamenes* gouerned *Sparta*: after whom, the Estate changed, according to *Enfibus*. But therein surely *Enfibus* is mistaken: for *Diadore*, *Plutarch*, *Pausanias*, and others witness the contrary. *Pausanias* affirmeth, That *Polydorus*, a Prince of eminent vertues, succeeded his father, and reigned 60. yeeres, and out-liued the *Messenian* warre: which was ended by *Theopompus*, the sonne of *Nicanor*, his royall companion.

At this time liued *Nabum* the Prophet, who fore-told the destruction of the *Assyrian* Empire, and of the Citie of *Ninewe*; which succeeded (saith *Isephus*) a hundred & fifteen yeeres after. The Cities of *Cyrene* and of *Aradus* were Built at this time, while in *Media*, *Sesarmus* and *Medius* reigned, being the second and third Kings of those parts.

## §. VII.

Of *Achaz* and his Contemporaries.

**A**hu, or *Achaz*, succeeded vnto *Iotham* in the seuenteenth yeere of *Pekah*, the son of *Remaliah*: the same being also the last yeere of his fathers reigne, who began in the second of the same *Pekah*, and reigned 16. but not compleat yeeres. This

C c c

*Ahuaz*

2 Reg. 16. 11.  
2 Chron. 28.

67. 19. 30.

Ensb. de Prep.  
Euang. 16.  
Dion. 1. 1.  
Diod. 1. 10.

Aust. de Hist.  
24. de mor.  
Ind. 1.

2 Chron. 28. 6.

2 Chron. 28.

2 King. 16.

*Ahaz* was an Idolater, exceeding all his predecessors. He made molten Images for *Baalim*, and burnt his son for sacrifice before the Idoll *Moloch*, or *Saturne*, which was represented by a man-like brazen bodie, bearing the head of a Calf, set vp not far from *Ierusalem*, in a Valley shadowed with Woods, called *Gibinnam*, or *ophet*, from whence the word *Cobenna* is vsed for Hell. The children offered, were inclosed within the car-kasse of this Idoll, and as the fire encreased, so the sacrificers, with a noyse of Cimbals and other Instruments, filled the ayre, to the end the pitifull cries of the children might not be heard: which vnnaturally, cruell, and diuellish Oblation, *Ieremie* the Prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which *Saint Hierome* vpon the tenth of *Marthow* hath written at large. By the prohibition in *Leuiticus* the eighteenth, it appeareth that this horrible sinne was ancient: in the twelfth of *Deuteronomie*, it is called an abomination which God hateth. That it was also practised elsewhere, and by many Nations, cometh from *Iudea*, diuers Authors witness, as *Virgil* in the second of *Æneid*. *Sanguine placitu, &c.* and *Siluius*. — *Pescere cadē Deos*: *Saturne* is said to haue brought this custome into *Italie*, besides the casting of many soules into the Riuer of *Tyber*, in stead of which, *Herculus* commanded, that the waxen Images of men should be thrown in and drowned. The Deuill also taught the *Carthaginians* this kinde of butcherie, in somuch, that when their Citie was besieged, and in distresse, the Priest made them beleefe, that because they had spared their own children, and had bought and brought vp others to be offered, that therefore *Saturne* had stirred vp, and strengthened their Enemies against them: whereupon they presently caused two hundred of the noblest youths of their Citie to be slain, and offered to *Saturne* or *Satan*, to appease him: who besides these forenamed Nations, had instructed the *Rhodians*, the people of *Crete*, and *Chios*, of *Messena*, of *Galasia*, with the *Massagets*, and others, in these his seruices. Further, as if he were not content to destroy the soules of many Nations in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, (as *Acosta* writeth) the *Mexicans* and other people of *America*, were brought by the Deuill vnder this fearefull seruitude, in which hee also holdeth the *Floridians* and *Virginians* at this day.

For the wickednesse of this King *Ahaz*, God stirred vp *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and *Pekah* the Son of *Remaliab*, King of *Israel* against him, who inuaded *Iudea*, and besieged *Ierusalem*, but entered it not.

The King of *Syria*, *Rezin*, posselt himselfe of *Elab* by the Red Sea, and cast the *Iews* out of it; and *Pekah* slaughtered in one day an hundred and twenty thousand *Iudeans*, of the all ft of the kingdom, at which time *Maaseiah*, the Sonne of *Achaz* was also slaine by *Zichri*, with *Azrikam* the Gouernour of his house, and *Elcanath* the second person vnto the King. Besides all this, two hundred thousand prisoners of women & children, the *Israelites* led away to *Samaria*: but by the counsell of the Prophet *Oded*, they were returned and deliuered backe againe.

As *Israel* and *Aram* vexed *Iuda* on the North, so the *Edomites* and the *Philistines*, who euermore attended the ruine of *Iudea*, entred vpon them from the South, and tooke *Belshenes*, *Atalon*, *Gaderoth*, *Socho*, *Tinnah*, and *Gemoz*, slew many people, & carried away many prisoners. Whereupon when *Achaz* saw himselfe enuironed on all sides, & that his Idols and dead gods gaue him no comfort, he sent to the *Assyrian Tiglathpileser*, to desire some aide from him against the *Israelites* and *Aramites*, presenting him with the siluer and gold both of the Temple, and Kings House.

*Tiglathpileser* wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the troubles that rose in *Palestina*. His Father hauing lately made himselfe from a Prouinciall Lieutenant, king of *Babylon* and *Assyria*, had a little before led him the way into *Iudea*, inuited by *Amenahem*, king of *Israel*. Wherefore now the Son willingly harkened to *Achaz*, and embraced the aduantage. As for *Belachus* himselfe, he was content to assigne some other time forgoing through with this enterprize: because (as I haue said before, he was not firmly settled at home, and the *Syrian* kings lay directly in his way, who were yet strong both in men and fame. But *Tiglath*, hauing now, with the treasures of *Ierusalem*, prepared his Armie, first inuaded the Territorie of *Damascus*, wanne the Citie, & killed *Rezin* the last of the race of the *Adads*, who began with *Dauid*, & ended with this *Achaz*. At *Damascus*, *Achaz* met *Tiglath*, and taking thence a patterne of the Altar, sent it to *Vriah* the Priest, commanding the like to be made at *Ierusalem*, whereon at his returne he burnt Sacrifice to the gods of the *Syrians*. In the meane while *Tiglath* posselt all *Iosaph*, and

and the rest beyond *Iordan*, which belonged to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Sad*, and *Manasse*. And then passing the Riuer, he mastered the Cities of *Galilee*, inuaded *Ephraim*, and the kingdom of *Israel*, and made them his Vassals. And notwithstanding that he was inuited and waged by *Achaz*, yet after the spoile of *Israel*, he posselt himselfe of the greater part of *Iuda*, and as it seemeth, enforced *Achaz* to pay him Tribute. For in the second of Kings, the eighteenth, it is written of *Ezechia*, that he revolted from *Assur*, or rebeld against him, and therefore was inuaded by *Sennacherib*. After *Achaz* had beheld and borne these miseries, in the end of the sixteenth yeere of his reigne he died; but was not buried in the Sepulchers of the kings of *Iuda*.

10 With *Achaz* liued *Medius*, the third Prince in *Media*, who gouerned 40 yeeres, saith *Eusebius*: *Diodorus* and *Ctesias* find *Anticarmus* in stead of this *Medius*, to haue beene *Eusebius* Cbrō. *Sofarmus* his Successor, to whom they giue 50 yeeres.

*Tiglath Pileser* held the Kingdom of *Assyria*, all the reigne of *Achaz*; yet so, that *Salmanassar* his Son may seeme to haue reigned with him some part of the time. For we find that *Achaz* did send vnto the Kings of *Assue* to helpe him. The *Genea* note saies, that these Kings of *Assur*, were *Tiglath Pileser*, and those Kings that were vnder his Domini- 2 King. 18. 16. on. But that he or his Father had hitherto made such conquests, as might giue him the Lordship ouer other Kings, I doe neither find any Historie, nor circumstance that pro- ueth. Wherefore I thinke that these Kings of *Assur*, were *Tiglath*, and *Salmanassar* his Son, who reigned with his Father, as hath beene said before: though how long he reigned with his Father, it had beene hard to define.

At this time began the *Ephori* in *Lacedemon*, a hundred and thirty yeeres after *Lycorgus* according to *Plutarch*. *Eusebius* makes their beginning far later, namely, in the fiftenth Olympiad. Of these *Ephori*, *Elalus* was the first; *Theopompus* and *Polydorus* being then ioynt Kings. These *Ephori*, chosen euery yeere, were controllers, as well of their Senators as of their kings, nothing being done without their aduice and consent. For (saith *Cicero*) they were opposed against their kings, as the *Roman* Tribunes against the Consuls. In the time of *Achaz* died *Aschylus*, who had ruled in *Athenes* euery since the fiftieth yeere of *Vzzia*. *Alcemon* the thirteenth of the *Medontides*, or Gouernours of the *Athenians* (so called of *Medon* who followed *Cadmus*) succeeded his Father *Aschylus*, and was the last of their Gouernours: he ruled onely two yeeres. For the *Athenians* changed first from kings (after *Cadmus*) to Gouernours for life; which ending in this *Alcemon*, they erected a Magistrat, whom they termed an *Archon*, who was a kinde of *Burghomaster*, or Gouernor of their City for ten yeeres.

This alteration *Pausanias* in his fourth Booke begins, in the first yeere of the eighth Olympiad, *Eusebius* and *Halicarnassians* in the first of the sixteenth Olympiad: at which time indeed, *Carops* the first of these, began his ten yeeres rule.

The kingdom of the *Latines*, gouerned about three hundred yeere by the *Sylui*; of the race of *Æneas*, tooke end in the same *Achaz* time: the foundation of *Rome*, being laide by *Romulus* & *Remus* in the eighth yeere of the same king. *Codoman* builds it in the eleventh of *Achaz*, *Bucholzer* in the eighth, as I thinke he should, others somewhat later, and in the reigne of *Ezechias*, *Cicero*, *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and others, square the time of the foundation to the third yeere of the sixth Olympiad, but *Halicarnassians*, *Solinus*, *Anthimus*, *Clemens*, *Alexandrinus*, and *Eusebius*, to the first yeere of the sixteenth: who seeme not onely to me, but to many very learned Chronologers, to haue kept herein the best account.



## CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Antiquities of Italie, and foundation of Rome in the time of Ahaz.

## §. I.

Of the old Inhabitants, and of the name of Italie.



And here to speake of the more ancient times of *Italie*, and what Nations posselt it before the arriuall of *Aeneas*, the place may seeme to inuite vs: the rather because much fabulous matter hath beene mixed with the truth of those elder plantations. *Italie* before the fall of *Troy*, was knowne to the *Greekes* by diuers names: as first *Hesperia*, then *Ansuma*, the one name arising of the seate, the other of the *Ansumes*, a people inhabiting part of it: one ancient name of it was also *Oenotria*, which it had of the *Oenotri*: whom *Halicarnassus* thinkes to haue bene the first, that brought a Colonie of *Arcadians* into that Land. Afterward it was called *Italie* of *Italus*: concerning which changes of names, *Virgil* speakes thus:

*Est locus, Hesperiam Graij cognomine dicunt:  
Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere gleba:  
Oenotrij coluere viri, nunc fama, minores  
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.*

There is a Land which *Greekes* *Hesperia* name,  
Ancient, and strong, of much fertilitie:  
*Oenotrians* held it, but we heare by fame,  
That by late ages of Posteritie,  
Tis from a Captaines name called *Italie*.

Who this Captaine or king may haue bin, it is very vncertaine. For *Virgil* speakes no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hath continued so long vpon the whole Countrey, and wome out all other denominations, was not at the first accepted without good cause. Therefore to find out the originall of this name, and the first planters of this noble Countrey, *Reineccius* hath made a very painfull search, and not improble coniecture. And first of all he grounds vpon that of *Halicarnassus*, who speakes of a Colonie which the *Eleans* did leade into *Italie*, before the name of *Italie* was giuen to it: Secondly, vpon that of *Iustine*, who saith, that *Brundisium* was a Colonie of the *Ætolians*: Thirdly, vpon that of *Strabo*, who affirms the fame of *Temisa* or *Tempsa*, a Citie of the *Brutij* in *Italie*: Lastly, vpon the authoritie of *Plinie*, who shewes that the *Italians* did inhabit only one Region of the Land, whence afterward the name was deriued ouer all. Concerning that which is said of the *Eleans* and *Ætolians*, who (as he shewes) had one originall, from them he brings the name of *Italie*. For the word *Italia*, differs in nothing from *Athalia*, saue that the first Letter is cast away, which in the *Greeke* words is common; and the letter (o) is changed into (a) which change is found in the name of *Athalia* an Island neere *Italie*, peopled by the *Ætholians*: and the like changes are very familiar in the *Æolie* Dialect, of which Dialect (being almost proper to the *Ætolians*) the accent and pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latines*, as *Dionysius Halicarnassus*, *Quintilian*, and *Priscian* the Grammarian teach.

Heereunto appertaines that of *Julian* the Apostata, who called the *Greekes* confins of the *Latines*. Also the common Originall of the *Greekes* and *Latines* from *Iannus*; and the Fable of *Iannus*, whose Image had two faces, looking East and West, as *Greece* and *Italie* lay, and was stamped on Coynes, with a Ship on the other side; all which is, by interpretation, referred to *Iannus*, father of the *Greekes* and *Latines*: who sailing ouer the *Ionian* Sea, that lies betwene *Ætholia* and the Westerne parts of *Greece* and *Italie*, planted Colonies in both. Now whereas *Reineccius* thinkes, that the names of

of *Atlas* and *Italus* belonged both to one man, and thereto applies that of *Berosus*, who called *Cethim*, *Italus*; though it may seeme strengthened by the marriage of *Dardanus*, whilst he abode in *Italie* with *Electra*, the daughter of *Atlas*, yet is it by arguments (in my valuation) greater and stronger, easily disproued. For they who make mention of *Atlas*, place him before the time of *Moses*: and if *Atlas* were *Cethim*, or *Kistim*, then was he the son of *Iannus*, and nephew of *Iapheth*, the eldest son of *Noah*: which antiquity far exceeds the name of *Italie*, that began after the departure of *Hercules* out of the Countrey, not long before the Warre of *Troy*.

Likewise *Virgil*, who speakes of *Atlas*, and of *Dardanus* his marriage with *Electra*, hath nothing of his meeting with her in *Italie*, but calleth *Electra* & her sister *Maia* (poetically) daughters of the Mountaine *Atlas* in *Africa*, naming *Italus* among the Kings of the *Aborigines*; which he would not haue done, had *Atlas* and *Italus* bene one person.

As for the authoritie of *Berosus* in this case, we need the lesse to regard it; for that *Reineccius* himselfe, whose coniectures are more to be valued than the dreames wherewith *Annus* hath filled *Berosus*, holds it but a figment.

That the name of *Italie* began long after *Atlas*, it appears by the verses of *Virgil* last rehearsed, wherein he would not haue said, — *Nunc fama minores Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem*, had that name bene heard of ere *Dardanus* left the Countrey. But seeing that, when *Hercules*, who died a few yeares before the Warre of *Troy*, had left in *Italie* a Colonie of the *Eleans* (who in a manner were one and the same Nation with the *Ætolians*, as *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, and *Pausanias* teach) then the name of *Italie* began: & seeing *Virgil* makes mention of *Italus* among the *Italian* Kings, it were no great boldnesse to say, that *Italus* was Commander of these *Eleans*. For though I remember not that I haue read of any such *Greeke* as was named *Italus*; yet the name of *Ætolus* written in *Greeke* *Aitolus*, was very famous among the *Ætolians*, and among the *Eleans*, he being son of a King of *Elis*, and founder of the *Ætolian* Kingdome. Neyther is it more hard to deriue the name of *Italus* from *Ætolus*, than *Italia* from *Ætholia*. So may *Virgils* authoritie stand well with the collections of *Reineccius*; the name of *Italy* being taken both from a Captaine, and from the Nation, of which hee and his people were.

## §. II.

Of the Aborigines, and other Inhabitants of Latium, and of the reason of the names of Latini and Latium.

IN *Italie* the *Latines* and *Hetrurians* were most famous; the *Hetrurians* hauing held the greatest part of it vnder their subiection; and the *Latines* by the vertue and felicity of the *Romans*, who were a branch of them, subduing all *Italie*, and in few ages whatsoever Nation was knowne in *Europe*: together with all the Westerne parts of *Asia* and North of *Africke*.

The Region called *Latium*, was first inhabited by the *Aborigines*, whom *Halicarnassus*, *Varro*, and *Reineccius* (following them) thinke to haue bin *Arcadians*: and this name of *Aborigines* (to omit other significations that are strained) imports as much as original, or native of the place, which they possessed; which title the *Arcadians* are known in vaunting manner to haue alwaies vsurped, fetching their antiquity from beyond the Moone; because indeed, neither were the inhabitants of *Peloponnesus* enforced to forsake their seates so oft as other *Greekes* were, who did dwell without that halfe Island, neyther had the *Arcadians* so vsure a dwelling as the rest of the *Peloponnesians*, because their Countrey was lesse fruitfull in land, mountainous, and hard of access, & they themselves (as in such places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of these therefore hauing occupied a great part of *Latium*, & held it long, did according to the *Arcadian* manner, stile themselves *Aborigines*, in that language, which either their new Seate, or their Neighbours there by had taught them. How it might be that the *Arcadians*, who dwelt somewhat far from Sea, & are alwaies noted as vnapt men to proue good Mariners, should haue bin Authors of new discoveries, were a question not easie to be answered, were it not so, that both fruitfulness of children, in which those ages abounded, enforced the superfluous companie to seeke another seat; & that some expeditions of the *Arcadians*, as especially that of *Euander*, into the same parts of *Italie*, are generally acknowledged.

After the *Aborigines*, were the *Pelafgi*, an ancient Nation, vvho sometimes gaue name to all *Greece*: but their antiquities are long since dead, for lacke of good records. Neither was their glorie such in *Italie*, as could long sustaine the name of their own Tribe; for they were in short space accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The *Sicani*, *Anfones*, *Arunci*, *Kastili*, and other people, did in ages following disturbe the peace of *Latium*, which by *Saturne* vvvas brought to some ciuilitie; and he therefore canonized as a god.

This *Saturne* *S. Augustine* calleth *Sterces* or *Sterculius*, others terme him *Sterculius*, and say, that he taught the people to dung their grounds. That *Latium* tooke his name of *Saturne*, because he did *latere*, that is, lie hidden there, when he fled from *Iupiter*, it is questionlesse a fable. For as in Heathenish superstition, it was great vanitie to think that any thing could be hidden from God, or that there were many gods of whom one fledde from another; so in the truth of Historie, it is well knowne, that no King reigning in those parts was so mighty, that it should be hard to find one Countie or another, wherein a man might be safe from his pursuit. And yet, as most fables and poetical fictions were occasioned by some ancient truth, which cyther by ambiguity of speech, or some allusion, they did maimedly and darkely expresse: for so they fained a passage ouer a Riuer in Hell, because death is a passage to another life; and because this passage is hateful, lamentable, and painful, therefore they named the Riuer *Styx* of Hate, *Cycnus* of Lamentation, and *Acheron* of Paine: so also because men are stonie-hearted, and because the *Greek* *Λαοι* people, and *Λαε* stones, are neere in sound, therefore they fained in the time of *Deucalion* stones conuerted into men, as at other times men into stones: in like manner it may be, that the originall of *Saturnus* hiding himselfe, was some allusion to that old opinion of the wisest of the Heathen, that the true God was *ignotus Deus*, as it is noted in the *Acts*; whence also *Esay* of the true God saies, *tu Deus abscondens te*. For it cannot be in vaine, that the word *Saturnus* should also haue this very signification; if it be deriued (as some thinke) from the Hebrew *Satur*, which is to hide: Howbeit I denie not but that the originall of this word, *Latium*, ought rather to be sought elsewhere.

*Reyneccius* doth coniecture that the *Ceteans*, who descended of *Cethim*, the Son of *Iauan*, vvvere the men who gaue the name to *Latium*. For these *Ceteans* are remembered by *Homere* as aiders of the *Troians* in their Warre. *Strabo* interpreting the place of *Humr*, calls them subjects to the Crowne of *Troy*; Heereupon *Reyneccius* gathers, that their abode was in *Asia*; viz. in *agria Elaitica*, in the *Elaitian* Territories, which agreeth with *Strabo*. Of a City which the *Aolians* held in *Asia*, called *Elea*, or *Elaita*, *Pausanias* makes mention: *Stephanus* calls it *Cidamus*, or (according to the *Greece* writing) *Cidamis*, which name last rehearfed hath a very neere sound to *Cethim*, *Citim*, or *Cithim*; the *Greece* Letter (*Q*) hauing (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to (*TH*) differing onely in the strength or weakenesse of vtterance, which is found betwene many English words written with the same letters. Wherefore that these *Ceteans* being descended of *Cethim*, *Citim*, or *Kittim*, the Sonne of *Iauan*, who was Predecessor of the *Greekes*, might very well take a denomination from the Citie, and Region, which they inhabited, and from thence be called *Elaitici*, or *Elaitici*, it is very likely, considering that among the *Arcadians*, *Phocians*, *Atolians*, and *Eleans*, who all were of the *Aelique* Tribe, are found the names of the Mountain *Elau*, the Hauen *Elais*, the people *Elaita*, the Citie *Elais*, *Elaita*, or *Elaita*; of which last it were somewhat harsh in the Latine tongue to call the Inhabitants by any other name then *Elaitici*, from vvhence *Latini* may come. Now whereas both the *Ceteans* and *Arcadians*, had their original from *Cethim* it is nothing vnlikely, that agreeing in language and similitude of names, they might neuertheless differ in sound and pronunciation of one and the same word. So that as he is by many called *Sabinus*, to whom some deriuing the *Sabines* from him giue the name of *Sabus*: in the like manner might he whom the *Arcadians* would call *Elatus* of which name they had a Prince that founded the Citie *Elaita* be named of the *Ceteans* *Latinius*. *Reyneccius* pursuing this likelihood, thinks, that when *Eurypius*, Lord of the *Ceteans*, (being the Sonne of *Telephus*, whom *Hercules* begat vpon *Age*, the daughter of *Aleus* king of *Arcadia* vvvas slaine by *Achilles* in the *Troian* Warre; when did *Telephus*, brother to *Eurypius*, conduct the *Ceteans*, who fearing what euill might befall themselves by the *Greekes*, if the affairs of *Troy* should be ill) passed into that part of *Italie*, whereas the *Arcadians* were planted by *Oenotrius*. And *Reyneccius* farther thinks, that *Telephus* being the more gracious among

See lib. 1. cap. 6.  
§. 1. & 19.

Acts 7. 3. 1.  
Esay 45. 1.

among the *Oenotrian* *Arcadians*, by the memory of his Grand-mother *Age*, an *Arcadian* Lady, was well contented to take an *Arcadian* name, and to be called *Elatus*, which in the dialect and pronunciation either of the *Ceteans*, or of the *Oenotrians*, was first *Elatinus*, and then *Latinius*. That this name of *Elatus* may haue bin taken or imposed by the *Arcadians*, it is the more easie to be thought, for that there were then two Families, the one of *Aphidas*, the other of *Elatus*, who were Sons of *Arcas* king of *Arcadia*, which gaue name to the Countie: and betwene these two Families the succession in that kingdome did passe, almost enterchangeably, for many ages, till at the end of the *Troian* warre it fell into the hand of *Hippothens* of the race of *Elatus*, in whose Posteritie it continued vntill the last. Againe, the name of *Latinius*, hauing a deriuatiue sound, agrees the better with the supposition of such an accident. This is the coniecture of *Reyneccius*, which if he made ouer-boldly, yet others may follow it with the lesse reproofe, considering that it is not easie to find either an apparant truth, or faire probability among these disagreeing Authors, vvwhich haue vvritten the originals of *Latium*.

### §. III.

Of the ancient Kings of the Latines vntill *Aeneas* his coming.

He kings which reigned in *Latium* before the arriual of *Aeneas*, were *Saturnus*, *Picus*, *Fannus* and *Latinius*. Of *Saturne* there is nothing remembered, saue what is mentioned already, and many fables of the *Greekes*, which whether they be applicable to this man, it is for him to iudge, who shall be able to determine, whether this were the *Saturne* of the *Greekes*, called by them *Μεγας*, or some other, stiled *Saturne* by the *Aborigines*. For the age wherein he liued, may very well admint him to haue bin the same: but the names of *Sterces*, and *Sterculius* (for it may be, this name was not borrowed from the skill which he taught the people, but rather the foyle which they laid on their grounds, had that appellation from him) doe rather make him seeme some other man.

Of *Picus* it is said, that he was a good Horse-man. The fable of his being changed into a Bird, which we call a Pie, may well seeme (as it is interpreted) to haue growne from the skill which he had in sooth-saying, or diuination, by the sight and chattering of Fowles, *Fannus*, the Son of *Picus*, reigned after his Father. He gaue to *Eumander* the *Arcadian* (who hauing slaine by mischance his Father *Echemus* king of *Arcadia*, fled into *Italie*) the waste grounds on which *Rome* was afterward built.

*Fanna*, called *Fatma*, the sister of *Pannus*, who was also his Wife, as all Historians agree, she was held a Prophetesse, & highly commended for her chastitie, which praise in her multitude haue bin much blemished by her marriage, it selfe being meere incestuous. It is not mentioned that *Fannus* had by his sister any child, neither doe we read of any other Wife which he had, saue onely that *Virgil* giues vnto him *Latinius* as his Son, by a Nymph called *Marica*.

But who this *Marica* was, it is not found, saue onely that her aboad was about the Riuer *Lirone* or *Minturne*.

Of the name *Latinius*, there are by *Pomponius Sabinus* recounted foure: one, the Son of *Fannus*, another of *Hercules*, a third of *Plisses* by *Circe*, the fourth of *Telemachus*. *Suidas* takes notice onely of the second, of whom he saith, that his name was *Telephus*, and the people anciently named the *Chies* were from his surname called *Latini*. This agrees in effect with the opinion of *Reyneccius*, the difference consisting almost in this only, that *Suidas* calls *Telephus*, the son of *Hercules*, whereas *Reyneccius* makes him his Nephew, by a son of the same name. This *Latinius* hauing obtained the succession in that kingdome after *Fannus*, did promise his onely Daughter and Heire *Laetitia*, to *Turmus* the son of *Venilia*, who was sister to *Amata* *Latinius* his Wife.

But when *Aeneas* arriued in those parts with fiftene ships, or perhaps fewer, wherein might be imbarcked according to the fate vvich *Theneidias* allowes to the Vessels then vied, about one thousand & two hundred men: then *Latinius* finding that it would stand best with his assurance, to make alliance with the *Troians*, and moued vvith the great reputation of *Aeneas*, vvich himselfe had heard of in the Warre of *Troy*, gaue his Daughter to him, breaking off the former appointment with *Turmus*, who incensed here-

\* Forliet often  
As the Idols  
of the heathen  
doe represent;  
and hence it  
may be that  
in the Evangelist  
we read of  
pelagius, pel-  
agius, which  
is interpreted  
dominus ser-  
uus: and it  
may be that  
after that *Sat-  
urne* became  
the name of an  
Idol, it plea-  
sed God that  
in a like sense  
his name *Ster-  
culius* should  
sticke vnto  
him.  
Ancid. 7.

*Suidas* in the  
word *Latini*.

herewith, fought to auenge himselfe by warre: which vvvas foone ended vvith his own death.

Of *Amata* the Wife of *Latinus*, it is very certaine, that were she an *Italian*, she could not haue borne a Daughter marriageable at the arriuall of *Æneas*; vnlesse we should vvholly follow *Suidas*, and rather giue the conduct of the *Cetei* into *Italy*, to *Telephus* the Father, than to his Son, vvho serued in the last yeare of the *Troian* Warre. But *Reynecius* holds her an *Asiatique*, and thinks withall, that *Lavinia* vvvas borne before *Telephus* came into *Italy*. That this name *Amata*, by which *Virgil* and *Halicarnassens* call her, vvvas not proper, but rather a surname, it may seeme by *Varro*, vvho calleth her *Palatia*: vvvhich name very vvell might be deriued from the *Greek* name *Pallus*, *Amata*, which signifieth beloued, or deare, was the name by vvvhich the High Priest called euery Virgin, vvvhom he tooke to serue as a Nunne of *Vesta*; vvvhetherfore it is the more easie to be thought a surname, howsoever *Virgil* disourfe of her and *Venilia* her sister.

*Lavinia*, the daughter of *Latinus*, being giuen in marriage to *Æneas*, the Kingdome of *Latium*, or the greatest part of that Countrey, was established in that race; wherein it continued vntill it vvvas ouer-growne by the might and greatnesse of the *Romans*.

## S. IIII.

Of *Æneas*, and of the Kings and Gouernors of *Alba*.

*Æneas* himselfe being of the royall bloud of *Troy*, had the command of the *Dardaniens*: he was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the *Troians*. By his vvife *Cressa*, the daughter of *Priamus*, he had a sonne called *Ascanius*; vvvhose surname vvvas *Iulus*, hauing before the ruine of *Troy* (as *Virgil* notes) bin surnamed *Iulus*. But when *Æneas* vvvas dead, his vvife *Lavinia*, the daughter of *Latinus*, being great vvith child by him, and fearing the power of this *Ascanius*, fled into the Woods, where she was deliuered of a son, called thereupon *Sylvius*, & surnamed *Posthumus*, because he was borne after his fathers Funerall. This flight of *Lavinia* was so euill taken by the people, that *Ascanius* procured her returne, entreated her honourably, & vsing her as a Queene, did foster her young son, his halfe-brother *Sylvius*. Yet afterwards, vvvhether to auoid all occasions of disagreement, or delighted with the situation of the place, *Ascanius* leauing to his mother in law the Citie *Lavinium*, which *Æneas* had builded and called after his new vvives name, founded the Citie *Alba Longa*, & therein reigned. The time of his reigne was, according to some, eight & twentie years: *Virgil* giues him thirtie, others siue and thirtie, & eight and thirtie. After his decesse, there arose contention betwene *Sylvius*, the son of *Æneas*, and *Iulus* the sonne of *Ascanius*, about the Kingdome: but the people inclining to the sonne of *Lavinia*, *Iulus* was contented to hold the Priesthood, which he and his race enioyed, leauing the Kingdome to *Sylvius Posthumus*, whose posteritie were afterwards called *Sylvij*.

The reigne of the *Alba* Kings, vvith the continuance of each mans reigne, I find thus set downe:

1	<i>Sylvius Posthumus</i> .	29
2	<i>Sylvius Æneas</i> .	31
3	<i>Sylvius Latinus</i> .	50
4	<i>Sylvius Alba</i> .	39
5	<i>Sylvius Aris</i> .	26
6	<i>Sylvius Capys</i> .	28
7	<i>Sylvius Capetus</i> .	13
8	<i>Sylvius Tiberinus</i> .	8
9	<i>Sylvius Agrippa</i> .	41
10	<i>Sylvius Alladius</i> .	19
11	<i>Sylvius Auentinus</i> .	37
12	<i>Sylvius Procas</i> .	23
13	<i>Sylvius Amulius</i> .	44
	<i>Sylvius Numitor</i> .	
	<i>Ilia</i> , called also <i>Rhea</i> and <i>Sylvia</i> .	
	<i>Romulus</i> , <i>Romus</i> .	

The

The most of these Kings liued in peace, and did little or nothing worthy of remembrance.

*Latins* founded many Townes in the borders of *Latium*: who standing much vpon the honour of their original, grew thereby to be called *Prisce Latini*. Of *Tiberinus* some thinke that the Riuier *Tiber* had name, being formerly called *Albula*: but *Virgil* giues it that denomination of another called *Tiberis*, before the coming of *Æneas* into *Italy*. The Mountaine *Auentinus* had name (as many write) from *Auentinus* king of the *Albanes*: who was buried therein: but *Virgil* hath it otherwise. *Iulius*, the brother of *Auentinus*, is named by *Ensebius* as father of another *Iulius*, and grandfather of *Iulius Proculus* who leauing *Alba*, dwelt vvith *Romulus* in *Rome*, *Numitor*, the elder son of *Procas*, was deprived of his kingdome by his brother *Amulius*; by whom also his son *Aggestus* was slaine, and *Ilia* his daughter made a Nunne of *Vesta*, that thereby the issue of *Numitor* might be cut off. But the conceiued two sonnes, either by her vvncle *Amulius*, as some thinke; or by *Mars*, as the Poets faine; or perhaps by some man of warre. Both the children, their vvncle commanded to be drowned, & the mother buried quicke, according to the law, which so ordained, when the Vesta Virgins brake their chastitie. When it was so, that the mother was pardoned at the entreatie of *Amulius*, the daughter of *Amulius*, or punished as the Law required (for Authors herein doe varie) it is agreed by all, that the two children were preferred, who afterward reuenged the cruelty of their vvncle, vvith the slaughter of him and all his, and restored *Numitor* their grandfather to the kingdome: wherein how long he reigned, I find not; neither is it greatly materiall to know; for as much as the Estates of *Alba* and of *Latium* were presently eclipsed by the swift increase of *Rome*, vpon which the computation of Time following (as farre as concerns the things of *Italy*) is dependant. After the death of *Numitor*, the kingdome of *Alba* ceased; for *Numitor* left no male issue. *Romulus* chose rather to liue in *Rome*, and of the Line of *Sylvius* none else remained. So the *Albanes* were gouerned by Magistrates; of whom onely two Dictators are mentioned, namely *Caius Claudius* who in the dayes of *Tullus Hostilius*, king of the *Romans*, making vvayre vpon *Rome*, dyed in the Campe; and *Metius Sufferius*, the successor of *Clutius*; vvvhose surrendered the Estate of *Alba* vnto the *Romans*, hauing committed the hazzard of both Signories to the successe of three men of each side, vvvhich decided the quarrell by Combat: in vvvhich, the three brethren *Horatij*, the Champions of the *Romans*, preuailed against the *Curatij*, Champions of the *Albanes*. After this Combat, when *Metius* (following *Tullus Hostilius* vvith the *Albanes* forces against the *Volentes* and *Fidenates*) vvithdrew his Companies out of the battaile, hoping thereby to leaue the *Romans* to such an ouerthrow, as might make them weake enough for the *Albanes* to deale vvith; *Tullus*, vvvhich notwithstanding this fallshood, obtained the victorie, did reward *Metius* vvith a cruell death, causing him to be tyed to two Chariots, and so torne in pieces. Then vvvas *Alba* destroyed and the Citizens carried to *Rome*, where they were made free *Deditizens*, the noble Families being made *Patritians*; among vvvhich vvvere the *Iulij*: of vvvhich *C. Iulius Cesar* being descended, not onely gloried in his ancient, royall, and forgotten pedigree, in full assembly of the *Romans*, then gouerned by a free Estate of the People: but by his rare industrie, valour, and iudgement, obtained the Souerainie of the *Romane* Empire (much by him enlarged) to himselfe and his posteritie; vvvhich by the name of *Æneas*, and honour of the *Troian* and *Alban* Race, was foreiuned, that seldome, if euery any one Familie hath attained to a proportionable height of glory.

## S.V.

Of the beginning of *Rome*, and of *Romulus* birth and death.

OF *Rome*, vvvhich deuoured the *Alban* kingdome, I may here best shew the beginnings, vvvhich (though somewhat vnertaine) depend much vpon the birth and education of *Romulus*, the grand-child of *Numitor*, the last that reigned in *Alba*. For how not onely the bordering people, but all Nations betwene *Euphrates* and the Ocean were broken in pieces by the yron teeth of this fourth Beast, it is not to be described in one place, hauing bene the vvork of many Ages; vvvhich I now doe handle onely the first, as incident vnto the discourse preceding. *Quintus Fabius Pictor*, Per-

lin;

Stral. f. 159.

*time Cato, Calpurnius Piso, Sempronius, &c. others, seeked to deriue the Romans from Iouis: but Herodotus, Marcellus, and many others of equal credit, giue the Gracians for their ancestors: and as Strabo reporteth in his fifth Booke, Cæcilius rerum Romanarum Scriptor eo argumento colligit, Romanos à Grecis esse conditam, quod Romani Græcorum, antiquo instituto, Herentem sacram faciunt, matrem quoque Euandri venerantur Romani; Cæcilius (saith he) a Romane Historiographi, doth by this argument gather, that Rome was built by the Greeks, because the Romanes, after Greekish fashion, by ancient ordinance doe sacrifice to Hercules: the Romanes also worship the mother of Euander.*

Plutarch in the life of Romulus remembered many founders of that Citie: as Romulus the son of Rhysses and Circe; Romus the son of Emathion, whom Diomedes sent thither from Troy; or that one Romus, a Tyrant of the Latines, who draue the Tuscans out of that Countrey, built it. Solinus bestowes the honour of building Rome vpon Euander, saying, That it was before times called Valentia. Herasides giues the denomination to a captive Lady, brought thither by the Gracians: others say, That it was anciently called Februa, after the name of Februa, the mother of Mars; witnesse Saint Augustine in his third Booke de Civitate Dei. But Linie will haue it to be the worke of Romulus, euen from the foundation: of whom and his comforts, Inuental to a Roman Citizen, vaunting of their original, answered in these Verses:

*Attamen ut longe repetat, longeque reculas  
Majorum quisquis primus fuit ille tuorum,  
Ans pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.*

Yet though thou fetch thy pedegree so farre;  
Thy first Progenitor, who ere he were,  
Some Shepherd was, or else, that Ile forbear.  
meaning, either a Shepheard, or a Theefe.

Now of Romulus begetting, of his education and preservation, it is said, That he had Rhea for his mother, and Mars supposed to be his father, that he was nursd by a Wolfe, found and taken away by Faustula, a Shepherdes wife. The same vnnatural nursing had Cyrus, the same incredible fostering had Semiramis, the one by a Bitch, the other by Birds. But, as Plutarch saith, it is like enough that Amulius came couered with armour, to Rhea, the mother of Romulus, when he begat her with child: and therein it seemeth to me that he might haue two purposes; the one, to destroy her, because she was the daughter and heire of his elder brother, from whom he iniuriously held the kingdome; the other to satisfy his appetite, because she was faire and goodly. For she being made a Nunne of the goddess Vesta, it was death in her, by the Law, to breake her chastitie. I also find in Faucher his Antiquitez de Gaulle, that Merouée, king of the Franes, was begotten by a Monster of the Sea: but Faucher sayes, *Let them beloeue it that list, Il le croira qui vudra*: Also of Alexander, and of Scipio African, there are poetically inuentions: but to answer these imaginations in generally, It is true, that in those times, when the World was full of this barbarous Idolatry, and when there were as many gods as there were kings, or passions of the minde, or as there were of vices and vertues; then did many women greatly borne, couer such slips as they made, by protesting to be forced by more than humane power: so did Oenone confesse to Paris, that she had bene rauished by Apollo. And Anchyses boasted that he had knowne Venus. But Rom was made with childe by some man of of Warre, or other, and therefore called Mars, the god of battell, according to the sense of the time. Oenone was ouercome by a strong wit, and by such a one as had those properties ascribed to Apollo. The Mother of Merouée might fancie a Sea Captaine, to be gotten with young by such a one: as the Daughter of Inachus fancied, according to Herodotus. Enead was a bastard and begotten vpon some faire Harlot, called for her beautie Venus, and was therefore the child of lust, which is Venus. Romulus was nursd by a Wolfe, which was Lupus, or Lupina; for the Curtians in those dayes were called Wolfes, *qua natus* (saith Halicarnassus) *bonitarii vocabulo amice appellantur, which are now by an hepteter mame called friends.* It is also written, that Romulus was in the end of his life taken vp into heauen, or rather out of the world by his father Mars, in a great storme of thunder, and lightning: so was it said that Enead vanished away by the River Numicus: but

but thereof Linie also speaketh modestly; for he rehearseth the other opinion that the storme was the furie of the Senators, but seemeth to adhere partially to this taking vp; and many Authors agree, that there was an vnnatural darkenesse, both at his birth and at his death, and that he might be slaine by thunder or lightning, it is not vnlike. For the Emperour Anastasius was slaine with lightning; so was Strabo the Father of Pompey slaine with a thunder-bolt: so Caius the Emperour (who succeeded Probus) whilst he iudged with his Armie vpon the Riuer Tygre, was there slaine with lightning. But a Mars of the same kinde might end him that began him; for he was begotten by a man of war, & by violence destroyed. And that he died by violence (which destinie followed most 10 of the Roman Emperours) it appeareth by Tarquinius Superbus, who was the seventh king after him: who when he had murdered his Father-in-law, commanded that he should not be buried, for (saith he) Romulus himselfe died and was not buried. But let Halicarnassus end this dispute: whose words are these: *They* (saith he) *who drew neere to the truth, say that he was slaine by his owne Citizens; and that his cruelties in punishment of offenders, together with his arrogancie, were the cause of his slaughter.* For it is reported, that when his mother was rauished, whether by some man, or by a god, the whole body of the Sunne was eclipsed, and all the earth couered with darkenesse like vnto night, & that the same did happen at his death.

Such were the birth and death of Romulus: whose life historified by Plutarch, doth 20 containe besides what is here already spoken of him) the conquest of a few miles which had soone bin forgotten, if the Roman greatnesse built vpon that foundation, had not giuen it memorie in all ages following, euen vnto this day. A valiant man he was, very strong of bodie, patient of trauell, and temperate in diet, as forbearing the vse of wine & delicacies: but his raging ambition he knew not how to temper, which caused him to slay his brother, & neglect to reuenge the death of Tatius, his companion in the Kingdome, that he himselfe might be Lord alone in those narrow Territories. He reigned 37. yeers first alone, then with Tatius, and after his death, single, till he was slaine, as is already shewed: after which time, the Souerainty fel into the hands of Numa, a man to him vnknown; & more Priest-like than King-like: wherein Rome it selfe in her later times hath 30 somethat resembled this King. For hauing long bin sole Gouverneffe till Constantine ple shared with her: afterwards, when as the Greeke Emperour was cruished by forraigne enemies, and the Latines dispoysed of Imperiall power, she fell into the subiection of a Prelate, swelling by degrees from the Sheepe-hooke to the Sword, & therewith victorious to excessive magnificence, from whence by the same degrees it fell, being diuened from luxurie to defenseless armes; and therein hauing bin vnfortunate, at length betakes herselfe againe to the Crozier staffe.

And thus much of Rome in this place by occasion of the Storie of the times of king Abaz, during whose reigne in Iurie, the foundations of this famous Citie were laid.

## CHAP. XXV.

Of Ezekia, and his Contemporaries.

## §. I.

Of the beginning of Ezekias, and of the agreeing of Ptolomies, Nabonassar, Nabopolassar, and Mardocempadus, with the bisiorie of the Bible.



10 The first yeere of Abaz his Reigne was confounded with the last of his father Iotham, so was the later end of his sixteen yeares taken vp in the three first of Ezekias his son. This appears by the Reigne of Hosea, ouer Israel, which began in the twelfth of Abaz, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with Abaz his fourteenth. But the third of Hosea was the first of Ezekia; so it follows, that Ezekia began to reigne in his Fathers foureteenth yeere. Like enough it is, that the third yeere of Hosea, the same being the fourteenth of Abaz, was almost spent when Ezekia began, and

fo to the thirteenth yeere of *Ahaz* may haue beene concurrent, for the most part, with the first of *Ezekia*.

By supposing that *Hosea* began his kingdom, when the twelfth yeere of *Ahaz* was almost compleat, some would find the meane how to disioyne the first of *Ezekia* from the fifteenth of *Ahaz*, placing him yet one yeare later, of which yeare, *Ahaz* may perhaps haue liued not many dayes. But seeing that the fourteenth and fifteenth yeeres of *Ezekia*, may not be removed out of their places; it is vaine labour to alter the first yeere.

In the fourteenth yeere of *Ezekia*, *Senacherib*, invading *Juda* and the Countie adjoining, lost his Armie by a miraculous stroake from Heaven, fled home, and was slaine. The yeare following it was that God added fifteene yeares to the life of *Ezekia*, when he had already reigned foureteen of his nine and twenty; and the same yeere was that miracle seene of the Sunnes going backe; of which wonder (as I heare) one *Bartholomew Scultet*, who is much commended for skill in Astronomie, hath by calculation found the very day which answered vnto the twenty fift of *April*, in the *Indian* yeare, being then Thursday. I haue not seene any workes of *Scultet*; but surely to find a motion so irregular and miraculous, it is necessary that he produce some record of observation made at such a time. How soeuer it be, the fifteenth yeere of *Ezekia* agreed vpon; and therefore we may not alter the first. As for that saying, which is vsuall in all cases, that *Ahaz* slept with his Fathers, and *Ezekia* his Sonne reigned in his stead, it doth no more proue that *Ezekia* reigned not with his Father, than the like saying doth inferre the like at the death of *Iehosaphat*, and succession of *Iehoram*; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the Sonne to reigne whilst his Father liued, wee haue already said enough.

Of this godly king *Ezekias*, we find, that his very beginning testified his deuotion and zeale. For whether it were so, that his vnfortunate and vngriuous Father, who had out-worne his reputation, gaue way to his Sons proceedings, which perhaps it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather thinke) the first yeare and first moneth of his reigne, wherein *Ezekias* opened the doores of the Temple, were to be vnderstood as the beginning of his sole gouernment, we plainly find it to haue bene his first worke, that he opened the doores of the house of the Lord, which *Ahaz* had shut vp, cleansed the Citie and kingdome of the Idols, restored the Priests to their offices & estates, commanded the Sacrifices to be offered which had bin for many yeares neglected, & brake down the brazen Serpent of *Moses*, because the people burnt incense before it, & he called it *Nehushtan*, which signifieth a lump of brasse. He did also celebrate the Passe-over with great magnificence, inuiting thereunto the *Israelites* of the ten Tribes: many there were, euen out of those Tribes, that came vp to *Ierusalem*, to this feast. But the generall multitude of *Israel* did laugh the Messengers of *Ezekia* to scorne.

It was not long ere they that scorned to solemnize the memoriall of their deliuerance out of the *Egyptian* seruitude, fell into a new seruitude, out of which they neuer were deliuered. For in the fourth of *Ezekia* his reigne, *Salmannassar* the Son of *Tiglath* the Son of *Belachus*, hearing that *Hosea* King of *Israel* had practised with *Sae* King of *Egypt*, against him, invaded *Israel*, besieged *Samaria*, and in the third yeare (after the inhabitants had endured all sorts of miseries) forced it, and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Affria* and *Media*: among whom *Tubias*, & his Son of the same name, with *Anna* his Wife, were sent to *Nineue*, in whose Seates and Places the *Affrians* sent strangers of other Nations, and among them many of the ancient Enemies of the *Israelites*; as those of *Cutha*, *Ana*, *Hamah*, and *Sphernaim*, besides *Babylonians*: whose Places and Nations I haue formerly described in the Treatise of the Holy Land.

These later *Affrian* Kings, and the *Persians*, which followed them, are the first, of whom we find mention made both in Prophane and Sacred bookes. These therefore serue most aptly to ioyn the times of the old World, (whereof none but the Prophets haue written otherwise than fabulously) with the Ages following that were better knowne, and described in course of History. True it is, that of *Cyrus* and some other *Persians*, we find in the Bible the same names by which other Authors haue recorded them: but of *Phul* and *Salmannassar*, with other *Affrian*, *Chaldean* Kings, diuersity of name hath bred question of the persons. Therefore, whereas the Scriptures doe speake of *Salmannassar*, King of *Affir*, who reigned in the time of *Ahaz* and *Ezekia*, kings of *Juda*, and of *Hosea* king of *Israel*, whom he carried into captiuitie: and whereas *Ptolome* makes

mention

mention of *Nabonnassar*, speaking precisely of the time wherein he liued; it is very pertinent to shew that *Salmannassar* and *Nabonnassar* were one and the same man. The like reason also requireth, that it be shewed of *Nabuchadnessar*, that he was the same, whom *Ptolome* calleth *Nabopolassar*.

Of both these points *Isidorus* hath well collected sufficient prooffe from the exact calculations of sundry good Mathematicians. For by them it appeares, that betwene *Nabonnassar* and the birth of *Christ*, there passed seuen hundred forty and sixe yeares: at which distance of time the reigne of *Salmannassar* was. One great prooffe hercof is this, which the same *Isidorus* allcadergeth out of *Erasmus Reinboldus*, in the *Prutenick* Tables. *Mardacepnadus* King of *Babylon* (whom *Ptolome*, speaking of three Eclipses of the Moone, which were in his time, doth mention) was the same whom the Scriptures call *Meroдах*, who sent Embassadors to *Hezekia* King of *Juda*. So that if we reckon backwards to the difference of time, betwene *Meroдах* and *Salmannassar*, we shall finde it the same which is betwene *Mardacepnadus* and *Nabonnassar*. Likewise *Fuennius* doth shew, that whereas, from the destruction of *Samaria*, to the destruction of *Ierusalem*, in the nineteenth of *Nabuchadnessar*, we collect out of the Scriptures, the distance of one hundred thirty and three yeares: the selfe-same distance of time is found in *Ptolome*, betwene *Nabonnassar* and *Nabopolassar*. For, whereas *Ptolome* seemes to differ from this account, making *Nabonnassar* more ancient by an hundred and forty yeares, than the destruction of *Ierusalem*, we are to vnderstand that he tooke *Samaria* in the eighth yeare of his reigne; so that the seuen foregoing yeares added to these one hundred thirty and three, make the accounts of the Scriptures fill euen with that of *Ptolome*. *Ptolomes* computation is, that from the first of *Nabonnassar*, to the fifth of *Nabopolassar*, there passed one hundred twenty and seuen yeares: Now if we adde to these one hundred twenty seuen, the thirteene ensuing of *Nabuchadnessar* yeares, before the City and Temple were destroyed, we haue the summe of one hundred and forty yeares. In so plaine a case no more prooffes are needefull, though many are brought, of which this may serue for all, that *Ptolome* placeth the first of *Nabopolassar* one hundred twenty and two yeares, after the first of *Nabonnassar*, which agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To these notes are added the consent of all Mathematicians: which in account of times I hold more sure than the authority of any History; and therefore I think it folly to make doubt, whereas Historians and Mathematicall observations doe so thoroughly concur.

Yet forasmuch as that argument of the learned *Scaliger* doth rest vnanswered, whereby he proueth *Baladan* the Father of *Meroдах*, to haue bene this *Nabonnassar*, I will not spare to lose a word or two in giuing the Reader satisfaction herein: It is true, that the next observations of the heauenly Bodies, which *Ptolome* recorded, after the time of *Nabonnassar*, were in the reigne of *Mardacepnadus*; the second yeare of whose reigne, is according to *Ptolome*, concurrent in part with the twenty seuen of *Nabonnassar*. For the second of three ancient Eclipses which he calculates, being in the second yeare of *Mardacepnadus*, was from the beginning of *Nabonnassar* twenty seuen yeares, seuen teene dayes, and cleauen houres: the account from *Nabonnassar* beginning at high-noon the first day of the *Egyptian* Moneth *Thot*, then answering to the twenty sixt of *February*; and this Eclipse being fifty minutes before mid-night, on the eighteenth day of that Moneth, when the first day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of *February*; so that the difference of time betwene the two Kings *Nabonnassar* and *Mardacepnadus*, is noted by *Ptolome*, according to the *Egyptian* yeares. But how does this proue, that *Mardacepnadus* or *Meroдах*, was the Sonne of *Nabonnassar*? yea, how doth it proue, that he was his next Successour, or any way of his Linage? It was enough to satisfie me, in this argument, that *Scaliger* himselfe did afterwards beleue *Mardacepnadus* to haue bene rather the Nephew than the Sonne of *Baladan*, or *Nabonnassar*. For if hee might be either the Nephew, or the Sonne, he might perhaps be neither the one, nor the other. But because our Countre-man *Lydus* hath reprehended *Scaliger* for changing his opinion; and that both *Tornilius*, who followes *Scaliger* herin, and *Serhus Caluissius*, who hath drawne into forme of Cronology, that learned worke, *De Emendatione Temporum*, doe hold vp the same assertion; confounding *Baladan* with *Nabonnassar*: I haue taken time paines to search, as farre as my leifure and diligence could reach, after any sentence that might proue the Kindred or Succession of these two: Yet

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cannot

cannot I finde in the Almagest (for the Scriptures are either silent in this point, or aduerse to *Scaliger*; and other good authority, I know none, in this businesse) any sentence more neerely prouing the succession of *Merodach* to *Nabonassar*, than the place now last rehearsed: which makes no more, to shew that the one of these was father to the other, than (that I may vse a like example) the neere succession of *William the Conqueror*, declares him, to haue been Son, or Grand-child to *Edward the Confessor*. This considered, we may safely goe on with our account from *Nabonassar*, taking him for *Salmannassar*; and not fearing, that the Readers will be driuen from our Booke, when they find something in it, agreeing with *Annius*, forasmuch as these Kings mentioned in Scriptures, reigned in Babylon and Assyria, in those very times which by *Dionorus* and *Ptolemy* are assigned to *Belosus*, *Nabonassar*, and *Mardocempadus*, and the rest: no good Historie naming any others, that reigned there in those ages; and all Astronomically observations, fitly concurring with the yeares that are attributed to these, or numbred from them.

## §. II.

Of the danger and deliuerance of Iudaea from Sennacherib.

When *Salmannassar* was dead, and his son *Sennacherib* in possession of the Empire in the fourteenth yeare of *Ezekias*, he demanded of him such Tribute as was agreed on, at such time as *Tiglath*, the Grand-father of *Sennacherib*, and Father of *Salmannassar*, inuited by *Ahaz*, inuaded *Rezin* King of Damascus, and deliuered him from the dangerous Warre which Israel had vnderaken against him. This Tribute and acknowledgement when *Ezekias* denied, *Sennacherib*, hauing (as it seemes) purpose to inuade Egypt, sent one part of his Army to lye before Ierusalem. Now though *Ezekias* (feeling this powerfull Prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchased his peace, as he hoped, with thirty hundred talents of siluer, and thirty talents of gold: wherewith he presented *Sennacherib*, now set down before Lachis in Iudaea; yet vnder the colour of better assurance, and to force the King of Iudaea to deliuer hostages, the Assyrian enuironed Ierusalem with a grosse Army, and hauing his sword in his hand, sought it the fittest time to write his owne conditions.

*Ezekias* directed his three great Counsellors, to partly with *Rabfices*, ouer the Wall, and to receiue his demands: who vsed three principall arguments to perswade the people to yeelde themselves to his Master *Sennacherib*. For though the Chancellor, Steward, and Secretary, sent by *Ezekias*, desired *Rabfices* to speake vnto them in the Syrian tongue, & not in the Iewish, yet he with a louder voyce directed his speech to the multitude in their own language. And for the first, hee made them know, That if they continued obstinate, and adhered to their King, that they would, in a short time, be inforced to eate their own dung, and drinke their owne vrine: Secondly, he altogether disabled the King of Egypt, from whom the Iudæans hoped for succour; and compared him to a broken staffe, on which whosoever leanech, piercech his own hand: Thirdly, that the gods who should helpe them, *Ezekias* had formerly broken and defaced, meaning chiefly (as it is thought by some) the brazen Serpent, which had bene preferred euer since *Moses* time: and withall hee bade them remember the gods of other Nations, whom, notwithstanding any power of theirs, his Master had conquered and throwne downe; and for God himselfe, in whom they trusted, hee perswaded them by no means to relye on him, for hee would deceiue them. But finding the people silent (for so the King had commanded them) after a while, when he had vnderstood that the King of Arabia was marching on with a powerfull Army, hee himselfe left the Assyrian forces in charge to others, and sought *Sennacherib*, at Libna in Iudaea, either to informe him of their resolution in Ierusalem, or to conferre with him concerning the Army of *Tarhasa* the Arabian. Soone vpon this there came letters from *Sennacherib* to *Ezekias*, whom hee partly aduised, and partly threatned to submit himselfe: vsing the same blasphemous outrage against the all-powerfull God, as before. But *Ezekias* sending those Counsellors to the Prophet *Esay*, which had lately been sent to *Rabfices*, receiued from him comfort, and assurance, that this heathen Idolater should not preuaile; against whom the King also besought aide from Almighty God, repeating the most insolent and blasphemous parts of *Sennacherib*'s letter, before the Altar

Altar of God in the Temple, confessing this part thereof to be true. That the King of Assyria had destroyed the Nations and their Lands, and had seized on their gods, for they were no gods, but the work of mens hands, even wood and stone, &c.

The reason that moued *Sennacherib* to desire to possesse himselfe in haste of Ierusalem, was, that he might thereinto haue retrained his Armie, which was departed as it seemeth from the siege of Pelusium in Egypt, for feare of *Terhaca*: and though the Scriptures are silent of that enterprise (which in these bookes of the Kings, and of the *Chronicles* or *Paripomenon*, speake but of the affairs of the Iewes in effect) yet the ancient *Berosus*, and out of him *Iosephus*, and Saint *Hierome*, together with *Herodotus*, remember it as followeth: *Herodotus* calleth *Sennacherib* King of Arabia & Assyria: which he might iustly doe, because *Tiglath* his grand-father held a great part thereof, which he wrested from *Pekah* King of Israel: as *Gilead* ouer Jordan, and the rest of Arabia Petra adioyning: the same *Herodotus* also maketh *Serhon* King of Egypt, to bee *Valeans* Priest; and reporteth that the reason of *Sennacherib*'s return from Pelusium in Egypt, which he also besieged, was, that an innumerable multitude of Rats had in one night eaten in sunder the Bow-strings of his Archers, and spoyled the rest of their weapons in that kinde, which no doubt might greatly amaze him: but the approach of *Tarhaca*, remembered by *Iosephus* and *Berosus*, was the more vrgent. Saint *Hierome* vpon theseauen and thirtieth of *Esay*, out of the same *Berosus*, as also in part out of *Herodotus*, whom *Iosephus* citeth somewhat otherwise than his words lye, reports *Sennacherib*'s retreat in these words. *Pugnasse autem Sennacherib Regem Assyriorum contra Aegyptios, & obsidisse Pelusium, iamque curatis aggeribus urbs capiende, venisse Taracham Regem Aethiophum in auxilium, & emanasse iuxta Ierusalem, centum octoginta quinque milia exercitus Assyri pestilentia corripisse, narrat Herodotus: & plenissime Berosus Chaldaica scriptor Historia, quorum fides depopulis libris petanda est; That Sennacherib King of the Assyrians fought against the Aegyptians, and besieged Pelusium, and that when his Mounts were built for saking of the City, Tarhaca King of the Ethiopians came to helpe them, and that in one night, nere Ierusalem, one hundred eighty five thousand of the Assyrian Armie perished by pestilence: of these things (saith Hierome) \* Herodotus reports: and more at large Berosus a writer of Chaldaean Storie, whose credit is to be taken from their owne Bookes. Out of *Esay* it is gathered, that this destruction of the Assyrian Army was in this manner: Thou shalt be visited of the Lord of Hosts with thunder and shaking, and a great noyse, a whirle, winde and tempest, and a flame of deuouring fire. But *Iosephus* hath it more largely out of the same *Berosus*, an authority (because so well agreeing with the Scriptures) not to be omitted; *Sennacherib* autem ab Aegyptiaco bello reuertens, ostendit his exercitum, quem sub Rabfakis imperio reliquerat peste diuinitus immisissum deletum, primâ nocte postquam urbem oppugnare ceperat, assumptis cum Ducibus & Tribunis centum octoginta quinque milibus Asilitum; qua clade territus, & de reliquis copijs sollicitus, maximis diuinis in regnum suum contendit, ad regiam qua Ninus dicitur. Epi paulo post per insidias Seniorum & filijs suis, Adramelech, & Selenai, vitam amisit: occisus in ipso Templo quod dicitur Aracai; quem precipuo cultu dignabatur, quibus ob patricidij a popularibus pulsus & in Armeniam fugientibus, Asaracoldas minor filius in Regnum successit: Sennacherib (saith Iosephus) returning from the Egyptian warre, found there his Armie, which hee had left vnder the command of *Rabfices*, destroyed by a pestilence sent from God, the first night that hee had begunne to assault the Towne: one hundred fourescore and five thousand of the Souldiers beeing consumed with their Chieftaines and Coronels. With which destruction beeing terrified, and withall affraid what might become of the rest of his Armie, hee made great marches into his Kingdome, to his Royall Citie, which is called Ninus, where shortly after by the treason of two of the eldest of his Sonnes, *Adramelech* and *Selenai* or *Sharzer*, hee lost his life in the Temple dedicated to *Araaces*, or *Nesroth*: whom hee especially worshipped. These his Sonnes beeing for their parricide chased away by the people: and flying into Armenia, *Asaracoldas* his younger Sonne succeeded in the Kingdome. Who in the beginning of his reigne sent new troupes out of Assyria and Samaria, to fortifie the Colonie therein planted by his Grand-father *Salmannassar*. What this *Nesroth* was, it is vncertaine: *Hierome* in his Hebrew traditions hath somewhat of him, but nothing positively. It is certaine, that *Venus Frania* was worshipped by the Assyrians; and so was *Iupiter Belas*, as *Dion*, *Enschinus*, and *Cyribus* witness. Many fancies there are, what cause his sonnes had to murder him; but the*



most likely it is, that hee had formerly dis-inherited those two, and conferred the Empire on *Assarhaddon*. *Tobit* tells vs, that it was fifty five dayes after *Senmacherib*'s return, ere hee was murdered by his sonnes; during which time hee slew great numbers of the Israelites in Nineue; till the most iust God turned the sword against his owne brest.

## S. III.

Of *Ezekias* his sickness and recovery; and of the Babylonian King that congratulated him.

**A**fter this marvellous deliery, *Ezekias* sickned, and was told by *Isaiab*, that hee must dye: but after hee had besought God with teares for his deliery, *Isaiab*, as hee was going from him, returned againe, and had warrant from the Spirit of God to promise him recovery after three dayes, and a prolongation of life for nineteene yeares. But *Ezekias* somewhat doubtfull of this exceeding grace, prayeth a signe to confirme him: whereupon, at the prayer of *Isaiab*, the shadow of the Sunne cast it selfe the contrary way, and went backe tenne degrees, vpon the Dyall of *Achaz*. The cause that moued *Ezekias* to lament (saith Saint *Hierome*) was, because he had as yet no sonne, and then in despair that the Messias should come out of the house of *Dauid*, or at least of his Seede. His diseale seemeth to be the pestilence, by the medicine giuen him by the Prophet, to wit, a masse of Figges, layed to the Borchor Sore.

This wonder when the Wife-men of Chaldaea had told to *Merodach*, King of Babylon, the first of that house; he sent to *Ezekias*, to be informed of the cause: at which time *Ezekias* shewed him all the Treasure he had, both in the Court and in the Kingdome: for which he was reprehended by the Prophet *Isaiab*, vvho told him; *The treasures are at hand, that all that is in thine house, and what so euer thy Fathers haue layed up in store to this day, shall bee carried into Babel; nothing shall be left, saith the Lord.* It may seeme strange, how *Ezekias* should haue got any treasure worth the shewing: for *Senmacherib* had robbed him of all, the yeare before. But the spoyle of the same *Senmacherib* his Campe repayed all with aduantage, and made *Ezekias* richer vpon the suddaine than euer he had been: which vnexpected wealth was a strong temptation to boasting. After this time *Ezekias* had rest, and spending without noyle that addition which God had made vnto his life; he dyed hauing reigned nine and twenty yeares. One onely offensiue Warre hee made, vvchich was against the Philistims with good success. Among his other acts (shortly remembered in *Ecclesiasticus*) he deuised to bring water to Ierusalem.

In two respects they say that he offended God: the one, that he reioyced too much at the destruction and lamentable end of his enemy; the other, that he so much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbear to shew them to strangers. But the reason which moued *Ezekias* (speaking humanely) to entertaine the Embassadors of *Merodach* in this friendly and familiar manner, was, because he came to visit him, and brought him a present, congratulating the recovery of his health; as also in that *Merodach* had weakened the house of *Senacherib*, his fearefull enemy. For *Merodach*, who was Commander and Lieutenant vnder *Senacherib* in Babylon, vsurped that State himselfe, in the last yeare of that King, and held it by strong hand against his son *Assarhaddon*; who was not only simple, but impaired in strength, by the molestation of his brothers. This aduantage *Merodach* espied, and remembering, that their ancestor *Phul Belochus* had set his own Master *Sardanapalus* besides the cushion, thought it as lawfull for himselfe to take the opportunity which this Kings weaknesse did offer, as it had been for *Belochus* to make vse of the others wickednesse: and so, finding himselfe beloued of the Babylonians, and sufficiently powerfull, he did put the matter to hazzard, and preuailed. The assertion of this history is made by the same arguments that were vsed in maintaining the common opinion of Writers, touching *Phul Belochus*; which I will not here again rehearse. So of this new race, which cut a sunder the Line of *Ninus*, there were only five Kings.

phul

<i>Phul Belochus.</i>	} who reigned	248
<i>Tiglath Philassar.</i>		27
<i>Salmanassar.</i>		10
<i>Senacherib.</i>		67
<i>Assarhaddon.</i>		10

But forasmuch as the last yeere of *Salmanassar* was also the first of *Senacherib* his son, we reckon the time, wherein the house of *Phul* held the Assyrian Kingdome, to haue bin an hundred and one yeeres, of which, the last five and twenty were spent with *Ezekias*, vnder *Salmanassar*, *Senacherib*, and *Assarhaddon*.

## S. IIII.

The Kings that were in Media during the reigne of *Ezekias*: Of the difference found between sundry Authors, in rehearsing the Median Kings. Other contemporaries of *Ezekias*: of *Candaules*, *Gyges*, and the Kings descended from *Hercules*.

**I**n the time of *Ezekias*, *Medius*, and after him *Cardicus*, reigned in Media. Whether it were so, that variety of names, by which these Kings were called in severall Histories, hath caused them to seeme more than indeede they were; or whether the sons reigning with the fathers, haue caused not only the names of Kings, but the length of Time, wherein they gouerned Media, to exceede the due proportion: or whether the Copies themselves, of *Ctesius* and *Annius* his *Metasthenes*, haue been faulty, as neither of these two Authors is ouer-highly commended of trustinesse: so it is, that the names, number, and length of reigne, are all very diuersly reported of these Median Kings, that follow *Arbaces*: therefore it neede not seeme strange, that I reckon *Medius* and *Cardicus* as contemporaries with *Ezekias*. For to reconcile to great a difference, as is found in those Writers that vary from *Eusebius*, is more than I dare vndertake. I will onely here set down the roll of Kings that reigned in Media, accordingly as sundry Authors haue deliuered it.

*Annius* his *Metasthenes* orders them and their reignes thus:

<i>Arbaces.</i>	} who reigned	28
<i>Mandanes.</i>		50
<i>Sofarmon.</i>		30
<i>Articarmin.</i>		50
<i>Arbianes.</i>		22
<i>Artaus.</i>		40
<i>Artines.</i>		22
<i>Asybarus</i> , with his		20
sonne <i>Apanda</i>		
<i>Apanda</i> alone.		30
<i>Darius</i> with <i>Cyrus</i>	36	

*Diodorus Siculus* following *Ctesius* (as perhaps *Annius* made his *Metasthenes* follow *Diodorus*, with some little variation, that he might not seeme a borrower) placeth them thus.

<i>Arbaces.</i>	} who reigned	28
<i>Mandanes.</i>		50
<i>Sofarmus.</i>		30
<i>Articus.</i>		50
<i>Arbianes.</i>		22
<i>Artaus.</i>		40
<i>Artines.</i>		22
<i>Artabannus.</i>		40

*Asybara.* } the continuance of these two he doth not mention.  
*Asyages.*

*Mercator* hath laboured with much diligence, to reconcile these Catalogues, and to make them also agree with *Eusebius*. But forasmuch as it seems to me an impossible matter, to attaine vnto the truth of these forgotten times, by coniectures founded vpon

Cresus and Metasthenes, I will lay the burden vpon Eusebius, who liued in an age better furnished than ours, with booke of this argument. Let it therefore suffice, that these two Kings (whom I haue reckoned as contemporaries with Ezekia) Medius and Cardicus, are found in Eusebius: for whether Cardicus were Diodorus his Arbaces, I will not stay to search. The Kings of Media, according to Eusebius, reigned in this order.

Arbaces.	28	} reigned	} yeeres.
Sofarmus.	30		
Medius.	40		
Cardicus.	15		
Deiaces.	54		
Phraortes.	24		
Cyaxares.	32		
Assyages.	38		

These names, and this course of succession I retaine; but adde vnto these, Cyaxares the son of Assyages, according to Xenophon; and sometimes follow Herodotus, in setting down the length of a Kings reigne, otherwise than Eusebius hath it: of which variations, I will render my reasons in due place.

The twentie nine yeeres of Ezekia were concurrent, in part, with the rule of the foure first that were chosen Gouernors of Athens for ten yeeres, that is, of Charops, Esimedes, Elidicus, and Hippones. Touching the first of these I heare nothing, saue that Rome was built in his first yeere; of which perhaps himself did not heare. Of the second and third I find only the names. The fourth made himself known by a strange example of iustice, or rather of cruelty, that he shewed vpon his own Daughter. For he finding that she had offended in vncastity, caused her to be lockt vp with an Horse, giuing to neither of them any foode: so the Horse, constrained by hunger, deuoured the vnhappy Woman.

In Rome, the first King, and founder of that Citie Romulus, did reigne both before, and somewhat after Ezekia.

In Lydia, Candaules the last King, ruled in the same age.

This Region was first called Maonia. Lydus the son of Myrs reigning in it, gaue the name of Lydia, if we beleue such authority as we find, This Kingdome was afterward, by the appointment of an Oracle, conferred vpon Argon, who came of Alcous the son of Hercules, by Iardana, a bond-woman. The race of these Heraclides continued reigning fifty five yeeres (in which two and twenty Generations passed) the son continually succeeding the father. Candaules the son of Myrsus was the last of his race, who doated so much vpon the beauty of his owne wife, that he could not be content to enioy her, but would needs enforce one Gyges, the son of Dasytus, to behold her naked body, & placed the vnnwilling man secretly in her chamber, where he might see her preparing to bedward. This was not so closely carried, but that the Queen perceiued Gyges at his going forth, and vnderstanding the matter, took it in such high disdain, that she forced him the next day to requite the Kings folly with treason. So Gyges being brought againe into the same chamber by the Queen, slew Candaules, and was rewarded not only with his Wife, but with the Kingdome of Lydia. He reigned thirty eight yeeres, beginning in the last of Ezekia, one year before the death of Romulus.

After Gyges, his son Ardyg reigned nine & forty years; then Sadyattes, twelue; Hiliattes, fifty seuen; and finally Crassus, the son of Halpattes, fourteen years: who lost the Kingdome, and was taken by Cyrus of Persia.

And here by the way we may note, that as the Lydian Kings, whom Crassus his Progenitor dispossest, are deduced from Hercules, so of the same Hercules there sprang many other Kings, which gouerned severall Countries very long; as in Asia, the Myrians; in Greece, the Lacedaemonians, Messenians, Rhodians, Corinthians, & Argiues; and from the Argiues, the Macedonians; as likewise from the Corinthians, the Syraculanes: besides many great and famous, though priuate, Families.

But of the Heraclides that reigned in Lydia, I haue not troubled my self to take notice in the time of their severall reignes: for little is found of them, beside the bare names, & the folly of this last king Candaules.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Kings that reigned in Egypt, betweene the deliuerance of Israel from thence, and the reigne of Ezekiah in Iuda, when Egypt and Iuda made a league against the Assyrians.

## S. I.

That many names of Egyptian Kings, found in Historie, are like to haue belonged onely to Viceroyes. An example prouing this out of William of Tyre his History of the holy warre.



He emulation & quarrels arising in these times, between the mighty Kingdomes of Egypt and Assyria, do require our paines, in collecting the most memorable things in Egypt, and setting downe briefly the state of that Country, which had continued long a flourishing Region, and was of great power, when it contended with Assyria for the Maltre. Of Cham the son of Noah, vho first planted that Country, and of Osiris, Orus, and other ancient Kings; that reigned there, vntill the Israelites were thence deliuered, more hath been said already than I can stand to; though I hold it no shame to faile in such coniectures. That which I haue deliuered, in speaking mine opinion of the Egyptian Dynasties, must here againe helpe me. For it may truly be affirmed, That the great number of Kings, which are said to haue reigned in Egypt, were none other than Viceroyes or Stewards, such as Ioseph was, and such as were the Soldanes in later ages. Therefore I will not only forbear to seeke after those, whom Herodotus and Diodorus haue reckoned vp, from the mouthes of Egyptian Priests, deliueing them by number, without rehearsing their names; but will saue the labour of marshalling them in order, whose names only are found; the yeares of their reignes, and other circumstances prouing them to haue been Kings in deed, being not recorded.

But that I may not seeme before hand, to lay an imaginary ground, wherupon after I may build what I list; it were not amisse, to giue vnto the Reader such satisfaction in this point, as apparant reason, and truth of History doth afford. First therefore, we ought not to beleue those numbers of Generations, which the lying Priests haue reckoned vp, to magnifie their Antiquities. For we know, that from Abraham, our Saviour Christ was removed onely forty two descents; which makes it euidant, that in farre shorter time namely before the Persian Empire, there could not haue passed away twice as many successions in Egypt: especially considering, that many of these, whose continuance is expressed, haue reigned longer than forty years. It folloves that we should square the number of the Egyptian Kings in some euen proportion, to those which did beare rule in other Countries. As for the rest, whose names wee finde scattered here and there; any man that will take the paines to reade the nineteenth booke of the holy War, written by William Archbishop of Tyre, may easily perswade himselfe, that it is not hard to finde names enow, of such as might be thought to haue reigned in Egypt, being none other than Regents or Viceroyes. Yet will I here insert, as briefly as I can, some things making to that purpose for the pleasure and information of such, as will not trouble themselves with turning ouer many Authors.

When Elahdech the Catiph ruled in Egypt, one Dargan, a powerfull and a subtil man, made himselfe Soldan, by force and cunning; chasing away Sanar an Arabian, who was Soldan before and after him. This Dargan ministred matter of quarrel to Amalik king of Ierusalem; and sustained, with little losse, an inuasion, which Amalik made vpon Egypt. Hereupon he grew so insolent and proud, that Sanar the former Soldan hoped to make his party good against him, if he could get any forces wherewith to enter Egypt.

Briefly,

Briefly, *Samar* sueth to *Noradine*, King of *Damasco*, for aide, who sends an Army of his Turkes, vnder the command of *Syracon*, against the *Soldan Dargan*. So *Dargan* and *Samar* met, and fought: The victorie was *Dargan's*; but hee enjoyed it not: for in few daies after, he was slaine by treason, whereby *Samar* did recover his Dignitie: which to establish, he slew all the kindred and Friends of *Dargan*, that he could finde in the great City of *Cairo*.

To all these doings, the *Caliph Elhadach* gave little regard: for he thought it little concerned him, which of them liued, and had the administration of the Kingdome, whilest he might haue the profit of it, and enjoy his pleasure. But new troubles presently arise, which (one would thinke) do neerly touch the *Caliph* himselfe. *Syracon* with his Turkes, whom *Samar* had gotten to come into Egypt, will not now be intreated there to leaue him, and quietly go their way home. They seize vpon the Town of *Belbeis*, which they fortifie, and there attend the arriual of more company from *Damasco*, for the conquest of all Egypt. The *Soldan* perceiues their intent, and findes himselfe not strong enough to expell them: much lesse to repell the Turkish Army, that was likely to second them. He therefore sends Messengers to King *Almaricke* of *Ierusalem*, whom with large promises, he gets to bring him aide, and so driues out the Turkes. Of all this trouble, the great *Caliph* heares nothing, or not so much, as should make him looke to the playing of his own game.

A greater mischiefe ariseth, concerning the *Caliph Elhadach* particularly, in his owne Title. *Syracon*, Captaine of the Turkes that had been in Egypt, goes to the *Caliph* of *Baldach* (vvho was opposite to him of Egypt, each of them claiming as heire to *Abraham* that false Prophet, the Soueraignty ouer all that vvhere of the Saracen Law) and tels him the weakenesse of the Egyptian, with his own abilitie of doing seruice in those parts, offering his best means for the extirpation of the Schismaticall *Caliph*, and the reduction of all Egypt, vvith the Western parts, vnder the subiection of the Babylonian. This motion is readily and ioyfully entertained; all the Eastern Prouinces are vp in Armes; and *Syracon*, with a mighty power, descendeth into Egypt. The noyse of this great expedition so affrighteth King *Almaricke*, that vvith all his forces he hasteth into Egypt: well knowing how neerely it concerned him and his Kingdome of *Ierusalem*, to keepe the Saracens from ioyning all vnder one head. *Samar* the *Soldan* perceiuing the faithful care of the Christians his friends, welcomes them, and bestirs himselfe in giuing them all manner of content, as it behooued him: for by their admirable valour, he finally draue the enemies out of the Countrey. But this victory was not so soone gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strange it is (which most concernes our present purpose) that off so desperate a danger, the *Caliph*, as yet, seemes to know nothing. May we not thinke him to haue been King in title only, who meddled so little in the Government? The *Soldan*, finding that the Christians (without whose helpe, all was lost) could not well stay, so long as his necessities required; makes large offers to King *Almaricke*, vpon condition that he should abide by it. He promiseth a great Tribute (*William* of *Tyre* calls it a Tribute; the Saracens, perhaps, called it a Pension) which the Kings of *Ierusalem* should receiue out of Egypt, for this behouefull assistance. But the Christians vnderstanding that the *Soldan* (how much fouler he tooke vpon him) was subiect to a higher Lord, would make no bargain of such importance, with any other than the *Caliph* himselfe. Hereupon *Hugh* Earle of *Cesarea*, and a Knight of the *Templars*, are sent vnto *Elhadach* to ratifie the couenants. Now shall we see the greatnesse of the *Caliph* and his estate.

These Embassadors were conueighed by the *Soldan* to *Cairo*, where arriuing at the Palace, they found it guarded by great troupes of Souldiers. The first entrance was through dark Porches, that were kept by many armed bands of Ethiopians, vvith which all diligence, did reuerence to the *Soldan* as he passed along. Through these straight Warders led them, into goodly open Courts, of such beauty and riches, that they could not retain the grauity of Embassadors, but were forced to admire the things vvich detained their eyes. For there they saw goodly Marble Pillars, gilded Beames, all vvrought ouer with embossed vvorkes, curious pauements, fish-ponds of marble vvith cleare vvaters, and many sorts of strange birds, vvknown in those parts of the world, as coming perhaps from the East Indies, vvich then was vvndiscovered. The further they went, the greater was the magnificence; for the *Caliph* his Eunuches conueyed them into

other Courts within these; as far excellling the former, as the former did surpass ordinary houses. It were tedious perhaps to rehearse, how, the further they entred, the more high estate they found, and cause of maruaile; suffice it, that the good Archbishop, who wrote these things, was neuer held a vaine Author. Finally they were brought into the *Caliph*'s own lodgings, vvich were yet more stately, and better guarded; where entering the Presence, the *Soldan* hauing twice prostrated himselfe, did the third time cast off his Sword, that he wore about his necke, and throw himselfe on the ground, before the *Caliph*, behinde vvich the *Caliph* sat. Presently the trauerser, wrought with Gold and Pearles, was opened, and the *Caliph* himselfe discovered, sitting vvith great maiestie on a throne of gold, hauing few of his most inward Seruants and Eunuches about him. When the *Soldan* had humbly kissed his Masters feet, he briefly told the cause of his coming, the danger wherein the land stood, and the offers that he had made vnto King *Almaricke*, desiring the *Caliph* himselfe to ratifie them, in presence of the Embassadors. The *Caliph* answered, That he vvould thoroughly perform all vvich vvvas promised. But this contented not the Embassadors: They vvould haue him to giue his hand vpon the bargain; vvich the Egyptians, that stood by, thought an impudent request. Yet his greatnesse condescended at length, after much deliberation, at the earnest request of the *Soldan*, to reach out his hand. When the Earle of *Cesarea* saw that the *Caliph* gave his hand, neither vvillingly nor bare, hee told him roundly thus much in effect: Sir, Truth seeks no holste to hide it selfe; Princes, that vvill hold couenant, must deale openly, nakedly, & sincerely; Giue vs therefore your bare hand, if you meant that we shall trust you, for we vvill make no bargain vvith your Gloue. Much adoe there was about this: for it seemed against the Maiesty of such a Prince to yeeld so far. But, when it vvould none otherwise be, with a smiling cheare (though to the great grieffe of his Seruants) he vouchsafed to let the Earle take him by the bare hand; and so rehearsing the couenants vvord by vvord, as the Earle spake them, he ratified all; dismissing finally the Embassadors, vvith such rewards as testified his Greatnesse.

In this *Caliph* and his Sultan, vve may discern the Image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, and his Viceroy: we see a Prince of great estate, sitting in his Palace, and not vexing himself vvith the great preparations made against him, vvich terrifie his neighbour Countreies: we see his Viceroy, in the meane season, vsing all Royall power; making war and peace; entertaining and repelling Armies of strangers; yea making the Land of Egypt tributary to a forraign Prince. What greater authority vvvas giuen to *Ioseph*, vvhen *Pharaoh* said vnto him, *Thou shalt be ouer mine house, and as thy word shall all my people be armed, onely in the Kings throne will I be about thee, Behold, I haue set thee ouer all the Land of Egypt*.

I do not commend this forme of Government; neither can I approoue the coniecture of mine Author, where he thinks, that the Egyptians, euer since *Ioseph's* time, haue felt the burden of that seruitude vvich hee brought vpon them, when he bought them and their Lands for *Pharaoh*. Herein I finde his iudgement good, that he affirms this manner of the Egyptian Kings, in taking their ease, and ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the ancient customes, practised by the *Pharaohs*. For we finde, that euen the *Ptolemies* (excepting *Ptolemaeus Lagi*, and his son *Philadelphus*, founder and establisher of that race) were gauen, all of them, vvholly to please their own appetites, leauing the charge of the Kingdome to Women, Eunuches, and other ministers of their desires. The pleasures vvich that Countrey afforded, were indeed sufficient to inuite the Kings thereof vnto a voluptuous life; and the awfull regard wherein the Egyptians held their Princes, gaue them security, whereby they might the better trust their Officers, vvith so ample commission. But of this matter, I vvill not stand longer to dispute. It is enough to haue shewed, that the great and almost absolute power of the Viceroyes governing Egypt, is set down by *Moses*, and that a liuely example of the same is found in *William* of *Tyre*, vvho liued in the same age; was, in few yeares after, Chancellour of the Kingdome of *Ierusalem*; and had full discourse vvith *Hugh* Earle of *Cesarea*, touching all these matters. Wherefore it remains, that we be not carried away vvith a vaine opinion, to beleue that all they were Kings, vvhom reports of the fabulous Egyptians haue honoured vvith that stile; but rest contented vvith a Catalogue of such, as we finde by circumstance, likely to haue reigned in that Countrey; after vvhom it follows that we should make enquiry.

## S. II.

Of *Acherres*: whether he were *Vchoreus* that was the fight from *Osymandyas*. Of *Osymandyas* and his Tomb.

**I**N this business I hold it vaine to bee too curious. For who can hope to attaine to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as *Diodorus* varies from *Herodotus*, *Eusebius*, from both of them; and late Writers, that haue sought to gather the truth out of these and others, finde no one with whom they can agree. In this case *Annus* would doe good seruice, if a man could trust him. But it is enough to bee beholding to him, when others doe either say nothing, or that which may iustly be suspected. I will therefore hold my self contented, with the pleasure that he hath done me, in saying somewhat of *Osius*, *Istis*, *Orus*, and those antiquities remoued so farr out of sight: as for the Kings following the departure of Israel out of Egypt, it shall suffice, that *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Eusebius*, haue not bene silent, and that *Reineccius* hath taken paines, to range into some good order the names that are extant in these, or else found scattering in others.

From the departure of Israel out of Egypt, vnto the reigne of *Thooris* (who is generally taken to be the same that the Greekes call *Proteus*) there is little or no disagreement about the Egyptian Kings. Wherefore I set down the same which are found in *Eusebius*, and give to euery one the same length of reigne.

*Acherres* was the first of these, who succeeded vnto *Chenres*, that perished in the Red Sea. This king seemes to *Reineccius* to be the same, whom *Diodorus* calls *Vchoreus*, the founder of Memphis. But whereas mention is found in *Diodorus* of a great king, named *Osymandyas*, from whom *Vchoreus* is said to be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, that *Timaeus* (as *Reineccius* coniectures) was the great *Osymandyas*; or else that this *Acherres* was *Vchoreus*: for the distance betweene them was more than eight generations. *Mercator* iudgeth *Osymandyas* to haue bin the husband of *Acherres*, *Orus* the seconds daughter, thinking that *Manethon* (cited by *Iosephus*) doth omit his name, and insert his wifes, into the Catalogue of Kings, because he was King in his wifes right. As for *Vchoreus*, it troubles not *Mercator* to finde him the eighth from this man: for he takes *Ozodous*, not to signifie in this place of *Diodore* (as that Greeke word else doth) the eighth, but to be an Egyptian name, belonging also to *Vchoreus*, who might haue had two names, as many of the rest had. I will not vex my braines in the vnprofitable search of this, and the like inextricable doubts. All that *Diodore* hath found of this *Osymandyas*, was wrought vpon his monument; the most thereof in figures, which I thinke the Egyptians did fabulously expound. For whereas there was painted a great Army with the siege of a Town, the captiuitie of the people, and the triumph of the Conqueror; all this, the Egyptians said to denote the conquest of *Bactria* made by that King: which how likely it was, let others iudge. I hold this goodly peece of worke, which *Diodore* so particularly describes, to haue bene erected for a common place of buriall, to the ancient Kings and Queenes of Egypt, and to their Viceroyes; whilst yet they were not so ambitious, as euery one to haue his owne particular monument, struing therein to exceed all others. This appeares by the many statues, therein placed, by the Wars, the indgement state, the receiuing of Tribute, the offering Sacrifice to God, the account of Reuenues, and plenty of all Cattell and Foode; all which were there curiously wrought, shewing the feerall Offices of a Governour. On the Tomb of *Osymandyas* was this inscription. *I am Osymandyas King of Kings; If any desire to know what I am, or where I lie, let him exceed some of my workes.* Let them that hope to exceede his workes, labour to know what he was. But since by those words, *Or where I lie*, it should seeme that hee lay not there interred, we may lawfully suspect that it was *Ioseph*, whose body was preferred among the Hebrewes to be buried in the Land of Canaan, & this empty Monument might king *Orus*, who out-lined him, erect in honor of his high deserts, among the royal sepulchres. To which purpose, the plenty of Cattell, and all manner of viands, had good reference. The name of *Osymandyas* doth not hinder this coniecture, seeing *Ioseph* had one new name giuen to him by *Pharaoh*, for expounding the dream, and might, vpon further occasions, haue another, to his increase of honor. As for that stile, *King of Kings*, it was perhaps no more than *Beglerbeg*, as the *Turkish Basses* are called, that is, Great about the Great.

Now

Now although it be so, that the reckoning falls out right, between the times of *Ioseph* & *Acherres* (for *Acherres* was the eighth in order, that reigned after the great *Orus*, whose Viceroy *Ioseph* was) yet will I hereby seeke, neither to tortise mine owne coniecture, as touching *Ioseph*, nor to infer any likelihood of *Acherres* his being *Vchoreus*. For it might well be, that Memphis was built by some such King as was *Gchoar*, Lieutenant vnto the Caliph *Elcain*; who hauing to his Masters use conquered Egypt, and many other Countries, did build, not far from old Memphis, the great City of *Cairo* (corruptly so pronounced) naming it *El Calira*, that is, an enforcing, or an imperious Mist: esse, though he himselfe were a Dalmatian stauce.

John 1. 10. Hist. Africa. 1. 10.

## S. III.

Of *Cherres*, *Armeus*, *Ramestes*, and *Amenophis*. Of *Myris*, and the Lake that beares his name.

**W**HEN *Acherres* had reigned eight years, *Cherres* succeeded, & held the kingdom fiftene years: then reigned *Armeus* five years, & after him *Ramestes*, threescoré and eight. Of *Armeus* and *Ramestes* is that Historie vnderstood by *Eusebius*, which is common among the Greekes, vnder the names of *Danaus* and *Argivus*. For it is said that *Danaus*, being expelled out of Egypt by his brother, fled into Greece, where he obtained the kingdom of Argos: that he had fifty Daughters, whom vpon seeming reconciliation, hee gaue in marriage to his brothers fifty sons, but commanded euery one of them to kill her husband the first night; that onely *Hypermetra*, one of his Daughters, did saue her husband *Lyncus*, and suffered him to escape; finally, That for this fact, all the bloody sisters, when they died, were enioyned this foolish punishment in Hell, to fill a leaking vessell with water.

Thereigne of *Danaus* in Argos was indeed in this age; but that *Armeus*, was *Danaus*; & *Ramestes*, *Egyptus*; is more than *Reineccius* beleuees: he rather takes *Armeus* to haue bin *Myri*, or *Meru*, who caused the great lake to bee made which beares his name. For my own part, as I can easily beleuee, that he which fled out of Egypt into Greece, was a man of such qualitie as the Soldan *Sanar*, of whom we spake before; so do I not find how in so short a reigne, as five years, a worke of that labour could be finished, which was required vnto the Lake of *Myris*, and the Monuments therein; whereof his own Sepulchre and his wifes being some part, it is manifest that he was not buried in Argos. Wherefore of *Myri*, and of all other Kings, whose age is vncertaine, and of whose reignes we haue no assurance, I may truly say, that their great workes are not enough to prouethem of the house of *Pharaoh*, seeing that greater deeds or more absolute, than were those of *Ioseph*, who bought all the people of Egypt as bond-men, and all their land for bread; of *Gchoar*, who founded *Cairo*; and of *Sanar*, who made the Country Tributarie; were performed by none of them.

It shall therefore be enough to set down the length of their reignes, whom wee finde to haue followed one another in order of succession: but in rehearsing the great acts which were performed, I will not stand to examine, whether they that did them were Kings or no.

The Lake of *Myris*, is, by the report of *Diodore* and *Herodotus*, threethousand sixe hundred furlongs in compasse, and fifty fadomes deepe. It serued to receiue the waters of *Nilus*, when the ouer-flow, being too great, was harmful to the Countrey: and to supply the defect, by letting out the waters of the Lake, when the Riuer did not rise high enough. In opening the fluces of this Lake, for the letting in or out of waters, were spent fifty talents; but the Lake it selfe defraied that cost, seeing the tribute imposed vpon *Fish* taken therein, was euery day one talent, which *Myrius* gaue to his Wife to buy sweet oymments, and other ornaments for her body. In the midst of it was left an Island, wherein were the Sepulchres of *Myrius* and his Wife, and ouer each of them a Pyramid, that was a furlong, or (according to *Herodotus*) fiftie paces high; hauing on the tops their statues, sitting in Thrones. I finde not the description of this Lake in Maps, answerable to the report of Historians: yet is it very great. The yeeres of *Armeus* are by *Manethon* diuided, by inserting one *Armeus* (whom *Eusebius* omits) that should haue reigned one yeare and oddé months of the time: but I hold not this difference worthy of examination.

After

After *Ramesses*, his son *Amenophis* held the Kingdome forty years. Some giue him onely nineteene yeeres; and *Mercator* thinks him to haue been the king that was drowned in the Red Sea: wherof I haue already spoken in the first Booke.

## §. IIII.

Of the Kings that reigned in the Dynastie of the Larthes.

**S**ethosis, or Zethus, reigned after his Father *Amenophis*, sixty five yeares. To him are ascribed the famous acts of that ancient *Sesoftrius*. But the state of the world was not such at these times, that so great an expedition as the old *Sesoftrius* made, could haue been either easily performed, or forgotten in the Countries through which he passed, had it now been performed; as any man will perceiue, if he looke vpon my Chronological Table, and consider who liued with this *Zethus*. With this King began the Dynastie of the Larthes, which *Reineccius* coniectures to haue had the same signification, wherein the old Kings of Hetturia, were called Larthes, (the Hetturians being issued out of Lydia, the Lydians out of Egypt) and to haue signified as much as *Imperatour*, or *General*. The Wars in which these Kings were Generals, I take to haue been against the *Ethiopi*ans: for sure I am, that they troubled not the Country of Palestina, that is, next vnto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they trauelled ouer the desert lands, on the other hand; to seek matter of conquest, in the poore Countreys of Africa. But these Generals (if the Larthes were such) were not many. Five only had that title; and the last of these took it, perhaps, as hereditary from the first; in such sort as the Roman Emperours were proud for a while, to be called *Antonini*, till the most vulnerable conditions of *Heliogabalus*, made his successors forbear the name.

Here it may be objected, that the Dynasties (as appears by this particular) took name from the Kings; that the Kings also did administer the government themselves, & that therefore I am deceived in ascribing so much vnto the Viceroies. But it is to be considered, that what is said of these Larthes, depends only vpon coniecture, and that the authority of the Regents, or Viceroies, might be great enough, though some few kings took the conduct of Armies into their own hands. For so we finde in *Iohn Leo*, that the Soldan of Egypt (after such time as the Soldane Saladin, murdering the Caliph, got the Souerainty to himselfe) had vnder him a Viceroy, styled *Edaiguadare*, who had authority to place, or displace, any Magistrates, or Officers; and that this mans Family was almost as great, as the Soldans own. Yet was there also the *Amir Calir*, or Lord Generall of the Soldans forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might as he thought good, spend of the Soldans Treasure. So might the office of the Viceroies continue, though the Kings themselves, taking the charge, or title of Generals vpon them, did somewhat abridge the greatnes of that second place. As for the names of the Dynasties, it skills not whence they were drawn; whether from their Country, as those of the Thebans and Diapolitans, or from some eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time; as many think, that the seventeenth Dynastie was called of the Sheepheders, because *Ioseph* governed in part therof; or from the Kings themselves that reigned; as this was said to be of the Larthes or Generals. The next, as *Manetho* (but *Ammius* his *Manetho*) hath it, was without any Larthes or Generals, yet was it not without Kings, forasmuch as *Vaphres*, and *Sesac*, reigned therein, if many others did not. But let vs now return to the businesse which we left.

*Ramesses* was King after *Zethus*, or *Sethosis*, threescore and six yeares. He is mistaken for that second *Sesoftrius*, of whom I haue spoken in the first booke. I find nothing worth rehearsal of this *Ramesses*, or of *Ammenophis* and *Annenemes*, that followed him in order, the former of which reigned forty, the later sixe and twenty yeares. Wherefore it may very well be, that the name which *Zethus* had from valour, was taken by these as hereditary.

*Thuthis*, the last of the Larthes, reigned only seven yeares; yet is he thought to haue bin that *Proetus*, of whom *Hierodotus* hath mention, saying, That he took *Helen* from Paris, and after the sacke of Troy, restored her to *Menelaus*. I need say no more in refutation of this, than that the time of *Thuthis* his reigne, lasted not so long as from the Rape of *Helen* to her restitution.

This

This *Proetus* or *Cetes* (as he is named by some) together with *Thuthis*, and others, mentioned by *Greeke* Writers in this businesse, or in other such matters, may seeme to be vnder-Officers: for such only are like to haue had their residence about *Pharos*, and the Sea-coast, where *Menelaus* arrived.

Of *Proetus*, who detained *Helen*, it is said, That he could foretell things to come, and that he could change himselfe into all shapes: whereby is signified his craftie head, for which he is growne into a Prouerbe. The Poets fained him a Sea-God, and keeper of *Nepheus* Seale-fishes, for belike he was some vnder-Officer to the Admirall, hauing charge of the Fishing about the Ile of *Pharos*, as was said before.

*Remphus*, the Son of *Proetus*, is reckoned the next King, by *Diodore*, as also by *Hierodotus*, who calls him *Ramsisius*, & tells a long tale fit to please children, of his courtcoulesse, and how his treasure-houise was robbed by a cunning Theefe, that at last married his Daughter. But of this a man may belecue what he list. How long this king reigned I know not, nor thinke that either he, or his Father, did reigne at all.

## §. V.

Of the Egyptian Kings whose names are found scattering in sundrie Authors, their times being not recorded. The Kings of Egypt, according to *Cedrenus*. Of *Vaphres* and *Sesac*.

**M**Any other names of Egyptian Kings, are found scattered heere and there; as *Tamperphobis*, of whom *Suidas* deliueres onely the bare name and title; *Senemures*, or *Senepos*, mentioned in *Macrobius*, vvho perhaps was the same that by *Suidas* is called *Sanyes*, or *Euenes*, noted by occasion of a great Physician that liued vnder him; *Neuchyris*, recorded by the same *Suidas*, for his great iustice; and *Thulis*, of vvhoim *Suidas* tells great matters; as, that his Empire extended to the Ocean Sea; that he gaue name to the Ile of *Thule*, which some take to be *Iseland*; and that he consulted with the Deuill, or which is all one vvith *Seraphus*, desiring to know, who before him had bene, or after him should be so mighty as himselfe. The answer or confession of the Deuill was remarkable; which I find Englihed in the translation of *Plefsus* his worke, Of the transse of *Christian religion*. The *Greeke* Verbes are somewhat otherwise, & much more impertinent in those Copies that I haue of *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, but the sense is all one, which is this:

First God, and next The Word, and then The Spirit,  
Which three be One, and ioyned in One all three:  
Whose force is endlesse. Get thee hence fraile vvight,  
The Man of Life vnkowne excellet thee.

I should haue thought that *Suidas* had borrowed all this of *Cedrenus*, had I not found somewhat more in *Suidas*, than *Cedrenus* hath hereof, as the forme of inuocation which *Thulis* vsed, & that clause of his giuing name to the Iland: though in this last point I hold *Suidas* to be deceived; as also *Cedrenus* is, or (at least) seems to me, in giuing to this King such profound antiquitie of reigne. Indeed the very name of that booke, cited often by *Cedrenus*, which he calls *Little Genesis*, is alone enough to breed suspicion of some impudore: but the frierly stuffe that he alledgeth out of it, is such as vvould seruet to discredit himselfe, were it not otherwise apparant, that he vvvas a man both deuout, & of good iudgement, in matters that fell vvithin his compasse. I will here set down the List of old Egyptian Kings deliuered by him, and leaue the censure to others.

The first king of Egypt that he sets downe, is *Mizraim*, the sonne of *Cham*. After him he finds many of a new race, deriuing their pedigree thus: *Nimrod*, the son of *Chus*, was also called *Orion*, & further tooke vpon him the name of the Planet *Saturne*, had to wife *Semiramis*, who was of his own Linage, & by her three sonnes; *Picus*, surnamed *Iupiter*, *Belus* and *Ninus*. *Picus* chasing his father out of *Assyria* into *Italie*, reigned in his stead thirtie yeares, and then gaue vp that Kingdome to *Inno*, his sister and wife, and to *Belus* his son: after which *Belus*, who reigned only two yeares, *Ninus* had the Kingdome, and married his owne mother *Semiramis*. But *Picus* went into *Italie*, to visit his blde father *Saturne*; *Saturne* forth vvith reigned the Kingdome vnto him. *Picus* *Iupiter* reigned in *Italie* threescore and two yeares, had threescore and ten vvives or Concubines, and about as many children: finally died, and lyes buried in the Isle of *Crete*.

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The Principall of *Iupiters* sons, were *Faunus*, *Proculus*, and *Apollus*. *Faunus* was called by the name of the Planet *Mercurius*; he, reigned in *Italia*, after his father, three and thirty years: and then finding that all his brethren conspired against him, he went into *Egypt*, with abundance of Treasure; where, after the death of *Misphus*, he got the Kingdom, and held it nine and thirty years. After *Menturis*, *Kullan* reigned in *Egypt*, foure years and a halfe. Then *Ses*, the sonne of *Vulcan*, reigned twenty years and a halfe. These followed in order *Sesit*, *Osiris*, *Orax*, and *Thales*; after whom we spake before: the length of their severall reignes is not set downe. After *Thales* was the great *Osiris* king twenty years. His successor was *Pharao*, called *Nubeho*; that held the Crowne fifty years, with which there passed from him the surname of *Pharao*, to a very long posteritie.

These reports of *Cadrenus* I hold it enough to set downe as I find them: let their credit rest vpon the Author.

Others yet we find, that are said to have reigned in *Egypt*, without any certainenore, when, or how long: about whom I will not labour, as fearing more to be reprehended of vaine curiositie, in the search made after these already rehearsed, than of negligence, in omitting such as might have beene added.

*Vaphres*, the father in law to *Salomon*, and *Sesac*, the afflicter of *Rehoboam*, lead vs againe into faire way, but not farre. The name of *Vaphres* is not found in the Scriptures; but we are beholding to *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Eusebius*, for it. Those giue vs not the length of his reignie, but we know, that he liued in the times of *Dauid* and of *Salomon*. He came into *Palestina* with an Armie, took *Gegar* from the *Canaanites*, & gave it to his daughter, *Salomons* wife: though for her sake perhaps it was, abate in time following either he, or as I rather take it, *Sesac* his son did fauour the enemies of *Salomon*, who kept so many Wiues and Concubines, besides this *Egyptian* Princeesse. In the life of *Rehoboam* all hath bin written that I find of *Sesac*, excepting the length of his reignie, which must haue bin fixe and twenty years, if he were that *Swendus* with whom *Eusebius* begins the one and twentieth *Dynastie*.

Now forasmuch as it would serue to no great purpose, that we knew the length of *Sesac* his reignie, and of theirs that followed him, vnlesse therewithall we knew the beginning of *Sesac*, vpon which the rest haue dependance, this course I take. From the fourth yeare of *Ichoiskim*, king of *Iuda*, in which *Pharao Neco* was slain, I reckon vponwards the yeares of the same *Neco*, and of his predecessors, vnto the beginning of *Sesac*: by which account, the first yeare of *Sesac* is found, concurrent with the twentieth of *Salomons* reignie, and the twenty fixe of *Sesac* with the fifth of *Rehoboams*: wherein *Sesac* spoiled the Temple, and died, enioying the fruits of his Sacriledge no longer, than *Ios* the *Israelite*, & *Craffus* the *Romane* did; who after him, spoiled the Temple of *Ierusalem*.

To fill vp the time between *Sesac* and *Neco*, I haue rather taken those kings that I find in the *Greece* Historians, than them which are in *Eusebius* his Catalogue. For of these that are deliuered by *Eusebius*, we find no Name nor Act recorded elsewhere, save only of *Beechoris*, who is remembered by *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, and others, much being spoken of him, that makes him appeare to haue bin a king. Hereunto I may adde, that the succession is often interrupted in *Eusebius* by *Ethiopian*s, which got the kingdom often, and held it long: whereas contrariwise it appeares by the Prophet *Esaie*, that the Counsellors of *Pharao* did vaunt of the long & flourishing continuance of that house, in somuch, that they said of *Pharao*, *I am the Sonne of the wife, I am the Sonne of the ancient King*. But that which ouerthrows the reckoning of *Eusebius*, is, the good agreement of it with his mistaken times of the kings of *Iuda*. For though it please him well to see how the reignes of *Iosias* and *Neco* meet by his computation, yet this indeed marres all, the reignie of *Iosias* being misplaced. This error growes from his omitting to compare the reignes of the kings of *Iuda* with theirs of *Israel*: by which occasion, *Ioram*, king of *Israel*, is made to reigne three yeares after *Abazia* of *Iuda*; *Samarita* is taken by *Salmanassar* before *Hezekia* was king: and in a word, all, or most of the kings, haue their beginnings placed in some other yeere, of their collateralles, than the Scriptures haue determined.

§. VI. Of

## S. VI.

Of *Chemmis*, *Cheops*, *Cephrenes*, and other Kings recited by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, which reigned betwene the times of *Rehoboam* and *Ezekia*.

Following therefore the *Greece* Historians, I place *Chemmis*, or (according to *Diodore*) *Chemmis*, first in the ranke of those that were Kings after *Sesac*. He reigned fiftie yeares, and built the greatest of the three *Pyramides*, which was accounted one of this worlds Wonders. The *Pyramis* hath his name from the shape, in that it resembleth a flame of fire, growing from the bottome vponwards narrower and narrower to the top. This of *Chemmis* being foure-square, had a Base of seven akers euerie way, and was about fixe akers high. It was of a very hard & durable stone, which had lasted, when *Diodore* saw it, about a thousand yeares, without complaining of any iniurie that it had suffered by weathen in so long space. From the reignie of *Chemmis*, vnto the age of *Augustus Caesar*, wherein *Diodore* liued, are indeede a thousand yeares; which doth giue the better likelihood vnto this time wherein *Chemmis* is placed. As for this and other *Pyramides*, late Writers doe testifie, that they haue seene them yet standing.

After *Chemmis*, *Diodore* placeth *Cephrenes* his brother; but doubtfully, and enclining rather to the opinion, that his son *Chabreus* succeeded. *Herodotus* hath *Cheops* (who might be *Chabreus*) and *Cephrenes* after him. These are said to haue bene brethren; but the length of their reignies may argue the later to haue bene son to the former: for *Cheops* reigned fiftie yeares; *Cephrenes* fiftie fixe. These were, as *Chemmis* had bene builders of *Pyramides*, whereby they purchased great hatred of their people, who already had ouer-laboured themselves in erecting the first. These *Pyramides* were ordained to be Tombs for those that raised them; but the malice of the *Egyptians* is said to haue cast out their bodies, & to haue called their Monuments by the name of an Heardsman, that kept his Beasts thereabouts. It may be, that the robbing them of their honor, & casting a poore fellow to their workes, was held to be the casting out of their bodies: otherwise, it is hard to conceiue, how it might be, that they, who had not power to auoid the like slauerie, laid vpon them by the younger brother or son, should haue power or leisure to take such reuenge vpon his Predecessor. To the like malice may be ascribed the tale deuised against *Cheops* his Daughter; That her Father, wanting money, did prostitute her, & that she, getting of euery man that accompanied her, one stone, did build with them a fourth *Pyramis*, that stood in the middle of the other three. Belike she was an insolent Lady, and made them follow their drudgery, for her sake, longer a while than they thought to haue done, in raising a Monument, with the superfluitie of her Fathers prouisions.

*Mycerinus*, the son of *Cephrenes*, reigned after his Father fixe yeares. He would haue built as his fore-goes did, but preuented by death, finished not what he had begun. The people thought him a good King, for that he did set open the Temples, which *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* had kept shut. But an Oracle threatned him with a short life of fixe yeers only, because of this his deuotion; For (said the Oracle) *Egypt should haue bene afflicted an hundred and fiftie yeeres, which thy Predecessors knew, and performed for their parts; but thou hast released it, therefore shalt thou liue but fixe yeeres*. It is very strange, that the gods should be offended with a King for his pietie; or that they should decree to make a Countie impious, vwhen the people were desirous to serue them; or that they hauing so decreed, it should lie in the power of a King, to alter destinie, and make the ordinance of the gods to faile in taking full effect. But these were *Egyptian* gods. The true God was, doubtlesse, more offended with the institution of such Idolatrie, than with the interruption. And who knowes, whether *Chemmis* did not learne somewhat at *Ierusalem*, in the last yeare of his Father *Sesac*, that made him perceiue, and deliuer to those that followed him, the vanity of his *Egyptian* superstition? Most sure it is that his reignie, and the reignes of *Cheops*, and *Cephrenes*, were more long and more happy, than that of *Mycerinus*, vwho, to delude the Oracle, reuelled away both dayes and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, he had changed his nights into dayes, and so doubled the time appointed: a seruice more pleasing to the Deuil, than the restitution of Idolatrie durst then seeme, when it could speede no better. I find in *Reimseus* fiftie

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yeeres



yeares assigned to this King, which I verily beleue to haue bin some error of the print, though I find it not corrected among other such oversightes: for I know no Auth that giues him so many yeares, and *Reinecius* himself takes notice of the Oracle, that threatened *Mycerinus* with a short life, as is before shewed.

*Bocchorus* is placed next vnto *Mycerinus*, by *Diodore*, who speaks no more of him than this, that he was a strong man of body, & excelling his predecessors in wit. He is spoken of by diuers Authors, as one that loued iustice, and may be taken for that *Banchyrus*, whom *Suidas* commends in that kind: *Eusebius* reckons 44. yeeres of his reigne.

After *Bocchorus*, one *Sabacus* an *Aethiopian* followes, in the Catalogue of *Diodore*; but certain ages after him. *Herodotus*, quite omitting *Bocchorus*, hath *Apychis*; who made a sharpe law (as it was then held) against bad debtors, that their dead bodies should be in the creditors disposition, till the debt were paid. This *Apychis* made a Pyramis of brick, more costly and faire, in his owne iudgement, than any of those that the former Kings had raised. Besides this *Apychis*, *Herodotus* placeth one *Anysis*, a blinde man, before the *Aethiopian*. The reignes of these two are perhaps those many ages, which the *Egyptians*, to magnifie their antiquities, accounted betwene *Bocchorus*, and him that followed them. But all this could make but sixe yeeres, and so long doth *Euclides*, so long doth *Reinecius* hold, that these two kings, between them both did gouerne. If any man would lengthen this time, holding it vnp probable that the reignes of two kings should haue bin so soone spent, hee may doe it by taking some yeares from *Setbon* or *Psammiticus*, and adding them to either of these. To adde vnto these, without subtracting from some other, would breede a manifest inconuenience: forasmuch as part of *Sesac* his reigne, must haue bene in the fifth of *Rehoboam*, as also the last of *Pharao Neco* was the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, and the first of *Nabuchadnezar*. For mine owne part I like it better to allow fixe yeares onely to these two kings, than to lose the witness of *Herodotus*, who, concurring herein with the Scriptures, doth speak of *Sennacheribs* warre: at which time *Setbon* was King of *Egypt*. I will not therefore adde yeares vnto these obscure names; for by adding vnto these men three yeares, we shall thrust the beginning of *Setbon* out of place, and make it later than the death of *Sennacherib*. In regard of this agreement of *Herodotus* with the Scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him, in his *Egyptian* kings. Otherwise it were a matter of no great enuie, to leaue both *Apychis* and *Anysis* out of the roll, which were easily done, by placing *Sesac* lower, & extending his life yet fixe yeares further, or more, (if the like abridgement shall be required of *Psammiticus* his reigne) vnto the yeares of *Rehoboam*.

Of *Sabacus* the *Aethiopian*, who took the kingdome from *Anysis*, it is agreed by the most, that he reigned fiftie yeares. He was a mercifull Prince, not punishing all capitall offences with death, but imposing bondage and bodily labour vpon malefactors; by whose toyle he both got much wealth into his owne hands, letting out their seruice to hire, and performed many workes, of more vse than pompe, to the singular benefit of the Country. *Zonaras* calls this King *Sna*; the Scriptures call him *So*. *Hosea*, the last King of *Israel*, made a league with him against *Salmanassar*, little to his good: for the *Egyptian* was more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendship could not preserue the *Israelites* from destruction.

It seemes, that the encroching power of the *Assyrian*, grew terrible to *Egypt* about these times; the victories of *Tiglath Phulassar*, and *Salmanassar*, hauing eaten so farre into *Syria*, in the reigne of this one king *So* or *Sabacus*. Yea, perhaps it was in his dayes (for his reigne began in the fourth of *Menahem*) that *Phul* himself did make the first entrance into *Palestina*. This caused *So* to animate the halfe subdued people, against their Conquerours; but the helpe which he and his Successor gaue them was so faint, that *Sennacherib* and his successor compared the *Egyptian* succour to a broken staffe of Reede. Such a staffe *Hosea* found it, and such *Ezekia* might haue found it; had he not bene supported by the strong staffe of him, that ruleth all Nations with a rodde of yron. It appeareth by the words of *Rabsake*, that the opinion was great in *Iuda*, of the *Egyptian* forces, for *Charress* and *Horfe-men*; but this power, whatsoever it was, grew needfull, within a little while, for the defence of *Egypt* it selfe which *So* left vnto *Setbon* his Successor, hauing now fulfilled the fiftie yeares of his reigne. *Herodotus* and *Diodore* haue both one tale, from the relation of *Egyptian* Priests, concerning the departure of this king; saying, that he left the Country, & willingly retired into *Aethiopia*, because

because it was often signified vnto him in his dreames, by the god which was worshipped at *Thebes*, that his reigne should be neither long nor prosperous, vnlesse he flew all the Priests in *Egypt*; which rather than to do, he resigned his kingdome. Surely, these *Egyptian* gods were of a strange qualitie, that so ill rewarded their seruants, and invited kings to doe them wrong. Well might the *Egyptians* (as they likewise did) worship Dogs as gods, when their chiefe gods had the propertie of Dogs, which loue their Masters the better for beating them. Yet to what end the Priests should haue feigned this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I thinke that it might be some deuice of the fearefull old man, who seeing his Realme in danger of an inuasion, sought an honest excuse for his departure out of it, and with-drawing himselfe into *Aethiopia*, where he had bene bred in his youth. What if one should say, that the *Aethiopia*, into which he went, was none other than *Arabia*, whereof *Tirhaka* the king (perhaps at the instigation of this man) raised an Armie against *Sennacherib*, when he meant to inuade *Egypt*, within two or three yeares after? But I will not trouble my self with such enquire. This I hold, that *So*, or *Sabacus*, was not indeed an *Aethiopian* (for in his time liued the Prophet *Esay*, who mentioneth the antiquitie of *Pharao*s house) but onely so furnamed for his education, and because issuing from thence, he got the kingdome from *Anysis*, who was his opposit. The quiet and milde forme of his government; his holding the kingdome so long without an Armie; and many other circumstances argue no lesse. But whether finally hee betooke a priuate life, or whether hee fore-went his life and kingdome at once, being now very old, it is time that we leaue him, and speake of *Setbon* his next Successor, who is omitted by *Diodore*, but remembered by *Herodotus*, by a sure token of his hauing bene king.

## §. VII.

Of *Setbon* who reigned with *Ezekia*, and sided with him against *Sennacherib*.

The first yeare of *Setbon*s reigne falls into the twelfth of *Ezekia*, which was the fift of *Sennacherib*. It was a troublesome age, and full of danger; the two great kingdomes of *Assyria* and *Egypt*, being then engaged in a Warre, the issue whereof was to determine, whether of them should rule or serue. The *Assyrian* had the better men of Warre; the *Egyptian* better provision of necessaries: the *Assyrian*, more Subiects; the *Egyptian*, more Friends; and among the new conquered halfe Subiects of *Assur*, many that were *Egyptian* in heart, though *Assyrian* in outward shew.

Of this last fore were *Ezekia*, and his people; who, knowing how much it concerned *Pharao*, to protect them against his owne great Enemy, preferred the friendship of so neare and mighty a Neighbour, before the seruice of a terrible, yet farre removed King. But herein was great difference, between *Ezekia* and his Subiects: For the good King, fixing his especiall confidence in God, held that course of policy, which he thought most likely to turne to the benefit of his Country: the multitude of *Iudea*, looking into the faire hopes which this *Egyptian* league promised, were puffed vp with vaine conceits, thinking that all was safe, and that now they should not need to feare any more of those iniuries, which they had suffered by the *Assyrians*, and so became forgetfull of God, taking counsaile but not of him. The Prophet *Esay* complained much of this presumption; giuing the people of *Iuda* to vnderstand, That the *Egyptians* were men, and not God, and their Horses flesh, and not spirit; that God himselfe should defend *Israel* vpon repentance, and that *Assur* should fall by the sword, but not of man. As for the *Egyptians* (saide the Prophet) they are vanity, and they shall helpe in vaine, their strength is to sit still.

According to the Prophets words it came to passe. For in the treaty of Confederacy that was held at *Zaan*, all manner of contentment and assurance was giuen to the *Jewes*, by *Setbon*, or his Agents, who filled them with such reports, of Horses and Chariets, that they did not looke (as *Esay* saith) vnto the holy one of *Israel*, nor seeke vnto the Lord. But he yet is wisest.

After a while came *Sennacherib* with his Army, & wakened them out of these dreames, for *Setbon* their good Neighbour, as neare as he was, did seem farre off, being vnready, when his helpe was most needfull. It may seem that he purposed, rather to make *Palestina* than *Egypt* the stage, whereon this great Warre should be acted, and was not without hope, that the *Assyrians* and *Jewes*, weakening one another, should yeeld vnto him a

faire aduantage ouer both. Yet he fought with monie; for he sent Horses and Camels laden with treasure, to hire the *Arabians*, whom *Esay* calleth a people that cannot profit. These *Arabians* did not profit indeede; for besides that it seemes by the same place of *Esay*, that the rich treasures mislcarried, and fell into the enemies hands before any helpe appeared from *Tirhaca*, all the strong Cities of *Iuda* were taken by *Sennacherib*, except *Lisba*, *Lachis*, and *Ierusalem* it selfe, which were in fore distresse, till the sword of God, and not of Man, defeated the *Affryan*, who did goe, for feare, to his Tower, that is, he fled to *Ninewe*, where he was slaine.

Concerning this expedition of *Sennacherib*, *Herodotus* takes this notice of it: That it was purposed against *Egypt*, where the men of warre, being offended with *Seton* their King, who had taken away their allowance, refused to beare armes in defence of him & their Country; that *Seton* being *Vulcans* Priest, bemoaned himselfe to his god, who by dreame promised to send him helpers; that hereupon *Seton*, with such as would follow him, (which were crafts-men, shop-keepers, & the like) marched towards *Belsium*; and that a great multitude of field-mice entring the Campe of *Sennacherib* by night, did gnaw the bowes, quiuers, and straps of his mens armour, that they were faine the next day to flie away in all haste, finding themselves disarmed. In memorie hercof (saith *Herodotus*) the statue of this King is set vp in the Temple of *Vulcan*, holding a Mouse in his hand, with this inscription: *Let him, that holds me serue God*. Such was the relation of the *Egyptian* Priests, wherein how farre they swared from the truth, being desirous to magnifie their own King, it may easily be perceived. It seemes that this Image of *Seton* was fallen down, and the tale forgotten in *Diodorus* his time, or else perhaps, the Priests did forbear to tell it him (which caused him to omit it) for that the nation of the *Iewes* was then well knowne to the vworld, whereof euery childe could haue told, how much falshood had bene mingled with the truth.

We find this historie agreeable to the Scriptures, thus farre forth; That *Sennacherib* king of the *Affryans* and *Arabians*, (so *Herodotus* calleth him: the *Syrians*, or peraduenture some borderers vpon *Syria*, being meant by the name of *Arabians*) liued in this age, made Warre vpon *Egypt*, and was miraculously driuen home. As for that exploit of the Mice, and the great pleasure that *Vulcan* did vnto his Priest; happy it was (if *Seton* were a Priest) that he tooke his god now in so good a moode. For within three or foure yeeres before this, all the Priests in *Egypt* should haue bin slaine, if a mercifull king had not spared their liues, as it were halfe against the gods will. Therefore this last good turne was not enough to serue as an example, that might stir vp the *Egyptians* to piety, seeing that their deuotion, which had lasted so long before, did bring all the Priests into danger of such a bad reward. Rather I thinke, that this Image did represent *Sennacherib* himselfe, and that the Mouse in his hand, signified Hieroglyphically (as was the *Egyptian* manner of expresseing things) the shamefull issue of his terrible expedition, or the destruction of his Armie, by means wherewith came, no man knew from violence. For the vengeance of God, shewed vpon this vngodly king, was indeede a very good moe-  
tiue to piety. But the Embleme, together with the Temple of *Vulcan* (being perhaps the chiefe Temple in that Towne wherethis Image was erected) might giue occasion to such a fable; the Deuill helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be roobed of his honour. Yet that we may not bellie the Deuill, I hold it very likely, that *Seton* finding himselfe in danger, did call vpon his gods, that is, vpon *Vulcan*, *Serapis*, or any to whom he had most deuotion. But so had other of his predecessors done in the like need: yet which of them had obtained succour by the like miracle? Surely the *Iewes* euen such of them as most were giuen to Idolatrie would haue bin ashamed of the confidence which they reposed in the Charets of *Egypt*, because they were many, and in the Horsesmen, because they were very strong; had it bin told them, that *Seton*, in stead of sending those Horse-men and Charets, was beseeching *Vulcan* to send him and them good lucke, or else (for these also were *Egyptian* gods) addressing his prayers to some Onyon or Cat. Howsoeuer it was, doubtlesse the propheticke of *Esay* tooke effect, which said, *They shall be as ashamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor belee, nor do them good, but shall be a shame and also a reproch*. Such is commonly the issue of humane wisdom, when resting secure vpon prouision that it selfe hath made, it will no longer seeme to stand in need of God.

Some there are who take *Seton* to haue bin set downe by *Eusebius*, vnder the name of *Tarachus*

*Tarachus* the *Ethiopian*; and therefore the twenty yeeres which are giuen to *Tarachus*, they allow to the reigne of *Seton*. These haue well obserued, that *Tarachus* the *Ethiopian* is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a king of *Egypt*, but as a friend to that Countrey, or at least an enemy to *Sennacherib*, in the war last spoken of; the *Ethiopians* (as they are englished) ouer which he reigned, being indeede *Chasites* or *Arabians*. Hereupon they suppose aright, that *Eusebius* hath mistaken one King for another. But whereas they think, that this *Tarachus* or *Tirhaca*, is placed in the roome of *Seton*, and therefore giue to *Seton* the twentie yeeres of *Tarachus*, I hold them to haue erred on the other hand. For this *Ethiopian* (as he is called) began his Reigne ouer *Egypt*, by *Eusebius* his accompt, after the death of *Sennacherib* and of *Ezekia*, in the first yeere of *Manasses* King of *Iuda*. Therefore he, or his yeeres, haue no reference to *Seton*.

*Herodotus* forgets to tell how long *Seton* reigned; *Funlinus* preposterously, citing no author, nor alledging reason for it, sets him down thirty three yeeres; many omit him quite, and they that name him, are not careful to examine his continuance. In this case, I follow that rule which I propounded vnto my selfe at the first, for measuring the reigns of these *Egyptian* Kings. The yeeres which passed from the first of *Rehoboam*, vnto the fourth of *Ichabakim*, I so diuide among the *Egyptians*, that giuing to euery one the proportion allowed vnto him by the Author in whom he is found, the rest is to be conferred vpon him whose length of reigne is vncertaine; that is, vpon this *Seton*. By this accompt I find the thirty three yeeres, that are set downe by *Funlinus*, to agree very neerely, if not precisely, with the time of *Setons* reigne; therefore I conforme my own reckoning to his, though I could be content to haue it one yeare lesse. The reason of this computation I shall render more at large, when I arrive at the time of *Psammiticus*, whereupon it hath much dependance, and wherinto the course of this History will shortly bring me, the *Egyptian* affaires growing now to be interlaced with the matters of *Iuda*, to which it is meete that I returne.

## CHAP. XXVII.

### Of Manasses and his Contemporaries.

#### S. I.

The wickednesse of Manasses. His imprisonment, Repentance, and Death

**M**ANASSE, the Son of *Ezekia*, forgetting the pietie of his Father and the prosperitie which followed him, set vp, repaired, adorned and furnished, all the Altars, Temples, and high Places, in which the Diuell was by the Heathen worshipped. Besides, he himselfe esteemed the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres, with all the Hoste of Heauen, as gods, and worshipped them: and of all his acts the most abominable was, that he burnt his Sons for a Sacrifice to the Diuell *Moloch*, or *Adelchor*, in the Valley of *Hinnon*, or *Benhinnon*: wherein was kindled the fire of Sacrifice to the Diuels.

He also gaue himselfe to all kinde of Witchcraft and Sorcerie, accompanied & maintained those that had familiar Spirits, and all sorts of Enchanters: besides, he shed so much innocent blood, as *Ierusalem* was replenished therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was reprehended by that aged & reuerent Prophet *Esay* (who was also of the kings race, & as the *Iewes* affirme, the Father-in-law of the King) he caused the Prophet neere vnto the Fountaine of *Siloe* to be sawne in sunder, with a wooden saw, in the eightieth yeere of his life: a cruelty more barbarous & monstrous than hath bene heard of. The Scriptures indeede are silent hercof, yet the same is confirmed by *Epiphanius*, *Isidore*, *Eusebius*, and others, too many to rehearse, and too good to be suspected. Therefore the Lord brought vpon them the Captaines of the Hosts of the Kings of *Assur*, which tooke *Manasse*, and put him in fetters, and bound him in chains, and carried him to *Babel*: Where after he had lien twenty yeeres as a captiue, and dispoyle of all honour and hope; yet to his hearty repentance and continuall

Esay 30.

Esay 31.

30

40

Esay 31.

Iust Martini.  
cedronic 91.  
Glossa 275  
Tertullide Pat.

2 Chron. 33. 11.

tinuall prayer, the God of infinite mercie had respect, and moued the *Assyrians* heart to deliuer him.

It is also likely that *Merodach*, because he loued his father *Ezechias*, was the easilier perswaded to restore *Manasse* to his libertie and estate. After vvhich, and when he was againe established, remembreing the miseries vvhich followed his vickednesse, & Gods great mercies toward him, he changed forme, detested his former foolish and deuilish Idolatry, and cast downe the Idols of his owne erecting, prepared the Altar of God, & sacrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of *Ierusalem*: and dyed after the long reigne of fiftie five yeares. *Glycus* and *Suides* report, that *Manasse* vvas held in a cage of yron by the *Assyrians*: and therein fed with bread of bran and water, which men may beleue as it shall please their fancies,

## §. II.

Of troubles in Egypt following the death of Sethon. The reigne of Psammiticus.

**T**Hat the wickednesse of King *Manasse* vvas the cause of the euill, which fell vpon his Kingdome and Person, any Christian must needs beleue: for it is affirmed in the Scriptures. Yet was the state of things, in those parts of the World, such, at that time, as would haue inuited any Prince (and did perhaps inuite *Merodach*, who fulfilled Gods pleasure, vpon respect borne to his owne ends) desirous to enlarge his Empire, to make attempt vpon *Juda*. For the Kingdome of *Egypt*, which was become the pillar, whereon the state of *Juda* leaned, about these times was miserably distracted with ciuill dissention, & after two yeeres, ill amended by a diuision of the gouernment betwene twelue Princes. After some good agreement betwene these, eleuen of them fell out with the twelfth of their colleagues, and were all finally subdued by him, who made himselfe absolute King of all. This *Inter-regnum*, or meere *Anarchie*, that was in *Egypt*, with the diuision of the Kingdome following it, is placed by *Diodore*, who omitteth *Sethon*, betwene the raigne of *Sabacus*, and *Psammiticus*: but *Herodotus* doth set the *Ariflocratie*, or twelue Gouernors, immediately before *Psammiticus*, vvho vvas one of them, and after *Sethon*.

The occasion of this dissention seemes to haue bin the vn certainty of title to that Kingdome: for that the crown of *Egypt* passed by succession of blood, I haue often shewed, which ended, for a while, by the partition of all among twelue, though things were not settled, vntill one had obtained the Soueraignty.

These twelue Rulers gouerned fifteene yeares, in good seeming agreement, which to preserve, they made strait couenant & alliances one with another, being iealous of their estate, because an Oracle had foretold, that one of them should depose all the rest, noting him by this token, that he should make a drink-offering in *Vulcaus* Temple, out of a Copper goblet. Whilest this vnite lasted, they ioyned together in raising a Monument of their Dominion, which was a Labyrinth, built nere vnto the Lake of *Meris*; a worke so admirable, that (as *Herodotus*, who beholding it, affirms) no words could giue it commendation answerable to the stateliness of the worke it self. I will not here set downe that vny effect description, which *Herodotus* makes of it, but think enough to say, that he prefers it farre before the Pyramids, one of which (as he saith) excelled the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, or any of the fairest workes in *Greece*. *Diodorus* reports this Labyrinth to haue bin the worke of *Marus*, or *Menides*, a king which liued five generations before *Protus*, that is, before the Waire of *Troy*, and from this Labyrinth (saith he) *Dadalus* took the patterne of that which he made for *Minos* in *Crete*. Who this *Marus*, or *Menides* was, I cannot tell. *Reineccius* takes him to haue bin *Anemenes*, which reigned immediately before *Thooris*. But this agrees not with *Diodore*: for *Dadalus* & *Minos* were both dead long before *Anemenes* was King. Belike *Reineccius*, desiring to accommodate the fabulous relations of *Manethon*, *Charemon*, & others, that are found in *Iosephus*, touching *Amenophis* and his children, to the storie of *Amasis*, and *Atifanes* the *Ethiopian*, mentioned by *Diodore*; held it consequent, after he had coniectured *Manethons* *Anemophis*, to be *Diodorus* his *Amasis*; that *Sethon* should be *Atifanes*, and that *Anemenes* should be *Marus*. If in this case I might intrude a coniecture; the times which we now handle are those, about which *Reineccius* hath erred in making search; *Amasis* was *Amasis*, *Atifanes* was *Sabacus*; and *Marus* was one of these twelue Princes, to whom *Herodotus* giues the

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the honour of building this famous Labyrinth. For *Atifanes* the *Ethiopian* deposed *Amasis*; *Sabacus* the *Ethiopian* deposed *Amasis*; *Atifanes* gouerned well, and was milde in punishing offenders; so likewise vvas *Sabacus*; *Marus* the next king after *Atifanes* built this Labyrinth; and the next (saith *Sethon*, whom *Diodore* omits, as hauing not heard of him) that ruled after *Sabacus*, performed the same worke, according to *Herodotus*, who was more likely to heare the truth, as liuing neerer to the Age wherein it was performed. The varietie of names, and difference of times, wherein *Diodore* beleueed the Priests, might be a part of the *Egyptian* vanitie, which was familiar with them, in multiplying their kings, and boasting of their antiquities. Here I might adde, that the twelue great Hals, Parlours, and other circumstances remembered by *Herodotus*, in speaking of this building doe helpe to proue, that it was the worke of these twelue Princes. But I hasten to their end.

At a solemne feast in *Vulcaus* Temple, when they were to make their drinke-offerings the Priest, forgetting himselfe, brought forth no more than eleuen Cuppes. Hereupon *Psammiticus*, who standing last had not a Cup, tooke off his brazen Helmet; and therewith supplied the want. This caused all the rest to remember the Oracle, and to suspect him as a Traitor; yet, when they found that it was not done by him vpon set purpose, or ill intent, they forbore to kill him, but, being iealous of their estate, they banished him into the marish Countries by the Sea side. This Oracle, and the euent, is held by *Diodore* as a fable, which I beleue to haue bin none other: In the rest *Herodotus* and *Diodore* agree, saying, that *Psammiticus* hired Souldiers out of *Caria* and *Ionis*, by whose aide he vanquished his Companions, and made himselfe sole King.

The yeeres of his reigne, according to *Herodotus*, were fiftie foure; according to *Eusebius*, fortie foure; *Mercator*, to reconcile these two, giues fortie foure yeares to his single reigne, and ten to his ruling, ioynly with the Princes before spoken of. Indee, he that was admitted, being a man growne (for he cannot in reason be supposed to haue bene then a young fellow) into the number of the twelue Gouernors, must be thought to haue liued vnto extreame age; if he ruled partly with others, partly alone, therefore & nine yeares. I therefore yeeld rather to *Eusebius*, but will not adventure to cut five yeares from the *Ariflocratie*: though peradventure *Psammiticus* was not at first one of the twelue but succeeded (either by election, or as next of blood) into the place of some Prince that dyed and was ten yeares companion in that gouernment.

Another scruple there is, though not great, which troubles this reckoning. The yeeres of the *Egyptians*, as we find them set downe, are more by one, than serue to fill vp the time, between the first of *Rehoboam*, & the fourth of *Iehoiakim*. This may not be. Wherefore either we must abate one yeare from *Sethon*'s reigne, that was of vn certaine length; or else (which I had rather doe; because *Futellius* may haue followed better authority than I know, or than himselfe alleadgeth, in giuing to *Sethon* a time so neerely agreeing with the truth) we must confound the last yeere of one reigne, with the first of another. Such a supposition were not insolent. For no man can suppose, that all the Kings, or any great part of them, which are set downe in Chronological tables, reigned precisely so many yeeres as are prescribed vnto them, without any fractions: it is enough to thinke, that the surplussage of one mans time, supplied the defect of anothers. Whicofore I confound the last yeare of those fifteene, wherein the twelue Princes ruled, with the first of *Psammiticus*, who surely did not fall out with his Companions, fight with them, & make himselfe Lord alone, all in one day.

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the first in *Egypt*, vvho entertained any strait amitie with the *Greekes*; that he retained in pay his Mercenaries of *Caria*, *Ionis*, and *Arabia*, to whom he gaue large rewards and possessions; and that he greatly offended his *Egyptian* Souldiers, by bestowing them in the left wing of his Armie, whilist his Mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more honorable place) in an expedition that he made into *Syria*. Vpon this disgrace it is said, that his Souldiers, to the number of two hundred thousand, forsooke their naturall Countrey of *Egypt*, and went into *Ethiopia*, to dwell there: neither could they be reuoked by kinde Messiges, nor by the King himselfe, who ouer-tooke them on the way; but when he told them of their Countrey, their Wiues, and Children, they answered, that their weapons should get them a Countrey, and that nature had enabled them to get other wiues and children.

It is also reported of him, That he caused two Infants to be brought vp in such sort, as they might not heare any word spoken; by which meanes, he hoped to find out, what nation or Language was most ancient; forasmuch as it seemed likely, that nature would teach the children to speake that language, which men spake at the first. The issue hereof was, that the children cried, *Becus, Becus*, which word being found to signifie Bread in the *Phrygian* tongue, serued greatly to magnifie the *Phrygian* antiquitie. *Coropius Becanus* makes no small matter of this, for the honour of his *Low-Dutch*; in which the word *Beker*, signifies (as Baker in English) a maker of bread. He that will turne ouer any part of *Coropius* his workes, may find enough of this kinde, to perswade a willing man, that *Adam* and all the Patriarchs vsed none other tongue than the *Low-Dutch*, before the confusion of languages at *Babel*; the name it selfe of *Babel*, being also *Dutch*, and giuen by occasion of this confusion; for that there they began to babble, and talke, one knew what.

But I will not insist vpon all that is written of *Psammiticus*. The most regardable of his acts was the siege of *Azotus* in *Palastina*, about which he spent nine and twenty yeeres. Neuer haue we heard (saith *Herodotus*) that any Citie endured so long a siege as this; yet *Psammiticus* carried it at the last. This Towne of *Azotus* had bene won by *Tartan*, a Captaine of *Sennacherib*, and was now, as it seemeth, relieued, but in vaine, by the *Babylonian*, which made it hold out so well.

## §. III.

What reference these Egyptian matters might haue to the imprisonment and enlargement of Manasses. In what part of his reigne Manasses was taken prisoner.

**W**ere it certainly knowne, in what yeere of his reigne *Manasses* was taken prisoner, and how long it was before he obtained libertie; I thinke we should finde these Egyptian troubles to haue bene no small occasion, both of his Captiuitie and enlargement: God so disposing of humane actions, that euen they, who intended onely their owne businesse, fulfilled onely his high pleasure. For either the ciuill vvarres in *Egypt* that followed vpon the death of *Sethon*; or the renting of the Kingdome, as it were, into twelue peeces; or the vvarre betwene *Psammiticus* and his Collogues; or the expedition of *Psammiticus* into *Syria*; and the siege of *Asztus*, might minister vnto the *Babylonian*, either such cause of hope, to enlarge his Dominion in the South parts; or such necessity of sending an Armie into those parts, to defend his owne, as would greatly tempt him, to make sure vvorke vwith the King of *Juda*. The same occasions sufficed also, to procure the deliuerie of *Manasses*, after he was taken. For he was taken (as *Iosephus* hath it) by subtiltie, not by open force, neither did they that apprehended him, vvinne his Country, but onely vvasite it. So that the *Iewes*, hauing learned vvit, by the ill successe of their folly, in redeeming *Amazias*, were like to be more circumspect, in making their bargaine vpon such another accident: and the *Babylonian* (to whom the Egyptian matters presented more weighty arguments of hope and feare, than the little kingdome of *Juda* could afford) had no reason, to spend his forces, in pursuing a small conquest, but as full of difficultie as a greater, vvhcreby he should compell his mightiest enemies to come to some good agreement; vvhcn by quitting his present aduantage ouer the *Iewes*, he might make his way the fairer into *Egypt*.

Now concerning the yeere of *Manasses* his reigne, wherein he was taken prisoner, or concerning his captiuitie it selfe, how long it lasted; the Scriptures are silent, & *Iosephus* giues no information. Yet I find cited by *Tornielius* three opinions, the one of *Belarmine*, vvhich thinke that *Manasses* was taken in the fifteenth yeere of his reigne; the other of the Author of the greater *Hebrew Chronologie*, vvhich affirms, that it was in his twentieth seuenth yeere; the third, of *Rabbi Kimhi* vpon *Ezekiel*, vvhich saith, that he was fortie yeeres an Idolater, and liued fifteene yeeres after his repentance. The first of these coniectures is vvhich *Tornielius* vvhich reiects the second, as more vnprobable, and condemnes the third as most false. Yet the reasons alledged by *Tornielius* in defence of the first, and refutation of the last opinion, are such as may rather proue him to fauour the *Cardinal*, as farre as he may, (for where need requires, hee doth freely dissent from him) than to haue vsed his accustomed diligence in examining the matter, before

before he gaue his iudgement. Two arguments he brings to maintaine the opinion of *Belarmine*: the one, that *Ammon* the Sonne of *Manasses*, is said by *Iosephus* to haue followed the workes of his Fathers youth; the other, that had *Manasses* growne old in his sinnes, it is like that hee should haue continued, as hee did, in his amendment vnto the end of his life. Touching the former of these arguments, I see no reason, why the sinnes of *Manasses* might not be distinguished from his repentance in his old age, by calling them workes of his youth, which appeared when he was twelue yeeres old; though it were granted that he continued in them (according to that of *Rabbi Kimhi*) vntill he was fifteen yeeres from death. Touching the second; howeouer it be a full charge, to cast off vnto the last those good motions vnto repentance, which we know not whether euer God offer vnto vs againe; yet were it a terrible hearing, That the sins which are not forsaken before the age of two & fiftie yeeres, shall be punished with small impunity. But against these two collections of *Tornielius*, I wil lay two places of Scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not vnlikely, That *Manasses* continued longer in his wickednesse, than *Belarmine* hath intimated, if not as long as *Rabbi Kimhi* hath affirmed. In the second Booke of *Kings*, the euill which *Manasses* did, is remembered at large, and his repentance vtterly omitted; so that his amendment may seeme to haue taken vp no great part of his life; the story of him being thus concluded, in the one and twentieth Chapter: Concerning the rest of the Acts of *Manasses*, and all that he did, and his sinne that hee had done, as they are not written in the booke of the Chronicles of the kings of *Juda*. The other place is in the foure and twentieth Chapter of the same Booke, where in rehearsing the calamities vvhich that Nation was punished in the time of *Iehiakim*, the great Grand-child of this *Manasses*, it is said, surely by the commandment of the Lord came this vpon *Juda*, that he might put them out of his sight, for the sinnes of *Manasses*; according to all that hee did, and for the innocent blood that hee shed; for hee filled *Ierusalem* with innocent blood; therefore the Lord would not pardon it. Who so considers well these places, may find small cause to pronounce it most false, That the repentance and amendment of *Manasses* was no earlier than fifteen yeeres before his death; or most probable, That when he was twenty seuen yeere old, he repented, and becoming a new man, liued in the feare of God fortie yeeres after. I will no longer dispute about this matter, seeing that the truth cannot be discouered. It sufficeth to say, that two yeeres of ciuill dissension in *Egypt*, foureteeen or fifteen yeeres following, wherein that kingdome was weakened, by partition of the Souerainty: the vvarre of *Psammiticus* against his Associates: and foure and twenty yeeres, of the nine and twenty, wherein the siege of *Azotus* continued, being all vvvithin the time of *Manasses*, did leaue no one part of his reigne (after the first fifteen yeeres) free from the danger of being oppressed by the *Babylonian*, whose men of warre had continuall occasions of visiting his Country. All vvhich I will adde hereto, is this; that the fifteenth of *Manasses*, was the last yeere of *Sethon* in *Egypt*, and the one, and thirtieth of *Merodach* his reigne, or accounting from the death of *Asaraddon* the twentieth: The seuen and twentieth of *Manasses* was the tenth of the twelue Princes, and the three and fortieth of *Merodach*: his fortieth, was the twenty third of *Psammiticus*, and the sixt of *Nabulassar*, the son of *Merodach*, in *Babylon*: but vvhich of these was the yeere of his imprisonment, or vvhether any other, I forbear to shew mine opinion, lest I should thereby seeme to draw all matters ouer-violently to mine owne computation.

This was the first great mastrie that the *Babylonians* had of the kingdome of *Juda*. For though *Achaz* promised Tribute to *Salmanassar*, yet *Ezechias* neuer payed it. True it is, that he hoped to stay *Sennacherib*s enterprize against him, by presenting him with three hundred talents of silver, and thirty of gold, besides the plate which couered the doores, and pillars of the Temple.

But *Manasses* being pressed with greater necessity, could refuse no tollerable conditions, that the *Babylonian* would impose vpon him; among vvhich it seemes, that this was one, (which was indeed a point of seruitude) that he might not hold peace with the *Egyptians*, whilest they were enemies to *Babylon*. This appeares not onely by his fortifying with men of warre all the strong Cities of *Juda* after his returne (which was rather against *Psammiticus*, whose party he had forsaken, than against the *Babylonian*, with whom he had thenceforth no more controuersie) but likewise by that opposition, which *Josias* made afterwards to *Pharao Neco*, in fauour of *Nabulassar*, which had bene against all reason

reason and policie, if it had not bin his duty by couenant. Of this I will speake more in convenient place.

#### 6. IV.

Of the first and second Messenian Warres, which were in the reignes of Ezekia, and Manasses, Kings of Iuda.

**N**OW concerning such actions as were performed abroad in the world, about these times of *Manasses*, the most remarkable were the *Messenian Warres*, which happened in this age, and being the greatest action performed in *Greece*, betweene the *Trojan* and *Persian* Wars, deserue not to be passed ouer with silence.

The first *Messenian* Warre began and ended in the dayes of *Ezekia*; the second in the reign of *Manasses*: but to auoide the trouble of interrupting our History, I haue thought it best, to rehearse them both in this place. Other introduction is needlesse, than to say, that the posteritie of *Hercules*, driving the issue of *Pelops* and the *Achaens* out of their seats, diuided their lands between themselves, and erected the Kingdomes of *Lacedaemon*, *Argos*, *Messene*, & *Corinth*; all which agreeing well together a while, did afterwards forget the bond of kindred, and fought one anothers ruine with bloody Wars; whereof these *Messenian* were the greatest.

The pretended grounds of the *Messenian* Warre, are scarce worth remembrance, they were so sleight. Ambition was the true cause of it: wherewith the *Lacedaemonians* were so transported, that any thing serued them as a colour to accomplish their greedy desires. Yet other matter was alleged; namely, that one *Polycharus* a *Messenian* had laine many *Lacedaemonians*, for which the Magistrates of *Sparta* desiring to haue him yielded into their hands, could not obtaine it. The *Messenians* on the other side, excused *Polycharus*, for that he was grown franticke, through iniuries receiued from *Euphones* a *Lacedaemonian*. This *Euphones* had bargained to giue pasture to the Cattell of *Polycharus*, & was therforeto receiue part of the increase; but not contented with the gaine appointed, he sold the Cattails, and slaues that kept them, to Merchants, which done, he came with a faire tale to his friend, saying, that they were stolen. Whilest the lye was yet scarce out of his mouth, one of the slaues that had escaped from the Merchants, came in with a true report of all. The *Lacedaemonian* being thus deprehended, confessed all, and promised large amends; which to receiue, he carried the Son of *Polycharus* home with him; but hauing him at home, he villanously slew him. Wherefore the *Lacedaemonians* hauing refused, after long suite made by the wretched Father, to do him right against this Theefe & Murderer, ought not to picke matter of quarrel, out of those things, which he did in that madnesse, whereinto they themselves had cast him. So said the *Messenians*, and further offered to put the matter to compromise, or to stand vnto the iudgement of the *Amphictyones*, who were as the generall Counsaile of *Greece*, or to any other faire course. But the *Lacedaemonians*, who had a great desire to occupie the faire Countrie of *Messene*, that lay close by them, were not content with such allegations. They thought it enough, to haue some hue for their doings; which the better to colour, they reckoned vp many old iniuries, & so without sending any defiance, secretly tooke an oath to hold warre with *Messene*, till they had mastered it: which done, they seized vpon *Amphisa*, a frontier Towne of that Prouince, wherein they put all to the Sword without mercy, very few escaped.

Hercupon the *Messenians* tooke Armes, and vvere met by the Enemye. A furious battaile was fought between them, which ended not vntill darke night, with vncertaine victory. The *Messenians* did strongly encampe themselves; The *Lacedaemonians*, vnable to force their Campe, returned home. This Warre began in the second year of the ninth Olympiad, and ended in the first of the foureteenth Olympiad, hauing lasted twenty yeares. The two enemye Nations tried the matter, for a while, with their proper forces; the *Lacedaemonians* waisting the inland parts of *Messene*; and the *Messenians*, the Sea-coast of *Laconia*. But it was not long ere friends, on both sides, were called in to helpe. The *Arcadians*, *Argiues*, and *Sicyonians*, tooke part with *Messene*; the *Spartans* had, besides many Subiects of their owne, aide from *Corinth*, and hired Souldiers out of *Crete*. So a second, third and fourth battaile, were fought, with great obstinacie as the first; sauing that in the fourth battaile the *Lacedaemonians* were enforced

ced to turne their backs; in the other fights, the victory was still vncertain, though in one of them the *Messenians* lost *Euphates* their King, in whose stead they chose *Aristodemus*.

Many yeares were spent ere all this blood was washed, for pestilent diseases, and want of money to entertaine Souldiers, caused the Warre to linger. And for the same reasons, did the *Messenians* forsake all their inland towns, excepting *Ithome*, which was a mountaine with a towne vpon it, able to endure more than the enemies were likely to doe. But, as some Authors tell vs, the *Lacedaemonians* were so obstinate in this War, because of their vow; that hauing absented themselves ten yeares from *Sparta*, their wiues sent them word, that their City would grow vnipeopled, by reason that no children had been borne them in all that time: Whereupon they sent backe all their ablest young men, promiscuously to accompany the young women, who got so many of them with childe, as they became a great part of their Nation, and were called *Parthenians*. *Diodorus* refers the begetting of these *Parthenians* to a former time. But in proceesse of this *Messenian* Warre, when the Deuill in an Oracle had aduised the *Messenians* to sacrifice a Virgin of the stocke of *Egyptus*, that so they might be victorious against the *Lacedaemonians*; the lot falling vpon the Daughter of one *Lyciscus*; *Epibolus* the Priest, willing to saue her, said, she was onely a fostered childe, and not borne of the wife of *Lyciscus*: which answer giuing delay to the execution of the Maide, *Lyciscus* secretly fled away with her into *Sparta*. Then *Aristodemus*, which afterwards was King, voluntarily offered his owne Daughter: but a young Noble man, being in loue with the Maide, when otherwise he could not preuaile, said openly that she was no Virgin, but that he had defoured her, and got her with childe: whereupon the Father in a rage ripped vp his innocent Daughters belly, to disproue the Louers slander: at the graue of which Daughter of his, afterwards falling, by other superstitions, into despaire of preuailling against the *Lacedaemonians*, he slew himselfe, to the great hurt of his Country, which he loued most dearly. For after his death the *Messenians* lost their courage, and finding themselves distressed by many wants, especially of victuals, they craued peace, which they obtained in most rigorous conditions. Halfe the yearly fruits of their land they were bound to send vnto *Sparta*; and they, with their wiues, to make solemne lamentations, at the death of euery Spartan King; they were also sworne to lue in true subiection to the *Lacedaemonians*; and part of their Territory was taken from them, which was giuen to the *Asinaei*, and such as had followed the Spartans in this Warre.

This peace being made vpon so vneuen termes, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirty yeares it continued: the *Messenians* not finding how to helpe themselves, and then brake out into a new and more furious Warre, than the former. The able young men, that were growne vp in the roome of those *Messenians* whom the former Warre had consumed, began to consider their owne strength and multitude, thinking themselves equall to the *Lacedaemonians*, and therefore scorned to serue such Masters, as had against all right, oppressed their Fathers. The chiefe of these was *Aristomenes*, a Noble Gentleman, of the house of *Egyptus*; who perceiving the vniforme desires of his Countreymen, aduentured to become their Leader. He therefore founding the affections of the *Argiues* & *Arcadians*, which he found thoroughly answerable to his purpose, began open warre vpon the State of *Lacedaemon*. This was in the fourth year of the three and twentieth Olympiad; when the *Lacedaemonians*, hasted to quench the fire before it should grow too hot, with such forces as they could raise of their owne, without troubling their friends, meaning to deale with their enemies, ere any succour were lent them. So a strong battaile was fought between them, & a doubtfull; saue that the *Messenians* were pleased with the issue, forasmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud Lords, to thinke them their equals. Particularly, the valour of *Aristomenes* appeared such in this fight, that his people would haue made him their King; but hee, refusing the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their Generall. Within one yeare another battaile was fought, whereunto each part came better provided. The *Lacedaemonians* brought with them the *Corinthians*, and some other friends to helpe: the *Messenians* had the *Argiues*, *Arcadians*, & *Sicyonians*. This also was a long and bloody fight; but *Aristomenes* did, so behaue himselfe, that finally he made the Enemies runne for their liues. Of such importance was this victory, that the *Lacedaemonians* began to bethinke themselves, of making some good agreement.

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But one *Tyrans* an Athenian Poet, whom by appointment of an Oracle they had gotten to direct them, re-enforced their spirits with his Verses. After this, *Arisfomenes* took by surprise a Town in Laconia, and vanquished in fight *Anaxander* King of Sparta, who did set vpon him in hope to haue recovered the booty.

But all these victories of *Arisfomenes* perished, in the losse of one battaile, whereof the honour (if it were honour) or surely the profit, fell vpon the Lacedæmonians, through the treason of *Arisfocrates*, King of Arcadia, who being corrupted by the enemies with money, fled away, and left the Messenians exposed to a cruell butchery. The losse was so great, that together with Andania their principall Citie, all the townes of Messene, standing too far from the Sea, were abandoned, for lack of men to defend them, & the Mount Era fortified, whither the multitude, that could not be safe abroad, was conueyed into a place of safety. Here the Lacedæmonians found a tedious work, that held them eleauen yeares. For besides that Era it selfe was a strong peece, *Arisfomenes* with three hundred stout Souldiers, did many incredible exploits, that wearied them, and hindered their attendance on the siege. Hee wasted all the fields of Messene, that were in the enemies power, and brake into Laconia, taking away Corne, Wine, Cattell, and all provisions, necessary for his owne people; the Slaves and household stuffe he changed into money, suffering the owners to redeme them. To remedy this mischief the Lacedæmonians made an Edict, that neither Messene, nor the adioyning parts of their owne Country, should be tilld or husbanded; which bred a great tumult among private men, that were almost vndone by it. Yet the Poet *Tyrans* appeased this vproare with pleasing Songs. But *Arisfomenes* grew so bold, that he not only ranged ouer all the fields, but aduentured vpon the Towns, surpris'd, and sackt Amyclæ, & finally caused the enemies to encrease and strengthen their Companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelihood of taking Era.

In performing these and other seruices, thrice *Arisfomenes* was taken prisoner; yet still he escap'd. One escape of his seruices to be remembered, as a thing very strange and maruailous. He had with too much courage aduentured to set vpon both the Kings of Sparta; and being in that fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken vncensell'd, and carried away prisoner, with fifty of his Companions. There was a deepe natural Cauer into which the Spartans vs'd to cast head-long, such as were condemned to dye for the greatest offences. To this punishment were *Arisfomenes* and his companions adiudg'd. All the rest of these poore men dyed with their fals; *Arisfomenes* (howsoeuer it came to passe) tooke no harme. Yet was it harme enough to be imprisoned in a deepe Dungeon, among dead carcasses, where he was like to perish through hunger and stench. But after a while he perceiued by some small glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the top) a Foxe that was gnawing vpon a dead body. Hercupon he bethought himselfe, that this beast must needs know some way, to enter the place and get out. For which cause he made shift to lay hold vpon it, and catching it by the taile with one hand, saued himselfe from biting with the other hand, by thrusting his coate into the mouth of it. So letting it creepe whither it would, he followed, holding it as his guide, vntill the way was too strait for him; and then dismissed it. The Foxe being loose, ran through an hole at which came in a little light; and there did *Arisfomenes* deliue himselfe with his nailes, that at last he clawed out his passage. When some fugitiues of Messene brought word to Sparta, that *Arisfomenes* was returned home, their tale sounded alike, as if they had said, that a dead man was requiued. But when the Corinthian forces, that came to helpe the Lacedæmonians in the siege of Era, were cut in peeces, their Captaines slaine, and their Campe taken; then was it casily beleueed, that *Arisfomenes* was aliue indeed.

Thus eleuen yeares passed whilest the enemies hovering about Era, saw no likelihood of getting it; and *Arisfomenes* with small forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the last, a slave, that had fled from Sparta, betrayed the place. This fellow had enticed to lewdness the wife of a Messenian, and was entertained by her, when her husband went forth to watch. It happened in a rainie-winter-night, that the husband came home vnlooked for, whilest the Adulterer was within. The Woman hid her Paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asked him, by what good fortune he was returned so soone. He told her, that the storme of foule weather was such, as had made all his fellowes leaue their Stations, and that himselfe had done as the

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rest did; as for *Arisfomenes*, he was wounded of late in fight, and could not look abroad; neither was it to be feared, that the enemies would stirre, in such a darker rainie night as this was. The slave that heard these tidings, rose vp secretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the Lacedæmonian Campe with the newes. There he found *Emperamus* his Master, commanding in the Kings absence. To him he vttered all; and obtaining pardon for his running away, guided the Army into the Town. Little or nothing was done that night. For the Allarme was presently taken; and the extreame darkness, together with the noise of winde and raine, hindered all directions. All the next day was spent in most cruell fight; one part being incited, by meere hope of ending a long worke, the other enraged by meere desperation. The great aduantage that the Spartans had in numbers, was recompenced partly by the assistance, which women and children (to whom the hatred of seruitude had taught contempt of death) gaue to their husbands and fathers; partly by the narrowness of the streetes and other passages, which admitted not many hands to fight at once. But the Messenians were in continuall toyle; their Enemies fought in course, refreshing themselves with meate and sleepe, and then returning (supplied the place of their weary fellowes with fresh Companions. *Arisfomenes* therefore, perceiuing that his men for want of reliefe were no longer able to hold out, (as hauing bene three dayes, and three nights vexed with all miseries, of labour, watchings, fighting, hunger and thirst, besides continuall raine and cold) gathered together all the weaker sort, whom he compassed round with armed men, and so attempted to breake out through the midst of the Enemies. *Emperamus* General of the Lacedæmonians was glad of this; and to further their departure, caused his Souldiers to giue an open way, leauing a faire passage to these desperate madmen. So they issued forth, and arriued safe in Arcadia, where they were most louingly entertained.

Vpon the first bruit of the taking of Era, the Arcadians had prepared themselves to the rescue: but *Arisfocrates* their false-hearted King, said it was too late, for that all was already lost. When *Arisfomenes* had placed his followers in safety, he chose out five hundred the lustiest of his men, with whom he resolved to march in all secret haste vnto Sparta, hoping to finde the Towne secure, and ill manned, the people being runne forth to the spoile of Messene. In this enterprize, if he sped well, it was not doubted, that the Lacedæmonians would be glad to recouer their owne, by restitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worst that could happen. There were three hundred Arcadians that offered to ioyne with him; but *Arisfocrates* marr'd all, by sending speedy aduertisement thereof to *Anaxander* King of Sparta. The Epistle which *Anaxander* sent back to *Arisfocrates*, was intercepted by some that mistrusted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falshood, which being published in open assembly, the Arcadians stoned him to death, and casting forth his body vnburied, erected a monument of his treachery, with a note: That the Periuier cannot deceiue God.

Of *Arisfomenes* no more is remaining to be said, than that committing his people to the charge of his Son *Gorgus* & other sufficient Gouernours, who should plant them in some new seat abroad, he resolved himselfe to make aboad in those parts, hoping to finde the Lacedæmonians work at home. His daughters he bestowed honorably in marriage. One of them *Demagetis*, who reigned in the Ile of Rhodes, tooke to wife, being willed by an Oracle, to marry the daughter of the best man in Greece. Finally, *Arisfomenes* went with his daughter to Rhodes, whence he purposed to haue trauiell'd vnto *Araps* the Sonne of *Oges* King of Lydia, & to *Phraortes* King of Media: but death preuented him at Rhodes, where he was honourably buried.

The Messenians were inuited by *Anaxilas* (whose great Grandfather was a Messenian, and went into Italy after the former warre) being Lord of the Rhegiens in Italy, to take his part against the Zancleans in Sicily, on the other side of the Streights. They did so; and winning the Towne of Zancle, called it Messene, which name it keeps to this day.

This second Messenian warre ended in the first yeare of the twenty eight Olympiad. Long after which time, the rest of that Nation, who staying at home seru'd the Lacedæmonians, found means to rebell; but were soone vanquished, and being driuen to forsake Peloponnesus, they went into Acarnania; whence likewise, after few ages they



were expelled by the Lacedæmonians, and then followed their ancient Countreymen into Italy and Sicily, some of them went into Africa, where they chose vnto themselves a seat.

It is very strange, that during two hundred & fourescore years, this banished Nation retained their name, their ancient customes, language, hatred of Sparta, & loue of their forsaken Country, with a desire to returne vnto it. In the third year of the hundred & second Olympiad, that great *Epaminondas*, hauing tamed the pride of the Lacedæmonians, reuoked the Messenians home, who came flocking out of all quarters where they dwelt abroad, into Peloponnesus. There did *Epaminondas* restore vnto them their old possession, & help them in building a faire City; which, by the name of the Prouince, was called Messene, and was held by them euer after, in despite of the Lacedæmonians, of whom they neuer from thenceforth stood in feare.

S. V.

Of the Kings that were in Lydia and Media, while Manasses reigned, whether Deioeces the Mede were that Arphaxad which is mentioned in the Booke of Iudith. Of the historie of Iudith.

**A**rdys King of Lydia, and *Phraortes* of the Medes, are spoken of by *Pausanias*, as reigning shortly after the Messenian war. *Ardys* succeeding vnto his father *Gyges*, began his reigne of nine and forty yeares, in the second of the five and twentieth Olympiad. He followed the steps of his father, who encroaching vpon the Ionians in Asia, had taken Colophon by force, and attempted Miletus & Smyrna. In like manner *Ardys* wan Priene, & assailed Miletus; but went away without it. In his reigne, the Cimmerians, being expelled out of their own country by the Scythians, ouerran a great part of Asia, which was not freed from them before the time of *Alyattes* this mans Grandchilde, by whom they were driuen out. They had not only broken into Lydia, but wan the City of *Sardes*; though the Cattle or Citadell thereof was defended against them, and held still for King *Ardys*; whose long reigne was vnable, by reason of this great storme, to effect much.

*Phraortes* was not King vntill the third yeare of the nine and twentieth Olympiad, which was six yeares after the Messenian war ended; the same being the last yeare of *Manasses* his reigne ouer Iuda.

*Deioeces* the father of this *Phraortes*, was King of Media, three and fifty of these five & fifty yeares in which *Manasses* reigned. This *Deioeces* was the first that ruled the Medes in a strict forme, commanding more absolutely than his Predecessours had done. For they, following the example of *Arbaces*, had giuen to the people so much licence, as caused eury one to desire the wholesome severity of a more Lordly King. Herein *Deioeces* answered their desires to the full. For he caused them to build for him a stately Palace; he tooke vnto him a Guard, for defence of his person; he seldom gave audience, which also when he did, it was with such austerity; that no man durst presume to speeche or cough in his sight. By these and the like ceremonies he bred in the people an awfull regard, and highly vpheld the Maiesty, which his predecessours had almost letten fall, through neglect of due comportments. In execution of his Royall Office, he did vprightly and seuerely administer iustice, keeping secret spies to informe him of all that was done in the Kingdome. He cared not to enlarge the bounds of his Dominion, by encroaching vpon others; but studied how to gouerne well his owne. The difference found betweene this king, and such as were before him, seemes to haue bred that opinion which *Herodotus* deliueris, that *Deioeces* was the first who reigned in Media.

This was he that built the great City of Ecbatane, which now is called Tauris; and therefore he should be that king *Arphaxad*, mentioned in the story of *Iudith*, as also *Ben Merodach*, by the same account, should be *Nabuchodonosor* the Assyrian, by whom *Arphaxad* was slaine, and *Holofernes* sent to worke wonders vpon Phud and Lud, and I know not what other Countreies. For I reckon the last yeare of *Deioeces* to haue beene the nineteenth of *Ben Merodach*; though others place it otherwise, some earlier in the time of *Merodach Baladan*, some later, in the reigne of *Nabulassar*, who is also called *Nabuchodonosor*.

In fitting this booke of *Iudith* to a certaine time, there hath much labour been spent with ill successe. The reignes of *Cambyses*, *Darius Hystaspis*, *Xerxes*, and *Ochus*, haue beene sought into; but afford no great matter of likelihood: & now of late, the times, foregoing the destruction of *Ierusalem*, haue beene thought vpon, and this age that we haue in hand, chosen by *Bellarmino*, as agreeing best with the story; though others herein cannot (I speake of such as faime would) agree with him. Whilest *Cambyses* reigned, the Temple was not rebuilt, which in the story of *Iudith*, is found standing and dedicated. The other two Persian Kings, *Darius* and *Xerxes* are acknowledged to haue beene very favourable to the Iewes; therefore neither of them could be *Nabuchodonosor*, whose part they refused to take, & who sent to destroy them. Yet the time of *Xerxes* hath some conueniences, aptly fitting this History; and about all, the opinion of a few ancient Writers (without whose iudgement the authority of this Booke were of no value) hauing placed this argument in the Persian Monarchy, inclines the matter to the reigne of his vaine-glorious King. As for *Ochus*, very few, and they faintly, entitle him to the business, Manifest it is, and granted, that in the time of this History, there must be a returne from captivity lately foregoing; the Temple rebuilt, *Isaacim* High Priest; & a long peace of threescore and ten yeares or thereabout, ensuing. All these were to be among the Iewes. Likewise on the other side, we must finde a King that reigned in Nineue, eightene yeares at the least; that vanquished & slew a King of the Medes; one whom the Iewes refused to assist; one that sought generally to be adored as God, and that therefore commanded all temples, of such as were accounted gods, to be destroyed; one whose Vice-roy, or Capitaine Generall knew not the Iewish Nation, but was faime to learne what they were of the bordering people.

Of all these circumstances; the Priesthood of *Isaacim*, with a returne from Captivity, are found concurring, with either the time of *Manasses* before the destruction of *Ierusalem*, or of *Xerxes* afterward: the rebuilding of the Temple a while before, and the long peace following, agree with the reigne of *Xerxes*; the rest of circumstances requisite, are to be found all together, neither before, nor after the Captiuitie of the Iewes, & desolation of the City. Wherefore the briefe decision of this controuersie is, That the Booke of *Iudith* is not Canonically. Yet hath *Torniellus* done as much, in fitting all to the time of *Xerxes*, as was possible in so desperate a case. For he supposeth, that vnder *Xerxes* there were other Kings, among which *Arphaxad* might be one (who perhaps restored and rededified the City of Ecbatane, that had formerly been built by *Deioeces*) and *Nabuchodonosor* might be another. This granted; he addes, that from the twelfth yeare to the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, that is five or six yeares, the absence and ill fortune of *Xerxes* in his Grecian expedition (which he supposeth to haue beene so long) might giue occasion vnto *Arphaxad*, of rebelling: and that *Nabuchodonosor* hauing vanquished and slaine *Arphaxad*, might then seeke to make himselfe Lord of all, by the Army which he sent forth vnto *Holofernes*. So should the Iewes haue done their duty, in adhering to *Xerxes* their Soueraigne Lord, and resisting one that rebelled against him; as also the other circumstances rehearsed before, be well applied to the argument. For in these times, the affaires of Iury were agreeable to the History of *Iudith*, and such a King as this supposed *Nabuchodonosor*, might well enough be ignorant of the Iewes, & as proud as we shall need to thinke him. But the silence of all Historicks, takes away beliefe from this coniecture: and the supposition it selfe is very hard, that a Rebelle, whose King was abroad, with an Army consisting of seuentene hundred thousand men, should presume so farre, vpon the strength of twelue hundred thousand foot, and twelue thousand Archers on horsebacke, as to thinke that he might doe what he list, yea that there was none other God than himselfe. It is indeede easie to finde enough that might be said against this device of *Torniellus*: yet if there were any necessity of holding the booke of *Iudith* to be Canonically, I would rather choose to lay aside all regard of prophane Historicks, and build some defence vpon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all doe, the text it self. That *Iudith* liued vnder none of the Persian Kings, *Bellarmino* (whose worke I haue not read, but finde him cited by *Torniellus*) hath proued by many arguments. That she liued not in the Reigne of *Manasses*, *Torniellus* hath proued very substantially, shewing how the Cardinall is driuen, as it were to breake through a wall, in saying that the text was corrupted, where it spake of the destruction of the Temple foregoing her time. That the Kings *Arphaxad* and *Nabuchodonosor*,

*chodoros*, found out by *Tornellus*, are the children of meere fantasie, it is so plaine that it needes no prooffe at all. Wherefore we may truely say, that they, which haue contented about the time of this History, being well furnished of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themselves (like naked men in a stormy field) haue chased *Holofernes* out of all parts of time, and left him and his great expedition, *Extra anni solisque vias*, in an age that neuer was, and in places that were neuer known.

*Judith c. 3. ver. 23. & 25.* Surely, to finde out the borders of Iapheth, which were towards the South, and ouer against *Arabia*; or the Countries of *Phul* and *Lud*, that lay in *Holofernes* his way; I thinke it would as much trouble Cosmographers, as the former question hath done Chronologers. But I will not buse my selfe herewith; hauing already so farre digressed, in shewing who liued not with *Manasses*, that I thinke it high time, to returne vnto mine owne worke, and rehearse what others I finde, to haue had their part, in the long time of his Reigne.

## S. V. L.

Of other Princes and actions that were in these times.

THE first yeare of *Manasses* was the last of *Romulus*; after whose death, one yeare the *Romanes* wanted a King. Then was *Numa Pompilius* a *Sabyn* chosen; a peaceable man and seeming very religious in his kinde. He brought the rude people, which *Romulus* had employed onely in warres, to some good ciuility, and a more orderly fashion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with superstition; as perswading them, that he had familiarity with a Nymph called *Egeria*, who taught him a many of Ceremonies, which he deliuered vnto the *Romanes* as things of great importance. But all these deuices of *Numa* were, in his owne iudgement, no better than meere delusions that serued onely as rudiments to bring the savage multitude of theues and out-laws, gathered into one body by *Romulus*, to some forme of milder discipline, than their boysterous and wilde natures was otherwise apt to entertaine. This appeared by the Books that were found in his graue, almost fixe hundred yeares after his death, wherein the Superstition taught by himselfe was condemned as vaine. His graue was opened by chance, in digging a piece of ground that belonged to one *L. Petilius* a Scribe. Two Coffines or Chests of stone were in it, with an inscription in Greeke and Latine letters, which said, That *Numa Pompilius* the son of *Pompo*, King of the *Romanes* lay there. In the one Coffin was nothing found; his body being vtterly consumed. In the other were his Bookes, wrapped vp in two bundels of waxe; of his owne constitutions seuen, and other seuen of Philosophy. They were not only vncorrupted, but in a manner fresh and new. The Pretour of the City desiring to haue a sight of these Bookes, when he perceived whereunto they tended, refused to deliuer them backe to the owner, and offered to take a solemne oath that they were against the Religion then in vse. Hereupon the Senate, without more ado, commanded them to be openly burnt. It seemes that *Numa* did meane to acquite himselfe vnto wiser ages, which he thought would follow, as one that had not bene so foolish as to beleue the Doctrine wherein he instructed his owne barbarous times. But the poison wherewith he had infected Rome, when hee sat in his Throne, had not left working, when he ministred the Antidote out of his graue. Had these Bookes not come to light, vntill the dayes of *Tully* and *Cesar*, when the mist of ignorance was somewhat better discuffed; likely it is that they had not onely escaped the fire, but wrought some good (and peraduenture generally) effect. Being as it was, they serued as a confutation, without remedy, of Idolatry that was inueterate.

*Numa* reigned three and forty yeares in continuall peace. After him *Tullus Hostilius* the third King was chosen, in the fixe and fortieth of *Manasses*, and reigned two and thirty yeares, busied for the most part in warre. Hee quarrelled with the *Albanes*, who met him in the field; but in regard of the danger, which both parts had cause to feare, that might grow vnto them from the *Thuscanes*, caused them to bethinke themselves of a course, whereby without effusion of so much blood, as might make them too weak for a common enemy, it might be decided, who should command, and who obey.

There

There were in each Campe three Brethren, Twins borne at one birth (*Dionysius* saies that they were Cosen Germans) of equall yeares and strength, who were appointed to fight for their severall Countries. The end was, that the *Horatij*, Champions for the *Romanes* got the victory, though two of them first lost their liues. The three *Curatij* that fought for *Alba* (as *Linie* tels it) were all aliue, and able to fight, yet wounded, when two of their opposites were slaine; but the third *Horatius*, pretending feare, did runne away, and thereby drew the others, who by reason of their hurts, could not follow him with equall speed, to follow him at such distance one from another, that returning vpon them, hee slue them, as it had bene in single fight, man after man, ere they could ioine together and set vpon him all at once. *Dionysius* reports it somewhat otherwise, telling very particularly, what wounds were giuen and taken, and saying, that first one of the *Horatij* was slaine, then one of the *Curatij*, then a second *Horatius*, and lastly the two *Curatij*, whom the third *Horatius* did cunningly seuer the one from the other, as is shewed before.

This is one of the most memorable things in the old Roman History, both in regard of the action it selfe, wherein Rome was laid, as it were in a wager, against *Alba*, and in respect of the great increase which thereby the Roman State obtained. For the City of *Alba* did immediately become subiect vnto her owne Colony, and was shortly after, vpon some treacherous dealing of their Gouernour, vtterly razed, the people being remoued vnto Rome, where they were made Citizens. The strong Nation of the *Latines*, whereof *Alba*, as the mother City, had bene chiefe, became ere long dependant vpon Rome, though not subiect vnto it, & diuers petty States adiacent, were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were small, yet many, I will forebear to rehearse (as being the works of sundry ages, & few of them remarkable considered apart by themselves) vntill such time as this fourth Empire, that is now in the infancy, shall grow to be the main subiect of this History.

The seuenth yeare of *Hippomenes* in Athens, was current with the first of *Manasses*. Also the three last Gouernours for ten yeares, who followed *Hippomenes*, were in the same Kingtime. Of these I finde only names, *Leocrates*, *Abxander*, and *Erizias*. After *Erizias* 30 yearly Rulers were elected.

These Gouernours for ten yeares, were also of the race of *Medon* and *Cadmus*; but their time of rule was shortned, & from terme of life reduced vnto ten yeares; it being thought likely that they would gouerne the better, when they knew that they were afterwards to liue private men vnder the command of others. I follow *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, in applying their times vnto those yeares of the Olympiads, wherein the Chronological Table, following this worke, doth set them. For he not only professeth himselfe to haue taken great care in ordering the reckoning of times; but hath noted alwaies the yeares of the *Greeks*, how they did answer vnto the things of Rome, throughout all the continuance of this History. Whereas therefore he placeth the building of Rome, in the first 40 yeare of the seuenth Olympiad, and affirmes, that the same was the first yeare of *Charops* gouernment of Athens; I hope I shall not need excuse, for varying from *Pausanias*, who lesse the beginning of these Athenians somewhat sooner.

In the reigne of *Manasses* it was, that *Midas*, whom the Poets fained to haue had Asses eares, held the kingdom of *Phrygia*. Many fables were deuised of him; especially that hee obtained of *Bacchus*, as a great gift, that all things which he should touch, might immediately be changed into Gold: by which meane he had like to haue bene starved (his meate and drinke being subiect to the same transformation) had not *Bacchus* deliuered him from this miserable faculty, by causing him to wash himselfe in the River *Pactolus*, the streame whereof hath euer since, forsooth, abounded in that precious Metall. Finally, it is said he dyed by drinking Bulls blood; being inuaded by the *Scythians*.

In this age flourished that *Antimachus*, who (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus*) observed the Moones Eclipse at the foundation of Rome.

The *Milesiens*, or, (as *Ensebius* hath it) the Athenians hauing obtained some power by Sea, founded *Maciratis* a City on the East of Egypt. *Psammetichus* herein seems to haue assisted them, who vsed all means of drawing the *Greeks* into Egypt, accounting them his surest strength. For neither *Miletus* nor Athens were now of power sufficient to plant a Colony in Egypt by force.

About

Plut. &amp; Euseb.

About this time *Archias* with his companion *Miscellus*, and other Corinthians founded *Syracusa* in Sicily, a City in after-times exceeding famous.

\* Whence in  
Strabo there is  
found *Alacra*  
a part of Pro-  
ponce where  
this City stand-  
eth *Paul. l. 5.*  
*Hal. l. 1.*  
*Strabo l. 6.*  
*Justin. l. 2.*  
*Ca. d. l. 10.*

The City of *Nicomedia* sometime \* *Astacus*, was enlarged and beautified in this age by *Ziartes* native of Thrace. *Sybilla* of Samus, according to *Pausanias*, lived much about this time.

About these times also was *Croton* founded vpon the Bay of Tarentum by *Miscellus*, the companion of *Archias* that built *Syracusa*. *Strabo* makes it somewhat more ancient: and so doth *Pausanias*.

About the same time the Parthenians being of age, & banished *Lacedæmon*, were conducted by *Phalantus* into Italy; where it is said they founded Tarentum: but *Justin* and *Pausanias* finde it built before, and by them conquered and amplified: and about the same time *Manasse* yet living, the city *Phaselis* was founded in Pamphylia, *Gela* in Sicily, *Interamne* in the region of the *Vmbri*, now *Vrbini* in Italy. About which time also *Chalcedon* in Asia, ouer against *Byzantium* (now *Constantinople*) was founded by the *Megarenses*: who therefore were vpbraid as blind, because they chose not the other side of *Bosphorus*. It were a long work to rehearse all that is said to haue bin done in the sixe and fifty yeares of *Manasses*: that which already hath been told is enough: theret being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, refering only *Ben Merodach*, and *Nabulassar*, to the businesse that will shortly require more mention of them.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the times from the death of *Manasses* to the destruction of *Ierusalem*.

## §. I.

Of *Ammon* and *Iosias*.



2 Kings 21.  
2 Chron. 33.

2 Kings 21.  
2 Chron. 34.

1 Kings 13.

2 Chron. 34.

*Ammon* the sonne of *Manasse*, a man no lesse wicked than was his Father before his conuersion, rettored the exercise of all sorts of Idolatry: for which God hardened the hearts of his owne seruants against him: who slew him after he had reigned two yeares. *Philo*, *Eusebius*, and *Nicephorus* giue him ten yeares, following the Septuagint.

*Iosias* succeeded vnto *Ammon*, being but a childe of 8 yeares old, he began to seek after the God of *Dauid* his Father; and in his twelfth yeare he purged *Iuda* and *Ierusalem* from the high places; and the groves, and the carved and molten Images: and they

brake downe in his sight the Altars of *Baalim*. He caused all the Images as well those which were grauen, as molten, to be stamp to powder, and strewed on their graues that had erected them, and this he commanded to be done throughout all his Dominions. He also slew those that sacrificed to the Sunne and Moone, and caused the Chariots and Horses of the Sunne to be burnt. Of *Iosias* it was prophesied in the time of *Ieroboam* the first, when he erected the Golden Calfe at *Bethel*, that a child should be born vnto the house of *Dauid*, *Iosias* by name, and vpon thee (said the Prophet speaking to the Altar) shall he sacrifice the Priests of the high places, that burne incense vpon thee: a prophecy very remarkable.

In the eighteenth yeare of his reigne, he rebuilt and repaired the Temple, at which time *Helkiah* the Priest found the Booke of *Moses*, called *Deuteronomy*, or, of the Law which he sent to the King: which when he had caused to be read before him, and considered of the seuerer commandments therein written, the prosperity promised to those that obserue them, and the sorrow and extirpation to the rest, he rent his garments, and commanded *Helkiah*, and others, to aske counsell of the Prophetesse *Huldah*, or, *Olda*, concerning the Booke, who answered the messengers in these words: Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will bring euil vpon this place, and vpon the inhabitants thereof, euem all the curses that are written in the Booke, which they haue read before the King of *Iuda*, because they haue forsaken

forsaken mee, and burnt incense to other gods. Only for the king himselfe, because he was a louer of God and his Lawes, it was promised that this euil should not fall on *Iuda* and *Ierusalem* in his daies, but that he himselfe should inherit his graue in peace.

*Iosias* assembled the Elders, caused the Booke to be read vnto them, made a couenant with the Lord, and caused all that were found in *Ierusalem* and *Beniamin* to doe the like, promising thereby to obserue the Lawes and Commandments in the Booke contained.

The execution done by *Iosias* vpon the Altar, idols, monuments, and bones of the false Prophets at *Bethel*, argueth his Dominion to haue extended vnto those Countries, that had bene part of the kingdome of the ten Tribes. Yet I doe not thinke, that any victory of *Iosias* in warre got possession of these places, but rather that *Ezekias*, after the sight & death of *Sennacherib*, when *Merodach* opposed himselfe against *Asarhaddon*, did vse the advantage which the faction in the North presented vnto him, and laid hold vpon so much of the kingdome of *Israel*, as he was able to people. Otherwise also it is not improbable, that the *Babylonian* finding himself vnable to deal with *Psammetichus* in *Syria* (as wanting power to raise the siege of *Azotus*, though the Towne held out nine and twenty yeares) did giue vnto *Manasses*, together with his liberty, as much in *Israel* as himselfe could not easily defend. This was a good way to breake the amity that the kings of *Iuda* had so long held with those of *Egypt*, by casting a bone between them, & withall by this benefit enlarging their Territories with adliuion of more than they could challenge, to redeem the friendship of the Iewes, which had been lost by iniuries done, in seeking to bereaue them of their owne. When it is said, that *Manasses* did after his deliuerance from imprisonment, put Captaines of warre in all the strong Cities of *Iuda*, it may be that some such businesse is intimated, as the taking possession, and fortifying of places deliuered into his hands. For though it be manifest that he took much paines, in making *Ierusalem* it selfe more defensible; yet I should rather belceue, that he, hauing already compounded with the *Babylonian*, did fortifie himselfe against the Egyptians, whose side he had forsaken, than that he trauelled in making such provisions, only for his mindes sake. The earnestnesse of *Iosias* in the king of *Babel* his quarrell, doth argue, that the composition which *Manasses* had made with that King or his Ancestor, was vpon such friendly termes, as required not only a faithfull obseruation, but a thankfull requital. For no persuasions could suffice to make *Iosias* sit still, and hold himselfe quiet in good neutrality, when *Pharao Neco* king of *Egypt* passed along by him, to warre vpon the Countries about the River of *Euphrates*.

The last yeare of *Iosias* his reigne it was, when as *Neco* the sonne of *Psammetichus*, came with a powerfull Army towards the border of *Iudea*, determining to passe that way, being the nearest toward *Euphrates*, either to strengthen the passages of that River about *Carchemish*, or *Cerecissum*, for the defence of *Syria* (as long after this, *Dioclesian* is said by *Ammianus Marcellinus* to haue done), or perhaps to invade *Syria* it self. For it seemeth that the trouaile of *Psammetichus* had not been idely consumed about that one Towne of *Ainim*, but had put the Egyptians in possession of no small part of *Syria*, especially in those quarters, that had formerly belonged vnto the *Adades* Kings of *Damasco*.

Neither was the indutry of *Neco* lesse than his Fathers had bene, in pursuing the warre against *Babel*. In which war, two things may greatly haue auailed the Egyptians, & advanced their affaires & hopes: the extraordinary valour of the mercenary Greeks, that were far better Souldiers than *Egypt* of it selfe could afford; and the danger wherein *Assyria* stood, by the force of the Medes, which vnder the command of more absolute Princes, began to feeble it selfe better; and to shew what it could doe. These were great helpes, but of shorter endurancethan was the warre; as in place more conuenient shall be noted. At the present it seems, that either some preparation of the Chaldeans to reconquer, did enforce, or some disability of theirs to make resistance, did inuite the King of *Egypt*, into the Countries bordering vpon *Euphrates*; whither *Pharao Neco* ascended with a mighty Army.

These two great Monarchs, hauing their swords drawne, and contending for the Empire of that part of the World, *Iosias* aduised with himselfe to which of these he might adhere, hauing his Territory set in the mid-way between both, so as the one could not inuade the other; but that they must of necessity tread vpon the very face and body of his Country. Now though it were so that *Neco* himselfe desired by his Embassadours,

2 Kings 22. 15.  
2 Chron. 34.

2 Chron. 33. 29.

2 Chron. 35. 26.

leau

a Chron. 35.

leaued to passe along by Iudæa, protesting that he directed himselfe against the Assyrians only, without all harmefull purpose against *Iosias*; yet all sufficed not, but the King of Israel would needs fight with him.

Many examples there were, which taught, what little good the friendship of Egypt could bring to those that had affiance therein: as that of *Ioseph* the last King of Israel, who when he fell from the dependance of the Assyrian, and wholly trusted to *Sabacus*, or *Sour* King of Egypt, was utterly disappointed of his hopes, and in conclusion lost both his life & estate, which the Assyrian so rooted vp and tare in pieces, as it could neuer after be gathered together or replanted. The calamities also that fell vpon Iuda in the thirteenth and fourteenth yeares of *Ezekias*, whilst that good king and his people relied vpon *Serbon*; and more lately, the imprisonment of *Manasses*, were documents of sufficient proofe, to shew the ill assurance, that was in the help of the Egyptians, who (neare neighbors though they were) were alwaies vnready, when the necessities of their friends required their assistance. The remembrance hereof might be the reason why *Neco* did not seeke, to haue the Iewes renew their ancient league with him, but only craued that they would be contented to sit still, and behold the pastime between him and the Assyrians. This was an easie thing to grant; seeing that the countenance of such an Army, as did, soone after this, out-face *Nabulassar* vpon his owne borders, left vnto the Iewes, a lawfull excuse of feare, had they forborne to giue it any checke vpon the way. Wherefore I beleue, that this religious and vertuous Prince *Iosias*, was not stirred vp only by a politick respects, to stop the way of *Neco*, but thought himself bound in faith & honour, to do his best in defence of the Babylonian Crowne; wherunto his Kingdome was obliged, either by couenant made at the enlargement of *Manasses*, or by the gift of such part as he held in the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. As for the Princes and people of Iuda, they had now a good occasion to shew, both vnto the Babylonians, of what importance their friendship was, and to the Egyptians what a valiant Nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their Enemy.

Some thinke, that this action of *Iosias*, was contrary to the aduice of *Jeremy* the Prophet; which I doe not finde in the Prophecy of *Jeremy*, nor can finde reason to beleue. Others hold opinion, that he forgot to aske the counsell of God: and this is very likely; seeing he might beleue that an enterprize grounded vpon fidelity and thankfulness due to the king of Babel, could not but be displeasing vnto the Lord. But the wickednes of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken such roote, as all the care of *Iosias* in reforming the Land, could not plucke vp) was questionlesse farre from harkening how the matter would stand with Gods pleasure, and much farther from enquiring into his secret will, wherein it was determined that their good King, whose life stood between them and their punishment, should now be taken from among them, and that in such sort, as his death should giue an entrance to the miseries ensuing. So *Iosias* leauing all the strength he could make neare vnto Megiddo, in the halfe Tribe of *Manasses*, encountered *Neco*: and there he receiued the stroke of death, which lingring about him till he came to Ierusalem, brought him to the Sepulchres of his Ancestors. His losse was greatly bewailed of all the People and Princes of Iuda, especially of *Jeremy* the Prophet: who inserted a sorrowfull remembrance thereof in his Booke of Lamentations.

Lam. 4. 10.

## §. II.

Of Pharao Neco that fought with Iosias: Of Ichoahaz and Ichoiakim Kings of Israel.

Of these warres, and particularly of this victory, *Herodotus* hath mention, among the acts of *Neco*. He tels vs of this King, that he went about to make a channell, whereby Ships might passe, out of Nilus into the Red Sea. It should haue reached about an hundred miles in length, and been wide enough for two Gallies to row in front. But in the middle of the work, an Oracle foretold that the Barbarians should haue the benefit of it, which caused *Neco* to desist when halfe was done. There were consumed in this toyle some businesse twelue hundred thousand Egyptians; a losse great enough to make the King forsake his enterprize, without troubling the Oracle for admonition. Howsoeuer it were, he was not a man to be idle; therefore he built a Fleet,

and

and leaued a great Army, wherewith he marched against the king of Babel. In this expedition he vied the seruice, as well of his Nauy, as of his land-forces; but no particular exploits of his therein, are found recorded, save only this victory against *Iosias*, where *Herodotus* calls the place Magdolis, and the Iewes Syrians; which is a small error, seeing same place (though diuersly named) in which this battell was fought. After this, *Neco* tooke the City of Cadytis, which was perhaps Charchemish, by Euphrates, and made himselfe Lord, in a manner, of all Syria, as *Iosephus* witnesseth.

Particularly we find, that the Phœnicians, one of the most powerful Nations in Syria, were his Subiects, & that by his command they surrounded all Africa, setting saile from the gulf of Arabia, & so passing along all the Coast, whercon they both landed, as need required, and sowed corne for their sustenance; in that long voyage which lasted three yeares. This was the first Nauigation about Africa, whercon that great Cape, now called *Of good hope*, was discovered, which after was forgotten, until *Vasco de Gama* the Portugall found it out, following a contrary course to that which the Phœnicians held; for they, beginning in the East, ranne the way of the Sun, South and then Westward, after which they returned home by the pillars & streights of *Hercules* (as the name was then) called now the streights of Gybraltar, hauing Africke still on the right hand; but the Portugals, beginning their voyage not farre from the same streights, leaued Africke on the Larboord, and bend their course vnto the East. That report of the Phœnicians, which *Herodotus* durst not beleue, how the Sun in this iournie was on their right hand, that is, on the North side of them, is a matter of necessary truth; & the observation then made hereof, makes me the better to beleue, that such a voyage was indeed performed.

But leauing these discourses of *Neco* his magnificence, let vs tell what he did, in matters more importing his Estate. The people of Iuda, while the Egyptians were busie at Charchemish, had made *Iehoshaz* their King, in the room of his father *Iosias*. The Prophet *Jeremy* calls this new King *Shallum*, by the name of his younger brother; alluding perhaps to the short Reigne of *Shallum* King of the ten Tribes: for *Shallum* of Israel reigned but one moneth; *Iehoshaz* no more than three. He was not the eldest son of *Iosias*: Wherefore it may seem that he was set vp as the best affected vnto the King of Babel; the rest of his house being more inclined to the Egyptian, as appears by the sequele. An Idolater he was, and thriued accordingly. For when as *Neco* had dispatched his busines in the North parts of Syria, then did he take order for the affaires of Iudæa. This Country was now so far from making any resistance, that the King himselfe came from Riblah in the land of Hamath, where the matter went so ill on his side, that *Neco* did cast him into bonds, and carry him prisoner into Egypt, giuing away his Kingdome to *Eliakim* his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. The City of Riblah, in after times called Antiochia, was a place vnhappy to the Kings and Princes of Iuda, as may be observed in diuers examples. Yet here *Iehoiakim*, together with his new name, got his Kingdome; an ill gaine, since hee could no better vse it. But how euer *Iehoiakim* thriued by the bargain, *Pharao* sped well, making that Kingdome Tributary, without any stroke stricken, which three moneths before was too stout to giue him peace, when hee desired it. Certaine it is, that in his march outward, *Neco* had a greater taske lying vpon his hands, than would permit him to waste his forces vpon Iudæa: but now the reputation of his good successe at Megiddo, and Charchemish, together with the dissension of the Princes *Iosias* his sonnes (of whom the eldest is probably thought to haue stormed at the pretermitt of his younger brother) gaue him power to doe, euen what should please himselfe. Yet he did forbear to make a conquest of the Land; perhaps vpon the same reason, which had made him so earnest, in seeking to hold peace with it. For the Iewes had suffered much, in the Egyptians quarrell, and being left by these their friends, in time of need, vnto all extremities, were driuen of necessity to forsake that party, and to ioyne with the enemies; to whom if they shewed themselves faithfull, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to reclaime them; seeing they were such a people as would not vpon euery occasion shift side, but endure more, than *Pharao*, in the pride of his victories, thought that any henceforth should lay vpon them: so good a Patron did he meane to be vnto them. Neuertheless he laid vpon them a Tribute, of an hundred Talents of siluer, and one Talent of gold; that so hee might both reape at the present some fruit of his paines taken, and leaued vnto them some document in the future, of greater

greater punishment than verball anger, due to them, if they should rebell. So he departed, carrying along with him into Egypt the vnfortunate king *Iehoaiaz*, who died in his Captiuitie.

The reigne of *Iehoaiaz* was included in the end of his Fathers last yeare; otherwise it would hardly be found, that *Iehoiakim*, his succellour, did reigne ten whole yeares; whereas the Scriptures giue him eleuen, that are current and incomplete. If any man will rather cast the three moneths of this short reigne, into the first yeare of the brother, than into the fathers last; the same arguments that shall maintaine his opinion, will also proue the matter to be vnworthy of disputation; and so I leaue it.

*Iehoiakim* in impiety was like his brother, in faction he was altogether Egyptian, as <sup>19</sup> having receiued his Crowne at the hand of *Pharao*. The wickednesse of these last kings, being expressed in Scriptures none otherwise, than by generall words, with reference to all the euill that their Fathers had done; makes it apparant, that the poyslon wherewith *Ahaz* and *Manasses* had infected the Land, was not so expelled by the zealous goodnes of *Iosias*, but that it still cleaued vnto the chiefe of the people, *Yea vnto the Priests also*; and therefore it was not strange, that the Kings had their parts therein. The Royall authority was much abused by the dangers wherein the Country stood, in this trouble-some age: the Princes did in a manner what they listed; neither would the Kings forbear to professe, that they could deny them nothing. Yet the beginning of *Iehoiakim* had the countenance of the Egyptian to grace it, which made him insolent and cruell, <sup>20</sup> as we finde by that example of his dealing with *Vria* the Prophet: though herein also the Princes doe appeare to haue been instigators. This holy man denounced Gods iudgements against the City and Temple, in like sort as other Prophets had formerly done, and did in the same age. The King with all the men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of this, determined to put him to death. Hereupon the poore man fled into Egypt: but such regard was had vnto *Iehoiakim*, that *Vria* was deliuered vnto his Embassadour, and sent backe to the death; contrary to the custome vsed, both in those daies, & since among all ciuill Nations, of giuing refuge vnto strangers, that are not held guilty of such inhumane crimes, as for the generall good of mankind should be exempted from all priuiledge. <sup>30</sup>

It concerned *Pharao* to giue all contentment possible to *Iehoiakim*: for the Assyrian Lyon, that had not stirred in many yeares, began about these times, to roare so loud vpon the bankes of Euphrates, that his voice was heard vnto Nilus, threatening to make himselfe Lord of all the Forrest. The causes that hitherto had withdrawne the houle of *Merodach*, from opposing the Egyptian in his conquest of Syria, require our consideration in this place; before we proceed to commit them together at Charchemish, where shortly after this, the glory of Egypt is to fall.

### §. III.

Of the Kings of Babylon and Media. How it came to passe that the Kings of Babel could not giue attendance on their businesse in Syria; which caused them to lose that Province.

**M**erodach the sonne of *Nabodonosor*, who taking the aduentage that *Sennacherib*'s misadventure and death, together with the disention betwene his children presented, made himselfe king of Babylon, was eleuen yeares troubled with a powerfull Enemy *Assadon* the sonne of *Sennacherib*, reigning ouer the Assyrians in Nineue; from whom whilst he could not any other way diuert his cares, he was faine to omit all businesse in Syria, and (as hath bene formerly shewed) to make ouer vnto *Ezekias*, some part of the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. From this molestation, the death of *Assadon* did not only set him free, but gaue vnto him some part of Assyria, if not (as is commonly, but lesse probably thought) the whole Kingdome. How greatly this was to the liking of the Assyrians, I will not here stand to enquire: his long reigne following, & his little intermeddling in matters of Syria, make it plain, that he had work enough at home, either in defending or in establishing that which he had gotten. *Iosephus* giues him the honour of hauing wonne Nineue it selfe, which we may beleue; but surely he did not hold it long. For in the times soone following, that great City was free, and vanquished *Phraortes* the Median. Perhaps it yecded vpon some capitulation: and

and refused afterwards to continue subiect, when the Kings, being of the Chaldean race, preferred Babylon before it.

Some think that this was the Assyrian King, whose Captaines tooke *Manasses* prisoner; but I rather beleue those that hold the contrary, for which I haue giuen my reasons in due place. To say truh, I finde little cause why *Merodach* should haue looked into those parts, as long as the Lewes were his friends, and the Egyptians, that maligned the Northern Empire, held themselves quiet at home, which was vntill the time of *Psummaticus*, about the end of this Kings Reigne, or the beginning of his son.

*Ben Merodach* the son and succellour of this King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; yet is he named by good consent of Authors, and that speake little of his doings. The length of his Reigne is gathered by inference to haue bene one and twenty yeares; for so much remaineth of the time that passed betwene the beginning of his Fathers and his Nephewes Reignes, which is a knowne summe) deducting the yeares of his Father, and of his sonne *Nabulassar*. This (as I take it) was he that had *Manasses* Prisoner, and released him. He sped ill in Syria, where *Psummaticus*, by the vertue of his Mercenary Greeces, did much preuaile. This may haue been some cause that he released *Manasses*, and did put into his hands some part more of the Kingdome of Samaria: which is made probable by circumstances alledged before.

*Nabulassar* that reigned in Babylon after his father *Ben Merodach*, had greater businesse in his owne Kingdome; than would permit him to looke abroad: inso much as it may be thought to haue been a great negligence or ouer-sight of *Psummaticus* and *Necop*, that they did not occupy some good part of his Dominions beyond Euphrates. For it was in his time, that *Phraortes* King of the Medes invaded Assyria, and besieged Nineue; from whence he was not repelled by any force of *Nabulassar*, but constrained to remoue by the coming of the Scythians, who in these ages did ouer-flow those parts of the world, laying hold vpon all that they could master by strong hand. Of these Scythians, and the Lordship that they held in Asia, it is conuenient that I speak in this place; shewing briefly afore-hand, how the Medes, vpon whom they first fell, were buied in the same times with hopes of conquering Assyria.

*Phraortes*, the sonne of *Deioces*, King of the Medes, hauing by many victories enlarged his Dominions, conceiued at length a faire possibility of making himselfe Lord of Nineue.

That City (as *Herodotus* reports it) hauing been a Soueraigne Lady, was not forsaken of all her dependants; yet remained in such case, that of her selfe she was well enough.

This makes it plain, that howsoeuer *Merodach* had gotten possession of this imperiall seat, and made it subiect as was the rest of the Country; yet it found the means to set it selfe at liberty: as after this againe he did, when it had been regained by *Nabulassar* his Grand-child.

Sharpe warre, and the very nouelty of suddaine violence, vsed to dismay any State or Country, not inured to the like: but custome of danger hardeneth euen those that are vnwarlike. Nineue had been the Palace of many valiant Kings lately reigning therein; it had suffered, and resisted, all the fury, wherewith either Domesticall tumults between the sons of *Sennacherib*, or forreigne war of the Babylonians, could afflict it: and therefore is the lesse wonderfull, that *Phraortes* did speed so ill in his journey against it. He and the most of his Army perished in that expedition: whereof I finde no particular circumstances; perhaps he vnderuallued their forces; and brought a lesse power than was needfull. It is enough, that herein we may beleue *Herodotus*.

*Cyaxares* the sonne of *Phraortes*, a braver man of war than his Father, was as much of Asia the lesse, as lay Eastward, from the River of Halys; hee fought reuenge vpon the Assyrians for the death of his father; & besieged Nineue it selfe, hauing a purpose to destroy it. I rather beleue *Babylus*, that hee tooke the City, and fulfilled his displeasure vpon it, than *Herodotus*, that the Scythian Army came vpon him whilst hee lay before it. For where equall authorities are contradictory (as *Herodotus*, though far later than *Herodotus*, yet showing seen other Authors that are now lost, it is to be valued according to his great reading more do) hold it best to yecde vnto the best likelihood.

To thinke that the Scythians came vpon *Cyaxares*, whilst he lay before Nineue, were to accuse him of greater imprudencie; than ought to be suspected in one commended as a good Souldier. But to suppose that he was faine to leaue the Towne; when a Warre

so dangerous fell vpon his owne Country, doth well agree both with the condition of such businesse as that Scythian expedition brought into those parts, and with the State of the Chaldean and Assyrian affaires ensuing.

The destruction of this great City is both foretold in the Booke of *Tobit*, and there set downe as happening about these times; of which booke whosoever was the Author, he was ancient enough to know the Story of those ages, and hath committed no such error in reckoning of times, as should cause vs to distrust him in this. As for the Prophecie of *Nahum*, though it be not limited vnto any certaine terme, yet it appears to haue taken effect, in the final destruction of Nineue by *Nabuchodonosor*, according to the common opinion. For the Prophet hath mention of a Conquest of Egypt, foregoing this calamity, whereof we will speake in due place. Some that ascribe more authority than the reformed Churches yeeld, to the booke of *Tobit*, are carefull, as in a matter of necessity, to affirme, that about these times, Nineue was taken; but they attribute (conjecturally) the victory ouer it to *Ben Merodach*: a needlesse coniecture, if the place of *Eusebius* be well considered. Yet I hold it probable, that *Nabulassar* the son of *Ben Merodach*, did seize vpon it, & place a King or Vice-roy therein, about such time as the Country of Assyria was abandoned by *Cyaxares*, when the Scythian Warre ouerwhelmed Media. For then was the Conquest wrought out ready to his hand; the swelling spirits of the Nineuites were allayed, & their malice to Babylon so much allswaged, that it might be thought a great fauour, if *Nabulassar*, appointing vnto them a peculiar King, took him and them into protection: though afterwards to their confusion, this vnthankfull People and their King rebelled againe, as shall be shewed in the Reigne of *Nabuchodonosor*.

## §. IIII.

The great expedition of the Scythians, who ruled in Asia eight and twenty yeeres.

## †. I.

The time of this expedition.

NOW that I haue shewed what impediment was giuen by the Assyrians and the Medes, to the Babylonians, who thereby were much disabled to performe any action of worth vpon the Egyptians in Syria; it is time that I speake of that great Scythian expedition, which grievously afflicted not only the Babylonians, but the Medes & Lydians, with the Countries adiacent, in such wise, that part of the trouble-dounded cūen to the Egyptians themselves. Of the Scythian people in generall, *Herodotus* makes very large discourse, but interlaced, as of matter ill knowne, with many Fables; of this expedition he tels many particulars, but ill agreeing with consent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needlesse to recite them; for they are farre enough distant from the businesse in hand. The computation of times which by inference out of his relations, may seeme very strange, needeth some answer in this place: lest otherwise I should either seeme to make my selfe too bold with an Authour, in citing him after a manner different from his owne tale; or else to be too forgetfull of my selfe, in bringing to act vpon the Stage, those persons, which I had already buried. Eight and twenty yeeres, he saith, that the Scythians reigned in Asia, before *Cyaxares* deliuered the Country from them. Yet hee reports a warre betwene *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* the Lydian, as foregoing the siege of Nineue; the siege of Nineue being ere the Scythians came. And further he tels, how the Scythians, hauing vanquished the Medes, did passe into Syria, and were encountered in Palestina by *Psammiticus* King of Egypt, who by gifts and entreaty procured them to depart from him. These narrations of *Herodotus* may, euery one of them, be true; though not in such order of time, as he hath marshalled them. For *Psammiticus* was dead before *Cyaxares* began to reigne: and *Cyaxares* had spent halfe of his forty yeeres, ere *Halyattes* was King of Lydia; so that hee could not, after those Lydian Warres, reigne eight and twenty yeeres together with the Scythians. It is true, that *Eusebius* doth also call *Psammiticus* the sonne of *Phrao Neco*, by the name of *Psammiticus*; and this King *Psammiticus* may, by some strained coniecture, be thought to haue bene he that met with the Scythians: for he liued with

with both *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes*. But *Eusebius* himselfe referres all that businesse of the Scythian irruption into Palestina, to *Psammiticus* the Father of *Neco*, whom he leaues dead before the Reigne of *Halyattes*. Therefore I dare not relye vpon *Herodotus*, in this matter, other wise than to beleue him, that such things were in these ages, though not in such order as he sets them downe.

It remains, that I collect as well as I can, those memorials which I finde of this expedition scattered in diuers places: a worke necessary, for that the greatnesse of this action was such, as ought not to be omitted in a generall History; yet not easie, the consent of those that haue written thereof, being nothing neare to vniformity.

I haue noted before, that in the reigne of *Ardis* King of Lydia, the Cimmerians ouer-ran that Kingdome, and were not expelled, vntill *Halyattes* the Nephew of *Ardis* got the vpper hand of them. In these times therefore of *Ardis*, *Sadiastes*, and *Halyattes*, are we to haue the eight and twenty yeeres, wherein the Scythians reigned ouer Asia. Now forasmuch as *Psammiticus* the Egyptian had some dealings with the Scythians, even in the height of their prosperity, we must needs allow more than one or two of his last yeeres vnto this their Dominion. But the beginning of *Halyattes* his Reigne in Lydia, being three and twenty yeeres compleat after the death of *Psammiticus*, leaues the space very scant, either for the great victories of the Scythians, necessarily supposed before they could meete the Egyptian in Syria, or for those many losses, which they must haue receiued ere they could be driuen quite away. To increase this difficulty, the vntoward Reigne of *Nabuchodonosor* in Babylon, is of no small moment. For how may we thinke it possible, that he should haue aduentured the strength of his Kingdome against the Egyptians and Iewes, had he stood in daily feare of losing his owne; to a more mighty Nation, that lay vpon his necke? To speake simply as it appears to me; the victories ascribed to *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* ouer these warlike people, were not obtained against the whole body of their Army, but were the defeatures of some troops, that infected their seuerall Kingdomes; other Princes, and among these, *Nabulassar* hauing the like successe, when the pleasures of Asia had mollified the courages of these hardy Northern Laddes. Wherefore we may probably annex the eight and twenty yeeres of the Scythians rule, to as many almost the last of *Nabulassars* Reigne, in compass whereof their power was at the greatest. This is all that I can say of the time, wherein Asia suffered the violence of their oppressors.

## †. II.

What Nations they were that brake into Asia; with the cause of their Tournie.

Touching the expedition it selfe, *Herodotus* tels vs, that the Cimmerians being driuen out of their Country by the Scythians, invaded and wasted some part of Asia; and that the Scythians, not contented with hauing won the land of the Cimmerians, did follow them, I know not why, into farre remoued quarters of the world, so (as it were by chance) falling vpon Media and Egypt, in this pursuit of men that were gone another way into Lydia. Hereby we may gather that the Cimmerians were an odious and base people; the Scythians, as mischievous and foolish; or else *Herodotus*, and some other of his Country-men, great slanderers of those, by whom their Nation had bene beaten, and Ionia, more than once, grievously ransacked. The great valour of the Cimmerians or Cimbrians is so well known, and their many Conquests so well testified in Histories of diuers Nations, that the malice of the Greeks is insufficient to staine them with the note of Cowards. These were the posterity of *Gomer*, who peopled the greatest part of our Western World; and whose re-flow did ouerwhelm no small portion of Greece & Asia, as well before and after, as in the age whereof we do now entreat. He that would more largely informe himselfe of their original and actions, may peruse *Goropius Becanus* his *Amasconica*; of many things in which Booke, that may be verified, which the learned *Ortelius* is said to haue spoken, of all *Goropius* his workes, that it is easie to laugh at them, but hard to confute them: There we finde it proued, by such arguments and authorities, as are not lightly to be regarded, that the Cimmerians, Scythians and Sarmatians, were all of one Linage and Nation; howsoever distinguished in name, by reason of their diuers Tribes, professions, or perhaps dialect of speech. *Homer* indeed hath mention of the Cimmerians; whose Country whether he placeth in the West, as neare vnto the



Ocean and bounds of the Earth, or in the North, as being farre from the Sunne, and covered with eternall darknesse; certain it is that he would haue them near neighbours to Hell: for he had the same quarrell to them which *Herodotus* had, and therefore belike would haue made them seeme a kinde of Goblins. It was the manner of this great Poet (as *Herodotus* writing his life affirms) to insert into his works the names of such as liued in his owne time, making full mention of them, as the good or ill done by them to himselfe deferred. And for this reason it is proued by *Eustathius*, that the Cimmerians were so disgraced by him, because they had wasted his Country, Perhaps that inuasion of Phrygia by the Amazons, wherof *Homer* puts a remembrance into *Priamus* his discourse with *Helen*, was the very same, which *Ensebius* noteth to haue happened somewhat before the age of *Homer*, at what time the Cimmerians with the Amazons, together inuaded Asia.

Diod. l. 4. c. 2.

Diod. l. 25. c. 11.

This is certain, that both the Amazons & the Cimmerii (who in after-times were called Cimbr) did often breake into Greece and Asia; which though it be not in expresse tearmes written, that they did with ioynt-forces, yet seeing they inuaded the selfe-same places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One iourney of the Amazons into Greece, mentioned also by *Ensebius*, was by the streights of the Cimmerians, as we finde in *Diodore*, who further telleth vs, that the Scythians therein gaue them assistance. The same Authour, before his entry into those discourses of the Amazons, which himselfe acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report them to haue bene wiues of the Scythians, and no lesse Warre-like than their Husbards; alledging the example of that Queen who is said to haue slaine the great Persian *Cyrus*. That it was the manner of the Cimbr to carry their wiues along with them to the Warres; and how desperate the courage was of those Women; the terrible descent of them into Italy, when *Marinus* the Romane ouerthrew them, giues prooffe sufficient. I will not here enter into a discourse of the Amazons; another place will giue me better leisure to speake of them: but seeing that they are noted by diuers Historians to haue belonged vnto the Cimmerians, to the Scythians, and to the Sarmatians, we may therefore the better approve *Coropius* his conclusion, That these three Nations were one, at least that they were neare allies.

Now as concerning the expulsion of the Cimmerians by the Scythians, it appears to haue bene none other than the sending a Colony of them forth into Asia, with an Army of Scythians to helpe them, in purchasing a new seate, and establishing the plantation.

Plutarch in the life of Marius.

The Sarmatians also were companions in this iourney. For the City of Nouograd in Russia (which Country is the same that was called Sarmatia) stood in their way home-wards, as shall anon be further shewed. So that all the North was vp in Armes: and therefore it is no maruell though many Countries felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voyage was that, which the same people made fife hundred years and more after this, when they were encountered by the Romans. For they issued from the parts about the Lake Mæotis; they were then likewise assisted (saith *Plutarch* in the most likely report of them) by the Scythians their neighbours; they had in their Armie about three hundred thousand fighting men, besides a huge multitude of women and children; they wandered ouer many Countries, beating all downe before them; and finally, thinking to haue settled themselves in Italy, they diuided their Company, for the more easie passage thither, and were consumed in three terrible battailes by the Roman Consuls. Meere necessity enforced these poore Nations to trouble the World, in following such hard adventures. For their Country being more fruitfull of men, than of sustenance, and shut vp on the North side with intolerable cold, which denied issue that way to their ouer-swelling multitudes; they were compelled to discharge vpon the South, and by right or wrong to driue others out of possession, as hauing title to all that they had power to get, because they wanted all, that weaker, but more ciuill, people had. Their sturdy bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all hardnesse, gaue them great advantage ouer such as were accustomed vnto a more delicate life, and could not be without a thousand superfluities. Wherefore most commonly they prevailed very farre; their next neighbours giuing them free passage, that they might the sooner be ridde of them; others giuing them, besides passage, victuals and guides to conduct them to more wealthy places; others hiring them to depart with great presents; so as the

the farther they went on, the more pleasant Lands they found, and the more effeminate people.

## †. III.

## Of the Cimmerians warre in Lydia.

The first Company of these, consisting for the most part of Cimmerians, held the way of the Euxine Seas, which they had still on the right hand; leauing on the other side, & behind them, the great Mountains of Caucasus. These hauing passed through the Land of Colchis, that is now called Mengrelli, entered the Country of Pontus, and being arriued in Paphlagonia, fortified the Promontory, whercon Sinope, a famous Har-<sup>Herod. lib. 4.</sup> uen Towne of the Greekes, was after built. Here it seemes that they bestowed the weakest and most vnseruiceable of their traine, together with the heauiest part of their carriages, vnder some good guard: as drawing near to those Regions, in conquest whereof they were to trie the vtmost hazzard. For in like sort afterwards did the Cimbr (of whom I spake euen now) dispose of their impediments, leauing them in a place of strength, where Antwerpe now stands, when they drew neare vnto Gaule, vpon which they determined to adventure themselves in the purchase. From Sinope, the way vnto Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia, was faire and open to the Cimmerians, without any ledge of Mountains, or any deep Riuers at all to stay their march: for Iris and Halys they had already passed.

What battels were fought between these inuaders and the Lydians, & with what variable successe the one or other part wanne and lost, I finde not written, nor am able to coniecture. This I find, that in the time of *Arads*, the Cimmerians got possession of Sardes the capitall City of Lydia, only the Castle holding out against them. Further I observe, that whereas *Herodotus* tells of the acts performed by *Gyges* and *Arads* Kings of Lydia, before this inuasion, and by *Halyattes* and *Cresus* in the times following; all that *Arads* did against the Cimmerians, & all, saue burning the Milesians Corne fields, that was done in twelue years by *Sadyattes* his Son (who perhaps had his hands so full of this businesse, that he could turne them to nothing else) is quite omitted: whereby it may seeme, that neither of the two did any thing worthy of remembrance in those wars, but were glad enough that they did lose all.

Certainly the miseries of war are neuer so bitter and many, as when a whole Nation, or great part of it, forsaking their owne seats, labour to root out the established possessor of another Land, making room for themselves, their wiues and children. They that fight for the mastery, are pacified with tribute, or with some other seruices and acknowledgements; which had they bene yeilded at the first, all had been quiet, and no sword bloudied. But in these migrations, the assailants bring fo little with them, that they need all which the defendants haue, their Lands and Cattell, their houses and their goods, euen to the cradles of the sucking infants. The mercilesse tearmes of this counterfeite arme both sides with desperate resolution: seeing the one part must either winne, or perish by famine; the other defend their goods, or lose their liues without redemption. Most of the Countries in Europe haue felt examples thereof; and the mighty Empire of Rome was ouerthrowne by such inuasions. But our Isle of Britaine can best witness the diuersity of Conquests; hauing by the happy victory of the Romans, gotten the knowledge of all Ciuill Arts, in exchange of liberty, that was but slenderly instructed therein before; whereas the issue of the Saxon and Danish Wars, was, as were the causes, quite contrary. For these did not seeke after the Dominion onely, but the entire possession of the Country, which the Saxons obtained, but with horrible cruelty, eradicating all of the British Race, & defacing all memoriall of the ancient inhabitants through the greater part of the Land. But the Danes (who are also of the Cimmerian bloud) found such end of their enterprize, as it may seem that the Cimmerians in Lydia, & Scythians in the higher Asia, did arriue vnto. So that by considering the proesse of the one, we shall the better conceiue the fortune of the other. Many battailes the Danes wonne, yet none of such importance, as sufficed to make them absolute Conquerours: Many the Saxons won vpon the Danes, yet not so great, as could driue them quite away, and backe from hence, after they had gotten firme footing. But in course of time, the long continuance euen of vtter enmity, had bred such acquaintance

between them, as bowing the natures of both these people, made the one more pliant vnto the other. So their disagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced into one milde temper, no small number of the Danes became peaceable cohabitants with the Saxons in England, where great slaughter had made large room; others returning home, found their owne Country wide enough to receiue them, as hauing disburthened it selfe of many thousands, that were sent to seeke their graues abroad. And such (as I thinke) was the end of the Cimmerian warre in Lydia, whereunto though some victory of *Halyattes* may haue hastened the conclusion, yet the wearisome length of time seems to haue done most, in compelling them to desire of rest. I know not why I should feare to adde hereunto my further coniecture; which is, that the matter was so compounded between the Cimmerians & *Halyattes*, that the Riuer of Halys should diuide their Territories. For Halys was henceforth the border of the Lydians, and on the Easterne side of the Riuer was the Country of the Amazons, that is indeed, of the Cimmerians and other Scythian people; whose wiues and daughteris these warlike women are supposed to haue been.

And hereunto the quarrell ensuing betweene *Halyattes* and *Cyxares* the Mede, hath very good reference. For *Halyattes* (as is said) fought in defence of certain Scythians, vpon whom the Median sought reuenge. And it stands with reason, that the Lydians and Cimmerians, being much weakened with mutuall slaughters, should haue ioyned in a league of mutuall defence for their common safety: though otherwise it had been dangerous to *Halyattes*, if he had permitted the Median to extend his Kingdome so farre Westward, whatsoeuer the pretences might be, of taking reuenge vpon such as had spoiled each of their Countries. As for that occasion of the Warre betweene these two Kings, which *Herodotus* relates, I finde it of little waight, and lesse probability. He tells of Scythians, that being chased out of their Country by faction, came vnto *Cyxares*; who committed vnto them certaine Boyes, to bee instructed in the Scythian tongue, and feat of Archery. Now it so fell out (saith he) that these Scythians vsing much to hunt, and commonly bringing home somewhat with them, did neuertheless other-whiles misse of their game, and come home as they went. Hereupon the King being froward and cholericke, bitterly reuiled them; and they, as impatient as he, killed one of the Boyes that was vnder their charge, whom dressing like Venison, they presented vnto him; which done, they fledde vnto *Halyattes*. This *Herodotus* deliueis, as the ground of a Warre that lasted sixe yeares between the Medes and Lydians; the one King demanding these Fugitiues to be deliuered into his hand, the other refusing to betray such men as were become his suppliants. To this I will say no more, than that I see no cause that might induce the Scythians to betake themselves to either of these Kings, vnto whom their Nation had wrought so much displeasure. Particularly, they had reason to distrust *Cyxares*, for the treachery that he shewed in the massacring of their Countri-men that were in his Kingdome; of whom it is now meet that we should speake.

## T. IV.

## The warre of the Scythians in the higher Asia.

As the Cimmerians held their course westerly, along the shores of the Euxine sea; so the Scythians and Sarmatians took the other way, and hauing the Caspian Sea on their left hand, passed between it and Caucasus through Albania, Colchene, & other obscure Nations, where now are the Countries of Sernan and Georgia, & so they entered into Media. The Medes encountred them in Armes, but were beaten, and thereupon glad to come to any agreement with them. This was in the time of *Phraortes*, whilst *Psammiticus* reigned in Egypt. If it were in the sixth yeare of *Nabulassars* Reigne ouer Babylon (supposing him to haue reigned sixe & thirty; otherwise we must allow to *Ben Merodach* what we take from him) then doe the eight and twenty yeares of their Dominion end, one yeare before the great *Nabuchodonosor* was King; so giuing him good leaue to provide securely for the invasion of Syria, which expedition he began while his Father yet liued, as *Iosephus* out of *Berosus* relates the History.

Now the Medes, desirous to saue themselves as well as they might, from this terrible nation, which when they had no lust to a second trial of the sword, refused not to vnder-

goe

goe the burthen of a Tribute, but thought nothing dishonourable, that would serue to remove these troublesome guests into some other lodging. On the other part, the Scythians finding still the Countries pleasant & better, the further that they marched into the South, did suffer themselves to be perswaded, that a little more traualle would adde a great deal more to their content. For they relied so much vpon their owne valour, that they feared no resistance; & being the brauest men, they thought it reason that they should dwell in the best Region. That *Phraortes* perswaded them into Egypt, I doe not think: Babylon was neare enough; whether if he could send these Locusts to graze, then should not his vnfriendly Neighbours haue cause to laugh at his misfortune. What shift *Nabulassars* made with them, or that at all he had any dealings with them, I doe not reader. But it is well known that his Dominions lay in the midst between Media and Egypt; as also, that they made all those parts of Asia Tributary; wherefore we may very well beleue, that they watered their horses in his Riuers, and that he also was content to giue them prouender.

*Psammiticus* hearing of their progresse (like the iealous Husband of a faire Wife) took care that they might not looke vpon Egypt; lest the sight thereof should more easily detain them there, than any force or perswasion that he could vse, would send them going. Therefore he met them in Syria, presuming more on the great gifts which he meant to bestow vpon them, than on his Army that should keepe them backe. Egypt was rich; and halfe the riches had not been ill spent in suauing all. Yet *Psammiticus* took the most likely course, whereby to make his part good against them by strong hand, in case they had been so obstinate as to refuse all indifferent composition. For he lay close vpon the edge of the Wildernesse in Gaza (as I take it) the Southermost border of Palestina: whence he neuer advanced to meete with the Scythians; but gaue them leaue to feede as much of the scalding Sunne-beames, ill agreeing with their temper, as all the length of Syria could beate vpon them. When they were come as farre as Ascalon, the next City to Gaza, then did he aslay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to worke so much the better, by how much the worse they were pleased with the heate of a Climate so farre different from their owne. *Psammiticus* had at his backe a vast wildernesse, ouer the scorching sands whereof, the Scythians more patient of cold and wet, than of the contrary distempers, could ill haue endured to pursue him through vnkowne waies, had they fought with him and preailed: especially the Kingdome of Egypt being ready to entertaine him with reliefe, and them with new trouble at the end of their weary journey. Wherefore they were content to be intreated, & taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back to visit their acquaintance in the high Countries. The Egyptian King (besides that he preferred his owne Estate from a dangerous aduerture, by hyring this great Army to depart from him) found all his Coast well repayed in the processe of his was in Syria, where the Nations beyond Euphrates had no power to molest him, being more than cuer troubled themselves with the returne of their oppressors. For the Scythians, resolving now to seek no further, began to demand more than the Tribute formerly imposed. And not contented to seece the Naturals with grievous exactions, they presumed to linc at discretion vpon the Country, taking what they listed from the Owners; and many times (as it were to saue the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This Tyrannous Dominion they long vsed ouer the higher Asia, that is, ouer the Country lying between the Caspian and Red Seas; and betweene India and Asia the lesse. Happy it was for the poore people, that in so large a space of ground, there was room enough for these new comers, otherwise the calamity that fell, as it were by chance, vpon those priuate men, to whose wealth any Scythian did beare a fancy, would haue lighted in generall vpon all at one clap, leaving few alive, and none able to relieue their fellowes. Yet it seems that the heaviest burthen lay vpon Media; for it was a fruitfull Country not farre from their owne home, and lay vnder a Climate well agreeing with the constitution of their bodies; there also it was that they had the fatall blow, by which their insolent Rule was taken from them.

*Cyxares* King of the Medes, who in this extremity was no better than a Rent-gatherer for the Scythians, perceiuing that his Land lay vnmanned and waste, through the negligence of his people, that were out of heart by daily oppressions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force, resolved to proue what might be done by

Herod. lib. 1.

Stratagema

stratagem. The managing of the businesse is thus deliuered in brieft; That he, and his Medes, feasted the better part of the Scythians, made them drunk, and slew them; recovering hereby the possession of all that they had lost.

Such another slaughter was committed vpon the Danes in England; but it was reuenged by their Countinmen, with greater cruelty than euer they had practised before. That the Scythians which escaped this bloody feast, made any stirre in Media, I do not find; neither do I read that either in reuenge hereof, or vpon other pretence, the Medes were troubled by inuasion from Scythia in time following.

Herod lib. 4.

This is the more strange, for that the Army returning home out of Media, was very strong, & encountered with opposition (as *Herodotus* reports it) no lesse than it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the deuice of *Cyaxares* to free his Country, tooke good effect, with lesse blood-shed than hath been supposed. For if he surprised all the chief of them, it was no hard matter to make a good composition. Many of them doubtlesse in eight and twenty years had so well ferled themselves, that they were desirous of rest, and might be permitted, without any danger, to remaine in the Country; many (of whom I shall speake anon) hauing done what they could in the businesse, for which they came forth, were willing to returne home with what they had gotten; such as were not pleased with either of these two courses, might goe ioyne with the Cimmerians in Lydia, or seeke their fortunes in other Prouinces among their owne Companions. Whereas all the Families of the North are said to haue bin with *Nabuchadnezzar*, it may to be vnderstood, that a great part of the Scythians, vpon hope of gaine, or desire to keepe what they had already gained, were content to become subiect vnto *Nabuchadnezzar*: mens loue of their wealth being most effectually, in taming the more vnquiet loue of inordinate liberty. This is certaine, that *Nabuchadnezzar*, as euer after, lo in his first beginning of warre, did beate the Egyptians, who in ages foregoing had been accustomed to deale with the Babylonians after another fashion: & this new successe of that King may be imputed, in regard of humane meanes, to such addition as this of new forces.

Her. 1. 9.

Of the Scythian Army returning out of Media, diuers Authors report a Story, which confirms me in the opinion, that this Company went forth to assist their kintred and friends, in acquiring a new feat, and establishing their plantation. For these had left their wiues behinde them; a good argument to proue that they meant to come againe. The Scythian women, to comfort themselves in their husbands absence, became bed-fellows to their slaues. These got a lusty brood of youths, that were loth to be troubled with Fathers-in-Law, and therefore prepared to fight with them at their returne. If they were onely the children of slaues, which compounded an Army (as *Herodotus* would haue it, who tels vs, that the Scythians were wont to pull out all their bond-mens eyes) it must needs be that they were very Boyes, or else that the Women did very little while continue chaste. Wherefore I rather belecue that tale as it is told by the Russes themselves, who agreeing in the rest with the consent of Histories, make that report of their Ancestors returning homewards, which I will set down, as I finde it in *Maister Doctor Fletcher*: his exact discourse of the *Russe Common-wealth*. They vnderstood by the way, that their *Cherlopoy*, or *Bond-slaues*, whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their Townes, Lands, Houses, wines, and all. At which newes being somewhat amazed, and yet disdaining the Villany of their seruants, they made the more speede home: and so not farre from *Nouograd* met them in warlike manner marching against them. whereupon aduising what was best to be done, they agreed also to set vpon them with no other shew of weapon but with their horse-whips (which, as their manner is, euery man videt himselfe) to put them in remembrance of their seruile condition, thereby to terrifie them, and abate their courage. And so marching on, and labling all together with their whips in their hands, they gaue the onser: which seemed so terrible in the eares of their Villaines, and strooke such asense into them of the smart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like Sheep before the Druiers. In memory of this villory, the *Nouogradians* euer since haue stamped their Coine (which they call a *Dingko* *Nouogradskoy*, currant through all *Russia*) with the figure of a Horseman shaking a whip & loss in his hand. It may seeme, that all the women of that Country haue feared the worse euer since, in regard of their vniuerfall fault: for such a Pudkey or whip, as terrified those slaues, curiously wrought by her selfe, is the first present that the Moscouian Wife, euen in time of wooing, sends to him that shall be her husband, in token of subiection; being well

Rus. Commonw. Cap. 4.

well assured to feele it often on her own loines. But this was a Document vnto the Scythians; or rather Sarmatians (for *Nouograd* stands in the Country that was called *Sarmatia*) to beware of absenting themselves any more so long from their wiues; which afterwards, I finde not that they did.

Thus much I thought good to set down of the Scythian expedition, not only because it is the most memorable act performed abroad by that Nation, famous in Histories, and terrible to many Countries; but for that it appears to haue been a great cause of the Egyptians preuailing hitherto in Syria, and about Iudaea, which continues yet a while the centre of our discourse.

## §. V.

## Of Princes lining in diuers Countries, in these ages.

Hauing thus far digressed from the matters of Iuda, to auoide all further occasion of doing the like, I will here insert a note of such Kings and men of mark, as were betweene the death of *Manasses*, and the ruine of Ierusalem. Of the Egyptians, Babylonians, Medes, and Lydians, I haue spoken as much as I thought needfull. In Rome, *Tullius Hostilius* held the Kingdome, vntill the one and twentieth yeare of *Iulius*; at which time *Ancus Martius* succeeding, reigned foure and twenty yeares. After him *L. Tarquinius Priscus*, a new-come stranger, but very rich, preuailed so farre by his graciousnesse among the people, that he got the kingdome to himselfe, disappointing the sonnes of *Ancus*, ouer whom he was Tutor. He began in the fourth yeare of *Zedekia*, and reigned eight and thirty yeares. In this time it was, namely, in the second year of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the Lacedaemonians berlinking them how to be auenged of the Arcadians; who gaue succour to the Messenians against them in the former war; entred their Territory, took the City of Phigalia or Phialia, from whence their Garisons were soone after beaten out. *Cypselus* expelling the race of the Bacidae, made himselfe Lord of Corinth about these times, & gouerned it in peace thirty yeares, leauing for succour his sonne *Periander*, one of the leauen Sages, but a cruell Tyrant, who among other vile acts, slew his owne wife, & afterwards, as in her honour, stripped all the Corinthian women stark naked, burning their apparell, as an acceptable offering to her Ghost. Hereby we may perceiue, that the wisdome of the Greeces was not excellent in those dayes; when such a one as this could be admired as excellent all the Country.

In these times also were *Zaleucus* & *Draco*, famous Lawgiuers, the one among the Locrians in Italy, the other in the City of Athens. The Lawes of *Draco* were so rigorous; that he was said to haue written them with blood: for he rewarded euery small offence with death. Wherefore his Constitutions were soon abrogated, & power giuen to *Solon* by the Athenians, to make new in their stead. But the Lawes of *Zaleucus* were very mild. He forbade any Gentlewoman to walk abroad with more than one Bond-woman attending on her, vntill she were when she was drunke; or to goe forth of the Towne by night; vntill it were to some Sweet-hearts bed; or to dresse her selfe vp in immodest braverie; vntill it were to inuigle a louer. By which pleasant Ordinances, he effected his desire for none would seeme, in breaking the Statutes, to be in such case as challenged the dispensation. It is noted in this man as a singular example of iustice, that when his own son had committed adultery, and was therefore to lose both his eyes, he did not cause him to be pardoned, but gaue one eye of his owne to saue the young man (who also lost one) from utter blindness.

I shall not henceforth neede so farre to wander, as hitherto I often haue done, in pursuing of actions collateral to the History, for inserting them in their order of time. The Chaldeans will soon fall vnder the Persians, ere long encounter with the Greeces; the Greeces, with the Romans; the Romans with many Nations. Concerning all these, as they shall successively present themselves, in their flourishing Estate, it will be enough to recapitulate the most memorable accidents, that befall them in their Minority. But in the long space of more than thirteene hundred yeares, which passed between the calling of *Abraham*, and the destruction of Ierusalem, wee finde little matter, wherein the History of Israel had any dealing with other Nations, than the very neareff borderers. Yet read we of many Kingdomes, that in these many ages were erected, and

and throwne downe; as likewise, many memorable acts were performed in Greece and elsewhere, though not following one another at any neare distance, all which must have bene quite omitted, or else referred vnto a very vnseasonable rehearsal, had they not bene disposed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conueniency, may pardon the necessity.

## §. VI.

*The oppression of Iudaea, and destruction of Ierusalem by the Chaldeans.*

**N**OW to returne to the Iewish Story, from whence we haue so farre digressed. In the third year of *Iehoiakim*, *Nabuchodonosor* the second, his Father yet liuing, entered Iudaea with a great Army, who besieging and forcing Ierusalem, made *Iehoiakim* his Vassall in despite of *Necho*, that had established him King, and tooke with him for pledges *Daniel*, being as yet a child, with *Ananias*, *Misael*, and *Azarias*. Also he tooke a part of the Church treasures; but stayed not to search them thoroughly; for *Necho* hastened to the succour of *Iehoiakim*, hoping to find *Nabuchodonosor* in Iudaea; where in this great Babylonian had no disposition to hazard himselfe and his Army, it being a Country of an euill affection towards him, as also far off from any succour or sure place of retreat. If he had, as may be supposed, any great strength of Scythian horse-men in his Army; it was the more wisely done of him, to fall backe, out of the rough, mountainous, and ouer-hot Country, into places that were more euill and temperate. But besides all these reasons, the death of his father happening at the same time, gaue him iust occasion to returne home, and take possession of his owne Kingdome; before he proceeded further in the second care, of adding more vnto it. This he did at reasonable good leisure: for the Egyptian was not ready to follow him so farre and to bid him battaile, vntill the new year came in; which was the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the last of *Necho*. In this year the Babylonian lying vpon the Bank Euphrates (his owne Territory bounding it on the North-side) attended the arrival of *Necho*. There, after a resolute contention for victory, *Necho* was slaine, and his Army remaining forced to saue it selfe, which full ill it did, by a violent retreat. This victory *Nabuchodonosor* so well pursued, as he recouered all Syria, and what ouer the Egyptians held out of their proper Territory towards the North. The Egyptians being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the present discouraged, *Iehoiakim* held himself quiet, as being friend in heart vnto the Egyptian, yet hauing made his peace with the Chaldean the year before; who contented with such profit as he could then readily make, had forborne to lay any Tribute vpon Iuda. But this coole referrednesse of *Iehoiakim*, was, on both sides, taken in ill part. The Egyptian King *Psammetis*, who succeeded vnto *Necho*, began to thinke vpon restoring *Iehoaiaz*, taken Prisoner by his Father, and setting him vp as a Domestickall Enemy, against his vngratefull brother. Against all such accidents, the Iudean had prepared the vsuall remedy, practised by his fore-fathers: for he had made his owne sonne *Iechonia* King with him long before, in the second year of his owne Reigne, when the Boy was but eight yeares old. As for this rumour of *Iehoaiaz* his returne, the Prophet *Jeremy* foretold, that it should proue idle, saying: *He shall not returne thither, but he shall dye in the place whither they haue led him captiue, and shall see this Land no more.* The Egyptians indeede, hauing spent all their Mercenary forces, and receiued that heavy blow at Carchemish, had not remaining such proportion of sharpe Steele, as of faire gold, which without other helpe, is of little effect. The valour of *Necho* was not in *Psammetis* Apries, who reigning after *Psammetis*, did once aduenture to shew his face in Syria; but after a bigge look, he was glad to retire, without aduenturing the hazard of a battaile. Wherefore this decaying Nation fought onely with braue words, telling such frivollous tales, as men that meane to doe nothing, vse of their glorious acts fore-past, against *Iosias* and *Iehoaiaz*. In this case it was easie for *Iehoiakim* to giue them satisfaction, by letting them vnderstand the sincerity of his affection towards them, which appeared in time following. But *Nabuchodonosor* went to worke more roundly. He sent a peremptory message to *Iehoiakim*, willing him not to stand vpon any nice points, but acknowledge himselfe a Subiect, and pay him Tribute: adding herunto such fearefull threats, as made the poore Iudean lay aside all thought of *Pharaoh*, and yeeld to doe, as the more mighty would haue him. So he continued in the

Chrom. 36. 9.

Jer. 22. 11. & 22.

Jer. 22. 11. & 22.

the obedience of *Nabuchodonosor* for three yeares. At this time *Jeremy* the Prophet cried out against the Iewes, putting them in minde that he had now three and twenty yeares exhorted them to repentance, but because they had stopt their eares against him, and the rest of the Prophets, he now pronounced their captiuitie at hand, and that they should endure the yoke of bondage full seauenty yeares. The same calamity he threatned to all the neighbouring Nations, to the Egyptians, Moabites, Ammonites, Idumians, & the rest; foretelling that they should all drink out of the Babylonian Pitcher, the wine of his fury, whom they had forsaken, and after the seauenty yeares expired, that the Babylonians themselves should taste of the same Cup, and be vicerly subuerted by the Medes, and the Iudans permitted to returne againe into their owne Fields and Cities. The first imprisonment of the Prophet *Jeremy* seemes to haue been in the fourth year of this *Iehoiakim*, at which time *Baruch* the Scribe wrote all his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom he sent to reade them vnto the People, and afterward to the Princes, who offered them to the King: but fearing the Kings fury, they had first set *Jeremie* at liberty, and aduised him and *Baruch* to hide themselves.

*Iehoiakim*, after he heard a part of it and perceiued the ill newes therein deliuered, made no more ado, but did cut the Booke in pieces and cast it into the fire. All which *Jeremie* caused to be new written with this addition, that the dead body of *Iehoiakim*, should be cast out, exposed in the day to the heat, & in the night to the frost, and there should be none of his seed to sit on the Throne of *David*.

Time thus running on, while *Iehoiakim* rested secure of all danger, as Tributary to the Babylonian, yet well thought of by the Egyptian; the mighty City of Tyre opposed it selfe against the Chaldean forces, & vpon iust confidence of her own strength, despised all preparation that could be made against her. Now forasmuch as the terme of seauenty yeares was prescribed vnto the desolation, as wel of Tyre, as of Ierusalem, & other towns and countries; it is apparant, that they which referred the expugnation of this City vnto the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, haue full authority for their warrant. Whereupon likewise it follows of necessity, that the siege thereof began in the seauenth of his Reigne, as hauing lasted thirteen yeares.

Here I will take leaue to intrude a briefe note concerning the seuerall beginnings that are reckoned of this great Prince his Rule, whereupon hath risen much disputation. The third year of *Iehoiakim*, was the last of *Nabulassar*, who being deliuered from other cares, tooke notice of such as had revolted from him vnto *Pharaoh Necho*, and sent this Noble Prince his sonne, with an Army into Syria, to reclaime them. In this expedition was *Daniel* carried away, who therefore makes mention of the same year. The year next following, being the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, was the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which *Jeremy* figuratiueth in expresse words, and from this we reckon all his time & actions that follow. In his three and twentieth year he conquered Egypt, and then began to reigne as a great Monarch, finding none that durst offend him. The second from this year it was, wherein he saw that vision, of the Image consisting of sundry Metals; which did prefigure the succession of great Kingdomes, that should rule the Earth, before the coming of Christ. I will not stand to dispute about this, which is the best conclusion that I finde, of long disputations: but returne vnto the siege of Tyre, which began in the seauenth of his Reigne.

The City of Tyre couered all the ground of an Island, that was diuided from the maine, by a deep and broad channell of the Sea. The Chaldeans had no Fleet, and were no Sea-men; the Tyrians, in multitude of goodly Ships, & skill to vse them, excelled all other Nations; and euery winde, from one part or other, brought needfull provisions into the City. Wherefore neither feared, nor famine could greatly hurt the place; whereof neuertheless the iudgements of God denounced against it by *Ezechiel*, *Jeremie*, & *Ezekiel*, had threatned the destruction; and the obstinate resolution of *Nabuchodonosor*, had fully determined to performe it. This high-minded King, impatient of itsistance, vndertook a vast piece of worke, even to fill vp the Sea, that parted the Island from the Continent. The City of old Tyre, that stood opposite to the new, vpon the firme Land, and the mountain of Libanus near adioyning that was laden with Cedars, and abundance of other trees, might furnish him with materials. Thirteen yeares were spent in this laborious, and almost hopelesse businesse. Which needeth not seeme strange: for *Alexander* working vpon that foundation which was remaining of *Nabuchodonosors* Port, and being

being withall assisted by a strong Fleet, was yet seaven moneths ere he could make way into the City. Wherefore, if the raging of the Sea was able to carry away that where-with Alexander laboured to cover a shelve, with much more violence could it ouerturn, and as it were consume, the worke of Nabuchodonosor, who laid his foundations in the bottome of the deep, struiving as it were, to fill the empty belly of this Cormorant, whereas the Macedonian did only stop the throat of it. Every man knowes, God could have frustrated the accomplishment of his owne threats, against this place (though it had not pleased him to vfe, either miracle, or such of his more immediate weapons, as are Earth-quakes, and the like) by making at least the Seas calme, & adding the favourable concurrence of all second helps. But so it pleased him oftentimes, in chastising the pride of man, to vfe the hand of man; even the hand of man struiving, as may seeme, against all resistance of nature and fortune. So in this excessive labour of the Chaldeans, Every head was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare. Yet Nabuchodonosor would not give over till he was master of the Towne.

When he was entred upon this desperate service, whether it were so, that some losses received, some mutiny in his Army, or (which is most likely, and so Iosephus reports it) some glorious rumours of the Egyptians, gave courage to his euill willers; Zedechiam renounced his subiection, & began to hope for the contrary, of that which quickly fell on him. For Nabuchodonosor gaue him no leisure to doe much hurt; but with part of his Army marched directly into Iudaea, where the amazed king made so little resistance, the Egyptians having left him as it were in a dream, that he entred Ierusalem, & layed hands on Zedechiam: whom he first bound & determined to lend to Babylon, but changing counsell, he caused him to be staine in the place, and gaue him the Sepulchre of an Asse, to be deuoured by beasts and ravenous birds, according to the former Prophecies: leaving in his place, Zedechiam or Zedechias his sonne; whom, after three moneths and ten daies, Nabuchodonosor removed, and sent prisoner to Babylon, with Ezekiel, Mar dochaus and Ioseph, the high Priest, and the mother of Zedechias, together with his seruants, Eunuchs, and all the ablest men, and best Artificers of the Land, were also then carried away Captiues. This Zedechias, following the counsell of Ieremy the Prophet, made no resistance, but submitted himselfe to the Kings will: wherein he both pleased God, and did that which was best for himselfe, though at the present it might seeme otherwise, to such as considered the euill that befell him, rather than the greater euill that he there by avoided. This onely particular act of his is recorded, which was good. But it seems that he was partaker, at least of his Fathers faults, if not an instigator: which was the cause, that his submitting himselfe to Gods pleasure did not preferre his Estate: for so we read in general words, that he did euill in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done. In his head Nabuchodonosor established Mathania his Vncle in the kingdom of Iuda, & called him Zedechias, which is as much to say, as the Iustice of God. For like as Neco king of Egypt, had formerly displaced Iehoiakim, after his Father Ishmael was slaine, and set up Iehoiakim the son of another mother, so Nabuchodonosor slew Zedechiam, who depended on the Egyptians, and carrying his son Zedechias, Prisoner to Babel, gaue the kingdom to this Zedechias, that was whole Brother to that Zedechias, whom Neco took with him into Egypt. From Zedechias he required an oath for his faithfull obedience, which Zedechias gaue him, and called the liuing God to witnesse in the same, that he would remaine assured to the kings of Chaldaea.

In the first yeare of Zedechias, Ieremy saw and expounded the Vision of the ripe and rotten Grapes, the one signifying those Iudans that were carried away captiue, the other those that stayed, and were destroyed. In the fourth of Zedechias, Ieremy wrote in a booke all the euill that should fall upon Babylon, which he wrote of to the King, when he was with the King Zedechias to Babel, so that Nabuchodonosor, walking him first to render to the Captiue words, and then to bidde it to a Queene, and cast it into Euphrates, pronouncing these words: Thus shall Babel be druncke, and shall not rise: from henceforth shall it dwell vpon heere. This Iourning of Zedechias to Babel, is probably thought to haue bene in way of visitation, carrying on some priuate end. But I rather thinke, that he had some aduise there to take, which his Lordly Masters refused to grante, and send him away discontented. Going his returne all the bordering Princes sent Messengers to him, inciting him as it seemes, to doe some quiet courses, from which Ieremy exhorted both him and about. The Prophet by Gods

appointment, made bonds and yokes, one of which he wore about his own neck, others he sent vnto the five Kings, of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Zidon, by those Messengers which came to visit Zedechias: making them know, that if they & the Kings of Iuda abode in the obedience of Babylon, they should then possesse and enioy their own Countries; if not, they should assuredly perish by the sword, by fire, and by pestilence.

He also fore-told them, that those Vessels, which as yet remained in Ierusalem, should also trauaile after the rest, and at length they should be restored againe.

The same yeare Ananias, the false Prophet, tooke off the wooden Chaine, which Ieremy wore, in signe of the Captiuitie of the Iewes, and brake it: Vaunting, that in like manner, after two yeares, God would breake the strength of Babel, and the yoke which he layed on all Nations; restore Zedechias, and all the Iewes, with the Vessels and riches of the Temple, and giue an end to all these troubles. But Ieremy in stead of his wooden Yoke wore a Coller of yron: and in signe that Ananias had giuen a deceitfull and false hope to the people, he fore-told the death of this cold Prophet, which seized vpon him in the second Moneth. After this, when Zedechias had wauered long enough between Faith and Passion, in the eighth year of his Reigne he practised more seriously against Nabuchodonosor, with his Neighbours the Edomites, Ammonites, Moabites, Tyrians, and others that were promised great aides of the Egyptians in confidence of whose resistance, he determined to shake off the Babylonian yoke. Hereof when Nabuchodonosor had knowledge, he marched with his Army in the dead of Winter, toward Ierusalem, and besieged it. Ieremy perswaded Zedechias to render the City and himselfe; but being considered of the helpe from Egypt, and being perswaded by his Counsellors, and false Prophets, that it was vnpossible that the Kingdome of Iuda should be extirpate, vntill the coming of Sile (according to the prophecy of Iacob) he despised the words of Ieremy, and imprisoned him. For Ieremy had told the King that the City should be taken and burnt; that the King should not escape, but be taken Prisoner, and brought to the presence of Nabuchodonosor; that he should not perish by the sword, but being carryed to Babel, die his natural death.

Ierusalem, being the following yeare, surrounded by Nabuchodonosors Army; the King of Egypt, Pharaoh Hophra, according to Ieremy (Herodotus calleth him Apries) entred the border of Iuda, with his Army, to succour Zedechias, of whose revolt he had bene the principall Author. But Ieremy gaue the Iewes faithfull counsell, willing them not to haue any trust in the succours of Egypt: for he assured them, that they should returne againe, and in no sort relieue them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the Chaldeans removed from Ierusalem to encounter the Egyptians, these vaunting Patrons abandoned their enterprise, and taking Gaza in their way homeward, returned into Egypt, as if they had already done enough; leaving the poore people of Ierusalem to their destined miseries.

In the meane while the Iewes, who, in their first extremity, had manumifed their Hebrew Bond-men (as Gods Law required at the yeare of Jubile) and made them free thereof by the better to encourage them to fight; did now vpon the breaking vp of the Chaldean Army, repent them of their Charity: and thinking all had bene at an end, held them performe to their former slavery. But the Chaldees being returned to the siege, the Prophet Ieremy, when the State of Ierusalem began now to grow to extremity; counsellled Zedechias to render himselfe vnto them; assuring him of his owne life, and the safety of the City, if he would so doe. But his obstinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his infidelity and periury, had provided for him.

Three and twenty Moneths (as some doe reckon it) or according to Iosephus eighteen, the Babylonian Army lay before Ierusalem, and held it exceeding straightly besieged. For they built Forts against it round about, or (as P. Martyr hath it) extruxerunt contra eam turres ligneas per circuitum: They surrounded the City with wooden Towers, so as the besieged could neither fallly out, nor receiue into the City any supply of men or victuals. Iosephus reports, that they ouer-topped the Walls, with high Towres raised vpon Mounts; from which they did beat vpon the Wall with their Engines, that the defendants were compelled to forsake their stations. Now although it were so that the besieged also raised Counter-buildings, like vnto these, yet the great King of Babel, who commanded all the Regions thereabouts, and had the Woods and Riuers

to obey him, found means to ouer-throw all the Citizens endeavours, and to beat down as fast from without, as they raised from within; the body and foundation of his owne workes being guarded, by the Walls of *Ierusalem* interposed; and theirs within, layed open to their enemies disturbance. Besides, both *Famine* and *Pestilence* (which commonly accompany men streightly besieged) grew on fast vpon them, whereby, wherthe humbled strength, and courage of the *Iewes* failed, the *Chaldeans* made a breach and forcing an entry, their Princes did seat themselves, as Lords of the Towne, in the middle gate. *Zedechias* beholding this vncomfortable sight, and finding no remedy of the danger present, lost both his courage and his hope at once; and shifted himselfe, together with his Wives, Children, Princes, and principall Seruants, out of the City, by a way vnder ground, leaving his amazed and guidelesse people, to the mercuriall swords of their enemies. Thus he, who, when *Jeremy* the Prophet perswaded him to render himselfe, despised both the counsell of God, and the force of *Nabuchodonosor*, vied now that remedy, which *Wolphins* truly teacheth: *Triste, surpe & infelix: Wolfus, Ibamellus, and vnsolatus.*

*Ioseph. Antiq.  
1. 10. c. 11.*

By this secret subterranean vault, *Zedechias* making his stealth, recovered (by the helpe of the darke night) the Plaines or Defarts of *Iericho*: but by reason of the train, that followed him, and his, every one leading with him those whom they held most deare vnto them, he was easily traced and pursued. How great foucer the company was that attended on him, yet, as *Iosephus* reports it, they, on whose fidelity he most reposed himselfe, sooner betooke the *Chaldeans* approach, but they all abandoned his defence, and shifted themselves into the Defarts as they could. For whom God had forsaken, no man followed, but the Ministers of his vengeance, by whom *Zedechias* being made Prisoner, with his Children, and Princes, he was conueighed to *Rebla* or *Reblath* a City (as some thinke) of *Nephthalim*, where *Nabuchodonosor* then lay, as a place indifferent betwene *Ierusalem* and *Tyre*, with both which at one he had to doe.

*Ezech. 12.*

Now after *Nabuchodonosor* had layed before *Zedechias* the many graces and benefits conferred vpon him, together with the notable fallshood and periury, wherewith he had requited them, he commanded his Children, Princes, and Friends, to be slain before his face. This being done, to the end that so lamentable a spectacle should be the last, that euer the world beheld in the World, he caused his eyes to be torne out of his head, and so carried him in a dunnish manner to *Babel*, where he consumed the rest of his wretched life in perpetual imprisonment. Herein this most marauilous Prophecy of *Ezekiel* was performed: *Adhuc cum in Babyloniis, & isam non videbit. I will bring him into Babylon, and he shall not see it.*

Thus in the eleauenth and last yeare of *Zedechias*, which was the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, the *Chaldeans* entred the City by force, where sparing no sexe nor age, they committed all to the sword that they therein found.

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In the yeare next following, *Nabuzaradan*, Generall of the Army, burnt the Kings Palace, and the rest of *Ierusalem*: and after this fire had lasted from the seuenth to the tenth day, he also burnt the Temple of God to the ground, when it had stood foure hundred thirty and one yeares.

2 Kings 25.

After this, vpon a second search, *Nabuzaradan* (not yet satiated with blood) commanded seventy and two others to be slaughtered, which had hidden themselves from the first fury, to wit, the chiefe and the second Priest, two Commanders of *Zedechias* his men of Warre, five of his House-hold seruants, and others to that number; carrying away to *Babylon* the ablest of the people throughout all *Iudea*; and leaving the poorest labouring soules, with some that followed the party of *Nabuchodonosor*, to till the ground: ouer whom he left *Gouernour*, *Godolia* the Nephew of that *Saphan*, whom *Iosias* had formerly employed in the reformation of Religion, who is, for his iustice and equity, by *Iosephus* highly commended. This man, a Jew by Nurion, left *Zedechias* in it kineth, in the beginning of the Warre: and by *Jeremies* desire to liue with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the same aduice, which the Prophet gaue vnto *Zedechias*; which was, to submit himselfe altogether to the *Babylonians*; who being ordained by God to exercise his iustice, was therefore resistlesse. The Prophet *Jeremy* being left to his owne choice, either to liue in *Chaldea*, or elsewhere, he made election of *Godolia*, to whom he was recommended, who not only embraced *Jeremy*, but gaue comfort to all the other *Iewes*, that were left vnder his charge, promising them fauour & liberty,

so long as they remained obedient Subiects to *Nabuchodonosor*, by whom he was established *Provinciall* *Gouernour* of his owne Nation.

But ere that year was expired, a Prince of the late Kings house (who during the siege of *Ierusalem*, had kept himselfe out of the storme, with *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites*) being followed by ten other chosen men, while *Godolia* feasted them in *Maspha* or *Mitspa*, the City of his residence, trayterously slew him, together with diuers *Chaldeans* & *Iewes* that accompanied him. This done, he made an escape, and in his way encountering with eighty persons, repairing towards *Godolia* with presents, he slew the most of them, and spared the rest, because they promised to discouer vnto him some Treasures, hidden in the fields during the war. He also took with him a Daughter of *Zedechias*, committed to the care of *Godolia* by *Nabuchodonosor*. This practice and intent of *Ismael* had been formerly discovered vnto *Godolia* by *Iobanan*, one of the Leaders of the few remaining *Iewes*; but *Godolia* was incredulous.

*Iudea* being now left without a *Gouernour* (for *Ismael* durst not take it vpon him, but retired himselfe, or rather fled as fast as he could to the *Ammonites*) the residue of the *Iewes*, fearing the reuenge of the *Chaldeans*, resolved to flye away into *Egypt*, and besought *Jeremy* to aske counsell of God for them: who readily made them answer, that if they remained in *Iudea*, God would prouide for them, and shew them mercy; but if they sought to saue themselves in *Egypt*, that they should then vndoubtedly perish. Nowwithstanding this aduice, the *Iewes* held their determination; and despising the Oracle of God, and constraining *Jeremy* and *Baruch* to accompany them, they traualled into *Egypt*, and inhabited by the permission of *Pharao*, neare vnto *Taphnes*: where when *Jeremy* often reprehended them for their Idolatry, foretelling both the destruction of themselves, and the *Egyptians* also, he was by these his owne hard-hearted and vngratefull Countrey-men, stoned to death; and by the *Egyptians*, who greatly reuenced him, buried neare the Sepulchre of their owne Kings.

## Finis Libri secundi.

Hh h 2







# THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

Intreating of the Times from the destruction of Ierusalem,  
to the time of PHILIP of  
MACEDON.

## THE THIRD BOOKE.

### CHAP. I.

*Of the time passing betwene the destruction of Ierusalem, and the fall  
of the Assyrian Empire.*

S. I.

*Of the connexion of sacred and prophane Historie.*



THE course of Time; which in profane Histories might rather be discerned through the greatest part of his way, hitherto passed in some out-worne foot-steps, than in any beaten path, having once in Greece by the *Olympiads*, & in the Easterne Countries by the account from *Nabonassar*, left surer marks, & more applicable to actions concurrent, than were the war of *Troy*, or any other token of former date; begins at length in the ruine of *Ierusalem* to discover the connexion of antiquity fore-spent, with the story of succeeding ages. Manifest it is, that the original and progresse of things could ill be sought in those that were ignorant of the first creation: as likewise that the attunes of Kingdomes and Empire afterwards growne vp, are not to be found among those that have now no state nor policy remaining of their owne. Having therefore pursued the story of the World vnto that age, from whence the memory of succeeding accidents is with little interruption of fabulous discourse deriued vnto vs, I hold it now conuenient briefly to shew, by what means & circumstances the History of the *Hebrews*, which of all other is the most ancient, may be conioyned with the following times, wherein that Image of sundry metalls, discovered by God vnto *Nebuchadnezzar*, did reigne ouer the earth, when *Israel* was either none, or an vnregarded Nation.

Herein I doe not hold it needfull, to insit vpon those authorities, which giue as it were by heere-say, a certaine year of some old *Assyrian* King vnto some action or euent, wherof the time is found expressed in Scripture: for together with the end of *Ninus* his

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line in *Sardanapalus*, if not before, all such computations were blotted out; the succession of *Belochus* & his issue that occupied the kingdom afterwards, depending vpon the vncertain relations of such, as were neither constant in assigning the years of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to relye vpon. Let it therefore suffice that the consent and harmony, which some haue found in the years of those ouer-worne Monarchs, doth preiure their names which otherwise might haue bene forgotten. Now concerning the latter Kings of that Nation, howsoever it be true that we finde the names of all or most of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by prophane Historians, yet hereby could we onely learne in what age each of them liued, but not in what year his reign began or ended, were it not that the reign of *Nabuchadnezzar* is more precisely applied to the times of *Iehojakim* and *Zedekias*. Hence haue we the first light whereby to discover the meanes of connecting the sacred and prophane Histories. For vnder *Nabuchadnezzar* was the beginning of the captiuitie of *Iuda*, which ended when 70. years were expired, and these 70. years tooke end at the first of *Cyrus*, whose time being well knowne, affords vs meanes of looking back into the ages past, and forwards into the race of men succeeding. The first year of *Cyrus* his reign in *Persia*, by generall consent, is ioyned with the first year of the 55. *Olympiad*, where, that he reigned three and twenty years before his Monarchy, and seuen years afterwards, it is apparant, and almost out of controuersie. Giuing therefore foure hundred and eight yeares vnto the distance betweene the fall of *Troy*, and the instauration of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*, we may easily arrive vnto those antiquities of Greece, which were not merely fabulous. As for Princes ruling the whilest in sundry parts of the world, *S. Augustine* and others may be trusted in setting downe their times, which they had by Tradition from authors of well-approved faith and industry.

From *Cyrus* forwards, how the times are reckoned vnto *Alexander*, and from him to the battaile of *Actium*, it were (peraduenture) in this place impertinent to set downe. But seeing that the beginning and end of the *Babylonian* captiuitie are marks whereby we are chiefly directed, in passing from the first vnto the latest yeares of the world, through any story, with least interruption; it is very expedient that we take some paines to informe  
30 so our selves truly of the 70. yeares, during which it continued, euen from *Nebuchadnezzar* vnto *Cyrus*.

### §. II.

*A briefe rehearsal of two opinions, touching the beginning of the captiuitie: with an answer to the cauals of Porphyrie, in weighing against S. Matthew, and Daniel, vpon whom the later of these opinions is founded.*

Many Commentators, and other Historians, and Chronologers finde that the captiuitie then began, when *Iechonias* was carried prisoner into *Babylon*, 11. years before the final destruction of *Ierusalem* vnder *Zedekias*. This they proue out of diuers places in *Ezekiel*, especially out of the fourteenth chapter, where he makes a plain distinction between the beginning of the Captiuitie, and vtter destruction of *Ierusalem* by *Nabucaradan*, in these words: *In the five and twentieth yeere of my being in Captiuitie, in the beginning of the yeere, in the tenth day of the month, in the fourteenth yeere after that the City was smitten.* In which words he beginneth the captiuitie in plaine termes, eleven yeares before the City was destroyed. *Beroaldus* is of opinion that it began in the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the fourth of *Iakim*, which he endeauours to proue out of the second of *Chronicles*, but more especially out of Saint *Matthew*, and *Daniel*, whose words afford matter of disputation, but serue not to make good so much as *Beroaldus* would enforce. That place of *S. Matthew*, and the whole booke of *Daniel*, haue mislittered occasion of scoffing & railing at the Christian Religion to that wretched man *Porphyrie*, who, not vnderstanding how the sons of King *Iosias* were called by diuers names, as *Epiphanius* hath shewed at large, thought that the Apostle had spoken he knew not what in reckoning the sonnes, or, according to some translations, the Sonne and Nephewes of that good King, begotten about the time of the Captiuitie. Vpon *Daniel* also the same *Porphyrie* doth spend the twelfth of his malicious bookes written against the Christians, affirming that these prophecies and visions remembred by *Daniel*, were written long after his death, and at, or neare the time

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of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. This fond supposition of his, *Eusebius*, *Apollonius*, and others, haue sufficiently answered. For the seuenthy Interpreters, who conuerted the old Testament about an hundred yeares before *Epiphanes*, did also turne this booke of *Daniel* out of Hebrew into Greeke, as a part of Scripture receiued. And were there no other argument to confound *Porphyrie*, than that of *Alexander Macedon*, it were sufficient, who liued diuers yeares before *Antiochus Epiphanes*. For *Iaddus* the high Priest shewed that great Conquerour, when he came towards *Ierusalem* to haue destroyed it, this booke of *Daniel*, wherein he beheld his owne glory foretold, as the same was plainly expounded vnto him; which not onely stayed his hand from the harme of that City and people, but his assurance and resolution was so confirmed and strengthened thereby, as despising all future perill and resistance, he conquered *Darius*, and the Easterne Empire in a shorter time than *Nabuchadonosor* had done one City, to wit, *Tyre* in *Phoenicia*.

It is true indeed that the *Iewes* themselves giue lesse authority to *Daniel*, than to *Moses*, and the *Prophets*, accompting his booke among those which they call *Cetaphim*, or *Hagiographa*, or holy Writings, which they say *Esdra*s and the Seniors of the Synagogue compiled after their returne from *Babylon*. But first, that the booke of *Daniel* (I meane so much as is found in the *Hebrew*) is Canonically: secondly, that it was written by *Daniel* himselfe, and not by *Esdra*s and the Seniors; we may assure our selues by testimony of Councels, and Fathers. For in the Councell of *Laodicea* held about the year of our Lord 368. after the death of *Iovinian* the Emperour, and after the *Nicene* Councell three and forty yeares, this booke of *Daniel* was receiued, verified and confirmed among the other Canonically Scriptures, as in the *Epitomy* of the same Councell it may be seene; and so doth *Meliton* the most ancient Bishop of *Sardis* number it, witnesse *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiasticall history, the fourth booke, and fise and twentieth chapter: so doth the same Author in the Catalogue of Canonically books vpon *Origens*: so doth *Hilarius* in his Preface vpon the *Psalmes*, and *Epiphanius* in his booke of *Waights* and *Measures*, &c. To these I may adde *Saint Hierome*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, and others. For the *Hagiographa* booke or holy Writings, the *Iewes* and *Rabbines* reckon to be these, *Daniel*, *Psalmes*, *Psalms*, *Psalms*, *Psalms*, *Job*, *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Heister*, *Efra*, *Nehemiah*, and the *Chronicles*. And that it was *Daniel*, and not *Esdra*s, that wrote this booke, Gods commandment vnto him by his Angell, to seale vp the same to the time appointed, is an vnswearable testimony. Yea that which exceedeth all strength of other prooffe, our Saviour Christ who citeth no Apocryphall Scripture, in *Matthew* and *Mark* allegeth *Daniel* the Prophet, to wit, the last verse of his ninth chapter. Further, in the fifth of *Iohn*, Christ distributeth the risen from the dead, as in *Daniel* the twelfth, verse the second. *Saint Paul* describeth *Antichrist* out of *Daniel*, and the Reuelation is wholly an interpretation of *Daniels* visions.

## §. III.

That the 70. yeeres of captivity are to be numbred from the destruction of *Ierusalem*; not from the migration of *Iechonia*.

**H**Auing thus farre digressed, in maintaining that authority, which must often be cited in the present argument, it is now conuenient, that we returne vnto the differences of opinion, concerning the beginning of these 70. yeares. Neither will I stand to trouble my selfe and others with laying open the grounds or weaknesse of that which *Eusebius* and some few namelesse Authors, haue sometimes held in this point, which is lately reuiued by *Beralius*; but will forth-with enter into consideration of that opinion, which many both ancient and late Writers haue so earnestly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Four Kings of *Inda* were carried away captiues to *Babylon*: First, *Manasses*, then *Iehoiakim*, and with him among others, *Daniel* the Prophet: thirdly, *Iechonias*, and with him *Ezekiel*. lastly, *Zedekias*, at which time the City and Temple were destroyed. To the first of these captiuities the beginning of the 70. yeares is referred by none that I haue read; to the second, by few and with weak prooffe; to the third, by very many and with much confidence. For besides those places of *Ezekiel* already cited, there is a strong argument gathered

gathered out of *Jeremy*, which may seeme to make the matter plaine. For the Prophet in comforting the people that were carried away with *Iechonias*, vseth these words: *Thus saith the Lord, After 70. yeeres be accomplished at Babel, I will visit you, and performe my good promise towards you, and cause you to returne to this place.*

But it stands indeed with little reason that we should seek the interpretation of a prophecy out of circumstances, when the prophecy is such as doth sufficiently expound it selfe. *Jeremy* had already, in the fourth year of *Iehoiakim*, denounced the iudgement of God against the Land, for the finnes and impenitency of that obstinate people, in these words: *Behold, I will send and take to me all the families of the North, saith the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babel, my seruant: and will bring them against this Land, and against the Inhabitants thereof, and against all these Nations round about, and I will destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an hissing, and a continuall desolation. Moreover, I will take from them the voyce of mirth, and the voyce of gladnesse, the voyce of the Bridegroom, and the voyce of the Bride, the voyce of the mill-stones, and the light of the candle; and this whole Land shall be desolate, and an astonishment, and these Nations shall serue the king of Babel 70. yeeres. And when 70. yeeres are expired, I will visit the king of Babel. Here we see prescribed vnto the captiuitie the terme of 70. yeeres, which were to commence, neither when the prophecy was vttered; nor when *Iehoiakim*, who then reigned, was taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*; nor yet in the time of *Iechonia*; but with the vtter desolation of the City, whereof *Jeremy* did againe giue notice to those that were already in *Babylon*, at such time as he sent them the comfort of deliuerance before rehearsed. And so did the people vnderstand this prophecy, in those times when they saw it accomplished, beginning the 70. yeeres at the time of the desolation, as manifestly appears in the end of the History of *Iuda*, where it is said thus: *They burnt the house of God, and brake downe the wall of Ierusalem, and burnt all the Palaces thereof with fire, and all the precious vessels thereof to destroy all: And they that were left by the sword, carryed he away to Babel, and they were seruants to him and to his sonnes, vntill the kingdome of the Persians had rule, to fulfill the word of the Lord by the mouth of Ieremia, vntill the Land had her fill of her Sabbaths: for all the dayes that she lay desolate, she kept Sabbath, to fulfill 70. yeeres. But in the first yere of Cyrus king of Persia (when the word of the Lord, spoken by the mouth of Ieremia, was fulfilled) the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus. We seldome finde one piece of Scripture so precisely and plainly expounded by another, as in this prophecy, to haue afterwards been the subiect of altercation. For one can hardly deuise, how either the desolation could haue been expressed more sensibly than it was by the Prophet, or the event of the prophecy haue been more exactly set downe, than it was in the place now last of all cited. If it be requisite that we bring more proof in to euident a case, the ninth Chapter of *Daniel* yeelds testimony sufficient, vnto this expedition of *Jeremia* his prophecy, that *Ierusalem* was to lie waste 70. yeeres. For in the first yere of *Darius* the Mede, which was the last of the 70. *Daniel* obtained of God the deliuerance that had been promised by prayer, which he made vpon consideration of the time that was expired: as he telleth in these words: *In the first yere of his reigne, I Daniel vnderstood by books the number of the yeeres, whereof the Lord hath spoken vnto Ieremiah the Prophet, that he would accomplish 70. yeeres in the desolation of Ierusalem.* So that howsoeuer the time of *Daniel* his owne captiuitie be reckoned from the taking of *Iehoiakim*, and that the people carried away with *Iechonia*, did accompt, as well they might, the yeares of their owne captiuitie; yet with the generall desolation of the Country, wherein were few or none of the *Israelites* left remaining to inhabite, began in the nineteenth yere of *Nabuchadonosor* the great captiuitie, which by Gods appointment continued vnto the end of seuenthy yeeres.**

This I will not further seeke to proue, by the authority of *Iosephus* and others affirming the same; for as much as that which already hath been produced, is enough to falsifie any man that hath not fully determined to hold the contrary.

## §. IV.

*Sundry opinions of the Kings which reigned in Babylon during the 70. yeeres.*

**W**Hat Kings reigned in *Babylon*, during these seuentie yeares of the Captiuitie, and how long each of them did wear the Diademe, it is a matter of no great importance to know, for as much as neither their acts were notable in the age wherein they liued, nor the length of their reigns, any way helpfull to the concordance of times, fore-going or succeeding. The conquests recounted by *Xenophon* of *Syria*, *Arabia*, (or rather some part of it) *Illyrcania*, *Bactria*, and perhaps of some other Countries, may seeme fruits of the victories obtained by *Nebuchadnezzar* the Great (or by some of his Ancestors) in the former part of his life, before he betooke himselfe to ease, and to the sumptuous building of his great *Babel*, for the house of his Kingdome, and for the honour of his Maiesty, where it may seeme that hee and his Heires kept a great state, and did very little. The idle behaviour of the *Assyrian* Souldiers, in such skirmishes as afterwards they had with the *Medes*, doth argue no lesse. For whereas vnder *Nebuchadnezzar*, they were so stout and industrious, that (to omit other proofes) they attempted, and finished, that hardy piece of worke, of winning the strong City of *Tyre*, by ioyning vnto it the continent, filling vp the deepe and broad channell of the Sea, diuiding it from the maine with a mole, or peece of earth, and other matter; the reparation whereof, when the Sea had washed it away, was the very greatest of *Alexanders* workes: in the times following, they became timorous, that they durst not approach nearer to the enemy than their bowes would carry, but were ready to turne their backs, as soone as any, though inferiour in numbers, aduenturing within the distance offered to charge them.

Now as their actions from the end of *Nebuchadnezzars* warres, till the ruine of their Empire, were not worthy to be recorded; so was the distinction of their times, and reigne of their feuerall Kings, vnworthy of the great labour that hath in vaine bene taken in that businesse. For when it is granted, that the captiuitie of *Juda*, ending with that Empire, lasted 70. yeares, wee may as reasonably forbear to search into the particular continuance of two or three slothfull Kings, as we are contented to be ignorant of the ages of the *Patriarchs*, and their children liuing in the *Egyptian* seruitude; resting satisfied in both with the generall assured summe.

Yet for as much as many haue trauelled in this businesse, vpon desire (as I take it) to approue the beginning and end of the 70. yeares, not only by the reignes of other Princes, ruling else-where, but by the times of the *Assyrians* themselves: I will not refuse to take a little paines in collecting their opinions, and shewing what I thinke may best be held for likely, if the certaine truth cannot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kings themselves, and in setting downe the years of their feuerall reignes. The first (as I take it) the surest, is theirs, who meerey follow the authority of the Scriptures, without borrowing any helpe from others. These name onely three Kings, *Nabuchadnezzar*, *Euilmoradach*, and *Balthasar*. Neither haue they onely the silence of *Daniel*, who names none other to bee their warrant, but the prophecy of *Jeremy* precisely, and in a manner purposely teaching the very fame. For God, by the mouth of that Prophet, shewing that he being absolute Lord of all, would dispose of all according to his owne will, and making it known that he had put some Countries here named, into the hands of the king of *Babel*, saith thus: *And all Nations shall serue him, and his Sonne, and his Sonnes Sonne, vntill the very time of his Land come: also, then many Nations and great Kings shall serue themselves of him.* These words expressing the continuance of the *Chaldean* Empire, and number of the Kings, will hardly be qualified with any distinction. But indeed I finde no other necessity of qualification to be vsed herein, than such as may grow out of mens desire to reconcile the Scriptures vnto profane authors. And this desire were not vnjust, if the content of all histories were on the one side, and the letter of the holy Text were single on the other side.

But contrariwise, the Authors which are cited in this case, are so repugnant one to the other, & the proofes of their different reports are so slender & vninsufficient, that the succession of these Princes, had it not bin thus deliuered in Scriptures, but only set down by some

some Author of equall credit with the rest, might very well haue found and deserued as good beliffe, as any of those things which they haue deliuered in this point. For some there are, who following *Iosephus*, deriue that Empire, as by descent from father to son, through five generations; beginning with *Nabuchodonosor* the great, and giuing to him 43. yeares, to *Euilmoradach* 18. to *Niglsar* the sonne of *Euilmoradach* 40. to *Labofardach* the sonne of *Niglsar* 9. Moneths, and lastly to *Balthasar* (whom *Iosephus* intimates to be of the race of *Nabuchodonosor*, without naming his father) 17. yeares. And this opinion (saue that hee forbears to reckon the yeares, and plainly calls *Balthasar* the sonne of *Labofardach*) Saint *Hierome* doth follow, alledging *Berosus* and *Iosephus* as a sectator of *Berosus*, for his Authors; though *Berosus*, as he is cited by *Iosephus*, report the matter far otherwise. For he tells vs that *Euilmoradach* the sonne of *Nabuchodonosor* did reigne but two yeares, being for his wickednesse and lust, slaine by his sisters husband *Nizijssoroor*, who occupied the kingdome after him foure yeares, and left it to his owne sonne *Labofardach*; who being an ill-conditioned boy, was at the end of nine moneths slaine by such as were about him, and the kingdome giuen to one *Nabonidus*, who held it by the election of the Conspirators, and left it vnto *Cyrus* after 17. yeares. This relation agrees with that of *Iosephus*, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in number eyther of yeares, or of generations, yet the particularities which they handle, haue procured vnto them some authority, so that the names which they haue inserted, are taken as it were vpon trust. There is a third opinion which makes the three last kings brethren, and sonnes of *Euilmoradach*; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture: though I had rather beleue *Xenophon*, who saith that the last King of *Babylon* was immediate successor to his father. But whereas the Author of the Scholasticall History, who is founder of this opinion, placeth betwene him that tooke *Ierusalem*, and *Euilmoradach*, another *Nabuchodonosor*: plaine enough it is that he hath, out of any History sacred or profane, as little warrant to guide him, as we haue reason to follow him. *Eusebius*, *Sulpitius Severus*, and *Theodoret*, vpon better ground haue supposed, that *Euilmoradach* and *Balthasar* were brethren and sonnes of the great *Nabuchodonosor*. This is built on the fifth Chapter of *Daniel*, wherein *Balthasar* (for of *Euilmoradach* there is none that euery doubt) is often called *Nabuchodonosor* his sonne. And so common grew this explication, that *Sierome* called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of *Jeremy* before cited, proues that *Balthasar* was not the sonne indeed, but the grand childe of that great Conquerour, though by the phrase very common in Scriptures, and familiär in those *Easterne* languages, he was called the son.

*Annius* his *Metaphyses* hits very rightly the seuentie yeares of captiuitie, giuing to *Nabuchodonosor* 45. yeares, to *Euilmoradach* 30. yeares, and to the three sonnes of *Euilmoradach*, *Nephews* of *Nabuchodonosor* fourteene yeares; that is, to *Beg-Assar* the eldest son three yeares, to *Lab-Assar* the second sonne fixe yeares, and to *Balthasar* the third son five.

40 To this accompt agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole summe of yeares, and in the number of generations, I haue sometime subscribed, as not daring to reiect an appearance of truth, vpon no greater reason than because the Author was of *Annius* his edition. Yet could I not satisfie my selfe herein; both for that none of the Ancient, and few such of the moderne Writers as deserue to be regarded, haue consented with this *Metaphyses*; and for that in making *Balthasar* succeed vnto his brother in the kingdome, and not vnto his father, he is wholly against *Xenophon*, whose History of the elder *Cyrus* in his *Assyrian* warre I cannot slightly value in many respects, and especially because it is very agreeable to the Scriptures, in the taking of *Babylon*, while the king was at his drunken feast.

50 Seeking therefore diligently into all circumstances that might giue any light in this obscurity, I found manifest proofe, that the time allotted vnto *Balthasar*, by *Annius* his *Metaphyses*, was farre short of the truth, which is enough to render all suspected that he hath said in distributing what part of the 70. yeares he pleased amongst the rest. For in the third yeare of *Balthasar*, *Daniel* saw a vision, after which he was sicke certaine dayes, but when he rose vp, he did the Kings businesse: from which businesse, that he did afterwards withdraw himselfe, and liue retired, so long that he was forgotten in the Court, it appears plainly, both by the many words which the old *Queene* vsed to fet out his sufficiency, and by the Kings asking of him, when he came into his presence, whether he were

68. 65. 6. 11.  
12. 13.  
Bab. 1. 45.

were *Daniel*. Now to thinke that a man of such account and place as *Daniel* had held, could in two yeares haue bene worne out of remembrance, were in my iudgement a very strange conceit, which rather than I would entertaine, I can well be contented, to thinke the whole storie (thus related) a part of *Annius* his impostures.

Out of these reports of *Iosephus*, *Berosus*, and others, many new opinions are framed, by coniectures of late Writers. For the endurance of the captiuitie being 70. yeares, and these yeares extending vnto the first of *Cyrus*, in which course of time *Nebuchadnezzar*, his son and grand-child, must haue reigned; it hath seemed needfull to supply the yeares of these three descents, by inserting some, whose reignes might fill vp the whole continuance of the captiuitie; with which the time allotted by *Berosus* and others, to *Euilmerodach* and *Balthasar*, ioyned vnto the yeares following the nineteen of *Nebuchadnezzar*, (wherein *Ierusalem* was laid desolate) are nothing euē.

Therefore *Mercator*, and others following him, fashion the yeares of *Euilmerodach* in this sort. They say, that the 18. yeares giuen to him by *Iosephus* in the tenth of his Antiquities, should be read and numbred 28. yeares, and the two yeares that *Berosus* hath allowed to *Euilmerodach* should be written 23. in the first number the figure of (1) is mistaken for the figure of (2.) and in the later there should haue bin added the figure of (3) to that of (2.) this granted (to wit) that *Euilmerodach* reigned 28. yeares, whereof five together with his father, and 23. after his death, and the same number of 23. added to the 25. which *Nabuchodonosor* liued after the destruction of *Ierusalem*, make 48; then 17 yeares of *Nightsar* according to *Berosus*, 9. moneths of *Labassardach* his son, and 17 yeares of *Labonidus* or *Balthasar*, make vp the number of 70. yeares to the first of *Cyrus*. But whether by error in figures, or in words, the numbers be vtterly mistaken in all copies extant; vpon how weak a foundation do they build, who hauing nothing to helpe them, saue only the bare names of two vknown Kings, found in Authors manifestly corrupted, and such as if they had been entirely extant, were not worthy to haue that place of *Ieremy* called into dispute, in regard of their authoritie.

## §. V.

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the number, persons, and reignes of the Babylonian Kings.

Other suppositions, little different in substance from this of *Mercator*, I purposely forbear to rehearse, as falling vnder the same answer. That of *Ioseph Scaliger* I may not forget, as deserving to be considered apart from the rest. He giues to *Nebuchadnezzar* 44. yeares, to *Euilmerodach* two, to *Belsazer* five: and to *Nabonidus* 17. So that from the 19. of *Nabuchadnezzar*, in which *Ierusalem* was destroyed, vnto the time of *Cyrus*, he accounteth only 59. yeares; beginning (as many do) the captiuitie 11. yeares sooner, from the transportation of *Iechonia*. But hereof enough hath bene said already. That which we are now to consider, is his distribution of the time running betwixt the 19. of *Nabuchadnezzar*, and the fall of the Chaldean Empire: wherein if he haue erred, then is all further inquisition fruitles.

Concerning the length of *Nabuchadnezzars* reigne, I shall hereafter vpon better occasion deliuer my opinion. The time which he giues to *Euilmerodach*, is very short, and more precisely agreeing with *Berosus* than with the Scriptures. For we finde in *Ieremy*, that this *Euilmerodach* in the first of his reignes, shewing all fauour to *Iechonia*, did, among other things, take order for him at his table; and that he did continually eat bread before him all the dayes of his life. His portion was a continuall portion giuen him of the king of *Babel*, euery day a certaine, all the dayes of his life vntill he died. The very sound of these words (which is more to be esteemed, than the authority of *Berosus*, were he perfectly extant) import: a farre longer time than two yeares, wherein *Iechonia*, vnder this gentle Prince, enioyed the comfort sent by God, whose commandement he had obeyed in yeelding himselfe to *Nabuchadnezzar*. Indeed how long *Iechonia* did liue, it cannot be proued; but plaine it is hereby, that all his remaining dayes he did eate bread before this King. Now, that he liued not so short a while after this as 2. yeares, it is more than likely; for he was but 55. yeares old when he was set at liberty, hauing bin 37. yeares in the prison, whereinto he was cast at the age of 18. yeares; after which time it seemes plaine that he begat *Salathiel*, as well by the age of *Zorobabel*, who is said to haue bene

Ierem. 51. we. f.  
33. 34.

but a young man; and one of *Darius* his Pages threescore yeares after this, as by other circumstances of his imprisonment it selfe.

Of *Belsazer* to whom *Scaliger* giues the next five yeares, naming him also *Laborsardach*, I should wonder why he calls him *Nebuchadnezzars* daughters sonne, were it not that herein I find him very careful to helpe out *Berosus*, by shewing in his *Nirrisisthoror*, as husband to *Nebuchadnezzars* daughter, and Protector of his son foure of these yeares; by which means there remains about one yeare to *Belsazer* alone, agreeing nearly with the nine moneths assigned by *Berosus* to the sonne of *Nightsar*. But *Ieremy* hath told vs that it was to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and to his son, and to his sons son (not to his daughters sonne) that the Empire was promised: which difficulty, if *Scaliger* could not helpe, it was well done of him to passe it ouer with silence.

*Nabonidus* the last of these, whom others (desirous to reconcile *Berosus* to the Scriptures) haue iudged to be all one with *Balthasar*, is by *Scaliger* thought to be *Darius* of the *Medes*. But herein *Scaliger* for *Berosus* makes him of the same Race or race a *Babylonian*. I speake not this to disgrace the manife of that most learned man (for it highly commendeth his diligence and iudgement, that he was not so wedded to any author, as affected with the loue of truth) but to shew, that hee himselfe hauing in some points disliked those Writers, whom in generall he approneth, might with greater reason haue wholly reformed them by the Scriptures, wherein can be no error. Two things there are which chiefly did breed or confirm this opinion in *Scaliger*, that he whom *Berosus* calls *Nabonidus*, was the same whom *Daniel* had called *Darius* of the *Medes*: First, the phrase of Scripture, which signifies vnto vs, that *Darius* took the kingdom, not saying that he wanne it by force of armes: Secondly, a fragment of *Megasthenes* found in *Eusebius*, wherein this *Nabonidus* is called the *Median*. Touching the word of the Originall, or of the Greek translation, which expressing no force of armes, doth only signify, that *Darius* tooke or received the kingdom; I see no reason why we should thereupon inferre, that the next King entred by Election: seeing *Daniel* relateth not the means and circumstances of *Balthasars* death, but only the swift accomplishment of his owne prophecy. Neither could it indeed haue properly bene said (if *Daniel* had cared to vse the 30 most expresse termes) that *Darius* of the *Medes* breaking into the City, did winne the kingdom; seeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the absence of *Darius*, though by his forces, and to his vse. Now concerning the fragment of *Megasthenes*, true it is, that in *Eusebius* his workes printed at *Basile*, in the yeare 1559. I finde only thus much of *Megasthenes*, cited out of *Alphicus*; That *Nabuchodonosor* was more valiant than *Hecates*; that he subdued all *Lybia*, and the rest of *Asia* as farre as to the *Armenians*; and that, as the *Chaldeans* report, being returned into his kingdom, and rapt with a diuine fury, he cried with a loud voyce: O Babylonians, I foretell ye of a great calamity that shall come vpon you, which neither *Bel*, nor any of the gods shall avert: There will come a Persian, halfe an *Ass*, that shall bring slavery vpon yee: and that, and the like when he had spoken, he vanished. Of all this I beleue little or nothing, sauing that *Nebuchodonosor* knew beforehand, that his Empire should be translated, as *Daniel* had foretold, from the golden head, to the silver breſt. But that he wanne all *Africa* or *Lybia*, I doe hold it neither true nor probable.

If *Scaligers* copy of *Eusebius* were the more perfect, out of which *Megasthenes* tells vs that *Nebuchodonosor* wanne both *Africke* and *Spain*, I beleue the fragment so much the lesse: and am as little moued with the authority of it, where it calls a *Median* the pride and confidence of the *Assyrians*; as where it tells of *Nebuchadnezzar* his owne vanishing away. Indeede that same title of halfe an *Ass*, by which he calleth *Cyrus*, makes me to suspect the fable as cunningly forged out of *Apollo* his Oracle, wherein he termeth him a *Mule*, because his parentage was more noble on the mothers side, than on the fathers; as *Mules* are begotten by *Asses* vpon *Mares*. And thus much in answer of the two principall foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the concinnity and coherence which it had within it selfe, I easily allow it. But this proues nothing, for meere fictions haue not wanted these commendations: neither can any man beleue that one so iudicious, industrious and deeply learned as *Ioseph Scaliger*, would ouer-shoot himselfe in setting downe repugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the Scriptures, from which there is no appeale. And herein it seems that *Scaliger*, well knowing his own sufficiency,

hath

Dan. 8. 10.

hath beene little carefull to satisfie men that would frame Arguments against him. For if the prophecy of *Daniel* were true, that the Kingdome of *Balthazar* was diuided, and giuen to the *Medes* and *Persians*, either we must thinke that *Darius* of the *Medes* was not *Nabonidus*, or else we must bebinke our selues what *Persian* it might be that shared the kingdome with him. For it is not more certaine, that *Balthazar* lost his life and kingdome, than that his Kingdome was diuided and giuen to the *Medes* and *Persians*. Neither did the *Medes* and *Persians* fall out and fight for it, as by supposing *Nabonidus* to haue beene *Darius*, they should be thought to haue done; but these two Nations did compound the body of that Empire, and were accounted as Lords ouer all the subiect Provinces, in so much that the Greek Historians did commonly call those warres which *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, made vpon *Greece*, The warres of the *Medes*. Yet to cleare this point, euen *Daniel* himselfe resembles that King, with whom *Alexander* fought, vnto a Kamme with two hornes, calling him the King of the *Medes* and *Persians*. Wherefore the whole Nation of *Chronologers* were not to haue beene condemned by *Ioseph Scaliger*, for maintaining vpon such good grounds, that *Darius* of the *Medes*, was partner with *Cyrus* in his victories, and not a *Chaldean King* by him subdued. Neither was *Iosephus* to be the lesse regarded, for affirming that *Balthazar* was destroyed by *Darius* of the *Medes*, and his Nephew *Cyrus*, though herein he varied from *Berosus*, and others, whose authority elsewhere he gladly citeth. For *Iosephus* had no reason to belecue any mans faith or knowledge of those times, half so wel as *Daniels*, whom I beleue that he vnderstood as farre as was needfull in this case. Lawfull it was for him to alleage all Authors that had any mention, though vnperfect, of the same things that were contained in the writings of the *Jewes*, to whose Histories thereby he procured reputation in the *Romane* world, where they were strangers, and might seeme fabulous. Euen so doe *Eusebius*, and other Writers, willingly embrace the testimonies of *Heathen* bookes making for the truth in some particulars, yet will they not therefore be trined in generall by the selfe same *Ethnick* Philosophers, but leaue them where they are against the truth, as *Iosephus* in this case hath left *Berosus*. And thus much I thought it meet to say of *Scaligers* opinion in this point; holding neuertheless in due regard his learning and iudgement, which if in somethings it had not failed, the miracle had then beene very great.

## S. V. I.

what may be held as probable of the Persons and Times of Nabuchodonosor his successors.

**I**T now remains that I freely acknowledge mine owne weaknesse, who cannot finde how the 70. yeares of captiuitie are to be diuided among them which reigned in *Babylon*, though I finde that the distribution made of them, in such wise as already is rehearsed, be ill agreeable to the holy Scriptures. Wherefore I may truly say with *Petrus*, that we ought liberally to pardon those whose feet haue failed them in the slippery waies of *Chronology*, wherein both learning and diligence are subiect to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulness, or heedlesse reckoning. Yet will I adventure to deliuer my opinion, wherein the iudgement of *Lyra* and others (holding those only to haue reigned ouer the *Chaldeans*, whose names are found in the Scriptures) appears more conformable to reason and account of time, than any of the other Sentences or Coniectures before rehearsed. Not that I will take vpon me to defend *Lyra* his Coniectures, when he supposeth by *Niglifar* and *Labofardach* to be meant the same persons which are called in Scriptures *Emilmerodach* and *Balthazar* (for this can by no good colour be maintained,) but only to shew that the Kings by him cited, are likely to haue occupied the whole time of seventy yeares. First therefore let vs consider the reigne of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in whose eighteenth yeare *Ierusalem* was taken and sacked, but in his nineteenth laid vtterly desolate.

Most of Writers haue giuen to him 43. yeares of reigne, following therein *Berosus*. There are who haue added one yeare more; and some haue made it vp 45. To dispute about the certainty were needlesse: for in shewing by what length of time the Scriptures measure him, we shall shew the certaine truth.

Manifest

Manifest it is, that the 19. yeare of *Nebuchadnezzar*, is ioyned with the 11. of *Zedekia*, as also that his eight yeares, was the first yeare of *Ischonia* his captiuitie; the reigne of *Zedekia* occupied all the meane space, being of 11. yeares. This is generally agreed vpon, so that it needes no further proofes: As for the beginning of his successor *Emilmerodach*, it was in the sixteen and thirtieth yeare of *Ischonia* his captiuitie; so that *Nebuchadnezzar*, after his 3. yeare (vvhich was the first of *Ischonia* his bondage) reigned 35. vvhole yeares, and peradventure a good part of the fixe and thirtieth, forasmuch as *Ischonia* was enlarged with so great fauour, not vntill the end of the year. Substracting therefore out of these foure and forty, which *Nebuchadnezzars* reigne did well neere occupie, those eighteene yeares of his which passed away before the captiuitie of *Iuda*, and ruine of the city, we haue remaining fixe and twenty yeares of the seuentie, that were almost wholly spent when his son began to reigne.

It is now to be considered how the remainder of the seuentie yeares were diuided between the Kings ruling in *Babylon* vntill the first of *Cyrus*. A question more difficult (as I said before) than greatly needfull: the whole summe being certaine, and the distinction of times affording no benefit in knowledge of their actions, who were slothfull Princes. Neither can any man the more iustly suspect the beginning or end of the whole 70. yeares, for that the distribution of some part of them is only coniectural; seeing that none who giues any other termes to their beginning or end, hath refused to follow both vnlikely and desperate coniectures in diuiding them. I will therefore be bold to doe as others haue done; knowing well before-hand, that whosoever shall discouer my error, must do me the pleasure (which I could rather wish in a case more materiall) of making me to vnderstand the truth.

Of the foure and forty yeares remaining in accompt of *Nebuchadnezzars* death, we are to take away the last, which was the first of *Darius* the Mede, and then hauing authority good enough to warrant vs from blame of presumption, in giuing vs seuentee yeares to *Balthazar*, we finde left in our hands to bestow vpon *Emilmerodach* fixe & twentie yeares. Of the yeare belonging vnto *Darius* the Mede, I haue already spoken what I thought sufficient, in deliuering my opinion of the beginning and continuance of this captiuitie. That *Balthazar* did reigne seuentee yeares, we haue the authority of *Iosephus*, before cited in expresse words; We haue also the generall consent of all, or the most late Writers, interpreting *Berosus* his *Nabonidus*, who reigned so long; and *Balthazar* to haue beene one. But no hing moueth me so much to beleue this Tradition, as first those euident places in *Daniel*, shewing that in the third yeare of *Balthazar* hee followed the Kings businesse, and yet was forgotten ere the end of his reigne, (a prooffe sufficient of no few yeares, passing vnder this mark, especially seeing it is no where found that *Daniels* employments tooke end either that yeare or the next.) Secondly, the consideration of *Cyrus* his warres against the *Assyrians*, which beginning with the death of this mans father, & being alwaies prosperous, could hardly haue occupied any longer time, though we make large allowance to his deeds in the lower Asia, which fell out in the midde-way. I haue already shewed, that there appears in the Scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible, that the reigne of *Emilmerodach* was not short, and that men of great iudgement haue found it most probable, that he was a King three and twenty yeares. More, I thinke, they would haue allowed him, had not the desire of satisfying *Berosus*, caused them to rest content with this. And surely it were greatly to bee wished, that bookes of such antiquitie, as those of *Berosus*, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yeeld in many darke passages of Antiquitie. I will yett confesse, that were his workes neuer so excellent, and in all things else vnquestionably true, I would not therefore condescend vnto him in some one point, wherein the Scriptures were his open enemy: How much lesse ought I obey a broken fragment of his, containing onely seuen or eight lines, and part euen of the title corrupted, as they beleue that follow him in the rest? The Scriptures haue told vs that God gaue the Empire to *Nebuchadnezzar*, to his sonne, and to his sonnes sonne: How long each of them held it, we finde not expressed; yet would we gladly know it of *Berosus*, or of any other that would teach vs; provided alwaies, that helping vs in a particularitie, he destroyed not thereby the generall truth. More words are needlesse. It is enough to say with others, that *Berosus* or *Iosephus* who cited him, hath beene wronged by the carelesse of Scribes; and that it was as easie for those Scribes to erre in writing two

Iii

for

for fixe and twenty, as for three and twenty, or perhaps more could. For, the omission of the second figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character  $\gamma$  signifying 6. hath a neerer resemblance of  $\beta$  that stands for 2. than hath  $\gamma$  which is used for 3. So that the numerall notes  $\beta$  5. expressing 26. were not safe enough from being mistaken in the true copie, and might be altered, as ill written, if some trooked handy or other mischance not vnuall, had omitted the first stroke of the former letter, or added a dash to the latter, which might cause them to seeme not two different figures; but the other correction of the other; which how it could bee supposed in  $\gamma$  standing for 2. I doe not well perceive. As for the Arithmetical figures now in v<sup>se</sup>, they were long after the time of *Iosephus* brought in by the Arabians, and therefore doe not appertaine vnto this businesse; vnlesse wee should ghesse that his workes were corrupted in that vnlearned age, which following the Saracen conquest, was little occupied in the studies of humanitie, but in a sort wholly giuen ouer to the doctrine of *Aristotle*. In this will serue to make *Herodotus* our friend, so let it bee; if not, I will not purchase the fauour of his authority, by forsaking *Ieremie* and *Daniel*, when they seeme to be his opposites.

## S. VII.

Of the victories which Nabuchodonosor obtained, betwene the destruction of Ierusalem and conquest of Egypt.

**W**ITH what actions this time of 70. years was entertained by the Babylonian kings, few haue written, or little is remaining in record. Which may peradventure haue been some cause that the time it selfe was, and is yet sought to be abridged, as not hauing left sufficient matter to witness the length of it. But by such an argument we might as well deny to many people euen their being. For every Nation (I know not whom I should except) betwene the beginning and last end of it, hath in some shortfull age rather dreamt away the time, than spent it. It is therefore no maruell, if the posteritie of *Nabuchodonosor*, finding all things ready to their hand, which their hearts could haue desired, betooke themselves to their ease and pleasures; perhaps, like the prodigall sons of greedy fathers, their own wisdom greater, which knew how to enioy, than that of their Ancestors, which wearied away their daies in the restless trauell of purchasing. Through indeed the reigne of *Nabuchodonosor* was so diuident, that his youthfull and stronger yeares haue been exercised in victorious armes, no small part of his life was remaining to be spent in establishing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthe labours past. The nineteenth yeare of his reigne it was, when destroying vnto the great and mighty Citie of Ierusalem, hee enriched himselfe with abundance of spoyle, and terrified all that would offer to resist him, by that fearful example. From that time forward, hee, vntill his three and twentieth yeare, laboured in the conquest of those adioyning Regions, which God had exposed vnto his sword, and commanded to weare his yoke; namely, the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Tyrians, Sidonians, and Egyptians, though some of these were already become his followers, and serued vnder him, when Ierusalem was beaten down and burnt. But the Tyrians, whose Citie was founded on an Island, safe enough from any danger of a Land-armie, and whose fleet was so strong, that they needed not to feare any enemy at sea, were neither daunted with the fall of their neighbour Cities, nor with the obstinate resolution of this mighty Prince, employing all his power to their subuersion.

That the Citie of Tyre was rather well pleased, than any way discouraged with the fall of Ierusalem (which had held the same course that Tyre did, and endured all that might bee in the same quarrell against the common enemy) it appears by the words which *Ezekiel* condemneth as the common voyced of Tyre; *Aha, the gate of the people is broken, it is turned vnto me; for seeing she is desolate, I shall be replenished*. Yet at length, euen in the nineteenth yeare of *Nabuchodonosor*, that great worke of his, wherof we haue already spoken, began to appeare above the waters, and threaten them with inuincible mischief.

But those prophecies of *Ieremie* and of *Esaie* which appoint vnto this desolation of Tyre the same terme of 70. years, that was prescribed vnto the reigne of the Chaldeans, doe

plainly shew, that he followed Ierusalem, the same nineteenth yeare of *Nabuchodonosor*, in the same, or a very like fortune. The particularities, which doubleesse were memorable in the issue of so great and laborious a siege, are in a manner vtterly lost. Thus much we finde, That the Citizens perceiuing the Town vnable to hold out, embarked themselves, and fledde into the Isle of Cyprus. Neurtherlesse it seemes that this euasion serued only the principall men, who escaping with their goods, abandoned the poorer sort vnto the enemies furie. For, not onely such people of Tyre as dwelt on the Continent, (who are called her Daughters in the field) were put to the sword; but the like execution was done in the streets, into which, with excessive labour, the Assyrian made way for his Horses and Chariots. Thus *Nabuchodonosor* caused his Armie to serue a great service against Tyre, wherein every head was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare, yet had hee no wages, nor his Armie; but was faine to rest contented with the Honour of hauing destroyed that Citie, which in all mens iudgements had bene held inuincible.

The destruction of these two great and powerfull Cities, hauing made the name of the Chaldeans dreadfull in the eares of all the Nations thereabout, *Nabuchodonosor* vied the advantage of that reputation which he had obtained by victories already gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable; with lesse paine. The Kingdom of Egypt was the marke at which he aimed; a Country far abounding in all riches and pleasures, that it might well haue tempted any Prince, finding himselfe strong enough to seek occasion of quarrell against it; and so farre an enemy to the Crown of Babylon, that had it bin poorer, yet either it must haue bene subdued, or the conquest of Syria could ill haue bene established. Neurtherlesse it was needfull, that before hee entered into this businesse, the Countries adiacent should be reduced into such termes, that either they should wholly stand at his deuotion, or at least be vnable to worke him any displeasure. And herein the decree of God concurred, as in all prosperous enterprises, with reason of state. For, the people of Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damascus, Kedar, Hazar, and other adioyning Regions, whom God for their sinnes had condemned to fall vnder the Babylonian swords, were such, as regarding only their owne gaine, had some of them, like the Rauens, followed the Chaldean Armie, to feed vpon the carcases that fell by the crueltie thereof; others taking aduantage of their neighbours miseries, occupied the Countries, which were by his victories belonging to *Nabuchodonosor*: all of them thinking, that when the Assyrian had satisfied his fury, he should be faine to forsake the desolate parts, and leaue the possession to those that could lay hand vpon it. Particularly the Edomites and Philistims had shewed much malice to the Iewes when their City was taken. What good seruice they had done to the Chaldeans, I finde not; if they did any, it is likely to haue been with reference to their owne purposes, wherein they were disappointed. The Ammonites were not contented to reioyce at the fall of Ierusalem, but presently they entered vpon the Country of Gad, and took possession, as if not the Assyrians, but they, had subdued Israel. Neither can I perceive what other ground that practice had of *Baalib* king of the Ammonites, when he sent *Ismael*, a Prince of the bloud of Iuda, to murder *Gedalia*, whom the King of Babel had left Governour ouer those that remained in Israel, and to carry captiue into the Ammonites Country the people that abode in Mizpah, than a desire of embroiling *Nabuchodonosor* with so many labours at once, as should make him retire into his owne Country, and abandon those wasted Lands to himselfe and others, for whom they lay conveniently. Such or the like policy the Moabites did exercise, whose pride and wrath were made frustrate by God, & their dissimulation condemned, as not doing right.

All these Nations had the art of rauening, which is familiar to such as liue or border vpon delarts; and now the time afforded them occasion to shew the vttermost cunning of their treachish wits. But *Nabuchadnezzar* did cut asunder all their deuiCES by sharpe and suddaine warre, ouerwhelming them with vnexpected ruine, as it were in one night, according to the prophecies of *Esaie*, *Ieremie*, and *Ezekiel*, who foretold, with little difference of words, the greatnesse and swiftnesse of the miserie that should come vpon them. With which of them he first began, I finde not; it seemes that Moab was the last which felt his hand: for so doe many good Authors interpret the prophecie of *Esaie*, threatening Moab with destruction after three yeares, as hauing reference to the third year following the ruine of Ierusalem; the next year after it being spent in the Egyptian expedition.



expedition. This is manifest, that all the principal Townes in these Regions were burnt, and the people slaine, or made slaues, few excepted, who being preferred by flight, had not the courage to returne to their habitations ouer-hastily, much lesse to attempt any thing against *Nabuchodonosor*, but liued as miserable out-lawes, or at least oppressed wretches, vntill the end of the seenty years, which God had prescribed vnto the desolation of their Countries, as well as of the Land of Iuda.

## §. V III.

That Egypt was conquered, and the King therein reigning, slaine by *Nabuchodonosor*, contrary to the opinion of most Authors: who, following *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, relate it otherwise.

**W**hen by a long course of victory *Nabuchodonosor* had brought into subjection all the Nations of Syria, & the bordering Arabians, in such wise, that no enemy to himselfe, nor friend of the Egyptian, was left at his back, that might giue impediment vnto his proceeding, or take aduantage of any misfortune; then did he forth-with take in hand the conquest of Egypt himselfe, vpon which those other Nations had formerly bin depending. Of this expedition, and the victorious issue thereof, the three great Prophets, *Esay*, *Jeremie*, and *Ezekiel*, haue written so plainly, that I hold it altogether needlesse to looke after more authoritie, or to cite for proofe halfe of that which may be alleged out of these. Neuertheless, wee finde many and good Authors, who following *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, are well contented to straine these Prophecies with vnreasonable diligence vnto such a sense, as giues to *Nabuchodonosor* little more than the honour of hauing done some spoyle in Egypt, omitting the conquest of that Land by the Babylonian, and referring the death of *Apries* or *Hophra* to a chance long after following, which had no coherence with these times or affaires. So preposterous is the delight which many men take in the meanes and second helpes conducing to their purpose, that oftentimes they doe preferre the Commentator before the Author; and to vphold a sentence, giuing testimony to one claufe, doe carelesly ouerthrow the historie it selfe, which thereby they fought to haue maintained. The reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, concerning the Kings of Egypt, which reigned about these times, are already rehearsed in the former booke: but that which they haue spoken of *Apries*, was purposely referred vnto this place. *Herodotus* doth affirme that he was a very fortunate King, but wherein he telleth not; (vnlesse we should vnderstand that he was victorious in the Warre, which he is said to haue made vpon Tyrrhus and Sidon) that he reigned fife and twenty yeares, and was finally taken and put to death by his owne Subiects; who did set vp *Amasis*, as King, which pretailed against him. The rebellion of the Egyptians he imputeth to a great losse which they received in an expedition against the Cyrenians, by whom almost their whole Army was destroyed. This calamitie the people of Egypt thought to be well pleasing to their King, who had sent them on their dangerous expedition, with a purpose to haue them consumed, that so he might with greater securitie reigne ouer such as staid at home. So they who escaped, and the friends of such as were slaine, rebelled against *Apries*, vho sent *Amasis* to appeale the tumult; but *Amasis* became Captain of the rebels, and was by them chosen King. Finally, the whole Land consented vnto this new Election; whereby *Apries* was driuen to trust vnto his forraigne Mercenaries, the Ionians and Carians, of whom he kept continually in readinesse thirty thousand good Souldiers that fought valiantly for him, but were at length vanquished by the great number of the Egyptian forces, amounting vnto two hundred and thirtie thousand, which were all by birth and education men of Warre. *Apries* himselfe being taken prisoner, was gently intreated by *Amasis* for a while, vntill the Egyptians, exclaiming vpon him, as an extreme enemy to the Land, got him deliuered into their hands, and strangled him, yet they gaue him honourable buriall. Such is the report of *Herodotus*, with whom *Diodorus Siculus* doth neuerly agree, telling vs that *Apries* did vanquish the Cyrenians and Phoenicians in battell at Sea, tooke by force and demolished Sidon, wanne the other townes of Phoenicia, and the Ile of Cyprus, and finally, perished as is before rehearsed, when he had

had reigned two and twenty yeares. The author sayeth, *Apries* was not more than enough to informe vs of. *Apries* his history, if greater authority did not contradict it. But the destruction of Egypt by the Babylonian, foretold by the Prophets, which hath no coherence with these relations, hath greater force to compell our belief, than haue the traditions of Egyptian Priests (which the Greeke Historians followed) and greater probabilities to persuade those that looke sincerely into humane statists. For *Apries* prophesied long before of the full capacity of the Egyptians, in whom the King of Assur should carry away naked young & old, in such wise, that the Iowes, who fled vnto them for deliuerance from the Assyrian, should be ashamed of their owne vaine confidence in men so vnable to defend themselves. *Apries* did not but see the issue of this rebellion, so they handled this argument more precisely. For *Ezekiel* doth plainly say, that Egypt should be sold to *Nabuchodonosor*, as wages for the seruice which he had done at Tyre: Also hee recounteth particularly all the chiefe Cities in Egypt, saying, That these by name should be destroyed, and goe into captiuitie, yea, that *Pharaoh* and all his Army should be slaine by the sword. Wherefore it must needs be a violent exposition of these Prophecies, which by applying the issue of such threatenings to an insurrection and rebellion, concludes all, without any other alteration in Egypt, than change of the Kings person, wherein *Amasis* did succeed vnto *Apries*; by force indeed, but by the violence consent of all the people. Certainly, it is that notable place of *Ezekiel*, wherein he foretelleth how the Iowes in Egypt should see *Pharaoh* slaine, deliuered into the hand of his enemies, as *Zedekiah* had beene, were to be referred vnto the time of that rebellion. Wherof *Herodotus* hath spoken, as the generall opinion hath obserued it; then was it finely done of the same Prophet (which God would that any Christian should thinke, seeing hee did it by the appointment of God himselfe) to hide in the clay of a Babel wall, those very stones, vpon which the Throne of *Nabuchodonosor* should be set, and his Paulion spread. Yea, these was that prophecy no other than false, which expressed the end of *Pharaoh* thus: *Behold, I will arise, the common people of N. and Pharaoh shall be Egypt, with their gods, and their things, when Pharaoh, and all that trust in him, shall be deliuered into the hands of strangers that shall rule their times, and into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar, King of Babel, and in that day shall I be forsworn.* The cleareness of this prophecy being such as could not but rectifie that interpretation of many other places, which referred all to the rebellion of *Amasis*, it caused me to wonder, what those Commentators would say to it, who are elsewhere so diligent in fitting all to the Greeke Historians. Wherefore looking vpon *Iunius*, who had in another place taken the enemies of *Pharaoh* *Hophra* to be *Amasis* and his followers, I found him here acknowledging that the Egyptian Priests had notably deluded *Herodotus* with lies, couered vpon a vain-glorious purpose of hiding their owne disgrace and bondage. And surely it may well be thought, that the history of *Nabuchodonosor* was better knowne to the Iowes, whom it concerned, than to the Greekes, that scarcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore I neede cause why we should not rather beleue *Iosephus*, reporting that *Nabuchodonosor* in the three and twentieth yeare of his reigne, and the fift yeare of the destruction of Ierusalem, did conquer Egypt, kill the King thereof, and appoint another in his stead, than *Herodotus* or *Diodorus*; who being mere strangers to this businesse, had no great reason to labour in searching out the truth, but might rest contented with any thing that the Priests would tell them. Now if setting aside all aduantage of authority, we should only consider the relations of *Iosephus*, and of the Greeke Historians, as either of them might be verified of it selfe by apparant circumstances, without respecting vpon the Hebrew Prophets, or Egyptian Priests; me thinkes the death of *Apries* can no way be approved as hauing bene wrought by consent of the people; but affords great matter of suspicion, yea, though no man had opposed the reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*. For the great loue & honor which the Egyptians did beare vnto their Kings, is notorious by the vniforme testimony of all others that haue handled the matters of that Country, as well as by the report of *Diodorus* himselfe. How then can we thinke it probable, that *Apries* being wonne great victories, did for one onely losse fall into the hatred of all his people, or which may serue to perswade vs, that a King of Egypt would take, or so denie himselfe, that he might be thought to seek the destruction of his naturall subiects? As for that Army of thirty thousand souldiers, Carians and Ionians, which the King

of Egypt, whom *Amasis* took prisoner, is said to have kept for his defence: doth it not argue that he was a forrainer, and one that aimed himselfe against the Egyptians, willing them few and weak, rather than any of the *Pharaohs*, who accounted the force of the Country, as assuredly their own, as the strength of their owne bodies? It were more tedious than any way needfull to set all Arguments that might be alledged in this case. The very death of this supposed *Apries*, which the Egyptians of the people obtained of *Amasis*, who sought to have kept him alive, doth intimate that hee was some forraine Governour, not a naturall Prince; otherwise the people would have desired to save his life, and *Amasis* to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to disprove that opinion, whereunto I should not have yeelded, though it had stood vpon great apparance of truth, considering that the voice of Truth it selfe cries out against it, but leave the circumstances, proving the Conquest of Egypt by *Nebuchadnezzar*, to bee observed, where due occasion in course of the story following shall present them.

## §. IX.

*How Egypt was subdued and held by Nabuchadnezzar.*

It is a great losse, that the generall History of the World hath suffered, by the spoile and waste which Time hath made of those Monuments, that should have preserved the memory of such famous actions as were accomplished by this mighty Prince *Nebuchadnezzar*, wherein, whether his Vertue, or Fortune were greater, it is now uncertaine. That his Victories following the Conquest of Syria, and the Neighbour-Provinces, were such as did more enlarge his Dominion, than all the former Warres had done, it may easily be gathered out of *Ezekiel*, who reckoneth vpon his thirtieth Chapter (besides the whole Countrey of Egypt) Phut and Lud, with other Nations that may seeme to have reached out into Mauritania; as people subdued by this great Babylonian. The circumstances of these Warres are in a manner utterly lost, but that the victory was easie and swift, any man shall finde, who will take the paines to conferre the places, wherein the three great Prophets touch this Argument. Thus much I thinke worthy of more particular obseruation; that *Pharaoh*, who (as is already noted in the former Booke) thought himselfe most safe in Egypt by the well defended situation of his Countrey, did very vnwisely in suffering his enemies to sweepe the way cleane vnto his owne doores; by consuming all his friends and adherents in Syria. For as the labour of this businesse did more harden than weary the Chaldean Army, so the confidence and vaine security of the Egyptians, relying vpon the difficult passages which the enemy was to make thorow the Arabian deserts, and the much advantage which the great river of Nilus would afford vnto themselves, did little auail them in provision for the war, and much astonish them (as may iustly be thought) in the time of execution: it being vially scene, that the hearts of men faile, when those helpes faile, in which they had reposed more confidence than in their owne vertue. Hitherto the Kingdom of Egypt had flourished vnder the rule of the *Pharaohs*, about a thousand five hundred and fourescore years, but from this time forward it remained forty years without a King, vnder the subiection of the Babylonians; and then at length it began to recover by little and little the former greatness, yet so, that it was neuer dreadfull vnto others, God hauing said of that people, *I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule the Nations*. For whereas it hath beene said of *Pharaoh*: *I am the Sonne of the wife, I am the Sonne of the ancient Kings*; and whereas he had vaunted, *The River is mine, and I have made it*; the Princes of Egypt now became fooles, the River failed them, the King himselfe was taken & slaine, and the ancient lineage quite extinguished. This came to passe in the first year after the destruction of Ierusalem, and the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, at which time (saith *Iosephus*) *Hee slew the King then reigning, placed another in his roome, and carried captiues thence to Babylon, the Iewes whom hee found in that Country*. Now concerning the time which *Iosephus* giues vnto this businesse, and the businesse it selfe, I haue already shewed, that it is warranted by all the prophecies which insinuate the same. As likewise the last destruction of Ierusalem, and carrying away those vnto Babel, who inhabited the miserable ruines of that great city, which was in the same three & twentieth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, is not vnprobably thought by good

Ezek. 29. 13. 14.  
E. 15.  
E. 19. 11.  
Ezek. 29. 9.

14. Eph. Ant. Ind.  
Abi. 10. cap. 11.

Jerem. 51. 30.

good authority to haue beene at the returne from this Egyptian Expedition. But whereas *Iosephus* telleth, that there was another King, put in the roome of *Apries* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, we must vnderstand, that he was onely a Viceroy, and not (as some haue mistaken it) thinks that this was *Amasis*. How to place the beginning of *Amasis* his reigne in the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, were as well repugnant vnto the prophecies before alledged, as to all Chronology and History. Some there are, which to help this inconueniency, imagine that there were two successively bearing the name of *Amasis*; others, that there were two *Apries*, the one slaine by *Nebuchadnezzar*, the other by *Amasis*; a question of small importance, because the difference is onely about a name, it being once granted that the person mentioned in Scriptures, was deprived of life & kingdom by the Assyrians. Yet for any thing that I can perceiue, that *Apries*, of whom the Greek Historians wrote, could not be the Deputy of *Nebuchadnezzar*, seeing that hee was the Grand-child of *Pharaoh Necho*, & made war (as they report) vpon the Phenicians, who were before the Egyptians, become subiecte vnto the Crowne of Babylon. I might add, perhaps, that he whom *Nebuchadnezzar* left as Governour of Egypt, was more likely to haue had some Chaldean or Assyrian, than Egyptian name; vnto whose should thinke that he had beene a traitor to his naturall Prince; and so rewarded by the Conquerour with Lieutenantship of the Countrey: about which it were but fruitlesse to dispute. Thus much in briefe we ought to beleue, that *Nebuchadnezzar* made an absolute Conquest of Egypt; that he was not so foolish as to giue it away, any man may easily see, that he appointed one to rule the Countrey; it is consequent vnto the former, and hath authority of *Iosephus*; that his Governour (or some Successour of his) was afterwards taken and slaine by *Amasis*, I see probably enough to perswade my selfe, and yet can well be content, that others vse their liberty, and beleue what they list. As for the army which this Egyptian King *Apries* is supposed to haue kept of Ionians & Carians, I hold them to be none other than the garisons of mercenary souldiers which were left by the Assyrian for the guard of his Viceroy, and custody of the new subdued Provinces; as likewise the company returning from Cyrene & Baire, who together with the friends of such as were slaine in that expedition, remembred before out of the Greek Historians, deplored & flew *Apries*. I take them to haue been the Egyptian fugitiues, which they recovered their own Countrey. Sure it is, that this Prophecy of *Ezekiel* was verified, *At the end of forty years will I gather the Egyptians from the people where they were scattered, and I will bring againe the captivity of Egypt, and will cause them to returne into the land of Pathros, into the land of their habitation, and they shall be there a small kingdome*. If the Egyptian Priests alluded hereunto in the tale which they made of *Amasis* his obtaining the Kingdome, then are they to be helped with this or the like interpretation; if they deuised matter that had no shadow of truth, only to keepe the Greeks from knowledge of their Counties disgrace; then are they little to be regarded, since we know the truth with them.

## §. X.

*Of the sundry accounts Araine from sundry adis of Nebuchadnezzar, and of the destruction of Ninene, by him; the time of which action is uncertaine.*

These victories brought the greatnesse of the Assyrian Empire to the full, & from them was reckoned the time of *Nebuchadnezzar* his reigne in sundry places of Scripture. To speake any more of the questions arising about the supputation of *Nebuchadnezzar* his times, might seeme to be the buel-handling of one Argument: Yet thus much I will note; that whereas *Daniel* was carried captiue in the third year of *Je-robababass* reigne (which ran along with some part of *Nebuchadnezzar* his first year) & was kept in diet three years more, before he was brought into the Kings presence, it could not be the second of *Nebuchadnezzar* his Kingdome; wherein hee interpreted the forgotten dream of the great Image, foreshewing the successe of Monarchies, but the second of his Empire. The same or the like may be said of diuers places which referre sundry matters vnto their set years; as that of *Ezekiel* before cited, where he fore-tels, that Egypt should be giuen in reward for the seruice done before *Tyrus*, dating his prophecy in the Yelud and twentieth years; and that of *Daniel*, placing the erection of the golden Image in the eighteenth year, for these years held no dependance vpon either the beginning of *Nebuchad-*

Daniel. 2.

*Nebuchadnezzars* kingdome, or of his Empire; nor yet upon any of the captivities, but had reference to some memorable actions, omitted in Scripture, and therefore not easie to be found, nor worth the labour of vaine search.

Of any warre made by *Nebuchadnezzar*, after such time as he returned from the Conquest of Egypt, I doe not reade; excepting that against Nineue, the destruction whereof was foretold by the Prophet *Nam*. Nineue had long before been taken by *Merodach* (as in due place hath bene shewed) and together with the rest of Assyria made subiect to Babylon. Yet was it left vnder a peculiar king, who rebelling against the Chaldean, as *Iehiakim* and *Zedechias*, tributary kings of Iuda, had done, tasted likewise of the same fortune. That the destruction of Nineue followed the Conquest of Egypt, it appeareth by the comparison which *Nabum*, the Prophet made betweene this City, that was to fall, and the City of No in Egypt, that was fallen already: But how long after this came to passe, it is (me thinks) vnpossible to finde out. For whereas it is found in an Hebrew Chronology, that it was in the first of *Nebuchadnezzars* reign; the place of *Nabum* last cited is enough to disprove it. Whereas it is referred by some vnto the first of his Monarchy, which began at the end of the Egyptian warres; the whole Prophecy of *Nabum*, which went betweene the one and the other, argueth strongly, that there was a longer space of time intercurrent. So that to enquire into the very year of this destruction, or other circumstances of the Warre, whether managed by *Nabuchodonosor* in person, or by his Lieutenants, were somewhat like vnto the vaine curiosity of *Tyberius Caesar*, enquiring who was the Mother of *Hecuba*; or to the like idle paines which he should take, who would seek to learne what woman that *Hecuba* Queen of Nineue was, whose wofull captivity the same Prophet *Nabum* likewise did fore-tell.

## S. XI.

Of the later time of *Nebuchadnezzar*; his buildings, madnesse, and death.

Of the time which this great Monarch spent in quiet, I think there are no Monuments extant; save those which we finde among the prophecies of *Daniel*. Among these we may reckon his great workes at Babylon, wherewith he pleased himselfe so well, that he brake out into these glorious words: *Is not this great Babel that I have built for the house of the Kingdome, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my Majesty?* Surely if those things be true that are by *Iosaphat* rehearsed of him out of *Berosus* and *Megasthenes*, hee might well delight himselfe with the contemplation of such goodly and magnificent buildings. For it is said, That he fortified Babylon with a triple wall; that besides other stately workes, he raised those huge arches wherewith were borne vp the high Orchards, hanging as it were in the ayre, and equalling the tops of Mountaines; which most sumptuous frame, that out-lasted all the remainder of the Assyrian, and all the Persian Empire, is said to haue bene reared, and finished in fiftene dayes.

But of all this, & other his magnificence, we find little else recorded, than that (which indeede is most profitable for vs to consider) his ouer-valuing of his owne greatness abased him vnto a condition, inferiour to the poorest of men. And not vnderstandedly fell these iudgements of God vpon him: For whereas God had honoured him, not onely with many victories, & much happinesse in his owne life, but with a discouery of things to come after him, yea and had approued the certainty of his dream, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memory, and interpretation thereof by *Daniel* the Prophet: hee neuertheless became so forgetfull of God, whose wonderfull power he had scene and acknowledged, that he caused a golden Image to be set vp and worshipped: ordaining a cruell death as reward vnto them that should dare to disobey his Kingly will and pleasure, which was vnto them repugnant to the law of him that is the King of kings. Hercof *S. Hierome* hath well noted; *Religio oblitio veritatis, ut quidam seruum Dei quasi Deum adorauerat, nunc statum sibi seruabat, ut ipse quasi Deus in statu adoraretur: A huius forgetfulness of the truth, that he who so lately had worshipped (Daniel) the seruant of God, as if hee had bene God himselfe, should now command a statue to be erected vnto himselfe, wherein himselfe might be worshipped as God.* From this impiety it pleased God to reclaim him, by the strange and wonderfull deliuey of those blessed Saints out of the firely furnace; who being throwne into it bound, for refusing to commit Idolatry, were

assisted by an Angell; preferred from all harme of the fire; loosened from their bands; and finally called out with gracious words, and restored to their former honour, by the King: who amazed at the miracle, made a decree tending to the honour of God, which by erection of his Image he had violated. Yet this deuotion of *Nebuchadnezzar* was not so rooted in him, that it could bring forth fruit answerable to his hasty zeale. Therefore was he forewarned by God in a dream of the terrible iudgement hanging ouer his head which *Daniel* expounding, aduised him to *break off his sinne by righteousness, and his iniquities by mercy towards the poore, that there might be an healing of his error.* Hereby it seemes that iniustice and crueltie were the faults, for which hee was threatned, but this threatening sufficed not vnto his information. For that so great a Monarch should be driven from among men; (according to the tenor of the dream & interpretation) yea, compelled to dwell with the beasts of the field, and made to eate grasse as the Oxen, was a thing so incredible in mans iudgement, that easily it might be thought an idle dream, and much more easily be forgotten at the yeares end. One whole yeares leasure to repent was giuen to this haughty Prince: which respite of the execution may seem to haue bred in him a forgetfulness of Gods sentence. For at the end of twelue monethes, walking in the royall Palace of Babel, he was so ouer-joyed and transported with a vaine contemplation of his owne seeming happinesse, that without all feare of Gods heauie iudgement pronounced against him, he vttered those loftie words before rehearsed, in vaunting of the Maiesticall workes which he had reared, as well becomming his maiesticall person. But his high speeches were not fully ended, when a voyce from heauen, telling him that his kingdome was departed from him, rehearsed ouer vnto him the sentence againe, was fulfilled vpon him the very same houre.

That *Salomon*, and many other Princes, and great ones, haue taken delight in their own buildings, it cannot any way be doubted; yet I doe not remember that euer I haue read of any, that were punished for reioycing in workes of this kinde (though it is hard in ioy, or any passion of the minde, to keepe a iust measure) excepting onely this *Nebuchadnezzar*.

The like may be said of *Dauid*: for other (and some very godly) Kings haue mustred all their forces to the very last man; but few or none haue been knowne to haue bene punished as *Dauid* was. Surely I not only hold it lawful to reioyce in those good things wherewith God hath blessed vs; but a note of much vnthankfulness to entertain them with a fullen and vnfeeling disposition. Yet as all humane affection, wherein due reference to God is wanting, are no better than obscure clouds, binding the influence of that blessed light, which clarifies the soule of man, and predisposeth it vnto the brightnesse of eternall felicitie; so that insolent ioy, which man in the pride of his vaine imagination conceiueeth of his own worth; doth about all other passions blast our mindes, as it were with lightning, & make vs to reflect our thoughts vpon our seeming inherent greatness, forgetting the whilest him, to whom we are indebted for our very being. Wherefore these *malæ mentis gaudia*; The euill ioyes of the minde, were not vnaptly, by the Prince of Latine Poets, bestowed in the entrance of Hell, and placed further inward than sorowes, cares, and feares: not far from the yron Cabbins of the Furies. And certainly it is no vnlike token of vengeance neere at hand, when these vnreasonable flushes of proud and vaine ioy, doe rage in a minde, that should haue been humbled with a iust repentance, and acknowledgement of ill deserving.

This was verified vpon *Nebuchadnezzar*, whose punishment was singular and vnexampled. For he ran among beasts in the fields and woods, where for seuen yeares hee liued, not only as a saluage man, but as a saluage beast, for a beast he thought himselfe, secundum suam imaginationem, as *Thom* is noteth, and therefore fed himselfe in the same manner, and with the same foode that beasts doe. Not that hee was changed in figure externall, according to *Mediana*, in so much as hee appeared a beast to other mens eyes, as *S. Hierome* in the life of *Hilarius* (how true God knowes) speaks of a woman that appeared to all other mens sight a Cow, but to *Hilarius* onely a woman; neither was hee changed as *Iphigenia* the Daughter of *Agamemnon* was said to be, into a Hinde, nor made a Monster, as *Dorotheus* and *Epiphanius* dreamed: but according to *S. Ieromes* exposition of these words: *At the same time was my vnderstanding restored vnto me, &c. Quando di-* *der. in Sinop.*  
*us* (saith *S. Ierome*) *sensum sibi redditum, ostendit non formam se amisisse, sed mentem; when* *de cap. 7.*  
*he saith that his sense was restored vnto him, hee shewed that hee had not lost his humane shape;* but

Euseb. 4. 3. 34.

but his understanding. Seuen yeares expired, it pleased God to restore *Nabuchodonosor*, both to his vnderstanding, and his estate, for which he acknowledged and praised God all the rest of his life, confessing his power, and euertlasting being; that he was the Lord of heauen and earth, and wrought without resistance what he pleased in both; that his workes were all truth, and his waies righteous. Which gaue argument to many of the Fathers, and others, not to doubt of his saluation; namely, *S. Augustine*, *Theodoret*, *Cyprian*, *Carthufianus*, and others. And for that place of *Ezay* the fourteenth, out of which his perdition may be gathered, the aforementioned Authors apply the same to *Balthasar*, because *Isay*, both in the thirteenth and foureteenth Chapter, speaketh of the king, and the destruction of Babylon ioyntly.

§. X II.  
Of Euilmerodach.

**H**Auing already spoken what I could of the succession and yeares of *Nebuchadnezzars* posterity; the most that may be said of him, is said of *Euilmerodach*, which I will not here againe rehearse.

He lost some part of that which his father had gotten; and left his kingdome burning in a warre that consumed it to ashes. Hee lost Egypt by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth yeare of his reign, which was fortie yeares after his father had conquered it. But this agrees neither with the account of *Herodotus*, who allowes to *Amasis* foure and forty yeares of reigne; nor with that of *Diodorus*, who giues him fife and fifty, saying, that he died in the third yeare of the threecore and third Olympiad, when *Cambyfes* did conquer Egypt. There were indeed but seuen and thirty yeares, which passed between the second yeare of the foure and fiftieth Olympiad, (which was the nineteenth of *Euilmerodach*, and the first of *Amasis*) and the fit of *Cambyfes* his reigne, wherein he was in Egypt; of which seuen and thirty yeares it is credibly held, that *Panemutius*, the son of *Amasis*, reigned three: so that *Amasis* could bee no longer king than foure and thirte yeares. But seeing that these two Greek Historians haue bin abused by Egyptian Priests, in the substance of that which was spoken of *Amasis*, it is no maruell though they were also decieued in the length of his reigne. This is the plaine answer to this obiection. For to say either that the numbers were mis-written, & foure & forty set down in stead of foure and thirti, or that *Amasis* did temporize a while with the Assyrians, and not beare himselfe as absolute king of Egypt, vntill the nineteenth of *Euilmerodach* (at which time, and not before, it hath been proued out of *Ezekiel*, that Egypt became againe a kingdome) I hold it a superfluous excuse.

Whether these Egyptian troubles did animate the king of the Medes to deale with *Euilmerodach*, as with a Prince greater in fame and reputation, gotten by the decayed valour of his people, than in present forces; or whether (as I rather thinke) some foyle re- ceived by the Assyrian inuading Media, emboldned the Egyptians to rebel against him, I will neither undertake, nor seek to define. *Xenophon* tels, that the first seruice of yong *Cyrus* in warre, was vnder *Asyages* king of the Medes, his Grand-father, in a prosperous fight against the Assyrian Prince, who did set vpon him; at which time *Cyrus* was fiftene or sixtene yeares old. If therefore *Cyrus* liued threecore and three yeares (as he is said to haue died well stricken in yeares) which is held to be the ordinary term of no short life, then was this encounter in the third yeare of *Euilmerodach* his reigne. Yet by the same reckoning it should follow, that the warre began more early between these Nations, for as much as the manner of their fight in former times, with other circumstances insinuating as much, are found in the same place of *Xenophon*. And it may well be, that the death or destruction of *Nabuchodonosor* gaue courage vnto those that had felt him a troublesome neighbour, to stand vpon prouder teames with the Assyrians, than in his flourishing estate they durst haue vsed. Howsoever the quarrell beganne, we find that it ended not before the last ruine of the Assyrian Monarchie. For the Babylonian, being too proud to digest the losses which he receiued by the Medes and their Allies the Persians, drew vnto his partie the Lydians, and all the people of the lesser Asia, with gifts and strong persuasions, hoping so to ouerwhelme his enemies with a strong inuasion, vvhom in vaine hee had sought to wearie out with a lingering Warre.

This

This happened after the death of *Nabuchodonosor*, who left the world in the nineteenth yeare of *Euilmerodach*, at which time *Amasis* was possessor of Egypt. So that the Assyrian ha- uing his hands already full of businesse, which more earnestly then affected him, seemed thereby to haue giuen the better meanes vnto the Egyptians, of new erecting their king- dome, which by long distance of place did sundry times find occasion to rebell after ages, and set up a King within it selfe, against the far more mighty Persian.

The first of these great preparations made by *Euilmerodach*, against the Medes, was such as opened the way vnto the fulfilling of those prophecies, which were many yeares before vgered against Babel, by *Ezay* and *Ieremie*. For the Assyrians and their Confederates, who, trusting in their numbers, thought to haue bound the Medes and Persians vnder their thicke shadowes of arrows & darts, were encountered with an army of stout and well-trained men, weightily armed for close fight, by whome they were beaten in open battell, where *Euilmerodach* was slaine. So that great foume of Empire which *Nabuchodonosor* had raised and vp-held, being shaken and grievously crackt vnder his vnfortunate Son, was left to bee sustained by his vnworthy Nephew, a man more likely to haue ouerthrowne it, when it was greatest and strongest, than to repair it, when it was in way of falling.

§. X III.

A private coniecture of the Author; serving to make good those things, which are cited out of *Berosus*, concerning the Successors of *Euilmerodach*, without wrong to the Truth. The quality, and death of *Balthasar*.

**I** have already (as it seemes to me) sufficiently proued that *Balthasar* was the Son, and immediate Successour to *Euilmerodach*, yet considering carefully the coniectures of those Writers, which following *Herodotus*, insert *Niglisar*, or *Niglisar*, and his son *Labasardach* betweene them: as also that which I finde in *Herodotus* of *Nitocris*, a famous Queene of Babylon, who greatly adorned and fortified that City. I haue thought it not superfluous here in this place to shew, by vvhhat means it was possible that some error might haue crept into the Historie of those times, and thereby haue brought vs to a needlesse trouble of searching out the truth, as it were by candle light, in the vncertaine fragments of lost Authors, which we might haue found by day light, had we adhered only to the Scriptures. First therefore I obserue, that the time which *Berosus* diuides betwixt *Euilmerodach*, and the two next Kings, agrees vith the yeares in vvhich *Nebuchadnezzar* liued vvhile among brute beasts in the open field: Secondly, that the suddenesse of this accident, vvhich came in one houre, could not but vvhork much perturbation in that State, vvhicin doubtlesse the honour of so noble a Prince was highly regarded, his calamitie pitied, and his restitution hoped; the prediction of *Daniel* finding reputation in that clause which promised his recouerie, as being verified in that which had bin more incredible. Now if we doe in common reason iudge, what course was like to be taken by the great ones of the Kingdome, for setting the gouernment, whilst the King was thus distracted, wee shall finde it most likely, that his Son and Heire did occupie the royall Throne, with condition to restore it vnto his Father, when God should enable him to repossesse it. In this his rule *Euilmerodach* beeing to supply the viter want of vnderstanding in his Father, as Protectors do the vnripenes of it in yong, but reasonable Kings, might easily either commit the insulencies, or fall into the troubles, incident to such an office. That he had in him very small abilitie of gouernment, it appeares by his ill maintaining the Empire, when hee held it in his owne right. That his sister *Nitocris* (if *Nitocris* were his sister) was a woman of an high spirit, it appeares by that which *Herodotus* reports of her, saying that shee was more cunning than *Semiramis*, as appeared in her magnificent and vitchull workes about the Riuier of *Euphrates*, and her fortification of Babylon against the Medes, who had gotten many Townes from the Assyrians, and amongst them Nineue. Wherefore it were not vnreasonable to thinke, that such a woman, seeing how the Empire went to decay through her brothers misgouernment, vsed practices to get the rule into her owne hands, and afterwards, as a motherly to leaue it vnto her vngracious son. Other time than this, wherein *Nitocris* could haue reigned, wee doe not finde; but we finde in *Berosus* (as *Iosephus* hath cited him) that *Niglisar*, who got the Kingdome from *Euilmerodach*, was his sisters husband;

husband; which argues this to have been the same woman. As for *Labassardach* the son of *Nigliffar*, at the end of nine moneths reigne he were for his lewd conditions slaine by the Nobilitie, as the same *Berosus* reporteth, it seemes that God prepared hereby the way for *Nebuchadnezzars* restitution (whose terme of punishment was then expired) by raising such trouble, as should make him the more desired, both of the Princes and the people. I will not here vfe many words to confute that which *Berosus* hath further set down of *Enilmeradach*, telling vs that he was slaine by his sisters husband: for the plain words of the Scripture, named the year wherein he gave liberty to *Jecania*, doe plainly testifie that he out-liued the three or foure and fortieth year of his Fathers reign, which was the last of his life.

This may suffice to shew, that they who are said to have succeeded *Enilmeradach* in the Kingdome, might indeed have so done, though not when hee held it in his owne right, Of *Balthasar*, who was his Son and Heire, we finde, that he had such conditions, as God permitted to be in a King for the ruine of the people. Hee was from his young yeares of a mischievous nature; hauing in his Fathers time slaine a Noble yong man that should have married his sister, only for spight and enuy to see him kill two wilde beasts in hunting, at which himselfe hauing thrown his laureline had missed them. Another great Lord he had gelded, because a Gentlewoman comending his beauty, said it were a happy woman that should be his wife. Such barbarous villanies caused many which had loued his Father (as a good and gracious, though vnfortunate Prince) to revolt from him vnto the enemies as soone as hee was King. Neither doe I finde that hee performed any thing worthy of record, but as a coward and a foole hee lost all; sitting still, and not once daring to giue battell to them that daily tooke somewhat from him. Yet carelesly feasting when danger had hemmed him in on euery side, and when death arrested him by the hands of those whom hee had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end of him was base and miserable, for he died as a foole taken in vnexcusable security, yet had not that happinesse, such as it is, of a death free from apprehension of feare, but was tempestified with a dreadfull vision; which had shewed his ruine not in many houres before, euen whilest he was drinking in that vvine, which the swords of his insulting enemies drew out of him, together with his latest blood. It is therefore in this place enough to say of him, That after a dishonourable reigne of seuentene yeares, he perished like a beast, and was slaine as hee deserved. The rest that concerneth him in question of his time, hath been spoken heretofore, in matter of his affaires, shall be handled among the acts of *Cyrus*, to whose story that of *Balthasar* is but an appendix.

## CHAP. II.

Of the originall and first greatnesse of the Persians.

## §. I.

That the Medes were chiefe actors in the subuersion of the Babylonian Empire.



HE Line of *Beluchus* being now extinguished in *Balthasar*, the Empire of Babylon, and of Assyria, was ioyned first to that of Media, which then was gouerned by *Cyaxares* or *Darius Medus*, after whom *Cyrus* became Lord and Monarch, both of Assyria and of Media it selfe.

Of the race of *Phul Beluchus* there were tenne Kings besides himselfe, and of *Arbaces* as many are found by *Metasthenes*. These two Prouinciall Gouernours hauing cut downe the last branch of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, diuided betwene them the Easterne Empire. *Cyaxares* (vvhom the Scriptures call *Darius Medus*) the last of the race of *Arbaces*, dying about two yeeres after that the line of *Beluchus* was ended in *Balthasar*, the Dominions aswell of the Conquerour, as of the conquered, fell to a third Family, namely, to *Cyrus* of the house of *Achamenes*, the Princes of which blood reigning in Persia, had formerly

formerly been dependants on the Medes, and were of as little power at home, as of fame abroad in the World.

Of the Family of the Achæmenes, and Line of the Persian Kings, we shall hereafter find occasion in due place to intreat.

The Nation of the Medes descended from *Madai* the third sonne of *Japhet*; that they had Kings soone after the Flood, *Lallantius* and *Diadorm* haue found record; For *Lallantius* remembereth an ancient King of the Medes called *Hydages*, and *Diadore* speaketh of *Pharynes* with his seauen sonnes, slaine by the Assyrian in the beginning of their Empire.

But of these who succeeded *Arbaces* the first, that freed his Nation from the Assyrians, I take the list and number from *Eusebius*, adding *Darius Medus*; of whom I haue spoken in their proper places heretofore; and they are these.

<i>Arbaces.</i>	28. yeares.
<i>Sofarmus.</i>	30. yeares.
<i>Meddus.</i>	40. yeares.
<i>Cardaces.</i>	13. yeares.
<i>Dicles.</i>	53. yeares.
<i>Phaortes.</i>	24. yeares.
<i>Cyaxares.</i>	32. yeares.
<i>Afyages.</i>	38. yeares.
<i>Darius Medus.</i>	

who reigned

And though the Greeks ascribe the conquest of Babylon to *Cyrus* alone, yet the Scriptures teach vs, that *Darius* was not only king of Media, & had the Persians his followers, but that the Army victorious ouer *Balthazar* was his, as the Assyrian & Babylonian Empire also was during his owne life. For we finde in *Daniel*, that *Darius* of the Medes took the Kingdome being threecore & two yeares old: And further, what *Osseus* explicated him to set ouer the Kingdome. And so was it prophesied by *Isay* long before: Behold, I will stirre up the Medes against them, &c. And by *Ieremy*: The Lord hath raised up the Spirit of the King of the Medes: for his purpose is against Babel, to destroy it; and in the height & twentieth Velle, Prepare against her the Nations, with the King of the Medes, the Dukes thereof, the Princes thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion. These Scriptures *Iulius Africanus* doth well open, who taking authority from *Diadore*, *Cassor*, *Thallus*, & others, deliuereth that Babylon was taken before *Cyrus* began to reign; which also agreeth with *Strabo*, where he saith, That as the Medes were subjugated by the Persians, so beeth fore that, both the Babylonians & Assyrians were mastered by the Medes. And therefore the reports of *Iustine* and *Herodotus* are not to be received, who attribute the taking of Babylon to *Cyrus* alone.

## §. II.

By what means the Empire was translated from the Medes to the Persians.

How the Kingdome of the Medes fell into the hands of *Cyrus*, it is a doubt not sufficiently cleared by Historians, but rather their different relations of his beginnings haue bred the former opinion of those who giue the conquest of Babel to the Persian only. For some there are who deny that *Afyages* had any other Successor than *Cyrus* his Grand-child by *Mandane*. Whereas *Ctesias* on the contrary side affirmed, that *Cyrus* was no way descended from *Afyages* (whom he calleth *Astius* or *Aptus*), but only that hauing vanquished him in battaile, & confined him to Bactria, he married his Daughter *Amysis*. But I find the relations of *Ctesias* often cited, and seldom followed, and himselfe sometimes very iustly reprov'd of wilfull vntruth.

*Viginius* a diligent & learned Historian of this age, produceth many probable reasons, that *Afyages* had no such sonne as *Cyaxares* or *Darius Medus*; and to confirme his opinion thereon, he citeth *Diadore*, *Iustine*, *Strabo*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Isocrates*, and before them *Cassor*, *Thallus*, and *Pblegon*, who doe not finde any such Successor. Neither doe *Tatianus*, *Theophilus Antiochensis*, *Iulius Africanus*, *Clemons Alexandrinus*, *Iustine Martyr*, *Lallantius*, *Eusebius*, *S. Hierome*, or *S. Augustine*, make report out of any faithfull Author by them read; that hath giuen other Son or Successor to *Afyages* than *Cyrus*.

Yet seeing that this manner of argument *ab auctoritate negatiue* doth neuer enforce consent, we may be the bolder (all this great list of noble Writers by him alleaged notwithstanding) to affirme, that either *Ahyages* himselfe must haue bene *Darius* of the Medes, which cannot agree with his place in the course of time; Or else to giue him some other Successour, according to *Iosephus* and *Xenophon*, the same whom *Daniel* calleth *Balthasar*. For it is manifest, and without dispute, that the King of the Medes commanded in chiefe, and was absolute Lord of that Conquest, *Cyrus* during his life, being no other than the Lieutenant of his Army, and subiect to his authority; The strength of both Nations, to wit, the Medes and Persians, with other the Vassals of *Darius*, being ioyned together to compound it.

2m. l. c. 19.  
1st. an. 10. c. 3.  
Xen. l. 3. p. 6.

But it is very certaine that the honour of that great victory ouer Babylon was wholly giuent to *Cyrus*, who was the instrument preordained and forenamed by God himselfe for this action, but for the deliuey of his Church; a greater worke not only in the eyes of God, than the subuerfion of any State or Monarchy, how powerfull soeuer.

And it may well be thought, that the Souldiers employed in that seruice did rather ascribe the glory to him that was the best man of Warre, than to the Median, who was greatest in riches and power. All which also falling vpon *Cyrus* by succession, and continuing in his posterity, did much augment the fame of his vertue; which among profane Historians ouergrew altogether the honour due to *Cyaxares*, both because he was old, & did nothing in person; as also because he soon after quitted the world, and left all to *Cyrus*, who was posselt of what soeuer belonged to *Darius*, before the fame of any such King or Conqueror was carried farre off.

And for the Greek Historians, they took all things from the relation of the Persians, who gaue to *Cyrus* all the praise of a most excellent Prince, making none his equal. Only *Daniel* in the first, fift, and sixt Chapters of his propheticke, makes it plaine, that himselfe not only liued a great Officer vnder King *Darius*, but that he continued in that estate to the first of *Cyrus*, which being the year of *Daniels* death, could not haue bin distinguished from the reigne of *Darius*, if they had begun together and reigned ioyntly; Neither can it be imagined that *Darius* held the Kingdome by *Cyrus* permission, considering that *Cyrus* began after him.

## §. III.

*Xenophons relation of the warre with the Medes and Persians, made with ioynt forces vpon the Assyrians, and others.*

These Testimonies of the Scriptures, which neede no other confirmation, yet made more open to our vnderstanding, by that which *Xenophon* hath written of these wars: The cause whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the Assyrian had enlarged his Empire with victories, & was become Lord of all Syria, & many other Countries, he began to hope that if the Medes could be brought vnder his subiection, there should not then be left any Nation adioyning able to make head against him. For the King of the Medes was able to bring into the field threecore thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, to which the forces of Persia being ioyned, made an exceeding strong Army.

The Assyrian considering the strength of such a Neighbour, inuited *Crasus* King of Lydia, a Prince very mighty both in men and treasure, and with him other Lords of Asia the lesse, to his assistance, alleging, that those Easterne Nations were very powerfull, and so firmly conioyned by league and many alliances, that it would not be easie, no not possible for any one Nation to resist them. With these incitements, and strengthened with great presents, he drew to himselfe many adherents, as he compounded an Army of two hundred thousand foot, and threecore thousand horse; of which, tenne thousand horse, and forty thousand foot were ledde by *Crasus*, who had great cause of enmity with the Medes, in regard of the Warre made by them against his Father *Ahyates*; But this great Army was by *Cyaxares* King of the Medes, and by *Cyrus* Generall of the Persian forces, vtterly broken; Vpon which defeat the Assyrian King being also slaine, so many of the Assyrians revolted, as Babylon it selfe could not longer be assured without the succours of Mercenaries, waged with great summes of money out of Asia the lesse, Egypt, and elsewhere. Which new gathered forces were

were also scattered by *Cyrus*, who following his aduantage, posselt himselfe of a great part of the lesser Asia; at which time it was, as I take it, that *Crasus* himselfe was also made prisoner.

The attempt of Babylon following soon after, the Army lying before it being paid by *Darius*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, and led by *Cyrus* his sisters son, preuailed against *Balthasar*, as in due time shall be set downe.

Those Persians which followed *Cyrus*, and by him leuied, are numbred thirty thousand foot-men, of which a thousand were armed Gentlemen, the rest of the common sort were Archers, or such as vsed the Dart or Sling. So far *Xenophon*. Of whom in this argument, as it is true, that he described in *Cyrus* the pattern of a most Heroicall Prince, with much Poeticall addition: so it cannot be denied, but that the bulke and grosse of his Narration was founded vpon meere Historicall truth.

Neither can it indeed be affirmed of any the like Writers, that in euery speech & circumstance he hath precisely tyed himselfe to the phrase of the speaker, or nature of the occasion, but borrowed in each out of his own inuention, appropriating the fame to the times and persons of whom he treated. Putting therefore apart the Morall and Politick discourse, and examining but the History of things done, it will easily appear, that *Xenophon* hath handled his vnder-taken subiect in such sort, that by beautifying the face thereof, he hath not in any sort corrupted the body.

## §. IV.

*The estate of the Medes and Persians in times fore-going this great warre.*

For it is commonly agreed vpon, that *Achamenes* the sonne of *Perfes* being Governour of Persia, did associate himselfe with *Arbaces*, who commanded in Media in that rebellion against *Sardanapalus*, and that each of them after the victory obtained, held for himselfe the Dominion of those Countreys, which he had formerly ruled for the Assyrians; as also that they conueyed ouer the same honour & power to their posterity; which in Media was not absolutely Regall, but with some restraint limited, untill such time as *Deioces* tooke vpon him the full authority and maiesty of a King. From the death of *Sardanapalus* to the reigne of *Deioces*, are vsually accounted about an hundred and forty yeares, in the last sixty whereof there reigned in Assyria mighty Princes, namely, *Salmanassar* and his Succellours, whose great atchieuements in Syria and elsewhere, witnesseth, that the Medes and Persians found it not for their aduantage to undertake any offensive warre against those victorious Kings, it being also probable that the league continued as yet between these the succellours of *Belochus*, and *Arbaces*, who had formerly shared the Empire.

Now from the beginning of *Deioces* to the first of *Ahyages*, there past aboute ninety yeares, in which if *Herodotus* haue written truly, that *Phraortes* conquered Persia, and how he and other Kings of Media by many victories greatly enlarged their Dominions, and commanded many parts of Asia, it had bene but an vnadvised enterprise of the Assyrians & Babylonians, to haue wasted themselves against the Syrians and Egyptians, leaving so able and victorious a Nation on their backs. But that the Medes had done nothing vpon the South parts of Persia; and that the Persians themselves were not masters of Susiana in *Nabuchodonosors* time, it is manifest in *Daniel*, who was then Governour for the Babylonian in Sufa or Susa, the chiefe City thereof. It is true indeede, that the Medians, either vnder *Cyaxares* or *Ahyages*, or both, had quarrell with *Halyattes* the father of *Crasus*, which after some fixe yeares dispute was compounded.

How the affaires of Persia stood in so many ages, I do not finde any memory. It seemeth that the roughnesse of the mountainous Countrey which they then posselt, with the confederacy which they continued with the Medes, gaue them more security than fame: For if their Kings, being the posterity of *Achamenes*, had done any memorable acts, the greatnesse which they afterward obtained would not haue suffered any forgetfulness thereof. But as we finde all *Xenophons* reports, both of these Warres and the state of those Countreys to be very consonant & agreeable to the relation of many other good Authors, so it appeares, that the race of *Achamenes* held the Principality of Persia from Father to Sonne for many descents. And therefore we may better giue credit



to *Xenophon*, who affirmeth, That *Cambyfes* the father of *Cyrus* was King of Persia; than to those that make him a meane man, and say, that *Astages* gaue him his daughter *Mandane* in marriage, to the end that her son (whose nativity hee feared) might be disabled from any great vndertaking by his fathers ignobility.

For what cause of griefe could it be to *Astages*, that the sonne of his daughter should become Lord of the best part of Asia? No, it was more likely, that vpon such a Prophecie his loue to his grand-childe should haue encreased, and his case been the greater to haue married her to some Prince of strength and eminent vertue.

Yea, the same *Herodotus*, who is the first Authour, and as I thinke the deuiler of the mischief intended against *Cyrus* by his Grandfather, doth confesse, That the line of the *Achemenide* was so renowned, that the great King *Xerxes* in the height of his prosperity did thence deriue himselfe, and vaunt of it: which hee would neuer haue done, had they beene ignoble, or had they beene the vassals of any other King or Monarch.

For in this sort *Xerxes* in the sequenth of *Herodotus* deriueth himselfe.

*Achemenes.*  
*Cambyfes.*  
*Cyrus.*

*Teispes.*  
*Ariaramnes.*  
*Arjames.*

*Hystaspes.*  
*Darius.*  
*Xerxes.*

Of the *Achemenide* there were two races: of the first was *Cyrus* the great, whose issue male failed in his two sonnes, *Cambyfes* and *Smerdis*. This royall family is thus set down by the learned *Reineccius*.

*Achemenes*, the sonne of *Perfes*, first King of Persia.

*Darius.*

*Cyrus* the first of that name, had *Cambyfes* and *Atossa*; who married to

*Pharnaces*, King of Cappadocia, had *Artystoma* and other daughters.

*Cambyfes* had

*Cyrus* the Great: *Cyrus* had

*Cambyfes*, who succeeded him, and *Smerdis* slaine by his brother *Cambyfes*.

Of the second were those seuen great Princes of Persia, who hauing ouerthrowne the vsurped royalty of the *Magi*, chose from among themselves *Darius*, the sonne of *Hystaspes*, King.

This Kingdome of Persia was first known by the name of *Elam*, so called after *Elam* the sonne of *Sem*, and the people therein inhabiting, *Elamite*; by *Elianus*, *Elyma*; by *Iosephus*, *Elymi*.

*Suidas* deriues this Nation sometimes from *Assur*, sometime from *Magog*, of whom they were called *Magusai*, which *Magusai*, according to *Eusebius*, are not to bee taken for the Nation in generall, but for those who were afterward called the *Magi* or Wise men. So do the Greeks, among many other their sayings of them, affirme, That the Persians were anciently written *Artai*, & that they called themselves *Cypheues*. But that they were *Elamite*, *Moses* and the Prophets, *Esay*, *Jeremy*, *Ezechiel*, *Daniel* and *Esdra*s in many places confesse: Which also *S. Hierome* vpon *Jeremy* the five and twentieth, vpon *Daniel* the eight, and also in his Hebrew questions, approueth, saying: *Elam à quo Elamite Principes Persidis*; *Elam*, of whom were the *Elamites* Princes of Persia.

And that City which the Author of the second booke of the *Maccabees* calleth *Persopolis*, is by the Author of the first called *Elimai*, but is now called *Siras*, being the same which *Antiochus*, for the great riches thereof, twice attempted in vaine, and to his great dishonour. And yet this City, now called *Siras*, was not the old *Persopolis*; for *Alexander* at the request of *Thais* the Harlot, burnt it.

The first King of Persia to vs known, if we follow the current of Authors interpreting the foureteenth chapter of *Genesis*, was *Chedorlaomer*, who liued with *Amraphel* or *Nimrod*, and ioyned with him in the war against those Arabians, who was afterward extinguisht by the forces of *Abraham*.

## CHAP. III.

## Of Cyrus.

## §. I.

## Of Cyrus his name, and first actions.



Touching the name of *Cyrus*, *Strabo* saith, That the same was taken from a riuer which watereth Persia; this great Prince hauing *Agradatus* for his proper name. But the great *Cyrus* was not the first of that name. *Herodotus* otherwise; and that *Cyrus* signifieth a father in the Persian Tongue, and therefore so intituled by the people.

It is true that for his Iustice and other excellent vertues he was indeed called a Father; but that the name of *Cyrus* had any such signification, I thinke it be mistaken.

*Plutarch* hath a third opinion, affirming, That *Cyrus* is as much to say as the Sunne, in the same Language. Howsoeuer it be, yet the Prophet *Esay*, almost two hundred years before *Cyrus* was borne, giues him that name, Thus saith the Lord vnto Cyrus his Anointed, &c.

Before the Conquest of Babylon, the victories which *Cyrus* obtained were many and great: among which, the Conquest of Lydia, & other Prouinces thereto subiect, together with the taking of *Craesus* himselfe, are not recounted by *Eusebius*, *Orosius*, and others, but placed among his latter atchiuements: whose opinion for this difference of time is founded vpon two reasons; namely, That of the Median there is no mention in the last warre against *Craesus*; and that the obtaining of Sardis is referred to the eight & fiftieth Olympiad, and the glorious victory which *Cyrus* had ouer Babylon, to the five and sixtieth Olympiad.

The former of which might haue bin vsed (and was by the Greekes) to exclude the Medes from the honor of hauing won Babylon it self, which in due place I haue answered. The latter seems to haue reference to the second War which *Cyrus* made vpon Lydia, when it rebelled; at which time he so established his former Conquest, as after that time these Nations neuer offered to reuolt. Wherefore I like better in this particular to beseech with *Herodotus*, whom the most of Chronologers follow, and finde the enterprise of Sardis to precede that of Babylon.

## §. II.

## Of Croesus the King of Lydia, who made warre vpon Cyrus.

I haue in the last Booke spoken somewhat of *Craesus*, of his race and predecessors, as also of those Kings which gouerned Lydia in more ancient times: of which the first (so prophane Authors knowne) was *Lydus* the sonne of *Atys*: Which Family extinguisht, the Kingdome was by an Oracle conferred vpon *Argan*, descended from *Heracles*, whereof there were two and twenty generations, *Candaules* being the last, who by shewing his faire Wife naked to *Gyges* his Favourite, he was by the same *Gyges* (thereto vrged vpon perill of his owne life by the Queene) the next day slaine. Which done, *Gyges* enioyed both the Queen and the Kingdome of Lydia, and left the same to *Atys*: his son, who was father to *Sadyattes*, the father of *Halyattes* (who thrust the Cimmerians out of Asia) & *Halyattes* begat *Craesus*: Which five Kings, of a third race, enioyed that Kingdome an hundred and scaenty years. *Halyattes* the father of *Craesus* was an vndertaking Prince, and after he had continued a warre against *Cyaxares* the Median, a Prince very powerfull, and maintained it sixe years: a peace was concluded vpon equall conditions between them.

*Astages*, the son of *Cyaxares*, and grandfather to *Cyrus*, thought himselfe greatly honoured by obtaining *Argemes*, *Craesus* sister, whom he married,

But *Cresus* so farre enlarged his dominions after his fathers death, as he was nothing inferior in territory to any King of Monarchy of that age: Of which, about that time there were foure in effect of equal strength, to wit, the Median, the Babylonian, the Egyptian and the Lydian: only *Nabuchodonosor*, after he had ioynd Phoenicia, Palestina, and Egypt to his Empire, had thence forward no Competitor during his owne life.

But *Cresus*, notwithstanding the men & treasure spent in the quarrell of the Babylonians, he yet mastered *Eolis*, *Doris*, & *Ionis*, Prouinces posselt by the Greekes in Asia the lesse, adioyning to *Lydia*; gaue law to the *Phrygians*, *Bithynians*, *Carians*, *Myrians*, *Paphlagonians*, & other Nations. And that he also inforced the *Ephesians* to acknowledge him, notwithstanding they compassed their city with *Diana's* girdle, *Herodotus* witnesseth. Moreouer, *Athenas* out of *Dares* (which also *Strabo* confirmeth) makes report of a Signall victory which *Cresus* obtained against the *Sacians*, a Nation of the *Scythians*, in memory whereof the Babylonians his allies did yearly celebrate a Feast, which they called *Sacis*: All which he performed in fourteen years.

And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and chusing of *Cyrus* fame, doubting also, that his prosperous undertakings might in the end grow troublesome to himselfe, he consulted with the Oracle of *Apollo*, whom he presented with many uellous rich gifts, what successe he might hope for against *Cyrus*. The vnderstanding from whom he receiued this riddle: *Cresus* passing ouer the River *Halys*, shall dislose great Dominion. For the diuell being doubtfull of the successe, payed him with merchandise of both sides like, and might be inuerted either way to the ruine of *Perisia*, or of his owne *Lydia*.

## S. III.

## Croesus his Expedition against Cyrus.

Hereupon *Cresus* being resolu'd to stop the course of *Cyrus* fortunes, if he could, despised all the arguments vsed by *Sardanes*: to the contrary, who desired him to fore-thinke, That he vsed a Nation inhabiting a barren & mountainous Region, a people not couered with the soft silke of wormes, but with the hard skins of beastes, not fed with such meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of water, not of wine: and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant and prosperous; ouer whom if he became victorious, hee could thereby enrich himselfe in nothing but fame, in which he already excelled: and if by them beaten, & subiected, so great would his losse appeare of all things which the world hath in account, as the same could neither hastily betold, nor readily conceiued.

Notwithstanding this solid counsaile, *Cresus* hauing prepared a powerfull army, he led the same towards *Media*, but in his passage he was arrested at *Pterium*, a city of great strength in *Cappadocia*; which while he fought by all means to surprishe or to force, *Cyrus* came on, & found the Lydians encamped before it. That each was inferior to other in strength or opinion, I do not find: for out of doubt, *Cresus*, as he excelled any Prince of that age in riches and ability; so was he not vnder any in territory and famet that then liued.

But as *Cratippus* of *Mitylene* answered *Pompey* when he complained against the gods, because they fauoured a disturber and vsurper of the Common-weale against him who fought for the *Romane* liberty, That Kingdomes & Commonweales had their encrease and period from diuine Ordinance: so at this time was the Winter of *Cresus* prosperity at hand, the leaves of his flourishing fortune ready to fall, and that of *Cyrus* but in the flower and first spring. The God of all power, and not *Admetis* Herdman, *Apollo*, had giuen a date to the one, and a beginning of glory to the other.

When these two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainment of diuers skirmishes, the *Persians* & *Lydians* began to ioyne in grosse troups: supplies from both Kings thrust on vpon the falling off, and aduancement of either Nations: & as the *Persians* had somewhat the better of the day, so when the darke vaile of night had hidden each Army from the others view, *Cresus* doubting what successe the rising Sunne would bring with it, quitted the field to *Cyrus*, and with all speede possible retired, and taking the next way into *Lydia*, recovered *Sardis* his first City and Regall Seat, without any pursuit made by *Cyrus* to retard him. Where being arrived, and nothing

suspecting

suspecting *Cyrus* approach, or any other warre for that Winter, he dismissed the Souldiers, and sent the troups of his sundry Nations to their owne Prouinces, appointing them to re-assemble at the end of fixe moneths, acquainting his Commanders with his intents for the renewing of the warre at the time appointed.

## S. IV.

## The Conquest of Lydia by Cyrus.

*Cyrus* in the following morning finding the *Lydians* departed, put his Army in order to pursue them, yet not so hastily, and at their heeles, as to be discovered. By hauing good intelligence of *Cresus* his proceeding, he so measured his marches, as he presented not himself before *Sardis*, till such time as *Cresus* had disposed his Army to their Wintering garriisons: which being altogether vnlooked for, & vnfeared, hee surrounded *Sardis* with his Army: Wherein *Cresus* hauing no other Companies than his Citizens & ordinary Guards, after fourteen dayes siege the same was entered by assault, and all executed that resisted. *Cresus* hauing now neither armes to fight, nor wings to flye, *Sardis* being on all parts strongly encompassed, thrust himselfe into the heape and miserable multitude of his vassals, and had undergone the common fortune of common persons vanquished, had not a sonne of his, who had beene dumbeall his life (by extremity of passion and feare enabled) cried out to the souldiers to spare *Cresus*.

Who thereupon being taken and imprisoned, despoiled of all things but the expectation of death, he was forthwith tied in fetters, and set on the top of a great and high heape of wood, to be consumed to ashes thereon. To which when the fire was set and kindled, remembering the discourse which hee had with the Athenian Law-giuer, he thrice cried out on his name, *Solom, Solom, Solom*: and being demanded what he meant by that inuocation, he first vsed silence: but vsed againe, he told them, That he had now found it true which *Solom* had long since told him, That many men in the race and courses of their liues might well be accounted fortunate, but no man could discern himselfe for happy indeed, till his end.

Which answer *Cyrus* being speedily informed, remembering the changes of fortune and his owne mortality, he commanded his ministers of Iustice to withdraw the fire with all diligence, to saue *Cresus*, and to conduct him to his presence: Which done, *Cyrus* demanded of him, Who it was that had perswaded him? or what selfe reason had conducted him to iquade his territory, & to make him of a friend an enemy? To whom he thus answered, It was thy prosperous, and my vnprosperous destiny (the *Grecian* god flattering theewithall my ambition) that were the inuencers and conductors of *Cresus* warre against *Cyrus*.

*Cyrus* being pierc'd with *Cresus* answer, & bewailing his estate, though victorious ouer it, did not only spare his life, but entertained him euer after as a king and his companion, shewing therein a true effect of mercy indeed, *Quæ non causam, sed fortunam spectat*.

And herein is the reall difference discerned between that behaviour which we call *Beneficium latronis*, & *gratiam Principis*: A theefe sometime sparing the life of him which is in his power, but vnjustly: A King that giueth breath, and a continuance of being, to him that was the cause and author of his owne euill.

The report made by *Xenophon* is, That *Cyrus* did friendly entertaine *Cresus* at the first sight, not mentioning that which *Herodotus* deliuiers, and is here already set down, that hee should haue beene burnt aliue. It may very well be, that *Xenophon* portraying (in *Cyrus*) an heroycall Prince, thought an intent so cruell, fitter to bee forgotten than rehearsed, as too much mis-befecoming a generous nature. And it is very likely, that needesse of alliance might with-hold *Cyrus* (had hee beene otherwise vicious) from so cruell a purpose against his grandmothers brother. Howsoeuer it was, the Moral part of the Story hath giuen much credit and reputation to the report of *Herodotus* (as to many the like it often doth) and made it passe for currant, though the trust reposed in *Cresus* afterwards may seeme to argue, that *Cyrus* did not vse him inhumanely at the first.

For as *Herodotus* himselfe telleth vs, when *Cyrus* past with his Army ouer *Araxes* into *Scythia*, he left *Cresus* to accompany and aduise his sonne *Cambyses*, Gouvernour of the Empire in his absence, with whom he liued all the time of *Cyrus*, & did afterward follow

Cambyses

*Cambyses* into Egypt, where he hardly escaped his tyrannous hand. What his end was, I doe not finde.

But in this time the races of three of the greatest Kings in that part of the world took end; to wit, of the Babylonians, Medians & Lydians; in *Balthasar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Croesus*.

## §. V.

## How Cyrus wonne Babylon.

**A**fter this Lydian War ensued the great Conquest of Babylon, which gaue vnto *Cyrus* an Empire so large and mighty, that he was iustly reputed the greatest Monarch then living vpon earth. How long time the preparations for this great action tooke vp, it is vncertaine; onely it seemes, that ten whole yeares did passe betwene his taking those two Cities of Sardis and Babylon; which neuertheless I doe not thinke to haue bene wholly occupied in provision for the Assyrian warre, but rather to haue bin spent in settling the Estate which he had already purchased. And hereunto perhaps may be referred that which *Ctesias* hath in his fragments of a war made by *Cyrus* vpon the Scythians, though related as foregoing the victory obtained against *Croesus*. He telleth vs, That *Cyrus* invaded Scythia, and being victorious ouer that Nation, tooke *Amorges* their King prisoner: but being in a second battell ouerthrowne by the wife of *Amorges*, *Sparetha*, and therein taken, the one King was deliuered for the other.

Likewise it may be thought; that no small part of those troubles which arose in the lower Asia, grew soone after the departure of the victorious army, before the Conquest was fully established.

For after *Cyrus* was returned out of Asia the lesse, many Nations, conquered formerly by *Croesus* and now by *Cyrus*, revolted from him; against whom he employed *Pallias*, and then *Harpagus*, who first reduced the Phocians vnder their former obedience: and then the rest of the Greeks inhabiting Asia the lesse, as the Ionians, Carians, Eolians & Lycians, who resolutely (according to the strength they had) defended themselves. But in the attempt vpon Babylon it selfe, it is not to be doubted, that *Cyrus* employed all his forces, hauing taken order before-hand, that nothing should be able to diuert him, or to raise that siege, & make frustrate the work vpon which he did set all his rest. And great reason there was, that he should bend all his care & strength vnto the taking of that City, which beside the fame & reputation that it held, as being head of an Empire thereon depending, was so strongly fenced with a treble wal of great height, & surrounded with waters vnfloodable, so plentifully victualled for many yeares, that the inhabitants were not only free from all doubt and fear of their estate, but despised and derided all purposes and power of their besiegers.

The onely hope of the Medes & Persians, who despaired of carrying by assault a City so well fortified and manned, was in cutting off all supplies of victuals and other necessities; whereof though the Towne was said to be stored sufficiently for more than twenty yeares, yet might it well be deemed, that in such a world of people as dwelt within those gates, one great want or other would soone appeare, and vanquish the resolution of that vnwarlike multitude. In expecting the successe of this course, the besiegers were likely to endure much trauell, and all in vaine, if they did not keep streight watch and strong guards vpon all quarters.

This was hard to doe, in regard of the vast circuit of those walls which they wereto gird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men sufficiently assured vnto their commander: The consideration whereof ministred vnto the Babylonians matter of good pastime, when they saw the Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, and others, quartered about their Town to keep them in, who hauing bin their ancient friends & allies, were more likely to ioyne with them, if occasion were offered, than to vse much diligence on the behalfe of *Cyrus*, who had, as it were, yesterday laid vpon their neckes the galling yoke of seritude. While the besieged were pleasing themselves in this deceitfull and vaine gladnesse, that is the ordinary fore-runner of suddaine calamity; *Cyrus*, whom the Ordinance of God made strong, constant, and inuentive; deuised by so many channels and trenches as were sufficient and capable of Euphrates, and so to draw the same from the walls of Babylon, thereby to make his approach the more facile and assured: which when by the labour of many hands hee had performed,

he

he stayed the time of his aduantage for the execution: for hee had left certaine bankes or heads vn-cut, betwene the maine riuer which surrounded the City, and his owne Trenches.

Now *Balthasar*, finding neither any want or weaknes within, nor any possibility of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding sumptuous feast, publike Playes and other Pastimes, and thereto invited a thousand of his Princes or Nobility, besides his wiues, curtizans, & others of that trade. This he did either to let the besiegers know, that his provisions were either sufficient, not onely for all needefull vses, but euen for iollity and exesse: Or because he hoped that his enemies, vnder the burthen of many distresses were well nere broken, or in honour of *Bel* his most reuerenced Idoll: Or that it was his birth or coronation day: Or for many or all these respects. And hee was not contented with such magnificence as no Prince else could equall, but (vsing *Daniels* words) *He lifted himselfe up against the Lord of Heauen*: For he & his Princes, wiues & concubines, made carowling cups of the Vessels of God, in contempt of whom he praised his owne puppets, made of Siluer & Gold, of Brasse, Iron, Wood, and Stone, *Quanta sunt iustitia in vasis aureis bibentes, ligneos & lapideos deos landare*: How great a foolishnesse was it (saith *S. Hierome*.) *drinking in golden Cups, to praise gods of wood and Stone*. While *Balthasar* was in this fort triumphing, and his braines well filled with vapors, he beheld a hand, which by diuine power wrote on the wall opposite vnto him, certaine words which he vnderstood not: wherewith so great a feare and amazement seized him, as the

loynes of his loynes were loosed, and his knees smote one against the other. Which passion when he had in some part recocted, he cried out for his Caldæans, Astrologians, & Southsayers, promising them great rewards, & the third place of honour in the Kingdom to him that could read and expound the writing; but it exceeded their Art. In this disturbance and astonishment the Queen hearing what had past, and of the Kings amazement, after reuerence done, vsed this speech: *There is a man in thy Kingdom, in whom is the spirit of the holy Gods, and in the days of thy father, light and understanding, and wisdom, like the wisdom of the Gods, was found in him, whom the King Nabuchodonosor thy father; the King (I say) thy father made chiefe of the Inchanters, Astrologians, Chaldeans, and Southsayers, because a more excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding, was found in him, euen in Daniel, &c. Now let Daniel be called, and he will declare the interpretation.*

This Queene, *Iosephus* takes for the grandmother, *Origen* and *Theodoret* for the mother of *Balthasar*; either of which may be true: for it appeareth, that she was not any of the Kings wiues, because absent from the feast; and being past the age of dancing and banquetting, she came in vpon the bruit of the miracle, & to comfort the King in his distraction: And whereas *Daniel* was forgotten and neglected by others both of younger yeares and times, this old Queene remembered well what hee had done in the daies of *Nabuchodonosor*, grandfather to this *Balthasar*, and kept in minde both his religion and diuine gifts.

When *Daniel* was brought to the Kings presence, who acknowledged those excellent graces wherewith God had enriched him, he prayed him, together with promises of reward and honour, to read and interpret those words miraculously written; to whom *Daniel* made answer in a farre different style from that hee vsed towards his Grandfather: for the euill which he foretold *Nabuchodonosor*, he wished that the same might befall his enemies; but to this King (whose neglect of God and vice he hated) he answered in these words, *Keep thy rewards to thy selfe, and giue thy gifts to another, yet will I read the writing vnto the King, and shew him the interpretation*: Which before he had performed, he gaue him first the cause of Gods iust iudgement against him, and the reason of this terrible sentence, whereof the King and all his Wife men were vterly ignorant. Which being written at large in *Daniel*, hath this effect, That forgetting Gods goodness to his Father, whom all Nations feared and obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect of those benefites, as he deprived him of his estate and vnderstanding; so vpon the acknowledgement of Gods infinite power he restored him to both. This King notwithstanding lifted himselfe vp against the same God, and presuming both to abuse those vessels dedicated to holy vses, and neglecting the Lord of all power; praised and worshipped the dead Idols of Gold, Siluer, Brasse, Iron, Stone, and Wood: and therefore those words, from the Oracle of a true God deliuered, (to wit) *Mene, Tekel, Pharosin*, gaue

gaue the King knowledge, that God had numbred the time of his Kingdome, & finished it: That he was weighed in the ballance of Gods iustice, and found too light; and that his Empire was diuided and giuen to the Medes and Persians.

The very euenig of night of this day, wherein *Balthazar* feasted and perished, *Cyrus* either by his epiall, according to *Xenophon*, or inspired by God himselfe, whose enligne he followed in this warre, found the time and opportunity to inuite him: and therefore while the Kings head, and the heads of his Nobility were no lesse filled with the vapors of wine, than their hearts with the feare of Gods iudgement, he caused all the banks and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut downe with that diligence, as by them hee drew the great Riuer of Euphrates dry for the present, by whose channell running, his Army made their entrance, finding none to disturbe them. All the Towne lay buried (as the Poet saith) in sleepe and wine: such as came in the Persians way, were put to the sword, vnlesse they saued themselves by flight, as some did, who ranne away crying, and filling the streets with an vncertaine tumult.

Such Assyrian Lords as had revolted from *Balthazar*, and betaken themselves to the party of *Cyrus*, did now conduct a selected company to the Kings Palace, which hauing easily forced, they rushed into the chamber where the King with his Princes were banqueting, slew both him and them without any mercy, who strugled in vaine to keepe those liues which God had newly threatened to take away. And now was the prophecy of *Jeremy* fulfilled, and that of *Esay*, two hundred yeares before this subuersion, who in his seuen and fortieth Chapter, and elsewhere, writeth this destruction fo feelingly and liuely, as if he had beene present both at the terrible slaughter there committed, and had seene the great and vnfeared change and calamity of this great Empire; yea, and had also heard the sorrowes and bewailings of euery furuiuing soule thereunto subiect. His prophesie of this place he beginneth in these words: *Come downe, and sit in the dust, O virgine daughter of Babel: sit on the ground, there is no Throne, &c.* And againe, *Sit still and get thee into darkenesse, O daughter of the Chaldeans, for thou shalt no more be called the Ladie of Kingdomes.* For though it cannot be doubted, that God vsed *Nabuchodonosor* and the Chaldeans, to punish the idolatry of the Iudæans, yet *Esay* teacheth vs in this place, That he did not yet forget, that the execution of his iudgments was mixt with a rigorous extremity. For (saith *Esay*) in the person of God, *I was wrath with my people, I have polluted mine inheritance, and giuen them into thine hand: thou didst shew them no mercy, but thou didst lay thy very heauy yoke upon the ancient, I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of Hosts, and will cut off from Babel the name and the remnant, and the sonne and the nephew. And in the thirteenth, Every one that is found, shall be stricken thorow: and whosoever ingneth himselfe, shall fall by the sword, their children also shall be broken in pieces before their eyes, their houses spoiled, and their wines ransied.* So as there is no Historian who was either present at this victory of *Cyrus*, or that receiued the report from others truly as it was, that could better leaue the fame to posterity after it happened, than *Esay* hath done in many places of his prophesies, which were written two hundred yeares before any thing at-tempted.

The greatnesse and magnificence of Babylon, were it not by diuers graue Authors set downe, might seeme altogether fabulous: for, besides the reports of *Saint Hierome*, *Salmus*, and *Orosius*, *Aristotle* in the third of his *Politiques*, the second Chapter, receiued the report for true, That one part of the City knew not that the rest was taken three daies after. Which is not impossible, if the testimony of *Diodorus Siculus* may be taken; who findes the compasse thereof at three hundred and threescore Stadia or Furlongs, which makes five and forty miles: the walls whereof had so great a breadth, that six chariots might passe in front thereon. And of height, according to *Ctesius* and *Clitarchus*, three hundred threescore and five foot, garnished with an hundred and fifty Towers. *Strabo* in the beginning of his sixteenth Booke of Geography giues it a greater circuit, adding five and twenty furlongs more to the former compasse, reckoning the same at three hundred fourescore and five furlongs, which makes eight and forty mile and one furlong; but finds the wall farre vnder that which *Diodore* reports: and so doth *Curtius* measure their thicknesse but at two and thirty foot, and their height at an hundred cubits, which is also very much; euery cubit containing a foot and halfe of the large measure, though to the whole circuit of the City he giues the same with *Siculus*, and eight furlongs more. *Herodotus* findes a greater content than *Strabo* doth, namely, foure hundred

dred and fourescore furlongs circle; the thicknesse of the wall he measures at fifty cubits, and the height at two hundred of the same regall cubit. For entrance he had an hundred gates of Brasse, with posts and hooke to hang them on of the same metall: and therefore did the Prophet *Esay* rightly intitle Babylon, The Princesse & Glory of Kingdomes.

But when *Cyrus* had wonne her, he stript her out of her Princely Robes; and made her a slave, diuiding not onely all her goodly houses, and her whole Territory, with all the riches therein contained, among his Souldiers; but bestowing the inhabitants themselves as bond-slaves vpon those that had taken possession of their goods.

Touching the reigne of *Cyrus*, and the time which he enioyed in rest and pleasure, I can say no more of it, than that it is generally agreed by all Chronologers to haue lasted only seuen yeares: in which time he made such Constitutions, as differ little from the Ordinances of all wise Kings that are desirous to establish a Royall power to themselves and their posterity.

## 6. VI.

## The end of Cyrus.

The last warre, and the end of this great King *Cyrus*, is diuersly written. *Herodotus* and *Iustine* deliuer, That after the Conquest of Asia the lesse, *Cyrus* invaded the Massagetes, a very warlike Nation of the Scythians, gouerned by *Tomyris* their Queene: and that in an encounter between the Persians and these Northerne Nomades, *Tomyris* lost her Army, and her Son *Sparapises* that commanded it: In reuenge whereof, this Queene making new leues of men of Warre, and following the Warre against *Cyrus*, in a second battaile beat the Persian Army, and taking *Cyrus* prisoner, cut off his head from his body, and cast the same into a boule of bloud, vjing these words, *Thou hast had all thy life time thirsted for bloud, now drinke thy fill, and satisfie thy selfe.*

It should heereby seeme, that *Cyrus* knowing the strength and multitude of those frozen Nations, was perswaded to abate their fury by some forcible inuasion and depopulation, because in the time of *Cyaxares*, father to *Athyages*, those Scythians invaded Media and Asia the lesse, and held the same in a feruile subiection eight and twenty yeares.

This warre which *Metasthenes* calleth *Tomyrique*, lasted (saith he) sixe yeares, and took end at the death of *Cyrus*.

But in this particular I beleene with *Viglier*, that this Scythian Warre was rather the same which *Cyrus* made against the Sacians, before the conquest of Lydia, according to *Ctesius* before cited, who calleth *Tomyris*, *Sparetha*, though he deliuer the successe of that warre otherwife than *Herodotus* doth: The rather (saith *Viglier*) because *Strabo* in his eleventh booke reciteth, that *Cyrus* surprized the Sacians by the same stratageme by which *Iustine* saith, he defeated the sonne of *Tomyris*. And the same *Ctesius* also reporteth, That the last warre which *Cyrus* made was against *Amorheus* king of the Derbic ansa Nation (as the rest of Scythia, whom though he ouercame, yet he then receiued the wound of his death, which he suffered three daies after.

*Strabo* also affirmeth, That he was buried in his owne City of *Palagatides*, which himselfe had built, & where his Epitaph was to be read in his time, which is said to haue bin this: *Vir quicunq; es, & vnde cunq; aduenis, neque enim ad aduentum ignorauit: Ego sum Cyrus qui Persis imperium constitui, pusillum hoc terra quo meum regitur corpus mihi ne inuenias: Q. thou man, whosoener thou art, or whence soeuer thou comest, for I was not ignorant that thou shouldst come: I am Cyrus that founded the Persian Empire, doe not enuy vnto me this little earth, with which my body is covered.*

This Tombe was opened by *Alexander*, as *Qu. Curtius* reporteth, either vpon hope of treasure, supposed to haue been buried with him, or vpon desire to honour his dead body with certaine ceremonies; in which there was found an old rotten Target, two Scythian Bowes, and a Sword. The Coffin wherein his body lay, *Alexander* caused to be covered with his owne garment, and a Crowne of gold to be set vpon it. These things well considered, as they giue credit to the reports of *Xenophon* and *Zonaras*, so they derogate much from *Herodotus*, who leaues his body in the hands of *Tomyris*.

And surely had *Cyrus* lost the Army of Persia in Scythia, it is not likely, that his son would so soon have transported all his remaining forces into Egypt, so farre off from that quarter: the Scythian Nation then victorious, and bordering Media, neither had *Cambyses* beene able in such haste to have vnderaken and performed so great a Conquest. Wherefore I rather beleue *Xenophon*, saying, That *Cyrus* died aged & in peace: and that finding in himselfe that he could not long enioy the world, he called vnto him his Nobility, with his two sonnes, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*; or after *Xenophon*, *Tanaxares*; and after a long Oration, wherein he assured himselfe, and taught others of the immortality of the Soule, and of the punishments and rewards following the good and ill deserting of euery man in this life; he exhorted his sonnes by the strongest arguments he had, to a perpetuall concord and agreement. Many other things he vttered, which make it probable, that he receiued the knowledge of the true God from *Daniel*, when he gouerned Susa in Persia; and that *Cyrus* himselfe had read the Prophecy of *Ezra*, wherein he was exprefly named, and by God (for the deliuey of his people) preordained. Which act of deliueyng the Iewes from their Captiuitie, and of restoring the holy Temple and City of Hierusalem, was in true consideration the noblest worke that euer *Cyrus* performed. For in other actions he was an instrument of Gods power, vied for the chastising of many Nations, and the establishing of a Government in those parts of the world, which was not long to continue. But herein he had the grace to be an instrument of Gods goodnesse, and a willing aduancer of his Kingdome vpon earth, which must last for euer, though heauen and earth shall perish.

## §. VII.

Of *Cyrus* his Decree for building the Temple of God in Ierusalem.

HAuing therefore spoken of his great victories, mentioned by sundry Historians, the glory of all which was a reward of this his seruice done vnto him that was Author of them and of all goodnesse: I hold it meet at length to speake of the Decree made in the first of his Reigne, being perhaps the first that euer he made after his possession of the Babylonian Empire: That the captiue Iewes should returne againe into their own Territory, and re-build the House of God in Ierusalem, hauing now endured and finished the thre score and ten years captiuitie, by the Prophets foretold. For the accomplishing whereof, hee gaue order to his Treasurers to furnish them with all things necessary and wanting. He also restored vnto them five thousand four hundred thre score and nine Vessels of Gold and Siluer, whereof *Nabuchodonosor*, the grandfather of *Balthasar* had formerly robbed the Temple.

The number of the Iewes which returned out of Chaldaea vnder their Leader *Zerubbabel*, the sonne of *Salathiel*, and Nephew to King *Ieconias*, and *Iesus* or *Iosua* the sonne of *Iosadak*, were about fifty thousand; where, as soone as they arriued, they built an Altar to the liuing God, and sacrificed thereon, according to their owne Law, and afterward bethought themselves how to prepare materials for the re-building of the Temple.

But no sooner did the Iewes begin to lay any one stone, than the Samaritans & other idolatrous Nations adioyning, gaue all the impediment they could. So did the Gouernours of those Prouinces vnder *Cyrus* altogether countenance the disturbers, and in no sort fauoured the Iewes, nor the labours nor purposes they had in hand. And not only those which were but Prouinciall Lieutenants and other officers of lesse place, but *Cambyses* himselfe; who hauing the charge of the whole Empire, while *Cyrus* was buied otherwise, commanded the building begun. And whereas some Authors make doubt, that whatsoeuer *Cambyses* did when himselfe had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of *Cyrus* there was no such impediment or prohibition: They may herein resolve themselves out of *Ezra*. That by the conspiracies of the neighbouring Nations, the building was hindered all the time of King *Cyrus* life, &c. And therefore it is true, that the Iewes themselves affirme, as it is written in the second of *Iohn*, That the Temple was 46. years in setting vp, hauing receiued so many hinderances from the first foundation to the second of *Darius*.

And if we seek the naturall and politique causes which moued *Cambyses* to withstand his fathers decree, as well while he gouerned vnder him, as when himselfe became sole

and forsooke the Monarchie, we shall find them in that Epistle remembered by *Ezra*, written by *Belshazzar*, *Mithridates*, & the rest, Presidents and Counsellors in *Phoenicia*, where-in they complained, that the Iewes were euermore rebellious and troublers of Kings; that their Citie being once built, they would then refuse to pay Tribute, and fall from the obedience of the Empire, as they had formerly done in the times of other Kings.

But that which for that present seemed the most forcible impediment was, that *Cambyses*, hauing it in his resolution to equall *Egypt*, & that it was a common opinion, That the Iewes were descended of those Nations, because they illud thence vnder *Moses*, when they conquered *India*; their Citie being once repaired and fortified, they might returne to their old vomit, and giue the same disturbance to *Cambyses* Conquest, which they did to *Sennacherib*, *Nabuchodonosor*, and other Kings of *Babylon*. For as it is written in *Ezekiel*, *Egypt* was the confidence of the house of *Israel*.

But it is to be vnderstood, as *Codoman* and others haue obserued; that *Artaxerxes*, to whom the Counsellors and Gouernours of *Phoenicia* complained against the Iewes, did not precede, but succeed *Darius Hyaspes*, as in the fixt and seuenth chapters of *Ezra* it is made plaine; and also that those Gouernours (whose Epistle sheweth as much) did not withstand the building of the Temple, but the fortifying and inclosing of the Citie, as by the reasons giuen in the said Epistle, and by the Kings answer it is euident.

Also in the fixt of *Ezra*, the fourteenth verse, the kings are named in order as they gouerned *Artaxerxes* written after *Darius*; as *Ana* they built and finished it (to wit, the Temple) by the appointments of the God of *Israel*, and by the commandment of *Cyrus* and *Darius* and *Artahastae* Kings of *Persia*. Lastly, in the seuenth of *Ezra* it is written; Now after these things, in the reigne of *Artahastae* King of *Persia*; which was as much to say, as after the finishing of the Temple in *Darius* time. And therefore *Artaxerxes* in the second of *Ezra* is there named by anticipation, not in his owne time and place.

And thus much concerning the rebuilding of the Citie and Temple of *Hierusalem*. Which action though prospered by the hand of God, was very slowly purfued by men whom it most concerned, but first set on foot by *Cyrus*. The other ordinances of *Cyrus*, with his forme and manner of gouernment, are to be found in *Xenophon*. At his death he bequeathed the Empire vnto his eldest son *Cambyses*, appointing *Smerdis* or *Tanaxares* his younger son to be *Satrapa* or Lieutenant of *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Cadusia*; and he died, after he had reigned (saith *Herodotus*) one & thirtie yeares, or (according to *Plutarch*) thirtie.

## §. VIII.

Of *Cyrus* his issue: and whether *Atossa* were his daughter, or (as some thinke) were the same with *Queene* *Hester*.

*Cyrus* had issue two sons, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*, with three daughters, *Atossa*, *Meroe*, and *Artystona*: *Ctesias* addeth to these, *Amysis*. *Atossa* and *Meroe* their brother *Cambyses* married; *Artystona*, *Darius Hyaspes* obtained; so did he *Atossa*, *Cambyses* being dead: who (as some Writers haue supposed) inflamed both her husband, *Darius*, and *Xerxes* after him, to invade *Greece*, to the auenging of the whole Nation for the cruell intent that *Aman* (whom the old translation calleth a *Maccedonian*) had against the Iewes, though the opinion of *Iosephus* be more probable, who findes *Aman* to be an *Amalekite*. But it is hard to be vnderstood, how *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, should haue bene *Elther*; whose Historie seemes rather to appertaine to the time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, than of *Darius* the son of *Hyaspes*, or of *Xerxes*. The desire of *Atossa* to haue *Greece* brought vnder the yoke of *Persia*, was partly gounded vpon the honour which thereby she thought her husband might obtaine, partly vpon a feminine humor of getting many braue Dames, *Corinthians*, *Athenians*, and others of that Nation to be her bond-women. Wherefore I cannot giue assent to the opinion of *Codoman*, who vpon the neere found of the two names, *Atossa* and *Hadassa*, (by the latter of which *Elther* was also called) makes them to haue been one person. For though it be true, that *Elther* concerning her parentage a while, might be taken for a great Lady; yet *Codoman* inference is nothing probable, that she should therefore, and

for the great affection which the king bare vnto her, be thought the daughter of *Cyrus*. Certaine it is, that *Ester* did at length discouer her Kindred and Nation; whereby if Historiē could be kept free from this error, yet the people, and especially the Nobility, must needs haue vnderstood the truth: who neuertheless did so well know the parentage of *Astafsa*, that for her sake, as being daughter of *Cyrus*, her sonne *Xerxes* was preferred to the kingdome before his elder brother, against whom also he could haue pretended a very weake clayme. But of these things more hereafter in fitter place.

## CHAP. IV.

The estate of things from the death of *CYRVS* to the reigne of *DARIVS*.

## S. I.

Of the number and names of the Persian Kings.



F the successors of *Cyrus*, and the continuance of the Persian Empire, there are many opinions; As that of *Metasthenes*, who hath numbered the Persian Kings and their times, as followeth.

<i>Darius Medus</i> , and <i>Cyrus</i> ioynly	2
<i>Cyrus</i> alone.	22
<i>Prifus Artaxerxes</i> .	20
<i>Darius Longimanus</i> .	37
<i>Darius Nohus</i> .	19
<i>Artaxerxes Mnemon</i> .	55
<i>Artaxerxes Ochus</i> .	26
<i>Arjes</i> , or <i>Arfames</i> .	4
<i>Darius</i> the last, conquered by <i>Alexander</i> .	6
	years.

To which *Philo* agreeeth; which number of yeares added, make in all an hundred and one. But in this Catalogue *Metasthenes* hath left out *Cambyfes* and *Xerxes*, and names *Artaxerxes Affuerus* for the immediate successor of *Cyrus*; in place (saith *Milon*) of *Darius* the son of *Hyfaspes*: for *Metasthenes*, as *Melancthon* coniectureth, doth not account *Cambyfes* in the Catalogue, because his reigne was confounded with that of *Cyrus*.

There is a second opinion, though ridiculous, of *Seder Olam*, who finds but foure Persian Kings from the beginning to the end of that Empire.

*Genebrard*, *Schubert*, and *Beraaldus* haue also a differing account from the *Greekes*, whom neuertheless *Eufebius* and most of the Latines follow, and so doth *Krentschin*, who hath fully answered, and as I take it, refuted all the former Authors varying from that account. For in this sort doe the *Greekes* marshall the Persian Kings with the times of their reignes.

<i>Cyrus</i> in all.	30
<i>Cambyfes</i> , with the <i>Magi</i> .	8
<i>Darius Hyfaspes</i> .	36
<i>Xerxes</i> .	21
<i>Artaxerxes Longimanus</i> .	40
<i>Darius Nohus</i> .	19
<i>Artaxerxes Mnemon</i> .	43
<i>Artaxerxes Ochus</i> .	23
<i>Arfames</i> .	3
<i>Darius</i> the last.	6
	years.

Which numbers, put together, make in all two hundred and thirtie.

This account (as I haue said) the most Chronologers and the best learned approue. These Persian Princes being all warranted by the authority of the Scriptures, as *Pencer* in his historical Animaduersions hath gathered the places; finding first *Cyrus* in the second of *Chronicles* chap. 36. vers. 22. 23. *Ezra* 1. chap. 1. vers. 1. and often elsewhere.

Secondly *Cambyfes* in the eleuenth of *Daniel*, who may indeed be well esteemed for one of those three Kings in the second verse named, and so the marginal Commentor vpon the *Genues* vnderstands that place; but, vnder correction, mistakes the matter greatly, when he saith in the same note, that *Darius Hyfaspes*, was an enemy to the people of God, and stood against them: his great fauour and liberality to the *Iewes* being to elsewhere proued.

Thirdly, is *Darius Hyfaspes* found in *Ezra* the first, c. 4. v. 5. who in the sixth verse is also named *Absuerus*.

Fourthly, in the eleuenth of *Daniel* verse the second, *Xerxes* is plainly foretold and described, and the great warre which he should make against the *Greekes* by *Daniel* remembered.

Fifthly, *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in *Ezra* the fourth, verse seuen, vvhich is also called *Artabastus*, c. 4. lib. 1. *Ezra* v. 7. and cap. 7. v. 7.

Sixthly, *Darius Nohus*, *Ezra* cap. 4. verse 24. and cap. 5. verse 6. *Nehem*. cap. 12. vers. 22.

Seuenthly, *Artaxerxes Mnemon* in *Nehem*. c. 2. v. 1. who was father to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and *Arfames*: for *Darius* the last, he was of another Family, the Line of *Cyrus* the Great ending in *Ochus*, who descended from *Xerxes* the son of *Astafsa* *Cyrus* his daughter, and the illue male of *Cyrus* failing with his owne Sonnes.

But to proceede *Eufebius* with the *Latines*, following the *Greekes*, apply the beginnings and ends of euery Persian King with their Acts, to some certaine Olympiad; As the war of *Allyges* (*Cyrus* his maternall Grand-father) and *Allyastes* (*Crasus* his father) to the ninth and fortieth Olympiad; The beginning of *Cyrus* reigne to the beginning of the six and fiftieth Olympiad; The taking of *Sardis* by *Cyrus* to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad; The inuasion of *Egypt* by *Cambyfes* to the third year of the threescore and third Olympiad and so of the rest. Which reference with good agreement betweene seuerall formes of computation adde the more credit vnto both.

Againe, this historical demonstration is confirmed by the Astronomically computation of *Ptolomie*, who refers the death of *Alexander* the Great, who died the 12. of November, in the beginning of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, to the four hundred and foure and twentieth year after *Nabonassar*. And the *Era* of *Nabonassar* began on the fixe and twentieth of Februarie: which conferred with the Olympiad, was in the ninth Moneth of the first yeere of the eighth Olympiad, So that whether we follow the accounts of the Olympiads, as doe the *Greeke* Historians, or that of *Nabonassar* with *Ptolomie*, we shall finde euery memorable accident to fall out right with each computation.

For *Ptolomie* reckons the time answerable to two hundred and foure and twenty *Iulian* yeares, and an hundred and fortie dayes from *Nabonassar*, to the sixteenth of *Iulie* in the seventh year of *Cambyfes*.

The *Greekes* and namely *Diodorus Siculus*, place the taking of *Egypt* by *Cambyfes* in the second or third year of the threescore and third Olympiad, and the beginning of *Cambyfes* seventh year in the first of the threescore and fourth Olympiad: which first of the threescore and fourth Olympiad runs along with part of the two and twentieth of *Nabonassar*. The like agreement is consequently found about the beginning and end of *Cyrus*.

Likewise the twentieth of *Darius*, vvhich succeeded *Cambyfes*, is according to *Ptolomie* the two hundred and sixe and fortieth of *Nabonassar*, which (observing the differences of *Nabonassars Era* & the Olympiad, viz. eight and twenty yeares) it agrees with the third of the threescore and ninth Olympiad, wherein it is placed by the *Greekes*. In this *Iosephus* agrees with the *Greekes* throughout, sauing that he ioyneth *Darius Medus*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, with *Cyrus*, in the destruction of *Babylon*; which is true, and not contrary to the *Greeke* computation, but may very well stand with it.

Lastly, the disagreements and confused accounts of those that follow the other Catalogue of the Persian kings formerly rehearsed, doth giue the greater credit to this of the



Greekes, which being constant in it selfe, accordeth also with the computation of other Historians, and Astronomers, and likewise with the holy Scriptures.

## §. II.

Of Cambyfes, and the conquering of Egypt by him.

**W**E will therefore according to the truth give the Empire of Persia to Cambyfes, the son of Cyrus, though degeherate in all things, saving the desire to increase the greatness of his Empire, whereof he was possessor in his Fathers time while Cyrus made warre in the north. Ctesius with others give him a longer reigne than agreeth with the *Graecian* account before received.

In the fifth year of his sole reigne, and in the third year of the three score and third Olympiad, according to *Diodore* and *Enchirius* he invaded Egypt, and having overthrowen the King thereof, *Psammeniticus*, he not onely caused him to be slaine, but also did put to death all his kindred and dependants, with the most of his children.

*Herodotus* and *Ctesius* give for cause of this Warre (being no other indeed than the Ambition of Cambyfes) that when he sent to Amasis king of Egypt, to have his daughter in marriage, Amasis presented him with Niretis the daughter of Apries his predecessor, which Cambyfes disdaind.

Howsoever it were, true it is, that Cambyfes gathered an Armie fit for such an enterprise, and caused the same to march. But before they entred Egypt, Amasis died, and left *Psammeniticus*, whom *Ctesius* called *Amysrens*, his succellour; who enioyed Egypt after his father (according to the best copies of *Herodotus*) but fixe Moneths, though other Chronologers give him fixe yeeres.

But how long soever he held the Crowne, in one battell he lost it, and was himselfe taken prisoner.

It is said that Cambyfes following therein the example of Cyrus, did not onely spare life to the conquered king, but that he also trusted him with the government of Egypt, and that upon some revolt, or suspicion thereof, he caused him to be slaughtered. But therace of this king was not so extirpated, if we may beleue *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, but that he left a Son called *Inarus*, who caused the Egyptian to revolt both from *Xerxes* and *Artaxerxes*.

That *Psammeniticus* was at the first entreated gently by Cambyfes, I hold it very improbable, if it be true which is also written of him, That he so much hated Amasis the king of Egypt, who died before his arrival, that he caused his body to be drawne out of the graue, and after diuers indignities vsed, commanded the same to be burnt, contrary to the custome both of the Egyptians and Persians. For the Egyptians vsed to powder their dead bodies with salt, and other drugs, to the end the wormes might not deuoure them. The Persians durst not consume them with fire, which they esteemed as a God, and therefore feared to feede it with Carrion.

## §. III.

The rest of Cambyfes his acts.

**A**fter this victory obtained in Egypt, Cambyfes sent an Armie into Cyprus, and constrained *Eucelbon* king thereof to acknowledge him, who before held that Island of the Egyptians.

While Cambyfes yet busied himselfe in Egypt, he so much detested the Idolatry of that Nation, as he caused the Images themselves, with the Temples wherein they were worshipped, to be torne downe and defaced. This done, he directed a part of his Armie into *Lybia*, to overthrowe the Temple of *Iupiter Ammon*; but the Diuell in defence of his *Oratorie* raised such attempt of Sand, wherewith the greatest part of that Country is covered, as the Persians were there-with choked and ouerwhelmed.

Notwithstanding which misadventure, *Herodotus* and *Seneca* report, that disdainning to be resisted, he prepared the rest of his Armie, which himselfe meant to conduct into those parts, but that finding a beginning of those incommodities, which his first sent troupe had tried, he changed his purpose. For though conquering Kings haue power ouer men, yet the Elements do not obey them, according to that old English proverb, *God, saith the King, stay, saith the Tide.*

After his returne from the attempt of *Ethiopia*, he caused *Apri* the Egyptian Bull, worshipped by that Nation as God, to be slaine a deed very commendable, had it proceeded from true zeale, and bin executed as in seruice of him that onely is, and lieth. But soone afterwards, when in a dreame it seemed vnto him that *Smerdis* did sit in the royall Throne of Persia (which apparition was verified in *Smerdis* the Magus) he gaue it in charge to his fauourite *Praxaspes*, to murder *Smerdis* his brother. And hauing married his own sisters, contrary to the Persian Lawes, he committed a most causelesse and most detestable murder vpon the one of them, called *Meroe*, then by himselfe, with child, because she bewailed the death of her brother *Smerdis*. I finde it written of this Cambyfes, that because his predecessors obserued religiously the ordinances of their Empire, he assembled his Iudges, and enquired of them, whether there were any law among the Persians that did permit the brother to marry his owne sister: it being his own intent so to doe. The Iudges (vwho had alwayes either lawes or distinctions in store to satisfie Kings and times) made answer, That there was not any thing written allowing any such conuention, but they notwithstanding found it in their customes, that it was alwayes left to the will of the Persian Kings to doe what best pleased themselves; & so, as *Naucleerus* termes it, *innegant occasionem*: That is as much to say, as the Iudges found a shift to please the King, and to secure themselves. And yet, where it concerned not the Kings priuate satisfaction, he caused *Sisamnus* one of his Iudges, and perchance one of those which fauoured his incestuous match, to be slayed a-lure, for a vniust iudgement giuen, and the same his hide to be hung vp ouer the iudgement seat. After which, bestowing the fathers Office on his son, he willed him to remember, that the same partialitie defiled the same punishment.

Among other his cruelties, that which he exercised against the sonne of his beloued *Praxaspes* was very strange & vngatefull. For when he desired to be truly informed by him what the Persians thought of his conditions, *Praxaspes* answered, That his vertues were followed with abundant praise from all men; onely it was by many observed, that he tooke more than vniust delight in the taste of Wine. With which taxation inflamed, he vsed this replication: And are the Persians double-tongued, who also tell me that I haue in all things excelled my Father Cyrus? thou *Praxaspes* shalt then witness, whether in this report they haue done me right: for if at the first shot I pierce thy sonnes heart with an arrow, then is it false that hath bin spoken; but if I misse the marke, I am then pleased that the same be accounted true, and my subjects beleued. This being spoken, he immediately directed an arrow towards the innocent childe, who falling downe dead with the stroke, Cambyfes commanded his body to be opened, and his heart being broched on the arrow, this monstrous Tyrant greatly reioicing, shewed it to the Father, with this saying in stead of an Epitaph: Now *Praxaspes*, thou maist resolve thyselfe that I haue not lost my wittes with wine, but the Persians theirs, who make such report.

Many other barbarous cruelties he exercised, til at the last, according to the phrase of our Law, he became *felon de Joy*. For when he was informed that *Pastizites*, and *Smerdis* the Magi, *Cadromus* writeth them *Sphendanes* and *Cimerdus* Ministers of his domestical affairs, taking aduantage of the great resemblance between *Smerdis* the Kings brother, and *Smerdis* the Magus, possesse themselves of the Empire, he made all haste towards Persia, and in mounting hastily on horsebacke, his sword dis-sheathing, pierced his owne thigh, where-with deadly wounded, falling into an ouer-late, & remediless repentance of the slaughter which he had executed vpon his own brother, he soone after gaue vp his wicked ghost, which he had reigned eight yeeres, accounting therein those seven Moneths in which the Magi governed, while he was absent.

In Cambyfes the Male line of Cyrus failed. For he had no issue either by *Atossa* or *Meroe*: yet *Zonaras* out of *Hierame* giues him a daughter called *Panzaptes*, and a son called *Orontes*, who being drowned in the Riuier *Ophites* by *Antioch*, the same was afterward in memorie of the Princes death called *Orontes*.

He built the Citie of *Babylon* in Egypt, in the place where *Latopolis* was formerly seated, and that of *Meroe* in the Island of *Nilus*, calling it by the name of his sister *Meroe*,

Lib. 2. c. 2.  
Her. 2. p. 25.  
H. 2. 4. 5.

Neither did the Romans ever continue their dead to suffer, till the time of Sylla Dictator, who caused his owne to be deuoured by that element, leaving the Law called *Tatolus*, or like for like, because himselfe had vomited the carcasse of *Cicero* after his death.  
Her. 2. 4. 10.  
L. 2. c. 54.  
Strab. 5. 10.  
1. 1.  
P. 2. 87. 88.  
H. 2. 3. 5. 10.

Zonaras Com. 2. p. 117.

## §. II. II.

Of the inter-regnum betweene Cambyfes and Darius.

**C**YRUS and his two sons being now dead, and the Kingdome in the possession of one of the *Magi*, the counterfait of *Smerdis*, the Princes, or *Satrapes*, or Provinciall Governours of the Empire (to wit, *Otaanes*, *Intaphernes*, *Gobrias*, *Megabyfus*, *Alphatinus*, *Hidarnes*, and *Darius*, who were all descended from *Achamenes* the first *Persian* King, having discovered the fraud of this imposture, joyned their forces together, surprised and rooted out the Conspirator with his Companions, and assistants. In which action (saith *Iustine*) *Intaphernes* and *Asphatines* were slaine: but *Herodotus* otherwise, that they were onely wounded, for he auoweth, that all the seven Princes were present at the election following.

For the Empire being now without a Governour, these Princes grew into consultation how the same might be ordered from thence forth. *Otaanes* one of the seven did not fancie any election of Kings, but that the Nobilitie and Cities should confederate, and by iust lawes defend their liberty in equalitie, giuing diuers reasons for his opinion, being as it seemed greatly terrified, by the cruelties of *Cambyfes*; As first, that it was not safe to giue all power to any one, seeing greatnesse it selfe, even in good men, doth often infect the minde with many vices, & the libertie and freedome in all things is most apt to insult, and to commit all manner of vicked outrage. Againe, that tyrants doe commonly vse the seruices of wicked men, and fauour them most; they vsurp vpon the lawes of their Countrey, take other mens wiues by force, and destroy whom they please without iudgement.

*Megabyfus* vvas of another opinion, affirming that the tyrannic of a multitude vvas thrice more intolerable, than that of one. For the multitude doe all things without iudgement, runne into businesse and affaires with precipitation, like raging and out-bearing floods.

He therefore thought it safest to make election of a few, and those of the best, wisest, and most vertuous; because it is euer found, that excellent Counsailes are euer had from excellent men.

*Darius* gaue the third iudgement, who perswaded the creation of a king, because euermong few diuturnitie of concord is seldome found, and in great Empires it doth euer happen that the discord of many Rulers hath inforced the election of one Supreme. It vvere therefore, saith *Darius*, farre safer to obserue the lawes of our Countrey, by which Kingly government hath bene ordained.

The other foure Princes adhered to *Darius*, and agreed to continue the same Imperiall government by God established, and made prosperous. And to auoid partialitie, it vvas accorded, that the morning following these seven Princes should mount on Horsebacke, and on him the kingdome should be conferred, whose horse after the Sun-rising should first ney or bray. In the euening after this appointment vvas made, it is said that *Darius* consulted with the Master of his horse *Cebarus*, who in the Suburbs of the Citie where the election was resolved of, caused the same Horse, whereon in the morning *Darius* was mounted, to couer a Mare, who as soone as he came into the same place was the first horse that brayed. Whereupon the other fixe Princes descended from their horses, and acknowledged *Darius* for their Lord and King.

*Plato* in the third of his Lawes affirmeth, that in memorie of the seven Princes, whereof *Darius* himselfe was one, that deliuered the Empire from the vsurpation of the *Magi*, he diuided the whole into seven governments; *Herodotus* saith, into twenty *Satrapies*.

CHAP.

## CHAP. V.

Of Darius the sonne of Hytaspes.

## §. I.

Of Darius his Lineage.



**D**arius was descended of the ancient *Persian* Kings, to wit, of the *Achemenides*, of which, *Cyrus* the Great was the lineall Successor. For in this sort *Herodotus* deriues him as before.

*Cyrus* the first, who had  
*Tespis*, who begat  
*Ariaramnes*, who was father of  
*Aspamenes*, the father of  
*Hyaspes*, the father of  
*Darius*, surnamed *Celes*, the father of *Xerxes*.

*Hyaspes* accompanied *Cyrus* the Great, in the warres against the *Scythians*, at vvhich time *Cyrus* being made ikealous of *Darius* by a dreame of his owne, caused him to be sent into *Perse*. Others say to be imprisoned, from whence by the death of *Cyrus* he was deliuered, and made Governour of the *Persian* *Magi*. He afterward followed *Cambyfes* into *Egypt*; he then ioyned with the rest of the Princes against the *Magi*, and either by the neyng of his horse, or, as others affirme, by strong hand he obtained the Empire, which he the more assured to himselfe by taking two of *Cyrus* Daughters, and as many of his Neeces for his wiues.

*Hyaspes*, according to \* *Herodotus*, had besides *Darius* these three sonnes, who were great Commanders in the warre which *Darius* made in *Asia* the lesse, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Græce*; *Ararnes*, *Aspamenes*, and *Artabanus*, who dissuaded *Xerxes* from the second *Græce* warre. *Hyaspes* had also a daughter married to *Gobryus* the Father of *Artabanus*, who commanded the Armie of *Darius* in *Macedon*, and married the daughter of *Darius* *Artastros* his Cousin germaine. *Hyaspes* giues to *Hyaspes* five sonnes, *Darius* who succeeded *Cambyfes*, *Artabanus*, *Artastros*, *Otaanes*, and *Aspamenes*, with two daughters.

## §. II.

Of Darius his Government, and suppressing the rebellion of Babylon.

**D**arius deuised equall lawes whereby his subjects might be gouerned, the same being formerly promised by *Cyrus*. He gaue access to all his subjects, and admitted himselfe so mildly to all men, that many Nations desired and offered themselves to become his Vassals: Only he layed diuers payments and taxes on the people, which had not bene accustomed in *Cyrus* time, to the value of fourtheene thousand five hundred and threethrety talents, saith *Herodotus*.

The warre which *Cambyfes* made a faire off in *Egypt*, and the contention betweene the *Magi* and the Princes of *Persia* for the Empire, gaue heart to the *Babylonians* to recover their libertie, and to shake off the *Persian* yoke, whereof *Darius* being aduertised, he prepared an Armie to recouer that Citie and State revolted. But finding the same a difficult worke, he vsed the seruice of *Zopyrus*, who for the loue he bore *Darius*, did cut off his owne Eares and Nose, and with other wounds yet fresh bleeding, he seemed to flye to the *Babylonians* for succour, to whom he accused the cruelty of *Darius*: who, for hauing giuen him aduise to giue over the siege of their Citie, had in this sort discombred and defamed him: whereupon the *Babylonians* gaue him that Credit, as they trusted him with the disposition and commandement of their greatest forces: which when *Zopyrus* had obtained, after some small colostrable over-throws giuen to the *Persians* vpon sallies, he deliuered the Citie into *Darius* his hands, who had been before it twentie Moneths.

§. III. Of

## S. III.

Of Darius his favour to the Iewes in building the Temple.

**I**N the second year of *Darius*, he gave order that the building of the Temple at *Jerusalem* should goe on, and commanded that the same should be finished at his owne charge, and out of the revenues of the Crowne. And whereas the Governours of those Prouinces which are situate betwene *Emphrates*, and the *Phenician*; & mid-land Sea, (whom *Heraclitus* the Capraine beyond the Riuer had hindered the work in *Cambyses* his time) *Darius* gave commandement that they should not thenceforth comenere vnto *Jerusalem*, to giue any impediment to the building, but that they should with-draw themselves, and get them farre off till all were finished, and at an end. In the old *Latine* it is written, *Procul recedite ab illis; with-draw your selves farre from them*; In our *Englishe*, *Be ye farre from thence*, to wit, from the Citie, and Temple, now in building.

He also made a decree, vvich concerned his owne Subiects, That whosoever should thenceforth hinder the setting vp of the Temple of God, that his house should betome downe, and the disturber hanged on a Gallows made of the timber thereof. He also in the same decree maketh invocation to God; *That he hath caused his name to dwell: there (to) destroy all Kings and People that put their hands to alter, and to destroy this house of God which is in Ierusalem, &c.* In foure yeares after which decree (the Iewes being really furnished vvith money and all things necessary from *Darius*) the Temple was in all finished, to vviz, in the beginning of the Spring, in the sixth yeare of *Darius Hystaspes*, and in the two and fortieth after their first returne.

## S. IIII.

Of Darius his Scythian Warre.

**A**FTER the recovery of *Babylon* he inuaded the *Scythians*, whose King *Tosius* called *Lambinus*; and saith, that *Darius* vnderooke this warre against him, because he refused him his daughter in marriage. The better to conuoy his Armie into *Scythia*, he built a Bridge of small Vessels ouer the Riuer *Ister* or *Danubius*, & gaue the custody of the same in charge among others of *Asia* the lesse to the *Ionians*, & *Solians*, among whom vvvas *Miltiades*, vvho perswaded the *Asian* *Grecians* to breake downe the bridge, to the end *Darius* might not returne thereby, and if by any other way, then not without great difficultie; but the same was resisted by *Hystians* Prince of *Milet*, a Citie of *Ionis*, which Nation being a *Colonic* of the *Greckes*, *Diodorus* calleth Traitors to their Country, because they ioyned themselves to *Darius*. But the *Scythians* more elegantly termed them good slaues, for as much as they would not run away from their Master, but were more mindfull of doing their duties, than of shaking off their bondage, vvhen they were presented with as faire an occasion of liberty as could haue been desired. For the great Armie of *Darius* entering the desert Countreie called *Assarabia*, found in it neither people to resist them, nor any sustenance to relieue them. For the *Scythians* verie then, as are the *Chirm Tartars*, their posteritie, at this day, all horse-men, vvying the Bow and Sword. They vvvere not Plough-men, but Grasers, driving their Herds from one place to another, as opportunitie of pasture led them. Standing Townes they had none, but vvied for Houses the Waggonss vvherin they carried their wiues and children. These Waggonss they place at euery Station in very good order, making Streets and Lanes in the manner of a great Towne, remouable at their pleasure. Neither hath the Emperour himselfe, called now the great *Chirm*, any other Citie than such as *Agara*, (as they name it) or Towne of Carts. When as therefore *Darius* had wearied himselfe, and vvasted his prouision in those desolate Regions, wherein he found neither waies to direct him, vvithalls to refresh him, nor any houses, fruitfull trees, or liuing creatures, nor any thing at all, vvich either he himselfe might make vse of, or by destroying it might grieue his enemies; he began to perceiue his owne folly, and the danger into vvich he had brought him. Yet setting a good face vpon a bad game, he sent braue messagers to the *Scythian*, bidding him to cease his flight, and either to make triall of his valour & fortune in plaine battaile: Or if he acknowledged himselfe the weaker, then to yelde by

by faire meanes, and become his Subiect, giuing him Earth and Water, which the *Persians* vsed to demand as a signe, that all was yeldecd vnto them. To this challenge the *Scythian* returned an *Hieroglyphicall* answer; sending a Bird, a Frog, a Mouse; and fiewe Arrows: which dumbe shew *Darius* interpreting by his owne vvith, thought that he did yelde all the Elements wherein those creatures liue, and his weapons vvithall into his hands. But *Gobryas*, one of the feuen Creatures, vvho had slain the *Magi*, construed their meaning a right, vvich was thus; *O ye Persians, get ye wings like Birds, or digge vnder the water, or creepe into holes in the earth, for else ye shall not escape our arrows*. And this interpretation was soone verified by the *Scythians* themselves, vvho assailed the *Persian* campe, drave the horse-men into the trenches, and vexed the Armie vvith continuall Alarums day and night; vvere so fearelesse of this great Monarch, and so litle regarded him, that vvithin his hearing, and euen in his sight, they did not forbear the pastime of coursing a Hare, vvich they had started by chance. By this boldnesse of theirs, *Darius* vvvas so discouraged, that he forooke his Campe by night, making many fires, & leauing all that were sicke and weake behinde him, & so vvith all speede marched away towards the Riuer *Ister*. He vvvas pursued hardly by the *Scythians*, vvho mist him, yet arriuing at the Bridge before him, perswaded the *Ionians* to depart, assuring them that the *Persian* king should neuer more be able to do them either good or harm. Vvich vvords had certainly bin proued true, had not *Hystians* the *Milesi*an prevailed vvith his people, to attend the continuing of *Darius*, vvhom the *Scythians* did likewise faile to meeete, vvhen they returned from *Ister* to seeke him out.

## S. V.

Some actions of the Persians in Europe, after the Scythian warre.

**D**ARIUS hauing thus escaped out of *Scythia*, determined the inuasion of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, in vvich Warre he employed *Megabazus*, vvho mastered the *Phoenicians*, and transplanted them, and possessed *Perinthus*, *Chalcedon*, *Bizantium*, and other places, being also soone after subiectcd, and added to the *Persian* Empire by *Oranes*, the son of *Sylamnes*, vvhom *Cambyses* had exoriated for false iudgement. So were the Cities of \* *Selybria* and \* *Cardia* likewise taken in for the *Persian*, vvho hauing now reduced vnder his obeycance the best part of *Thrace*, did send his Embassadors to *Amintas* King of *Macedon* adioyning, demanding of him by the Earth and Water, the Souerainty ouer that kingdome. *Amintas* doubting his owne strength, entertained the Embassadors vvith gentle vvords, and afterward inuited them to a solemne & magnificent feast; the *Persians* greatly desired that the *Macedonian* Ladies might be present: vvich being granted, the Embassadors vvho were vvell filled vvith vvine, and presumed vvpon their greatnesse, & many vvictories, began to vse such imbrancings, and other lasciuious behauiour towards those Noble Ladies, as *Alexander* the kings Sonne, great Grand-father to *Alexander* the Great, disdaining the *Persians* barbarous presumption, be sought his father to vvithdraw himselfe from the assembly, continuing notwithstanding all honourable respect towards the Embassadors, vvhom vvithall he entreated that the Ladies might refresh themselves for a vvhile, promising their speedy return. This being obtained, *Alexander* caused the like number of vvell-fauoured young-men to clothe themselves in the same garments, & to vse the same attires vvich the Ladies had vvorne at the feast, giuing them in charge, That vvhen the *Persians* offered to abuse them, they should forthvvith transpierce them vvith their long kniues, of vvich they were prouided for that purpose, vvich vvvas accordingly performed. Charge vvvas soone after giuen by *Darius* for a seuerer reuenge of this murder. But *Alexander*, vvhen vvhat before the death of *Amintas* gaue his Sister *Cygea* in marriage to *Nubartus*, a principall Commander of *Darius* forces on that side, vvho perswading her husband how vvhelpfull the Alliance of *Macedon* vvould proue for the inuasion of *Attica* intended, so prevailed, as *Alexander* escaped that tempest, vvich threatened to fall vvpon him vvvery suddenly; the vvvar of *Asia* the lesse, called *Iouis*, falling out at the same time.

## S. V I.

The first occasion of the warre which Darius made upon Greece, with a rehearsal of the government in Athens, whence the quarrell grew.

**N**OW the better to vnderstand the reason and motiues of that great War, which followed soone after, betwene the *Persians* and *Grecians*, it is necessary to make a short repetition of the state of *Athens*, which Citie endured the hardest and worst brunt of *Darius* inuasion on that side the Sea with admirable successe. Neither do I hold it any impertinency, to be large in vnfolding every circumstance of so great a businesse as gaue fire to those wars, which neuer could be thoroughly quenched, vntill in the ruine of this great *Persian* Monarchie, *Persepolis* the capitall Citie of the Empire, was at the request of an *Athenian* Harlot consumed with a flame, as dreadfull as in the pride of their greatnesse, the *Persians* had raised in *Athens*.

Now therefore as out of the former bookes it may be gathered, how *Athens*, & other parts of *Greece*, were anciently gouerned, the same being already set downe, though scatteringly, & in severall times, among other the Contemporary occurrents of the Eastern Emperors, and the Kings of *Iudea*, so I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember againe the two last changes in the State of *Athens*. As for the *Lacedemonians*, they maintained still their ancient policie vnder Kings, though these also after some fiftene defectes briedled by the *Ephori*.

*Codrus* King of the *Athenians* in the former bookes remembred, who willingly died for the safetie of his people, was therefore so honored by them, as (thinking none worthy to succeed him) they changed their former gouernment from Monarchicall to Princes for tearme of life, of which *Medon* the son of *Codrus* was the first, after whom they were called *Medontides*; and of these there were twelue Generations besides *Medon*, to wit.

*Agellus*.

*Archippus*, in whose times the *Greekes* transported themselves into *Ionia*, after *Troy* an hundred and fourescore yeares, according to *Eusebius*: which migration all other Chronologers (such as follow *Eusebius* herein excepted) finde in the yeere after *Troy* fallen one hundred and fortie.

*Thersippus*.

*Phorbas*.

*Metades*.

*Diogenetus*, in whose time *Lycurgus* gaue Lawes to the *Spartans*.

*Phereas*.

*Ariphron*.

*Thespius*, in whose time the *Assyrian* Empire was ouerthrowne by *Belochus*, and *Arbaces*.

*Aganestor*.

*Aischylus*, in whose time the *Ephori* (according to *Eusebius*) were erected in *Lacedemon*.

*Alcamenon*, the last Prince for life, after whose death the *Athenians* elected *Decemall* Gouernours: the former Princes

This *Solon* being a man of excellent wisdom, gaue lawes to the *Athenians*, which were published according to *Gellius*, in the three & thirtieth yeere of *Tarquinius Priscus*, and were in after ages deriued vnto the *Romanes*, and by the *Decem-viri* (Magistrates in *Rome* created for that purpose) reduced into twelue Tables, which were the ground of the *Roman* Lawes. But these goodly ordinances of *Solon*, were in his owne dayes violated, and for a while almost quite extinguished. For whereas they were framed vnto the

for life hauing continued in all three hundred and sixtene yeares. The first of those that gouerned for ten yeares, or the first *Archon*, was

*Charops*, then

*Aismenes*.

*Elydus*.

*Hippomenes*.

*Leocrates*.

*Alxander*.

*Erixias* was the last *Archon* of the *Decemal*

Gouernours, vvhich forme continuing threecore and tenne yeares, was then changed into *annual* Magistrates, Maiors, or Burg-masters, of vvhich *Theseus* was the first, according to *Pausanias*: Others finde *Leocratus*; and then

*Antiothenes*.

*Archimedes*.

*Miltiades*.

*Damascius*.

*Draco*.

*Megacles*.

*Solon*, & others, who are the lesse to be regarded, by reason of the yearely change.

practice and maintenance of a popular gouernment; the state of *Athens* was very soone changed into a Monarchie by *Pisistratus* the son of *Hippocrates*: who finding the Citizens distracted into two factions, whereof *Megacles* & *Lycurgus*, two Citizens of noble Families, were become the heads, tooke occasion by their contention and insolencie to raise a third faction more powerfull than the other two, and more plausible, for that he seemed a Protector of the Citizens in generall. Hauing by this meanes obtained loue and credit, he wounded himselfe, & fained that by malice of his enemies he had like to haue bene slaine for his loue to the good Citizens; he procured agard for his defence, and with that band of men surprising the State-houle, or Citadell of *Athens*, he made himselfe Lord of the towne, *Hegesistratus* being then Gouernour. But the Citizens, who in every change of gouernment had sought to remoue themselves further and further from the forme of a Monarchie, could so ill brooke this vsurpation of *Pisistratus*, that he was driuen for lacke of helpe to flee the towne, as soone as *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* (ioyning their forces) attempted his expulsion. Yet as the building of his tyranny founded vpon the dissension of the Citizens, was ruined by their good agreement, so was it soone after well reedified by the new breaking out of the old factions. For when *Megacles* found the power of *Lycurgus* to grow greater than his own, he did (as is the vsual practice of the weaker side) call in the common enemy *Pisistratus*, to whom he gaue his Daughter in marriage, by which alliance the Family of the *Alcemonides*, vvhich of *Megacles* was chiefe, became very powerfull, yet so, that *Pisistratus* by their power was made Master both of them and all the rest. But this agreement held not long; the *Alcemonides*, and especially *Megacles* being incensed against *Pisistratus* for his misdemeanor towards his Wife. Wherefore they practised with the Souldiers of the Towne, proceeding in their treason so secretly, and so farre, that *Pisistratus* vpon the first discovery of their intent, perceived no other remedy for his affaires, than to with-draw himself to *Eretria*, where he remained eleuen yeares. Which time being expired, hauing hired Souldiers out of many parts of *Greece*, he againe recovered the principality of *Athens*: after which third obtaining his estate, he gouerned *Athens* seuenteen yeares, according to *Aristotle*, and reigned in all thirty and three yeares, saith *Ellianus*; but as *Justinus* hath it, foure and thirty, accounting the time belike as well before as after his severall expulsions. *Herodotus* giues the Father and the Son fixe and thirtie yeares, *Aristotle* fixe and thirty. But *Thucydides* affirmeth, that he died very old, leaving for his Successours his two sons *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, who gouerned the *Athenians* with such moderation, as they rather seemed the Lineall Successors of a naturall Prince than of a Tyrant. But in the end, & some three yeares before *Hippias* was expelled out of *Athens*, his brother *Hipparchus* was murdered by *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. The cause why, and the manner how performed, *Thucydides* hath written at large. And though *Hipparchus* were charged with vnnaturall lust after *Harmodius*, yet *Plato* in his Dialogue, intituled *Hipparchus*, doth greatly magnifie him affirming that he was a Prince of as many eminent vertues as that Age had any, altogether condemning the murderers & authors of that scandall. *Hippias* fearing that this enterprise vpon his brother had more & deeper rootes than were apparant, first sought to discover the further intents of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, by a Harlot of theirs called *Lamada*: who because she would not reueale her Companions, did cut out her owne tongue. Thence did *Hippias* the better to strengthen himselfe, enter into a stratamity with *Lamachus*, Tyrant of the City *Lampacus*, whom he knew to be greatly fauoured by *Darius*, to whose son *Hippachus* he gaue one of his Daughters in marriage. But some three yeares after the death of his brother, doubting I know not what strong practise against himselfe, he began to vse the Citizens with great severity, which neither *Pisistratus* his Father, nor *Hippias* himselfe had euer exercised, during their vsurpation till this time. And therefore the *Athenians* fearing lest that this disease might rather increase, than diminish in *Hippias*, they stirred vp *Clisthenes* one of the noblest and best able of their Citie, to practise their deliuey: who calling to his assistance the banished *Alcemonides*, together with an Armie of the *Lacedemonians* led by *Cleomenes* their King, so affrighted *Hippias* by composition he gaue ouer his estate, and the possession of *Athens*, and from thence embarking himselfe, tooke land at *Sigeum*, whence he went to *Lampacus* in *Myfia* gouerned by *Antides*, who presented him to *Darius*. He was depriued of his estate; as *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* agree, twenty yeares before the battell of *Marathon*: all which time he continued, partly with *Antides*, at other times with *Artaphernes* Lieutenant for *Darius*.

Her. l. 1. 2.  
Eretria a Citie of Euboea, by others called Melane, by Stephanus Eretria.  
Poly.  
Herodotus pag. 162.  
Ellian pag. 28.  
Her. l. 6. 10.  
Thucid. l. 6. 10.

Lampacus a Citie of Myfia vpon the Isthmus.  
Her. l. 5.  
Thucid. l. 5. 2.

\*Sigeum a promontorie opposite to the Ile of Tenedos, which Antiochus the Great calls Sigeum.

Thucid. l. 1. 9.  
Dionys. l. 2.  
Pausan. l. 10.  
Pausan. l. 10.  
Pausan. l. 10.

*Darius* in *Sardis*, the Metropolis of *Lydia*; perswading and practising the enterprise vpon *Athens*, which *Darius* in the end to his great dishonour vnderooke, twenty yeares after *Hippias* had resigned his estate.

Thus farre I haue digressed from *Darius*, to the end the Reader may conceiue the better the causes and motives of this warre: whereof the hope that *Hippias* had to be restored to *Athens* by the helpe of *Darius*, which made him sollicite & perswade the *Persians* to conquer *Greece*; was one, but not the most vrgent.

## §. VII.

Of the Ionian Rebellion, which was the principall cause of the warres ensuing betwene *Greece* and *Persia*.

Another, and a strong motive to this expedition, was the Ionick warre, breaking out in *Asia* about the same time. The Colonies transported out of *Greece* into *Asia*, which occupied the greatest part of the Sea-coast, hauing enjoyed their liberty about 500. yeares, euen from the Ionick migration, to the time of *Cyrus*, whereby this *Lydian* King made Tributaries, and afterwards as parcell of his Dominions, were taken in by *Cyrus*, and left as hereditary Seruants to the Crowne of *Persia*.

But as it is the custome of Nations halfe conquered (witness *Ireland*) to rebell againe vpon euery aduantage and opportunity: so did the *Ionians*, and other *Gracians*, both in *Cyrus* his life, and after him, seeke by all meanes possible to free themselves:

At this time they found such men ready to spurre them into Rebellion, as had by the *Persian* bin giuen vnto them for bridles to hold them in subiection. Euery one of those Townes had a Lord to rule it, whom they (abhorring the gouernment of oneman) called their Tyrants. These Lords were very true to the *Persian*, by whose only might they held the people in subiection. And this their dutifull affection they had well declared, when, *Darius* being in great extremity, they vied all meanes to deliuer him and his Armie (that otherwise had bin lost) out of the *Seythians* hand. Of this great piece of seruice *Hystian* the tyrant of *Miletus* expected the chiefe thanks, as hauing beene chiefe Author of their expecting *Darius*, when the rest, either perswaded by the *Seythians*, or carried away with their owne desires, were ready to haue abandoned him. But in came so to passe, that *Darius* being more fearefull of the harme that *Hystian* (being powerfull and crafty) might doe to him in the future, than mindfull of the good which he had already receiued at his hand, found meanes to carry him a-long to *Susa*, where he detained him with all kinde vfrage of a friend, yet kept such good espiall vpon him, as an enemy, he could not start away. *Hystian* had subtilty enough to discouer the kings purpose which ill agreed with his owne desires. For he thought it more pleasant, and more honourable to rule as Prince in one faire Citie, hauing a small Territory, than to sit & stand at the great Kings table, & heare the counsailes by which a large Empire was managed, being himselfe an idle beholder, and enjoying with much restraint of liberty, none of their pleasures than a priuate man might bestow vpon himselfe.

Wherefore he bethought himselfe of raising of tumults in the lower *Asia*, to pacifie which if he might be sent, as one that had great experience and authoritie in those quarters, it would afterwards be in his power to stay at home, and either please the King with excuses, or deale as occasion shall require. Resolving vpon this counsell, he sent very secret instructions to *Aristagoras* his kinsman, whom he had left his Deputy at *Miletus*, aduising him to stirre vp some Rebellion. These directions came seasonably to *Aristagoras*, who hauing failed in an enterprise vpon the Isle of *Naxos*, through the false dealing of a *Persian* his Associate, stood in feare of disgrace, if not of some further ill that might befall him, as one that had wasted the kings treasures to no good purpose.

Therefore he readily embraced the counsaile: & the better to draw the whole Countrey of *Ionis* into the same course which he determined to run, he abandoned his tyrannie, and did set *Miletus* at liberty. This plausible beginning wan vnto him the hearts of the *Milesians*: and his proceeding with other *Ionian* Tyrants (of whom some he took and sold as slaues to their Citizens, others he chased away) caused the whole Nation to be at his command. The *Persian* fleet, whereof he lately had bene Admirall in the enterprise of *Naxos*, he had surpris'd in his first breaking out, together with the principall Officers

Officers and Captaines: so that now he thought himselfe able to deale with the great Kings forces, lying thereabout, either by Land or Sea. But likely it was that the power of all *Asia* would shortly be vpon his neck, and crush both him and his assistants to pieces, vlesse he were able to raise an Army that might hold the field, which the *Ionians* alone were insufficient to performe. Therefore he tooke a iourney to *Sparta*, where hauing allyed in vaine with many arguments, and the offer of fifty talents, to win to his party *Clampus* King of the *Lacedaemonians*: he went from thence to *Athens*, and with better success befought the people to lend him their assistance. The *Athenian* Embassadors which had bene sent to the *Persian* Kings Lieutenants in the lower *Asia*, desiring them not to giue countenance to *Hippias*, now a banished man, and lately their Tyrant, were a while before this returned with ill answers, hauing found very churlish entertainment: So that the cuill which they were to expect in all likelihood from the *Persian*, made them willing to begin with him. To which purpose, their consanguinity with the *Ionians*, & the perswasions of *Aristagoras*, drew them on a pace, if perhaps his treasure were not helping. Twenty ships the *Athenians* furnished for this voyage, to which the *Eratrians* furnished five more, in regard of the ancient kindnes that had passed between the *Ionians* & them. With these and their owne forces ioyned, the *Ionians* entered the River *Cairrus*, which falleth into the Sea by *Ephesus*: by which aduantage they surpris'd *Sardis* when no enemy was heard of or suspected: inso much, as *Artaphernes*, who ruled as Vice-roy in those parts, had no other hope of safety, than by retreating himselfe into the castle, which the *Grecians* could not force: from whence he beheld the slaughter of the Citizens, and the City flaming.

The *Persians* at length, mixt with the Burgers, began to encourage them to defence, and recovered the Market place, strengthened by the ruler *Pactolus*, which ran through it, and borrowing courage from desperation, they both defended themselves, and charged their enemies, who well aduising themselves, made all the haste they could toward the sea side. But *Artaphernes* hauing gathered all the strength he could, pursued the *Grecians*, & found them neere *Ephesus*: where setting resolutely vpon them, he slaughtered a great part of their Army, the rest sauing themselves in *Ephesus*. In this fight *Eualcis*, Captaine of the *Eratrians* perished: but his fame and memory was by that excellent Poet *Simonides* preferred. After this ouerthrow, the *Athenians*, which were before sent vnto *Aristagoras* and to the *Ionians*, could by no arguments of theirs, nor by their tears, be perswaded to make any second triall of their fortunes on that side the Sea.

Yet the burning of *Sardis* made a greater noise in the world, than the late good success which the *Persians* had in one or two skirmishes, could raise. Wherefore the *Ionians* brately proceeding, won a great part of *Caria*; and sending their Fleet into the Hellespont, got *Bizantium* and other Townes into their hands. Yea, the *Cyprians*, lately subdued by *Cambyses*, beganne hereupon to take heart; and entering into confederacy with the *Ionians*, who were able to giue them aide by Sea, rebelled against the *Persians*.

The newes comming to the care of *Darius*, filled him with great indignation, and with an extreme hatred of the *Athenians*, vpon whom he vowed to take sharp reuenge. As for the *Ionians*, his contempt of them, & their knowledge of his power, made him to thinke, that they would not haue dared to attempt such things, but by the instigation of those, to whom the ignorance of his great might had afforded the courage to provoke him. This was the maine ground of the Warre commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes* against *Athens*: To which, the solicitation of *Hippias*, before remembered, gaue onely some forme and assistance: the businesse, when once it was thus farre on foot, being like enough to haue proceeded, though he had perished ere it were aduanced any further.

Some other occurrents in this Ionian commotion extended the quarrell of *Darius* against many of the Islanders, if not against the whole Nation of the *Grecques*; for all of them gaue to his Rebels free harbour: the Islanders moreover did helpe to furnish out a Naue of three hundred and sixty saile against him. These prouocations did rather breede in him a desire to abate their pride, than any feare of harme that they were like to doe him. For what they had done at *Sardis*, was but by surprize. In euery fight they were beaten by the *Persians*, who had not yet lost the fruits of their discipline,

wherein *Cyrus* had trained them, nor all their ancient Captaines. In one sea-fight by the Ile of Cyprus the Ionians indeed had the vpper hand; but they were Phœnicians, Egyptians, and Cilicians, whom they vanquished: neyther was that victory of any vseto them; the Cyprians, in whose aide they came, being vtterly beaten by the Persian Army at Land, and reduced into their old subiection. So had the Persians like wise by open warre and faire force ouerthrowne the Carians in two battailes, and reclaimed that Nation; as also they had recovered the Townes vpon Hellespont, with some Æolian and Ionian Cities: when *Arifagoras* with his friends quitting *Miletus*, fled into Thrace, desirous to feat himselfe in Amphipolis, a Colony of the Athenians. But the Edonians, on whose Territory belike he landed, ouerthrew him, & cut his troups in pieces.

About the same time, *Histiæus* the first mouer of this insurrection came downe into those quarters; who hauing vndertaken the performance of great matters to *Darius*, was glad to fye from his Lieutenants, by whom his double dealing was detected.

But this euasion preferued him not long. For after many vaine attempts that he made, he was taken in fight by the Persians, and hastily beheaded, lest the King should pardon him vpon remembrance of old good turnes; as it seems that he would haue done, by the buriall which he commanded to be giuen to his dead body that was crucified, and by his heauie king of his death.

*Histiæus* had sought to put himselfe into *Miletus*; but the Citizens doubting his conditions, chose rather to keepe him out, and make shite for themselves, without his helpe. The strength of their City by land, which had in old time withstood the Lydian Kings, and their good Fleet, which promised vnto them the liberty of an open Sea, emboldened them to try the vttermost, when very few friends were left vpon that Continent to take their part. But their Nauy was broken as much by threatnings as by force; many of their companions and fellow-rebels forsaking him vpon hope of pardon; and many being daunted with the causelesse flight of those that should haue assisted them. Neither was it long before the Towne it selfe being assaulted both by Land and Sea, was taken by force, the Citizens slaine, their wiues and children made slaues, and their goods a booty to the Persians, whom for fixe years space they had put to so much trouble.

## §. VIII.

*The warre which Darius made vpon Greece, with the battaile of Marathon, and Darius his death.*

**H**is Warre with good successe finished by the Persians, and some attempts made on Europe side with variable successe: *Darius* obstinate in the enterprise and conquest of Greece (though at first he pretended to make the Warre but against the Athenians and Eretrians, who ioyntly assisted the Ionians against him, and burnt *Sardis* in Lydia) did now by his Embassadors demand an acknowledgement from them all: among whom, some of them not so well refused as the rest, submitted themselves; as the Æginets and others. Against these, the Athenians being inflamed, (by the assistance of the Lacedæmonians) after diuers encounters fore't them to giue pledges, and to relinquish the party of the Persians. *Cleomenes* led the Lacedæmonians in this warre, and caused his companion-king *Demaratus* to be deposed: who thereupon fled to *Darius*, farre the more confident of victory, by reason of these discords, alienations, and ciuill warres among the Greeks. He therefore gave order to *Hippagoras* to prepare a Fleet of shippes fit to transport his Army ouer the Hellespont: the same consisting of an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. The charge in chiefe of his Army he committed to *Datis*, accompanied and assisted by *Hippias*, the son of *Pisistratus*, expelled out of Athens twenty yeares before, and by *Artaphernes* his brother, Gouvernour of *Sardis*, and the Sea-coast of Asia the lesse. These Commanders hauing their Companies brought down to the Sea-side,

Herod lib. 6.  
Whether this  
Cite or  
People were  
of Peloponnesus  
in Sicily, or  
of Asia, be-  
tween the Helles-  
pont and the  
Dardanelles, I doe not  
know: but  
those border-  
ers, and next  
the enemies,  
were more  
likely to  
compass the  
reft  
farre off  
There is also a Cite called Æginum, not farre from Ægea, Liue 32. 33. &c.

imbarked

imbarked themselves in fixe hundred Gallies and other Vessells, and first of all attempted the Islands called Cyclades, which lay in the mid-way between Asia the lesse, and Greece: For (obtainning those places) the Persians had then nothing to hinder the transportation of their forces ouer the Ægean Sea, but on the contrary they might alwayes both relieve themselves in their passage, and shrowd themselves from all suddaine tempests and dangers both by sea and land.

To this end they first possessed themselves of *Samos*, secondly they attempted *Naxos*, which Island, the inhabitants despairing of their owne forces, abandoned. So did the people of *Delos*, of which *Apella* was native: Which Island *Darius* did not only forbear to sacke, but recalling the inhabitants, he gaue order to beautifie the places and Altars of *Sacris* to *Apella* erected. And hauing recovered these and other Islands, the Persians directed their course for Eretria in Eubœa for that cite, (as already hath bene shewed) had assisted the Ionians at the taking & firing of *Sardis*. In this Island the Persians took ground, and besieged Eretria verry straitly, and after fixe daies assault, partly by force, & in part by the treason of *Euphrates* and *Philagrus*, they took it, sackt it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus for the winds of prosperous fortune filled their sayles. From Eubœa the Persians pastelic Army into Attica, conducted and guided by *Hippias*, late Prince of Athens, and marching towards it, they encamped at *Marathon*, in the way from the Sea, where they landed, towards Athens.

The Athenians finding the time arrived, wherein they were to dispute with their own vermes against Fortune, and to cast lots for their liberty, for their wiues, their children, and their liues, put themselves in the best order they could to make resistance, and with all speed away with speed to the Lacedæmonians for succour, imploying in that Negotiation one *Phidippides* who passing through Arcadia, encountered in the way a familiar Diuall, which he supposed to be *Pan*, who willed him to assure the Athenians of victory, promising that some one of the gods should be present at the battaile to assist them & defend them against the multitude of their enemies. *Phidippides* at his returne seeing hee could not bring with him any present succours from Sparta, yet he thought it greatly auaunting to bring newes from the gods, and promise of assistance from Heauen, which no doubt (though the deuice was somewhat likely to be his owne) yet it greatly encouraged the multitude and common people, who in all ages haue bin more stirred vp with fond Prophecies and other like superstitious fooleries, than by any iust cause or solide reason.

The Athenians being now left to themselves, with one thousand onely of the Platæans (who hauing bene formerly defended by the Athenians against the Thebans, did in this extremity witnesse their thankfull and gratefull disposition) began to dispute, Whether it were most for their aduantage to defend the walls of Athens, or to put themselves into the field with such forces as they had, the same consisting of ten thousand Athenians; and one thousand of the Platæans. In the end, and after great diuersity of opinions, *Miltiades*, who perswaded the triall by battell, prevailed.

The Armies being now in view, and within a mile of each other, the Athenians disposed themselves into three troups: two wings or hornes, as they terme them, and the body of a battaile. The Persians when they perceived so small a troupe aduancing towards them, thought the Athenians rather dispossessed of their vnderstanding, than possessed with the resolution whereof they made shew. So inuincible and resistlesse the Persians esteemed their owne numbers to be, and that small troupe of their enemies therein view, rather to be despised than to be fought withall: But in conclusion, the victory being doubtfully ballanced for a while, sometime the vertue of the Grecians, and so sometimes the number of the Persians prevailed, the Grecians fighting for all that they had, the Persians for that they needed not these great forces of *Darius* were disordered & put in rout; the Athenians following their victory euen to the Sea-shore; where the Persians, so many of them as lost not their wits with their courage, saved themselves in their ships.

The Persian Army consisted of an hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse; of which there were slaine in the place fixe thousand three hundred, and of the Grecians an hundred fourescore and twelue. For howsoeuer it came to passe, eyther by strange visions, which were afterward called *Panics terrors*, or by some other affright,

M m m 2



it seemed, that the invading Army, after the first encounter, fought with their backs towards their enemy, and lost that number, by Herodotus but doctored, in their disorderly retreat, or rather in their falling away. As for *Justinus* report, That two hundred thousand of the Persian Army were slain, the same hath no appearance nor probability of truth. In this fight *Hippias* the persuader of the enterprise was slain, saith *Isidore* and *Cicero*; but *Suidas* tells vs, That he escaped, and died most miserably in Lemnos.

Ad Att.

The greatest honour of this victory was cast vpon *Astibades*, who both persuaded the trial by battaile, and behaued himselfe therein answerably to the doouersell which he gaue. *Themistocles* had his first reputation in this fight, being but young and of the first beard. Those of the Grecians, of marke and commandement, that fell in the first encounter, were *Callimachus* & *Stesileus*. It is also said, That *Cynegyras* following the Persians to their embarking, laid hands on one of their Gallies, to haue held it from putting off the shore, & hauing his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arrest it with his left, of which also being deprived, he tooke hold of it with his teeth. This encounter happened in the first yeare of the threescore and twelfth Olympiad, about the time of the war made by *Coriolanus* against his fellow-Romans: *Alexander* the son of *Amynas* being then King of Macedon, and *Phanippus* then Gouernour of Athens, according to *Plutarch*, or *Hyblidas*, after *Helycarnassus*.

In vita Ari.

This great fray thus parted, and the Persians returned backe into the lesser Asia, *Miltiades* fought and obtained an employment against the Islanders of Paros, one of the Cyclades, and passing ouer his Companies in threescore and ten Gallies, after five and twenty dayes assault hee brake his thigh, in seeking to enter it by the Temple of *Ceres*, wherewith himselfe being made vnable, and his Companies discouraged, he returned to Athens; where those vngratefull Citizens forgetting all his seruises past, and that of all other the most renowned at the battaile of Marathon, did by the perswasion of *Xantippus*, the father of *Pericles* (who enuied his fame) cast him into prison, and set on him a fine of fifty Talents; where his weake and wounded body being not able to endure the one, nor his estate to pay the other, he after a few daies ended his life.

Which enuy of the better sort to each other, with their priuate Factions, assisted by the vnthankfull and witlelle people, brought them, not many yeares after, from a victorious and famous Nation, to base subiection and slavery. *Miltiades* left behinde him one son called *Cymon*, begotten on *Hegesisila*, daughter of *Olorus* King of Thrace, who (saith *Plutarch*) was neither inferior to his father in valour, nor to *Themistocles* in vnderstanding, but exceeded them both in iustice and good gouernment.

Now *Darius* taking greater care how to recouer his honour, than sorrow for the losse receiued in Greece, gaue order for new leuiues of men, & all other warlike prouisions. But the Egyptians reuolting from his obedience (a Kingdome of great strength & reuence) greatly distracted his resolution for the reuinuation of Greece. The dissension also among his sons, of whom, the younger being borne after he was King, and by so great a mother as *Aossa*, disdained to giue place to his elder brother, borne before *Darius* obtained the Empire, greatly vexed him. And lastly, death, who hath no respect of any mans affaires, gaue end to all his consultations and enterprises, and ioyned him to the earth of his ancestors, about a yeare after the battaile of Marathon, and after that he had reigned fixe and thirty yeares. He left behinde him sixe sons, namely *Artabazanes*, borne before he obtained the Kingdome, *Xerxes* who succeeded him, *Achemenes* Gouernour of Egypt, *Masistes* and *Anabignes*.

## CHAP.

## CHAP. VI.

## Of Xerxes.

## S. I.

## The preparation of Xerxes against Greece.



*Xerxes* receiued from his father, as hereditary, a double Warre, one to be made against the Egyptians, which he finished so speedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the same was performed: the other against the Grecians, of which it is hard to iudge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the successe ridiculous. In the consultation for the prosecution of this Warre, which was chiefly bent against the Athenians, the Princes of Persia were diuided in opinion. *Mardonius*, who had formerly commanded in Thrace and Macedon, vnder *Darius*, and had also *Hystaspes* for his grandfather, as *Xerxes* had, and married *Xerxes* his sister *Artaspates*, perswaded by many arguments the European warre. But *Artabazanes*, brother to the late *Darius*, and vncle to *Xerxes*, maintained the contrary counsell, laying before *Xerxes* the lamentable and ridiculous successe of the two late inuasions, which *Darius* had made contrary to his counsell: The one in person vpon the Scythians, the other by his Lieutenants vpon the Greeks, in each of which *Darius* left to his enemies both his Army and his Honour.

He therefore besought *Xerxes* to be right well aduised before he did too farre imbarke himselfe in this businesse. For whatsoeuer vnder-taking hath deliberate and sound counsell for conductor, though the successe doe not alwaies answer the probability, yet hath Fortune nothing else thereof to vaunt, than the variable pelfe of his owne nature, which only the diuine Providence, and not any humane power, can constrain.

But so obstinate was the resolution of *Xerxes* in prosecution of his former intent, that *Artabazanes*, whether terrified by Visions (as it is writen of him) or fearing the Kings barred, which he made knowne to all those that opposed his desire to this Warre (changing opinion and counsell) assisted the Græcian Expedition with all the power he had.

After the Warre of Egypt was ended, foure yeares were consumed in describing and gathering an Army for this inuasion: which being compounded of all Nations subiect to the Persian Empire, consisted of seuentene hundred thousand foot, and eighty thousand horsemen, besides Chariots, Camels, and other Beasts for Carriage, if we may beleue *Herodotus*: for of this multitude, *Trogus* findes the number lesse by seuen hundred thousand footmen.

The Commanders of the feuerall Nations were the Princes of the blood of Persia, either by marriage in the kings house, or otherwise: for to these were all commandements of this nature giuen, some few people excepted, who had of their owne Leaders.

The charge of the whole Army was bestowed on *Mardonius*, the son of *Gobryas* by a sister of *Darius*, to whom were ioyned some others of *Xerxes* his neere kinred, as Generals ouer all; sauing that the charge of ten thousand select Persians, called the immortal Regiment (because if any one of the whole number died, or were slain, there was another presently chosen in his stead) was giuen to *Hydarnes*; the eighty thousand horsemen were led by the sons of *Darius*, who commanded the late Army of *Darius* in Greece.

The Fleet of Gallies were 2200. and eight, furnished by the Phoenicians, who had Commanders of their owne Nation, and by the Cypriotes, Cilicians, Pamphilians, Lycians, Dorians, Carians, Ionians, Æolians, and Hellepontines, who were trusted with the furnishing of their owne Vessels, though commanded by the Princes of Persia; as by *Ariabignes*, the son of *Darius*, and others. The rest of the Vessels for transportation were three thousand. There were also certaine Gallies furnished by *Artaspates*, the daughter of *Lygdamis*, Princess of *Helycarnassus*, and the Ilands adioyning, which her selfe commanded. Those Gallies by her prepared and furnished, exceeded

all the rest of the Fleet, excepting those of Zidon, in which *Xerxes* himselfe was imbarcked.

## §. II.

*Xerxes Army entertained by Pythius: hincutting off Mount Athos from the Continent: his bridge of Boates ouer the Hellespont: and the discourse betwene him and Artabanus vpon the view of the Army.*

**W**Hen this world of an Army was thoroughly furnished, he caused all the Nations of which it was compounded, to make their *Rendez-vous* & repaire at Sardis in Lydia. And when he had assembled to the number of foure hundred thousand foot, as he entred the body of Celanas, he was by one *Pythius* the Lydian entertained, who out of his Flocks and Heards of Cattell gaue food to *Xerxes* his whole Army. The Feast ended, he also presented him with two thousand Talents of Silver, and in Gold foure Millions, wanting seven thousand of the Persian *Darics*, which make so many of our Markes.

The King ouercome with the exceeding liberality of *Pythius*, did not onely refuse his treasure offered, but comanded that seven thousand *Darics* should be giuen him to make vp his foure Millions; of which, so many thousands were wanting when he made the present. But soone after, when *Pythius* besought him to spare one of his fine sonnes from his attendance into Greece (because himselfe was old, and had none whom he could so well trust as his owne son) *Xerxes* most barbarously caused the young man, for whom his father sought exemption, to be fundered into two parts, commanding, that the one halfe of his carcase should be layed on the right, and the other halfe on the left hand of the common way by which the Army marched.

Two things he comanded to be done before he came to the Sea-side. The one was a passage for Gallies to be cut behinde Mount Athos, making the same (with the halfe Island or Headland, whereon it stood) to be an entire Island, fundering thereby from the Continent of Thrace five Cities, besides the Mountaine & the *Chersonesus* or Necke of Land it selfe: a worke of most ostentation than of vse, and yet an enterprise of no great wonder, the Valley which field it to the Continent hauing but twelue furlongs (which make about a mile and halfe) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough only for two Gallies to passe in front. The Cities so seuered from the maine, were Dion, Olophrys, Acrothoon, Thyfus, and Cleonæ.

He also gaue order, that a Bridge vpon Boats should be made ouer the Hellespont betwene Abidus & Sestos, the Sea there hauing a myle of breadth, wanting an eight part; which after the finishing, was by a Tempest torne asunder and disfigured: where with *Xerxes* being more enraged than discouraged, commanded those to be slain that were, masters of the worke, and caused sixe hundred threecore and foureteene Gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new Bridge; which by the art and industry of the Phoenicians was so well anchored to resist both winds blowing into & from the Euxine Sea, as the same being well boorded and rayled, the whole Army of seuenteen hundred thousand foot, and fourecore thousand Horse, with all the Moyles and Carriages, past ouer it into Europe in seven dayes & seven nights, without intermission. This transportation of Armies did *Cæsar* afterward vse. And *Caligula* that mad Emperour, in imitation of *Xerxes* his Bridge, did build the like.

The Bridge finished, and the Army brought neere to the Sea-side, *Xerxes* tooke a view of all his Troupes, assembled in the Plains of Abidus, being carried vp, and seated on a place ouer-topping the Land round about it, and the Sea adioyning: and after hee had gloried in his owne happinesse, to behold and command so many Nations, and so powerfull an Army and Fleet, hee suddenly (notwithstanding) burst out into teares, moued with this contemplation, That in one hundred yeares there should not any one striquie of that marvellous multitude: the cause of which sudden change of passion when hee vndered to *Artabanus* his Vncle, *Artabanus* spake to the King to this effect: That which is more lamentable than the dissolution of this great Troupe within that number of yeares by the King remembered, is, That the life it selfe which we enioy is yet more miserable than the end thereof: for in those few dayes giuen vs in the world,

there is no man among all these, nor life where, that can find himselfe so accompanied with happinesse, but that he oftentimes pleased himselfe better with the desire & hope of death than of liuing; the incident calamities, diseases, and sorowes, whereto mankind is liable, being so many and inuincible, that the shortest life doth oftentimes appear vpon vs our long, to avoid all which, there is neither refuge nor rest, but in desired death alone.

With this melancholy discourse, *Xerxes* being not much pleased, prayed *Artabanus* not to ouercast those ioyes which they had now in pursuit with sad remembrances. And holding still a doubtfull conceit, that *Artabanus* vitiously condemned the iudgement of Greece against which he had formerly giuen many strong reasons, desired him to dispute freely with him. Whether he were returned to his first resolution, that the enterprise of Greece could not be prosperous: Or whether, according to the change of mind put into him by his late Vision, he was confident of good success: *Artabanus*, notwithstanding that he assured himselfe of the Kings resolution to goe on, and dared not by any new Arguments to batter the great power of himselfe, yet hee told the King, That there were many things which marvellously affrighted him, and which the King should consider, as he feared, to be most aduersie, to wit, the Sea and the Land: The Sea, because it had no where in that part of the world any Port capable of so great a Fleet: inasmuch, as if any tempest should arise, all the Continent of Greece could hardly receive them, nor all the Harbours thereof afford them any safety: and therefore when any such shelter shall be wanting vnto them, he prayed him to vnderstand, that in such scale of extremity, men are left to the will and disposition of Fortune, and not Fortune to the will and disposition of men. The Land, besides other incommodities, will be found by so much the more an enemy, by how much the vnstatiate desire of man to obtaine more and more thereof, doth lead him forward: for were there no man found to giue resistance, yet the want of means to feede such an Army, and the Famine, which cannot be prevented, will without any other violence offered dis-inable and consume it. By these Arguments *Artabanus* hoped to haue diuerted *Xerxes*, not daring perchance to vict what indeed he most feared: to wit, the ouerthrow of the Army it selfe both by Sea and Land, which hee soon after followed. These Cautions were exceeding weighty, if *Xerxes* his obstinacie had not mis-prised them. For, to invade by Sea vpon a perillous Coast, being nevertheless in possession of any Port, nor succoured by any party, may better fit a Prince prebasing on his fortune, than enriched with vnderstanding. Such was the enterprise of *Pythius* the second vpon England in the year 1588. who had belike neuer heard of this Council of *Artabanus* to *Xerxes*, or forgotten it.

Now concerning the second point, it was very likely, that *Xerxes* his Army, which could not haue in it lesse than two millions of Soules; besides his beasts for Service and Carriage, should after a few dayes suffer famine, and vsing *Machiavels* words, *Mount's* *summe*; die without a knife. For it was impossible for Greece, being a ragged, steepe and mountainous Countrey, to yeeld food besides what serued themselves for twenty hundred thousand strangers, whom they neuer meant to entertaine, but with the sharpened points of their weapons, destroying withall whatsoever they could not well inclose and defend. Nay, if we may beleue *Herodotus* the Army of *Xerxes*, being renewed at Thermopylae, consisted of five millions, two hundred eighty three thousand, two hundred twenty men, besides Landresses, Harlots, and Horses; and was therefore likely to endure a speedy famine.

The effect of *Xerxes* his answer was, That it was impossible to prouide for all things; and that whosoever should enterprise any great matter, if he gaue the hearing to all that could be objected of accidental inconueniences, he should neuer pursue the same farther, than the dispute and consultation: which if his Predecessors, the Persian Kings, had done, they had neuer growne to that greatnesse, or possessed so many Kingdomes and Nations as now they did; and therefore concluded, That great enterprises were neuer vnderaken without great perils. Which resolution of *Xerxes* was not to be conchided, if any necessity had enforced him to that warre. But seeing the many Nations newly conquered, which he already commanded, were more than could bee constrained to obedience any longer than the powerfull prosperity of the Persians endured; and that Greece was separated by the Sea from the rest of *Xerxes* Dominions (of whose resolution his Father *Darius* had made a deare experience) the fruit of this warre was

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answerable to the plantation, and the successe and end agreeable to the weak countess whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, those millions of men which he transported, and yet in his owne judgement not sufficient; (for he gathered in marching on all the strength of Thrice & Macedon) were an argument that he rather hoped to feare the Greeks by the faime of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and resolution, whom he conducted. For it is wisely said of those vncountable multitudes: *Nos vires habent, sed pondus, & impedimenta potius sunt quam auxilium*; They are great in bulke, but weak in forces, and rather a loggage than an aide.

Besides, as it was impossible to marshall such a world of men in one Army, so the diuers Nations, speaking diuers languages, bred the same confusion among the Persian commanders when they came to fight, as it did to the builders of Babel, when they came to worke. Whereas if *Xerxes* had of his five millions compounded ten Armies of fifty thousand chosen souldiers in each, and sent them yearly into Greece well victualled & furnished, he had either prevailed by the sword, or forced them to forsake their territory, or brought them into obedience by necessity and famine, which cannot bee resisted. But while *Xerxes* resolved to cut downe the bankes of Greece, and to let in a sea of men vpon them, he was deceiued both of his owne hopes, and in their hearts whom hee employed, and beaten by the Greeks, both by Land and Sea; yea, hee himselfe, conducted by his feare, fled shamefully into Asia. A great part of his Army was buried in Greece: the remainder whereof, which wintred in Thessaly, and led by *Mardonius*, who perswaded the enterprife, was in the Summer following vterly defeated, and himselfe slaine.

## §. III.

## Of the fights at Thermopylae and Artemisium.

**A**fter such time as *Xerxes* had transported the Army over the Hellespont, and landed in Thrace, (leaving the description of his passage along that Coast, and how the Riuer of Liffus was drunke dry by his multitudes, and the Lake neere to Pissyrus by his cattell, with other accidents in his marches towards Greece) he will speake of the encounters he had, & the shamefull & incredible ouerthrowes which he receiued. As first at Thermopylae, a narrow passage of halfe an acre of ground, lying between the Mountains which diuide Thessaly from Greece, where sometime the Phocians had raised a wall with gates, which was then for the most part ruined. At this entrance *Leonidas*, one of the Kings of Sparta, with three hundred Lacedaemonians, assisted with one thousand Tegeatae & Mantineans, one thousand Arcadians, & other Peloponnesians, to the number of three thousand one hundred in the whole, besides one thousand Phocians, foure hundred Thebans, seuen hundred Thespians, and all the forces (such as they were) of the bordering Locrians, defended the passage two whole daies together against that huge Army of the Persians. The valour of the Greeks appeared so excellent in this defence, that in the first daies fight, *Xerxes* is said to haue three times leaped out of his Throne, fearing the destruction of his Army by one handfull of those men, whom not long before he had vterly despised: and when the second dayes attempt vpon the Greekes had proued vaine, he was altogether ignorant how to proceede further, and so might haue continued, had not a run-agate Graecian taught him a secret way, by which part of his Army might ascend the ledge of Mountains, and set vpon the backs of those who kept the Straits. But when the most valiant of the Persian Army had almost inclosed the small forces of the Greeks, then did *Leonidas*, King of the Lacedaemonians, with his three hundred, & seuen hundred Thespians, which were all that abode by him, refuse to quit the place which they had vndertaken to make good, & with admirable courage not onely resist that world of men which charged them on all sides; but issuing out of their strength, made so great a slaughter of their enemies, that they might well be called vanquishers, though all of them were slaine vpon the place. *Xerxes* hauing lost in this last fight, together with twenty thousand other Souldiers & Captaines, two of his owne brethren, began to doubt what inconuenience might befall him by the vertue of such as had not bin present at these battailes, with whom he knew that he shortly was to deale. Especially of the Spartans he stood in great feare, whose manhood had appeared singular in this tryall, which caused him very carefully to enquire what numbers they could bring

bring into the field. It is reported of *Diemeas* the Spartan, that when one thought to haue terrified him by saying, That the flight of the Persian arrows was so thicke as would hide the Sun, he answered thus, It is very good newes: for then shall wee fight in the coole shade.

Such notable resolution hauing as freely been expressed in deeds, as it was vttered in words, caused the Persian to stand in great doubt, when he heard that the city of Sparta contained well-nigh eight thousand men of the like temper, & that the other Lacedaemonians, though inferior to those, were very valiant men. Wherefore he asked counsell of *Demaratus*, banished king of the Spartans, who had alwaies well aduised and instructed him in the things of Greece, what course were fittest to be taken in his further proceedings. The opinion of *Demaratus* was, That all the Land-forces would assemble together to defend the *Isthmus*, that straight neck of ground which ioineth Peloponnesus to the Continent. For which cause he aduised, That three hundred ships well manned should be sent vnto the Coast of Laconia, to spoile the country, & to hold the Lacedaemonians & their neighbours busied at home; whilst *Xerxes* at his leasure hauing subdued the rest, might afterward bring his whole power vpon them, who remaining destitute of the cour, would be too weak alone to make resistance. To this purpose also the same *Demaratus* further aduised, that the said Fleet of three hundred ships should seize vpon the Island then called Cythera, now Cerigo, which lying neere to the Coast of Laconia, might serue as a fit place of Rendez-vous vpon all occasions, either of their own defence, or endamaging the enemy: whereby that ancient speech of *Chilon* the Lacedaemonian should bee verified, that it were better for his Country-men to haue that Ile drowned in the sea, than stand so inconveniently as for them it did. What effect this counsell might haue taken, had it bin followed, it is not easie to ghesse. But a contrary opinion of *Achemenes* brother to King *Xerxes* was preferred as the safer. For the Persian fleet had bin sorely vexed vpon a grievous tempest which continued three whole dayes together, wherein were lost vpon the coast of Magnesia foure hundred ships of war, besides other vessels innumerable, accordingly as *Artabanus* had foreseen, that if any such calamity should ouertake them, there would not be found any Harbor wide enough to giue them succour. Therefore *Achemenes* perswaded his brother not to disperse his fleet, for if (said he) after the losse of foure hundred ships we shall send away other three hundred to seek adventures, then will the Greeks be strong enough by sea to encounter the rest of the Navy, which holding altogether is invincible. To this counsell *Xerxes* yeelded, hoping that his Land-army and fleet should each of them stand the other in good stead, whilst both held one course, & lay not far asunder. But herein he was far deceiued, for about the same time that his army had felt the valour of the Greeks by land, his Name likewise made a sorrowfull prooue of their skill & courage at sea. The Grecians fleet lay at that time at Artemisium in the straits of Euboea, where the Persians thinking to incasse them, sent two hundred sayle about the Island to fall vpon them behinde, vnder like stratagem to that which their King did practise against *Leonidas* in a case not unlike, but with far different successe. For that narrow channell of the sea which diuideth Euboea from the maine, was in the same sort held by a Navy of two hundred three-score & eleuen saile against the huge Persian Armada, as the straits of Thermopylae had formerly bin maintained by *Leonidas*, till he was circumvented, as this Navy might haue bin, but was not. The departure of those two hundred ships that were sent about the Island, & the cause of their voyage, was too well knowne in the Persian fleet, and soone enough disclosed to the Greeks, who setting saile by night, met them with a counter-surprise, taking & sinking thirty vessels, forcing the rest to take the Sea, where being overtaken with foule weather, they were driuen vpon the rocks and cast all away. Contrariwise, the Navy of the Greeks was increased by the arriual of fifty three Athenian ships, and one Lemnian, which came to their party in the last fight. As these new forces encouraged the one side: so the feare of *Xerxes* his displeasure stirred vp the other to redeem their losse with some notable exploit. Wherefore setting aside their vnforgotten policy, they resolved in plaine fight to repaire their honour, & casting themselves into the form of a Crescent, thought so to inclose the Greeks, who readily did present them battell at Artemisium.

The fight endured from noone till night, and ended with equall losse to both parts. For though more of the Persian ships were sunke and taken, yet the lesser losse fell altogether

gether as heaue vpon the Greekish fleet, which being small could worse beate it. Herein only the Barbarians may seeme to haue had the worse, that they forsooke the place of fight, leauing the wrack & spoils to the enemy, who neuertheless were faine to abandon presently euen the passage which they had undertaken to defend, both for that many of their shippes were sorely crusht in the battaile, & especially because they had receiued advertisement of the death of *Leonidas* at Thermopylae. Before they wayed anchors, *Themistocles*, General of the Athenians, engraued vpon stone at the watering place an exhortation to the Ionians, that either they should reuolt vnto the Greekes, or stand neuter, which perswasion, he hoped would either take some place with them, or at the least make them suspected by the Persians.

## §. IV.

*The attempt of Xerxes vpon Apollo's Temple: and his taking of Athens.*

**W**hen *Xerxes* had passed the Straits of Thermopylae, he wasted the country of the Phocians, & the regions adioyning: as for the inhabitants they chose rather to flye, and reserve themselves to a day of battell, than to adventure their liues into his hands, vpon hope of sauing their wealth, by making proffer vnto him of their seruice. Part of his army he sent to spoyle the Temple of *Delphi*, which was exceeding rich by meanes of many offerings that had there bene made by diuers Kings and great personages; of all which riches it was thought that *Xerxes* had a better Inventory than of the goods left in his owne Palace. To make relation of a great astonishment that fell vpon the companies which arriued at the Temple to haue sacked it, and of two Rockes that breaking from the Mount Parnassus, ouerwhelmed many of the Barbarians, were peradventure somewhat superstitious. Yet *Herodotus*, who liued not long after, saith, That the broken Rockes remained euen to his memory in the Temple of *Minerva*, whether they rowled in their fall. And surely this attempt of *Xerxes* was impious, for seeing he beleued that *Apollo* was a god, he should not haue dared to entertaine a couetous desire of enriching himselfe by committing sacriledge vpon his Temple. Wherefore it may possibly be true, that licence to chastise his impiety, in such manner as is reported, was granted vnto the Diuell, by that Holy one, who saith, *Will a man spoile his gods?* and elsewhere, *Hath any nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods? Go to the Iles of Kittim, and behold, and send to Cedar, and take diligents heede, and see whether there be any such thing.* Now this impiety of *Xerxes* was the more inexcusable, for that the Persians alleaged the burning of *Cybeles* Temple by the Athenians, when they set fire on the City of *Sardis* in Asia, to be the ground & cause of the waste which they made in burning of Cities and Temples in Greece. Whereas indeede, in the enterprize against *Delphi*, this Vizzor of holy and zealous reuenge falling off, discovered the face of couetousnesse so much the more vgly, by how much the more themselves had professed a detestation of the offence which the Athenians had committed in that kinde by meere mischance.

The remainder of that which *Xerxes* did, may be expressed briefly thus: *Hee came to Athens, which finden forsaken, hee tooke and burnt the Cittadel and Temple which was therein.* The Cittadel indeede was defended a while by some of more courage than wisdom, who literally interpreting *Apollo's* Oracle; that *Athens* should be safe in wooden walls, had fortified that place with Boords and Palisadoes: too weak to hold out long, though by their desperate valour so well maintained at the first assault, that they might haue yeilded it vpon tolerable conditions, had they not vainly relied vpon the prophecy: whereof (being somewhat obscure) it was wisely done of *Themistocles*, to make discretion the interpreter, applying rather the words to the present neede, than fashioning the businesse to words.

## §. V.

*How Themistocles the Athenian drew the Greekes to fight at Salamis.*

**T**he Athenians had before the coming of *Xerxes* remoued their wiues and children into *Troezen*, *Egina*, and *Salamis*, not so highly prizing their houses and lands, as their freedom, & the common liberty of Greece. Neuertheless, this

great zeale, which the Athenians did shew for the generall good of their Country, was ill required by the other Greekes, who with much labour were hardly intreated to stay for them at *Salamis*, whilst they remoued their wiues & children out of the City. But when the city of *Athens* was taken, it was presently resolved vpon, that they should forsake the Ile of *Salamis*, and withdraw the fleet to *Isthmus*: which necke of land they did purpose to fortifie against the Persians, & so to defend *Peloponnesus* by land & sea, leauing the rest of Greece as indefensible, to the fury of the enemy. So should the Ilands of *Salamis* and *Egina* haue been abandoned, and the Families of the Athenians (which were there bestowd as in places of security) haue bene giuen ouer into mercilesse bondage. Against this resolution *Themistocles*, Admirall of the Athenian Fleet, very strongly made opposition; but in vaine. For the *Peloponnesians* were so possessed with feare of losing their owne, which they would not hazzard, that no perswasions could obtaine of them, to regard the estate of their distressed Friends and Allies. Many remonstrances *Themistocles* made vnto them, to allure them to abide the enemy at *Salamis*. As first in priuate vnto *Eurybiades* the Lacedaemonian, Admirall of the whole Fleet; That the selfe same feare which made them forsake those coasts of Greece, vpon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no checke at the first) cause them also to disseuer the Fleet, and euerie one of the Confederates to withdraw himself to the defence of his owne City and Estate: Then to the Councell of Warre, which *Eurybiades* vpon this motion did call together (forbearing to object what want of courage might worke in them hereafter) he shewed that the fight at *Isthmus* would be in an open Sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, hauing the fewer shippes, to determine the matter in the streights; and that, besides the safeguard of *Egina*, *Megara*, and *Salamis*, they should by abiding where they then were, sufficiently defend *Isthmus*, which the Barbarians should not so much as once look vpon, if the Greekes obtained victory by sea; which they could not so well hope for elsewhere, as in that present place which gaue him so good aduantage. All this would not serue to retaine the *Peloponnesians*, of whom *Eurybiades* for suffering one to speake in the Councell, that had no Country of his owne to inhabit. A base and shamefull obiection it was, to lay as a reproach that losse, which being voluntarily sustained for the common good, was in true estimation by so much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignity did exasperate *Themistocles*, and put into his mouth a reply so sharpe, as auailed more than all his former perswasions. He told them all plainly, That the Athenians wanted not a fairer City, than any Nation of Greece could boast of; hauing well-neere two hundred good shippes of Warre, the better part of the Grecian Fleet, with which it was easie for them to transport their Families and substance into any part of the World, and settle themselves in a more secure habitation, leauing those to shift as well as they might, who in their extremity had refused to stand by them. Herewithall he mentioned a Towne in Italy belonging of old to the State of *Athens*, of which Towne he said an Oracle had foretold, That the Athenians in proceesse of time should build it a new, & there (quoth he) will we plant our selues, leauing vnto you a sorrowfull remembrance of my words, and of your own vnthankfulnessse. The *Peloponnesians* hearing thus much, began to enter into better consideration of the Athenians, whose affaires depended not, as they well perceived, vpon so weak termes, that they should be driuen to crouch to others; but rather were such, as might inforce the rest to yeeld to them, and condescend euen to the vttermost of their owne demands.

For the Athenians, when they first embraced that Heroicall resolution of leauing their grounds and houses to fire and ruine, if necessity should inforce them so farre, for the preservation of their liberty; did imploy the most of their priuate wealth, and all the common treasure, in building a great Nauie. By these meanes they hoped (which accordingly fell out) that no such calamity should befall them by Land, as might not well be counterpoised by great aduantages at Sea: Knowing well, that a strong fleet would either procure victory at home, or a secure passage to any other Country. The other States of Greece held it sufficient, if building a few new shippes, they did somewhat amend their Nauie. Wherby it came to passe, that, had they bin vanquished, they could not haue expected any other fortune than either present death or perpetual slavery; neither could they hope to be victorious without the assistance of the Athenians, whose forces by

sea did equall all things together, the whole consisting of more than three hundred and fourescore bottomes. Wherefore these Peloponnesians beginning to suspect their own condition, which would haue flood vpon desperate points, if the fleet of Athens had forsaken them; were soon perswaded, by the greater feare of such a bad euent, to forgoe the lesser, which they had conceiued of the Persians: and laying aside their insolent bravery, they yielded to that most profitable counsaile of abiding at Salamis.

## S. VI.

*How the Persians consulted about gining battaile: and how Themistocles by policy held the Greeks to their resolution; with the victory at Salamis thereupon ensuing.*

**I**N the meane season the Persians had entred into consultation, whether it were conuenient to offer battell to the Greekes, or no. The rest of the Captaines giuing such aduice as they thought would best please the King their Master, had soon agreed vpon the fight, but *Artemisia* Queen of *Halicanassus*, who followed *Xerxes* to this warre in person, was of contrary opinion: Her counsell was, that the King himselfe directly should march toward Peloponnesus, whereby it would come to passe, that the Greek Nauie (vnable otherwise to continue long at Salamis for want of prouision) should presently be disscuered, and euery one seeking to preferre his owne City and goods, they should, being diuided, proue vnable to resist him, who had won so far vpon them when they held together. And as the profit will be great in forbearing to giue battell, so on the other side, the danger will be more (said she) which we shall vndergoe, than any need requireth vs to aduenture vpon; and the losse in case it fall vpon vs, greater than the profit of the victory which we desire. For if we compell the enemies to flee, it is more than they would haue done, we sitting still: but if they, as better Sea-men than ours, put vs to the worst, the iourney to Peloponnesus is vtterly dasht, and many that now declare for vs, will soon reuolt vnto the Greekes. *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had sent for that purpose to the Fleet, related vnto his Master the common consent of the other Captaines, and withall this disagreeing opinion of *Artemisia*. The King well pleased with this, yet resolu'd vpon following the more generall, but farre worse counsaile of her aduice, which would questionlesse haue bene the same which *Artemisia* gaue, had not feare and flattery made all the Captaines vtter that, as out of their owne judgement, which they thought to be most conformable to their Princes determination. So it was indeed that *Xerxes* had entertained a vaine perswasion of much good, that his owne presence vpon the shore to behold the conflict, would worke among the Souldiers. Therefore he encamped vpon the Sea-side, pitching his owne Tent on the mount *Agalaus*; which is opposit vnto the Isle of Salamis, whence at ease he might safely view all which might happen in that action, hauing Scribes about him to write downe the acts and behaviour of euery Captaine. The neere approach of the Barbarians, together with the newes of that timorous diligence, which their Country-men shewed in fortifying the *Isthmus*, and of a Persian Army, marching apace thither; did now againe so terrifie and amaze the Peloponnesians, that no intreaty, nor contestation would suffice to hold them together. For they thought it meere madnesse to fight for a Country already lost, when they rather should endeavour to saue that which remained vnconquered; propounding chiefly to themselves what misery would befall them, if losing the victory, they should be drinen into Salamis, there to be shut vp, and besieged round in a poore desolate Iland.

Herupon they resolu'd forth-with to set saile for *Isthmus*: which had presently been done, if the wisdom of *Themistocles* had not prevented it. For he perceiving what auer-  
sant fear had stoppt vp their eares against all good counsaile, did practise another course, and forth-with labour to prevent the execution of this vnwholesome decree; nor suffering the very houre of performance to finde him busie in wrangling alteration. As soon as the Councell brake vp, he dispatched secretly a trusty Gentleman to the Persian Captaines, informing them truly of the intended flight, and exhorting them to send part of their Nauie about the Iland, which encompassing the Greekes, might prevent their escape; giuing them withall a false hope of his assistance. The Persians no looner heard than beleeu'd these good newes, well knowing that the victory was their owne

assured, if the *Athenian* fleet ioynd with them; which they might easily hope, considering what abilitie their Master had to recompence for so doing, both the Captaines with rich rewards, and the People with restitution of their Citie, and Territories. By these meanes it fell out, that when the *Greekes* very early in the morning were about to waigh Anchor, they found themselves inclosed round with *Persians*, who had laboured hard all that night, sending many of their ships about the Isle of *Salamis*, to charge the enemy in reare, and landing many of their men in the Isle of *Pisistalea*, which lyeth ouer against *Salamis*, to saue such of their owne, and kill such of the *Grecian* partie, as by any misfortune should bee cast vpon the shore. Thus did meere necessity enforce the *Greekes* to vndertake the battaile in the Straights of *Salamis*, where they obtained a memorable victory, stemming the foremost of their enemies, and chasing the rest, who falling foule one vpon another, could neither conueniently fight nor flee. I doe not finde any particular occurrences in this great battaile to be much remarkable. Sure it is, that the Scribes of *Xerxes* had a wearisome taske of writing downe many disasters that befell the *Persian* fleet; which ill acquitted it selfe that day, doing no one peece of seruice worthy the presence of their King, or the registring of his Notaries. As for the *Greekes*, they might well seeme to haue wrought out that victory with equall courage, were it not that the principall honour of that day was ascribed to those of *Aegina*, and to the *Athenians*, of whom it is recorded, That when the *Barbarians* did flee towards *Phalerus*, where the Land-armie of *Xerxes* lay, the ships of *Aegina* hauing possessed the Straights, did sinke or take them, whilst the *Athenians* did valiantly giue charge vpon those that kept the Sea, and made any countenance of resisting.

## §. VII.

*Of things following after the battaile of Salamis: and of the flight of Xerxes.*

**A**FTER this victorie, the *Greekes* intending by way of scrutiny, to determine which of the Captaines had best merited of them, in all this great seruice; euery Captaine, being ambitious of that honour, did in the first place write down his own name, but in the second place, as best deseruing next vnto himselfe, almost euery *Satrap* did concur vpon *Themistocles*. Thus priuate affection yielded vnto vertue, as soone as her owne turne was serued. The *Persian* King, as not amazed with this calamitie, began to make new preparation for continuance of warre; but in such fashion, that they which were best acquainted with his temper, might easily discern his faint heart, through his painted lookes. Especially *Mardonius*, Author of the warre, beganne to cast a wary eye vpon his Master, fearing lest his counsell should bee rewarded according to the euent. Wherefore purposing rather to aduenture his life in pursuite of the victorie, than to cast it away by vndergoing his Princes indignation; hee aduised the King to leaue vnto him three hundred thousand men, with which forces hee promised to reduce all *Greece* vnder the subiection of the *Persian* Scepter. Herewithall he forgot not to soothe *Xerxes* with many faire words; telling him, That the cowardise of those *Argyrians*, *Phoenicians*, and *Cilicians*, with others of the like metall, nothing better than slaves, who had so ill behaued themselves in the late Sea-seruice, did not concerne his honour, who had alwaies bene victorious, and had already subdued the better part of *Greece*, yea taken *Athens* it self, against which the Warre was principally intended. These words found very good acceptance in the Kings care, who presently betooke himselfe to his iourney homewards, making the more haft, for that hee vnderstood, how the *Greekes* had a purpose to saile to *Hellepont*, and there to breake downe his bridge, and intercept his passage. True it was that the *Greekes* had no such intent, but rather wished his hasty departure, knowing that hee would leaue his Armie not so strong, as it should haue bene, had he in person remained with it. And for this cause did *Eurybiades* giue counsell, that by no meanes they should attempt the breaking of that bridge, lest necessitie should enforce the *Persians* to take more courage, and rather to fight like men, than the like beasts. Wherefore *Themistocles* did, vnder pretence of friendship, send a false aduertisement vnto this timorous Prince, aduising him to conuay himselfe into *Asia* with all speed, before his bridge were dissolued: which counsel *Xerxes* tooke very kindly, and hastily followed, as before is shewed. Whether it were so that hee found the bridge whole, and thereby repassed into *Asia*; or whether it were torne in sunder by tempests,

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and he thereby driu in to imbarke himselfe in some obscure vessell, it is not greatly matterall; though the *Greekes* did most willingly embrace the later of these reports. Howsoever it were, this flight of his did well ease the Country; that was thereby disburdened of that huge throng of people, which, as *Locusts*, had before ouerwhelmed it.

## §. VIII.

The negotiations between Mardonius and the Athenians, as also between the Athenians and the Lacedemonians; after the flight of Xerxes.

**M**ardonius with his three hundred thousand had withdrawne himselfe into *Thessalie*, where he sent *Alexander*, the sonne of *Amyntas* King of *Macedonia*, as Embassador to the *Athenians*, with promise of large amends for all their losses received; and of extending their Territories as farre as their owne desires; allowing them to retaine their libertie and lawes, if they would make peace with *Xerxes*, and assist him in that warre.

The *Athenians* had now reentered their Citie, but not as yet brought backe their wiues and children; for as much as they well perceiued that the place could not be secure, till the Armie of *Mardonius* were broken and defeated. Wherefore the *Lacedemonians*, vnderstanding what faire conditions this Embassadour would propound, were perplexed with very great feare, lest he should finde good and ready acceptance. Hereupon, they likewise very speedily dispatched their Embassadors for *Athens*, who arriuing before the *Macedonian* had audience, vsed the best of their persuation to retaine the *Athenians* firm. They alledged, that neither *Xerxes* nor *Darius* had any pretence of Warre against the rest of *Greece*, but had onely threatened the subuersion of *Athens*, till they and all their Confederates arming themselves in defence of that Citie, were drawne into the quarrell, wherein the *Athenians* without much crueltie of iniustice could not leaue them. Wee know, said they, that yee haue endured great calamities, losing the fruit of the grounds, and being driuen to forsake the Towne, the houses thereof be ruined, and vsur for your habitation; in regard whereof, wee vndertake to maintaine as our owne, your wiues and children amongst vs, as long as the warre shall continue, hoping that yee, who haue alwaies procured libertie to others, will not now goe about to bring all *Greece* into slavery and bondage. As for the *Barbarians*, their promises are large, but their words and oathes are of no assurance. It was needlesse to vse many arguments to the *Athenians*, who gaue answer to *Alexander* in presence of the *Spartan* Embassadors; That whilst the Sunne continued his course, they would be enemies to *Xerxes*, regarding neither Gold nor any riches, with which hee might seeke to make purchase of their libertie. Concerning the maintenance of their wiues and children, it was a burden which they promised to sustaine themselves, onely desiring the *Lacedemonians*, that with all speed they would cause their Armie to march, forasmuch as it was not likely, that *Mardonius* would long sit still in *Thessalie*, having once receiued such a peremptorie answer. In this their opinion of *Mardonius* his readinesse to invade *Attica*, they found themselves nothing deceived. For hee, as soone as *Alexander* had returned their obdurate purpose of resistance, did forthwith leade his armie towards them, and their Citie: they hauing now the second time quitted it, and conueyed themselves into places of more securitie abroad in the Countrey, where they expected the arriuall of their confederates. From *Athens* he sent his Agent vnto them with instructions, not onely to perswade them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded, but with great promises to allure the principall of them to his partie. His hope was, that either the people, wearied with forsaking their houses so often, would be desirous to preferue them from fire, and to haue those which were already laid waste, reedified at the kings charges; Or if this affection tooke no place with them, but that needs they would relie vpon their old confederates, whose succors did very slowly aduance forwards, yet perhaps the Leaders might be wonne with great rewards, to draw them to this purpose; all which projects, if they should faile, the destruction of *Athens* would be a good meane to please his Master, King *Xerxes*, who must thereby needes vnderstand, that *Mardonius* kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of *Greece*, in the strongest part of their owne Countrey. But his expectation was beguiled in all these. For the *Athenians* so little regarded his offers, that when one *Lysidam*, or (as *Demosthenes* calls him)

*Cyrillus*

*Cyrillus* aduised the Senate to accept the conditions, and propounded them to the people; all the Senators, & as many as abiding without the Counsaile-house, heard what he had said, immediately set vpon him, and stoned him to death; not examining whether it were false or mony, that had moued him to utter such a vile sentence. Yea, the women of *Athens*, in the Ile of *Salamis*, hearing of his bad counsaile, and bad end, assembling together did enter his house there, and put his wife and children to the like execution. All this bruterie notwithstanding, when they perceiued the slacknesse of the *Peloponnesians* in giuing them aide; they were faine to betake themselves to *Salamis* againe, the old place of their securitie. Remaining there, and facing little forwardnes in those whom it most concerned to assist them, they sent very seuerer messages to *Sparta*, complaining of their slacknesse, & threatening withall, to take such course as might stand best with their own good, seeing that the common estate of all was so little regarded. These messengers were at the first entertained with dilatory answers, which every day grew colder, when as the *Peloponnesian* Wall, builded a-thwart the *Isthmus*, was almost finished. But as the *Lacedemonians* waxed carelesse & dull, so the *Athenians* hotely pressed them to a quick resolution, giuing them plainly to vnderstand, that if they should hold on in those dilatory courses, it would not be long ere the City of *Athens* took a new course, that should little please them. All this while the *Persian* Fleet lay vpon the coast of *Asia*, not daring to draw nearer vnto *Greece*, as being now too weak at Sea. Likewise the *Greekish* Nauie contained it selfe within the Harbours vpon *Europe* side; both to doe seruice where need should require at home; and withall to shunne the danger which might haue befallen any part of it, that being distracted from the rest, had aduentured ouer-farre. So mutuall feare preferred in quiet the Ilands lying in the midst of the *Aegean* Seas. But it was well and reasonably obserued by a Counsellor of *Sparta*, that the Wall vpon *Isthmus* would serue to little purpose for the defence of *Peloponnesus*, if once the *Athenians* gaue eare to *Mardonius*: considering that many doores would be opened into that Demie-Iland, as soone as the Enemy should by winning the friendship of *Athens*, become the Master of the Seas about it. The *Lacedemonians* vpon this admonition, making better perusal of their owne dangers, were very careful to gaue satisfaction to the *Athenian* Embassadors, who not brooking their delays, were vpon point of taking leaue, yea, as it seemed, of renouncing their alliance. Wherefore dispatching away five thousand *Spartans* in the evening, vnder conduct of *Pausanias*; they gaue audience the next day to the Embassadors, whose complaints they answered with vehement protestations of their readinesse, deeply swearing that the Army of *Sparta* was already farre vpon the iourney; and giuing them leaue to take vp other five thousand *Lacedemonians*, out of the Region adioyning, to follow after them.

The *Athenians*, though distasting such want of gravity, in a matter so important, were nevertheless contented with the finall conclusion; & leuying the number appointed of *Lacedemonian* Souldiers, made what haste they could to incampe in *Attica*. The other *Grecians* were nothing slacke in sending forth Companies, whose neare approach caused *Mardonius* to forsake *Attica* as a rough Country, and therefore of much disadvantage to Horse; wherein consisted the best of his power. Before his departure he burnt the City of *Athens*, beating downe the Walls of it, and ruining all that had formerly escaped the fury of War.

## §. IX.

The great battaile of *Platæa*.

**I**T were too long a rehearsal to shew all that happened in many skirmishes between the *Greekes* and him, in the Country of *Boeotia*, which *Mardonius* had chosen to bee the seat of that Warre. Much time was spent before the quarrell was decided by the triall of one maine battaile: for both parties did stand vpon their guard, each expecting when the other should assaile them.

The Army of *Mardonius* contained about three hundred thousand, which were by him chosen out of *Xerxes* his Army, to whom were adioyned the forces of *Thebes*, *Macedony*, *Thessaly*, and other parts of *Greece*, that now siding with the *Persian*, furnished his Campe with fifty thousand men. Against these the *Lacedemonians*, *Athenians*, and their Confederates, had leauied an Army of one hundred and ten thousand, of which forty thou-



land wereweightily armed, the rest were only assistants to these forty thousand, being armed more lightly, as rather to make excursions and give chase, than to sustain any strong charges.

These two Armies having eleuendaies confronted one the other, without performing any memorable piece of seruice; *Mardonius*, whose victuals began to faile, resolved to begin the fray. The *Greekes* were promised victory by an Oracle, if they fought in the Land of the *Athenians*, and in the plaine of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, making priayers vnto certaine gods, Demi-gods, and Nymphes. But it was hard to find the certaine place, which the Oracle designed. For the plaine of *Ceres* was indeed in the Territory of *Athens*; but there was also an old Temple of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, neare vnto the place where they lay at that time encamped, as likewise the memorialls of those Nymphes and Demi-gods, were in the same place, vpon Mount *Citharon*, and the ground serued well for foot-men against horse; onely the Land belonged vnto the *Plataeans*, and not vnto the *Athenians*.

Whilest the *Greekes* were perplexed about the interpretation of this doubtful Oracle, the *Plataeans* to make all cleere, did freely bestow their land on that side the Towne vpon the *Athenians*.

This magnificence of the *Plataeans* caused *Alexander* the Great, many ages after, to redifie their City, which was ruined in the *Peloponnesian* wars.

All things being ready for battaile; the *Lacedemonian* Generall thought it most meet, that the *Athenians* should stand opposite that day to the *Medes* and *Persians*, whom they had formerly vanquished at *Marathon*; and that he, with his *Spartans*, should entertaine the *Thebans* and other *Greekes* which followed *Mardonius*, as better acquainted with their fight, and having beaten them often-times before. This being agreed vpon, the *Athenians* changed place with the *Lacedemonians*; which *Mardonius* vnderstanding (whether fearing the *Athenians*, of whose valour the *Medes* & *Persians* had felt heauie proof, or desiring to encounter the *Spartans*, as thinking them the bravest Souldiers in *Greece*) he did also change the order of his battaile, and oppose himselfe to *Pausanias*. All the *Greekes* might well perceiue how the Enemy did shift his wings, and *Pausanias* thereupon returned to his former Station; which *Mardonius* noting, did also the like. Some whole day was spent in changing to and fro. Some attempt the *Persians* made that day with their Archers on horse-back, who did so molest the *Greekes* at their watering place, that they were faine to enter into consultation of retiring; because they could not without much losse to themselves, and none to the enemy, lie neare to that fountaine which did serue all the Campe. Having therefore concluded among themselves to dislodge, and part of the Army being sent away before day-light: *Mardonius* perceiued their departure in the morning, and thereupon being encouraged by their flight, (which to him seemed to proceed out of meer cowardise) he charged them in the reare with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valour, That the *Lacedemonians* being ouer-taken by the enemies horse, and ouerwhelmed with great flights of Arrowes, did quietly sit still, not making any resistance or defence, till the Sacrifices for victory were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and slaine, and some of especiall make lost, before any signe of good successe appeared in the entrailes.

But as soone as *Pausanias* had found in the Sacrifice those tokens, which the superstition of that Age and Country accounted fortunate; he gaue the Signall of battaile: and thereupon the Souldiers, who till then did sit vpon the ground, as was their manner, arose altogether, and with excellent courage receiued the charge of the *Barbarians*, that came thronging vpon them without any feare of such notable resistance. The rest of the *Greece* Army that was in march, being reuoked by *Pausanias*, came in a pace to succour the *Lacedemonians*: only that part of the Army which was led by the *Athenians*, could not arrive vnto the place of the great battaile, because the *Thebans*, and other *Greekes*, confederated with the *Persians*, gaue them checke by the way. Neuerthelesse, the *Spartans* with other their assistants, did so well acquite themselves, that the *Persians* were vanquished, and *Mardonius* with many thousands more slaine in the field; the rest fled into the Campe, which they had fortified with wooden Walls, and there defended themselves with such courage as desperate necessity forced them vnto, holding out the longer, because the *Lacedemonians* were not acquainted with the manner of assaulting Fortresses, and Walls. In the meane time the *Athenians* hauing found strong opposition

of the *Thebans* and *Thessalians*, did with much labour & courage obtain victory, which hauing not long pursued, they came to help the *Lacedemonians*, whom they found weakly builed in assaulting the Campe, with more valour than skill. Wherefore they themselves vnder-took it, & in short space forced a passage through the Wall, at which breach first, and then on all sides, the *Greekes* entred with such fury, and lust desire of vengeance, that of three hundred thousand they are said not to haue left three thousand allue; excepting those who fledde away with *Artabazus*, when as the *Persian* Army first fell to rout.

If the execution were so great, as is reported, an especiall cause of it was the foolish retreat, or rather flight into the Campe. For though it were so, that the place was well fortified, and the number of those who cast themselves into it greater than any of the *Assailants*; yet they being of severall Nations and Languages and hauing lost their Generall with other principall Commanders, it was impossible that they in such a terror and astonishment should make good that piece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemy Country, against an Army of men, farre more valiant than themselves, and enflamed with present victory. Therefore the same wall which for a few houres had preserved their liues, by holding out the Enemy, did now impale them, and leaue them to the slaughtering fury of vnpitiful Victors. *Artabazus* fled into *Thrace*, telling the people of *Thessaly* and other Countries in his way, that hee was sent by *Mardonius* vpon some piece of seruice: For he well knew, that had they vnderstood any thing of that great discomfiture, all places would haue bene hostile vnto him; and sought with his ruine to purchase fauour of the vanquishers. Therefore making so large marches, that many of his Souldiers being feeble were left behinde and lost, he came to *Byzantium*, whence he shipped his men ouer into *Asia*. Such was the end of the vaine-glorious expedition, vnderaken by *Xerxes* against the *Greekes*, vpon hope of Honour, and Conquest, though forsootherwise, accordingly as *Artabazus* had fore-seene, and rather worse, for as much as it began the quarrell, which neuer ended before the ruine of the *Persian* Empire was effected by that Nation of the *Greekes*, despised and sought to haue bene brought into slavery. Hereby it may seeme, that the vision appearing to *Xerxes*, was from God himselfe, who had formerly disposed of those things, ordaining the subuertition of the *Persian* Monarchie by the *Greekes*, who thus provoked, entred into greater consideration of their owne strength, and the weakness of their Enemies.

## §. X.

The battaile of *Mycale*, with a strange accident that fell out in the beginning of it: and example of the like.

The same day on which the battaile was fought at *Plataeae*, there was another battaile fought at *Mycale*, a Promontory, or Head-land in *Asia*, where the *Persian* fleet rode.

*Leutychides* the *Spartan*, with *Xantippus* the *Athenian*, Admirals of the *Greece* Navy, at the request of some *Hlanders* & *Ionians*, did saile into those parts, to deliuer the *Samiens*, & procure the *Ionians* to revolt from the *Persian*. *Xerxes* himselfe at this time lay at *Sardis*, a City in *Lidia*, not farre from the Sea-side, hauing left threecore thousand vnder the command of *Tigranes*, for defence of *Ionis* and the Sea-coast. Therefore when *Artayotes* and *Thramitres*, Admirals of the *Persian* fleet, vnderstood that the *Greekes* bent their course towards them; they did forth-with draw their ships a ground, fortifying with *Palisades* & otherwise, as much ground as was needfull for the encamping of all their land & sea-forces. *Leutychides* at his arriuall, perceiuing that they meant to keep within their strength, & resolving to force them out of it, rowed with his gally close aboard the shore, and called vpon the *Ionians* (who more for feare than good will were encamped among the *Persians*); exhorting them in the *Greek* tongue to remember liberty, & vnto the faire occasion which they now had to recouer it. Herein he did imitate *Themistocles*, who had done the like at *Euboea*, trusting that either these persuasions would preuaile, or if the *Persians* did happen to vnderstand them, that it would breed some iocalousie in them, causing them to fight in feare of their own companions. It need not seeme strange, that this

very famous stratagem, which little or nothing availed *Themistocles*, did now very happily succeed. For *Xerxes* being in his full strength, it was a matter of much difficulty, to persuade those Inhabitants of *Asia* to revolt; who now in his declining estate, gave a willing eare to the sweet sound of liberty. The *Persians* likewise, who in their former brauery, little regarded and lesse feared any treason to be contriued by their subiects, were now so wary, that from the *Samiens* which were amongst them, they took away their armes, the *Milesiens* whom they did suspect, but would not seeme to mistrust, they placed far from them, as it were for defence of the straight passages of *Mycale*; pretending that these *Milesiens* did best of all others know those places. But these deuises little availed them. For the *Samiens* perceiving that they were held as Traitors, took courage in the heat of the fight, and laying hold vpon such weapons as came to hand, assailed the *Persians* manfully within the Campe; which example the *Ionians* presently followed, being very glad to haue found some that durst beginne. It is said that while the *Greekes* were yet in a march towards the Enemies Campe, a rumour suddenly ranne in the Army, that *Mardonius* was ouerthrowne in *Greece*, which (though perhaps it was giuen out by the Captaines to encourage the Souldiers) was very true. For the battaile of *Platæa* was fought in the morning, and this of *Mycale* in the euening of the same day.

The like report of that great battaile, wherein *Paulus Æmilius* ouerthrew *Perseus* the last King of *Macedon*, was brought to *Rome* in foure dayes, as *Liuius* with others doe record. And *Plutarch* hath many other examples of this kinde. As that of the battaile by the Riuer *Sagra* in *Italy*, which was heard of the same day in *Peloponnesus*: That of the battell against the *Tarquiniens* and the *Latines*, presently noyed at *Rome*: And (which is most remarkable) the victory obtained against *Lucius Antonius*, who was Rebelle to *Domitian* the Emperour. This *Lucius Antonius* being Lieutenant of the higher *Germanie*, had corrupted his Army with gifts and promises, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make himselfe Emperour; which newes much troubling the City of *Rome*, with feare of a dangerous Warre; it was sodainly reported that *Antonius* was slaine, and his Army defeated.

Hereupon many did offer sacrifice to the gods, and shew all manner of publike ioy, as in such cases was accustomed. But when better inquiry was made, and the Authour of these tidings could not bee found; the Emperour *Domitian* betooke himselfe to his iourney against the Rebelle; and being now with his Army in march, hee received aduertisement by Poste, of the Victory obtained, and the death of *Antonius*: whereupon remembreing the rumour noised before in *Rome*, of the selfe-same victory, he found that the report and victory were borne vpon one day, though twenty thousand furlongs (which make about two and twenty hundred miles) asunder. It is truly said of *Plutarch*, that this last example giues credit vnto many the like. And indeed it were very strange, if among so many rumours, begotten by forgery or mistakings, and fostered by credulous imagination, there should not bee found (as happens in dreames) among many thousand vaine and frivolous) a few precisely true. Howbeit we may finde, that God himselfe doth sometimes vse to terrifie those who presume vpon their owne strength, by these light meanes of tumultuous noyses, as hee raised the siege of *Samarie*, by causing a sound of Horses and Chariots to affright the *Aramites*; and as hee threatened *Sennacherib*, saying: *Behold, I will send a blast vpon him, and he shall breake a noyse, and returne to his owne Land*. Wherefore it may well haue bene true, that God was pleased by such a meane as this, to animate the *Greekes*; who (as *Herodotus* notes) went towards the Enemies with heavy hearts, being in great feare, lest their owne aduenture should by no meanes fall out well; considering in what danger they had left their owne Country of *Greece*, which was ready to be subdued by *Mardonius* whilst they went wandring to seeke out enemies a-far-off, vpon the coast of *Asia*. But the same of the battaile fought at *Platæa* being noyed among them; euery man desired that his own valour in the present fight, might be some help to work out the full deliuerance of *Greece*. In this alacrity of spirit, they diuided themselves into two Battalians, whereof the *Athenians* led the one, by the way of the plaine, directly towards the enemies Campe, the *Lacedæmonians* conducted the other, by the Mountains and straight passages, to winne the higher ground. The *Athenians* did first set vpon the Campe (ere the *Lacedæmonians* could arrive on the other part) & being desirous to get all the honour

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of the day to themselves, did so forcibly assault it, that they brake way through the *Parthiads* and *Gabions*, and made themselves Masters of the place, slaying all that could not save themselves by flight. In this fight the *Samiens* did good seruice, as is formerly mentioned.

But the *Milesiens*, who vpon the like ialousie, were placed by the *Persians* on the tops of *Mycale*, to defend the passages, did now (as if they had bin set of purpose to keep them from running away) put as many to the sword as fell into their hands, letting none escape, except very few, that fled through by-patches. The *Lacedæmonians* that day did little seruice, for the business was dispatched ere they came in: Only they broke such companies as retired in whole troopes, making them flee disperfed in very much disorder, whereby the *Milesiens* were enabled to doe the greater execution vpon them. This was the last fight of that huge Army leauied against *Greece*, which was now vterly broken, and had no meanes left to make offensive Warre.

## §. XI.

Of the barbarous qualities of *Xerxes*: with a transition from the Persian affaires to matters of *Greece*, which from this time grew more worthy of regard.

*Xerxes* lay at *Sardis*, not farre from the place of this battaile; but little mind had he to reuenge either this or other his great losses, being wholly giuen over to the loue of his Brothers Wife: with whom he could not preuaile by intreaty, nor would obtaine his desire by force, because he respected much his Brother her husband: he thought it best to make a match between his owne Son *Darius*, and the Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that means to finde occasion of such familiarity as might worke out his desire. But whether it were so, that the chastity of the Mother did still reiect him, or the beauty of the Daughter allure him; he soone after fell in loue with his owne Sonnes wife, being a vicious Prince, and as ill able to gouerne himselfe in peace, as to guide his Army in war. This yong Lady hauing once desired the King to giue her the Garment which he then wore, being wrought by his owne Wife, he called the Queene thereby to perceiue her husbands conuerfation with her, which she imputed not so much to the beauty of her Daughter-in-law, as to the cunning of the Mother, against whom thereupon she conceiued extreame hatred. Therefore at a Royall feast, wherein the custome was that the King should grant their request, she craued that the Wife of *Massites*, her husbands brother, the yong Ladies Mother, might be giuen into her disposition. The barbarous King, who might either haue reformed the abuse of such a custome, or haue deluded the importunate cruelty of his Wife, by threatening her selfe with the like, to whatsoeuer she should inflict vpon the innocent Lady, granted the request; & sending for his brother, perswaded him to put away the Wife which he had, and take one of his Daughters in her stead. Hereby it seemes, that he vnderstood how villainously that poore Lady should be intreated, whom hee knew to be vertuous, and whom himselfe had loued. *Massites* refused to put her away; allcading his owne loue, her deservings, and their common Children, one of which was married to the Kings Sonne, as reasons important to moue him to keepe her. But in most wicked manner *Xerxes* reuiled him; saying, That hee now should neither keepe the Wife which hee had, nor haue his Daughter whom hee had promised vnto him. *Massites* was much grieved with these words, but much more, when he returned home, hee found his Wife most butcherly mangled by the Queene *Amestris*, who had caused her Nose, Lips, Eares, and Tongue to be cut off, and her Breasts in like manner, which were cast vnto Dogs. *Massites* enraged with this villany, took his way with his children, & some Friends, towards *Babylonia*, of which Prouince he was Gouernor, intending to rebell & avenge himselfe. But *Xerxes* vnderstanding his purpose, caused an Army to be leauied, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his Company to the sword. Such was the Tyrannicall condition of the Persian Government; and such are generally the effects of Luxury, when it is ioynd with absolute power.

Yet of *Xerxes* it is noted, that he was a Prince of much vertue. And therefore *Alexander* the Great, finding an Image of his ouerthrowne, and lying vpon the ground, said; That he doubted, whether in regard of his vertue, hee should againe erect it, or, for the mischance done by him to *Greece*, should bee laye. But surely whatsoeuer his other

other good qualities were, he was foolish, and was a coward, and consequently mercileffe.

Therefore we may firmly beleue, that the vertue of *Cyrus* was very great, vpon which the foundation of the *Persian* Empire was so surely laid, that all the wickednesse and vanities of *Xerxes*, & other worse Princes, could not ouerthrow it, vntill it was broken by a vertue almost equall to that which did establish it. In wars against the *Egyptians*, the fortune of *Xerxes* did continue, as at the first it had beene very good; but against the generall estate of *Greece*, neither he, nor any of his posterity, did cuer make offensive warre, but receiued many losses in *Asia*, to which the last at *Mysale* serued but as an introduction; teaching the *Greekes*, and especially the *Athenians*, that the *Persian* was no better Souldier at his owne doores, than in a forraigne Country: wherof good triall was made forth-with, and much better prooue as soone as the affaires of *Athens* were quietly settled and assured.

From this time forward I will therefore pursue the History of *Greece*, taking in the matters of *Persia*, as also the estate of other Countries, collaterally, when the order of time shall present them. True it is, that the *Persian* estate continued in her greatnesse, many ages following, in such wise that the knowne parts of the World had no other Kingdome, representing the Maiesty of a great Empire.

But this greatnesse depended onely vpon the riches and power that had formerly beene acquired, yeelding few actions or none that were worthy of remembrance, excepting some Tragedies of the Court, and examples of that excessive Luxury, where-with both it, and all, or the most of Empires that cuer were, haue beene enervated, made vnruly, and (as it were) fattened for the hungry swords of poore and hardy Enemies. Hereby it came to passe, that *Xerxes* and his successours were faine to defend their Crownes with money and base policies; very seldome or neuer (vnlesse it were with great advantage) daring to aduventure the triall of plaine battaile with that little Nation of *Greece*, which would soone haue ruined the foundations laid by *Cyrus*, had not priuate malice and ielousie vrge euery City to enuie the height of her neighbours wals, and thereby diuerted the swords of the *Greekes* into their owne bowels, which after the departure of *Xerxes* began very well, and might better haue continued, so hew out the way of conquest, on the side of *Asia*.

## CHAP. VII.

### Of things that passed in Greece from the end of the Persian Warre, to the beginning of the Peloponnesian.

#### S. I.

##### How Athens was rebuilt and fortified.



Fter that the *Medes* and *Persians* had receiued their last blow, & were vtterly beaten at *Mysale*: *Leutichides*, who then commanded the *Grecian* Army, leauing the pursuit of the warre to the *Athenians*, assisted by the revolted *Ionians*, returned with the *Lacedemonians* and other *Peloponnesians* to *Sparta* and other places, out of which they had beene leauied. The *Athenians* in the meane while besieged *Sestos*, a City on the strait of the *Hellspont*, betwene which and *Abydos*, *Xerxes* had lately fastned his Bridge of Boats: where the inhabitants, desperate of succour, did not long dispute the defence thereof, but quitted it to the *Greekes*, who entertained themselves the Winter following on that side the *Hellspont*. In the Spring they drew homeward, and hauing left their wiues and children, since the inuasion of *Asia*, & the abandoning of *Athens*, in diuers Islands, and at *Troizen*, they now found them out, & returned with them to their owne places.

And though the most part of all their houses in *Athens* were burnt and broken down, and

and the wals of the City ouer-turned, yet they resolved first on their common defence, and to forsake their City, before they cared to couer themselves, their wiues and children, with any priuate buildings: Wherof the *Lacedemonians* being aduertised, and misliking the fortifying of *Athens*, both in respect that their owne City of *Sparta* was vawalled, as also because the *Athenians* were grown more powerfull by Sea, than either themselves, or any other State of *Greece*, they dispatched messengers to the *Athenians* to dissuade them; not acknowledging any priuate mislike or ielousie, but pretending, that if the *Persians* should return to inuade *Greece* a third time, the *Athenians* being in no better state to defend themselves than heretofore, the same would be faine to receiue their enemies, and to be made a Scate for the Warre, as *Thebes* had lately bin. To this the *Athenians* promised to giue them satisfaction by their own Embassadors very speedily. But being resolved to goe on with their workes by the aduice of *Themistocles*, they held the *Lacedemonians* in hope of the contrary, till they had raised their wals to that height, as they cared not for their mislikes, nor doubted their disturbance; and therefore (to gaine time) they dispatched *Themistocles* towards *Lacedemon*, giuing him for excuse, that he could not deliuer the *Athenians* resolutions, till the arrival of his fellow-Commissioners, who were of purpose retarded. But after a while, the *Lacedemonians* expectation being conuerted into ielousie (for by the arrival of diuers persons out of *Attica*, they were told for certaine, That the wals of *Athens* were speedily grown vp beyond expectation) *Themistocles* prayed them not to beleue reports and vaine rumours, but that they would be pleased to send some of their owne trusty Citizens to *Athens*, from whose relation they might resolue themselves, and determine accordingly. Which request being granted, and Commissioners sent, *Themistocles* dispatched one of his owne, by whom he aduised the *Athenians*, first to entertain the *Lacedemonians* with some such discourse as might detain them a few daies, and in conclusion to hold them among them, till himselfe and the other *Athenian* Embassadors, then at *Sparta*, had their liberty also to return. Which done, and being also assured by his associates and *Aristides*, that *Athens* was already defensible on all parts, *Themistocles* demanding audience, made the *Lacedemonians* know, That it was true that the wals of *Athens* were now raised to that height, as the *Athenians* doubted not the defence of their City; praying the *Lacedemonians* to beleue, That whensoever it pleased them to treat with the *Athenians*, they would know them for such, as right well vnderstood what appertained to a Common-weale & their owne safety, without direction and aduice from any other: That they had in the warre of *Xerxes* abandoned their City, and committed themselves to the wooden Walls of their shippes, from the resolution of their owne counsels and courage, and not there-to taught or perswaded by others: and finally, in all that perillous warre against the *Persians* they found their owne iudgements and the execution thereof in nothing inferior, or lesse fortunate, than that of any other Nation, State, or Common-weale among the *Greekes*: And therefore concluded, that they determined to be Masters and Iudges of their owne affaires, and thought it good reason, that either all the Cities considered within *Greece* should be left open, or else that the Wals of *Athens* should be finished and maintained.

The *Lacedemonians* finding the time vsfit for quarrell, dissembled their mislike, both of the fortifying of *Athens*, and of the diuision; & so suffered the *Athenians* to depart, & receiued backe from them their owne Embassadors.

The Wals of *Athens* finished, they also fortified the Port *Pireus*, by which they might vnder couert imbarke themselves vpon all occasions.

#### S. II.

##### The beginning of the Athenian greatnesse, and prosperous warres made by that State vpon the Persian.

THE *Athenians* hauing settled things in good order at home, prepared thirty Gallies for the pursuit of the warre against the *Persians*, to which the *Lacedemonians* added other twenty, and with this Fleet, strengthened by the rest of the Cities of *Greece* confederated, they set sayle for *Cyprus*, vnder the conduct of *Pausanias* the *Lacedemonian*; where, after their landing hauing possessed themselves of many principall places, they imbarked the Army againe, and tooke land in *Thrace*, recouering from the

the *Perſians* by force the City *Bizantium*, now *Conſtantinople*; from whence *Paſani*, behauing himſelfe more like a Tyrant than a Captaine, eſpecially towards the *Ionians*, lately revolted from *Xerxes*, was called backe by the Councell of *Lacedæmon*, and not onely accuſed of many inſolent behauiours, but of Intelligẽce with the *Medes*, & Treason againſt his Countrey. In his ſtead they imployed *Dæres*, who either gaue the ſame cauſe of offence; or elſe the *Athenians*, who affected the firſt commandement in that warre, praictiſed the ſouldiers to complaine; though indeede the wife and vertuous behauiour of *Ariſtides*, Generall of the *Athenian* forces, a man of rare & incomparable ſincerity, had been able to make a good Commander ſeeme ill in compariſon of himſelfe; & therefore was much more auailable, in rendering thoſe deſtroyed, whoſe vices afforded little matter of excuſe. Howſoeuer it were, the *Lacedæmonians* being no leſſe wearied of the war, than the *Athenians* were eager to purſue it, the one obtained their caſe, and the other the execution and honour which they deſired: for all the *Greekes* (thoſe of *Peloponneſus* excepted) willingly ſubiected themſelves to the commandement of the *Athenians*, which was both the beginning of their greatneſſe in that preſent age, & of their ruine in the next ſucceeding. For the charge of the warre being now committed vnto them, they began to rate the confederated Cities; they appointed Receiuers and Treasuers, & began to leuie mony according to their diſcretion, for the maintenance of the generall defence of *Greece*, and for the recouering of thoſe places on *Europe* ſide, in *Aſia* the leſſe, & the Ilands, from the *Perſians*. This tribute (the firſt that was euer payed by the *Greekes*) amounted to foure hundred and threeſcore Talents; which was raiſed eaſily by the honeſt care of that iuſt man *Ariſtides*, to whoſe diſcretion all the confederates reſerred themſelves, & no one man found occaſion to complaine of him. But as the venue of *Ariſtides*, & other worthy Citizens, brought vnto the *Athenians* great commoditie; ſo the deſire which they conceiued of encreaſing their commoditie, corrupted their vertue, & robbing them of the generall loue, which had made them powerfull, abandoned their City to the defence of her treaſure, which with her in the next age periſhed. For it was not long ere theſe foure hundred and threeſcore Talents were raiſed to ſix hundred, nor long after that, ere their couetouſtyranny had conuerted their followers into ſlaues, and extorted from them yearly thirtene hundred Talents. The Iſle of *Delos* was at the firſt appointed for the Treasuere-houſe wherein theſe ſummes were laid vp, and where, at the generall Aſſembly, the Captaines of thoſe forces, ſent by the confederates, were for forme ſake called to conſultation. But the *Athenians*, who were ſtronger by ſea than all *Greece* beſides, had lockt vp the common treaſure in an Iſland, vnder their owne protection, from whence they might tranſport it at their pleaſure, as afterward they did.

The generall Commander in this warre was *Cimon*, the ſonne of *Miltiades*, who firſt tooke *Eion*, vpon the Riuer *Strimon*; then the Iſle of *Sciros*, inhabited by the *Delphians*: they maſtered the *Cariffs*, & brought into ſeruitude the *Naxi*, contrary to the form of the confederacy: So did the other the inhabitants of *Greece*, if at any time they failed of their contribution, or diſobeyed their commandements; taking vpon them and vſurping a kinde of ſoueraigne authority ouer the reſt: which they exerciſed the more aſſuredly, becauſe they were now become Lords of the Sea, and could not be reſiſted. For many of the confederated Cities and Nations, weary of the warre in their owne perſons, and giuen vp altogether to their eaſe, made choice rather to pay their parts in mony, than either in men of warre, or in ſhips; leauing the prouiſion of both to the *Athenians*. Hereby the one grew weak in all their Sea-defences, and in the exerciſe of the Warres; the other greatly ſtrengthened their Nauie and their experiences, being alwayes armed and imployed in honorable ſeruices, at the coſt of thoſe, who hauing liſted them into their Saddles, were now enforced to become their footmen. Yet was the Tribute-mony leuied vpon theſe their confederates, employed ſo well by the *Athenians* at the firſt (as all proceedings are often founded vpon good beginnings) that no great cauſe of repining was giuen. For they rigged out a great Fleet of Gallies, very well manned, wherewith *Cimon* the Admirall ſcoured the *Aſiaticke* Seas, took in the City of *Phaſelus*, which hauing formerly pretended neutrality, and reſuſed to relieue, or any way aſſiſt the *Greekes*, were enforced to pay ten Talents for a fine, and ſo to become followers of the *Athenians*; paying yearly contribution.

From thence he ſet ſayle for the Riuer *Enrymedon* in *Pamphylia*, where the *Perſian* Fleet

Fleet rode, being of ſixe hundred ſayle, (or according to the moſt ſparing report) three hundred and fifty, and hauing a great Land-Armie, encamped vpon the ſhoare; all which forces hauing bene prouiſed for aduancing the Kings affaires in *Greece*, were vitely deſeated in one day, and two hundred ſhips taken by the *Athenians*, the reſt being broken to pieces, or ſunk, ere euer they had ſwom in the *Greekiſh* Seas. *Cimon* hauing in one day obtained two great victories, the one by the Sea, and the other by Land, was very ſoone preſented with a third. For foureſcore ſayle of *Phenicians* (who were the beſt of all Sea-men, vnder the *Perſian* command) thinking to haue ioyned themſelves with the Fleet before deſtroyed, arriued vpon the ſame Coaſt, ignorant of what had paſſed, and fearing nothing leſſe than what enſued. Vpon the firſt notice of their approach, *Cimon* weighed anchor, and meeting them at an head-land, called *Hydra*, did ſo amaze them, that they onely fought to run themſelves on ground; by which meane preſeruing few of their men, they loſt all their ſhips. Theſe loſſes did ſo breake the courage of the *Perſian*, that, omitting all hope of preuailling vpon *Greece*, he condeſcended to whatſoeuer Articles it pleaſed the *Athenians* to propound, granting liberty vnto all the *Greekes* inhabiting *Aſia*; and further couenanting, That none of his ſhips of War ſhould ſayle to the Weſtward of the Iſles, called *Cyane* and *Chelidonia*.

This was the moſt honourable peace that euer the *Greekes* made; neither did they in effect, after this time, make any warre that redounded to the profit or glory of the whole Nation, till ſuch time as vnder *Alexander*, they ouerthrew the empire of *Perſia*; in which war, few, or perhaps none of them, had any place of great command, but ſerued altogether vnder the *Macedonians*.

## §. III.

The death of *Xerxes* by the treaſon of *Artabanus*.

**B**Eſides theſe loſſes, which could not eaſily haue bin repaired, the troubles of the Empire were at this time ſuch, as gaue iuſt cauſe to the *Perſian* of ſeeking peace vpon any termes not altogether intolerable. For *Artabanus*, the vncle of *Xerxes*, perceiuing, that the King his Maſter did eaſily take ſmall occaſions to ſhed the blood of ſuch, as in kindred or place were vnto him, began to repoſe leſſe hope of a ſaſetie remaining faithfull, than of obtaining the Soueraignie, by deſtroying a Prince that was ſo hated for his cruelty, and deſpised for his cowardice and miſfortunes. Hauing conceiued this Treason, he found meanes to execute it by *Mithridates* an Eunuch, in ſuch cloſe manner, that (as if he himſelfe had been innocent) he accuſed *Darius* the ſon of *Xerxes*, and cauſed him to ſuſſer death as a Parricide. Whether it be true, that by this great wickedneſſe he got the Kingdome, and held it ſeuẽ moneths; or whether intending the like euill to *Artaxerxes* the ſon of *Xerxes*, he was by him preuented and ſurpriſed, were hard to affirme any certainty. But all Writers agree vpon this, That taken hee was, and with his whole familie put to death by extreme torments, according to the ſentence, wherof the truth is more ancient than the Verſe:

*Raro antecedentem ſeclum  
Deſeruit pede parua claudo.*

Seldom the villaine, though much haſte he make,  
Lame-footed Vengeance failes to ouertake.

## §. IIII.

The baniſhment of *Themisto*: his flight to *Artaxerxes* newly reigning in *Perſia*; & his death.

**A***rtaxerxes* being eſta bliſhed in his Kingdome, and hauing ſo compounded with the *Athenians*, as the preſent neceſſity of his affaires required, began to conceiue new hopes of better fortune againſt the *Greekes*, than he or his predeceſſors had euer hitherto found. For the people of *Athens*, when the *Perſians* were chaſed out of *Greece*, did ſo highly value their owne merits in that ſeruice, that they not onely thought it fit for themſelves to become the Commanders ouer many Townes and Ilands of the *Greekes*, but euen within their owne wals, they would admit none other forme of Government than merely *Democratichall*. Herein they were ſo inſolent, that no integrity

nor good desert was able to preferre the estate of any such as had borne great office, longer than by flattering the rascall multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deeds to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanour much offended *Themistocles*; who, though in former times he had layed the foundations of his greatnesse vpon popularitie, yet now presuming vpon his good seruices done to the State, hee thought that with great reason they might grant him the liberty to checke their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwise, they were so highly offended with his often rehearsing the benefits which they had receiued from him, that they laide vpon him the punishment of *Ostracisme*, whereby hee was banished for ten yeeres, as a man over-burthened to the Common-wealth.

Before the time of his returne was halfe expired, a new accusation was brought against him by the *Lacedemonians*, who charged him of consulting with *Paufanias*, about betraying the whole Countrey of *Greece* vnto *Xerxes*. Hereupon *Themistocles* finding no place of security against the malice of two such mighty Cities, was driven, after many troublesome flights, and dangerous remouings, to aduenture himself into *Persia*; where he found *Artaxerxes* newly settled, & was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which *Artaxerxes* had conceived of advancing his affaires by the counsell and assistance of *Themistocles*, proued altogether fruitlesse. For when the *Athenians*, in fauour of *Inarus* the *Libyan*, (who infested *Egypt*, causing it to rebell against the *Persian*) had sent a Fleet to Sea, landing an Armie in *Egypt*, and scowring those Easterne Seas, to the great hindrance of *Artaxerxes*, and (for ought that I can vnderstand) to the manifest breach of that peace, which to their great honour they had concluded with *Xerxes*; then did the King send his Letters to *Themistocles*, requiring him to make good the hopes which he had giuen, of assuring the *Persian* estate against the *Greekes*.

But whether *Themistocles* perceived much vnlikeliness of good successe, in leading a great Army of dastardly *Persians* against the warlike people of *Greece*; or else (as in fauour of his vertue it is more commonly reported) the loue of his Countrey would not permit him to seeke honour by the ruine of it: sure it is, that being appointed by *Artaxerxes* to vndertake the conduct of great forces against the *Athenians*, he decided the great conflict between thankfulnesse to his well deseruing Prince, and naturall affection to his own ill-deseruing people, by finishing his life with a cup of poyson.

## §. V.

How the *Athenians*, breaking the peace, which to their great honour they had made with the *Persian*, were shamefully beaten in *Egypt*.



Hen was *Artaxerxes* driuen to vse the seruice of his owne Captaines in the *Egyptian* warre, wherein it appeared well, That a iust cause is a good defence against a strong enemy. An *Athenian* Fleet of two hundred faile strong was sent forth vnder *Cimon*, to take in the Isle of *Cyprus*: which conquest seemed easie both to make and to maintaine, the *Persian* being viterly broken at Sea, & thereby vnable to relieue the Island. Now although it were so, that a peace had been concluded, which was likely to haue been kept sincerely by the *Persian*, who had made so good proof of the *Grecian* valour, that he was nothing desirous to build any ships of Warre (without which the *Greekes* could receiue no harme from him) whereof if any one should be found sayling towards *Greece*, the peace was immediately broken, and if not, his whole estate; yet all the Sea-coast (no small part of his Dominions) exposed to the waste of an enemy too far over-matching him. Yet whether the *Athenians* were in doubt, lest the league which in his own worse fortunes he had made with them, he would break in theirs; and therefore sought to get such assurance into their hands, as might viterly disable him from attempting ought against them; or whether the increase of their reuenues & power, by adding that rich and great Island to their Empire, caused them to measure honour by profit; they thought it the wisest way, to take whilst they might, whatsoeuer they were able to get and hold, and he vnable to defend.

The Isle of *Cyprus* lying in the bottome of the streights betweene *Cilicia*, *Syria* and *Egypt*, is very fitly seated for any Prince of State, that being mighty at Sea, doth either seeke to enrich himselfe by trade with those Countreies, or to infest one or more of them

them, when they are his enemies. And this being the purpose of the *Athenians*, their *Ambition* which had already decoured, in conceit, this Island, vvas on the sodaine well-nigh choaked with a greater morfell, to snatch at vvhich, they let *Cyprus* alone, vvhich they might easily haue swallowed and digested. For *Inarus* King of the *Libyans* confining *Egypt*, hauing found how greatly the Countrey was exalted by the late warres, and how weakely defended by very slender *Persian* Garrisons, concealed rightly, that if such small forces as the *Satrapa* or *Viceroy* could make on the sodaine of his owne *Guards*, or leuie out of the ordinary *Garrisons*, were by him defeated; the naturals of the Countrey, not long since oppressed by *Cambyses*, and after a reuolt very lately subdued by *Xerxes*, would soone breake faith vwith him, vvhich had no other title to that Kingdom than a good sword. Further, he perswaded himselfe that the people, vnable to defend themselves against the *Persian* vwithout his assistance, would easily be drawne to accept him, the author of their deliuerance for King. Neither did this hope deceiue him. For hauing taken and cruelly slaine *Achemenes* the *Viceroy*; diuers Cities forthwith declared themselves for him, and proclaiming him King, shewed the most of their endeavour for prosecution of the warre. But he considering his owne weakness, and that the meanes of the *Egyptians* his adherents were not answerable to their desires, perceived well, that to resist the power of *Artaxerxes*, farre greater forces than his and theirs were to be procured, at what price soeuer he obtained them. Therefore hearing of the great *Athenian* fleet, and knowing well the vertue of the Souldiers therein imbarqued; he inuited the Commanders to share with him the kingdom of *Egypt*, as a farre greater reward of their aduenture, than such an addition as that of *Cyprus* could be to their estate. Whether he or they (if things had wholly sorted according to their expectation) would haue bin contented with an equall share, and not haue fallen out in the partition, were perhaps a diuination vnecessary. He vvas possessed of the peoples loue, they were of most power. But the issue of those affaires vvas such as left them nothing to communicate but misfortunes, which they shared somewhat equally.

Yet had the beginnings of their enterprife very good and hopefull successe: For they entered the Land as farre as to *Memphis*, the principall Citie; and of the Citie it selfe they tooke two parts: to the third part, vvhich was called the White wall, they laid such hard siege, that neither those forces of the *Persians*, vvhich then were in *Egypt*, were strong enough to remoue them; neither could *Artaxerxes* well deuise what meanes to vie for the recovery of that which was lost, or for the preseruation of the remainder. The best of this hope vvas by setting the *Lacedemonians* vpon *Athens*, to enforce the *Athenians* to looke homewards to their owne defence. This vvas the first time that the *Persian* sought to procure the assistance of the *Greekes* one against the other, by stirring them vp vwith gold to the entertainment of priuate quarrels, for the good of their common enemy. To this purpose he sent *Megabazus* to *Sparta* vwith much Treasure; who, after great expense, finding that the *Lacedemonians* were nothing forward in employing their whole force against the *Athenians*, vvhom in many conflicts of great importance they had found to be their matches, notwithstanding the absence of their Arme in *Egypt*; he thought it his wisest way to imploy the rest of his mony and meanes to their reliefe, who had now the space of fixe yeares defended his masters right in *Egypt*. Therefore he hastily dispatched another of his name, the sonne of *Zopyrus*, vvhich arriuing in *Egypt*, vvas first encountered by the reuolted people; ouer whom he obtained victory, vvhich made him master of the Countrey, whilst the *Athenians* lay besieged about *Memphis* the great Citie.

It cannot be doubted, that long abode in a strange ayre, and want of supply, had much enfeebled the *Athenians*: sure it is, that when *Megabazus*, hauing reduced the Countrey to obedience, attempted the Citie it selfe, whether his former successe had amended the courage of the *Persians*, or want of necessities made the *Athenians* inferior to themselves, he chased them out of *Memphis*, and pursued them so neere, as if they were forced to fortifie themselves in the Isle of *Prosopites*, where *Megabazus*, after the Ruers of eighteen moneths siege, turning away one part of the Riuer by diuers Trenches, assaulted the *Athenians* without impediment of waters, tooke their Gallies, and put all to the sword, sauca few that saved themselves by flight into *Libya*; the same end of Nilus, so-  
tertainment had fiftie other Gallies which they sent to the succour of the first two  
wards Alex-  
adria,  
hundred.

*Athenlesus* is an Island in the mouth of *Nilus*, between the out-let called *bufraticus* and *Phaticus*. But the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendefium*, runneth into the Sea by the Citie *Panophya*.

hundred. For those *Athenians* having heard nothing that their Fleet and Armie vvvas continued, entred by the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendefium*, and fell vva- vvares among the *Phenician* Gallies and the *Persian* Armie; so as the *Persians* re- covered all *Egypt*, but that part held by *Amirteus*, and *Inarus* the King of *Lybia*, be- ing by them taken and hanged. This vvasthe end of the *Athenians* sixe yeares vvare in *Egypt*, and the reward of their vanitie and indiseretion to vndertake many enter- prises at once.

## §. V.

*Of other warres made by the Athenians for the most part with good successe, about the same time.*

**N**otwithstanding these ouerthrowes in *Egypt*, yet the *Athenians* in their home- vvares waded through many difficulties, and held the reputation of their for- ces against the *Lacedemonians*, *Corinthians*, and others, rather to their aduan- tage than otherwise. For as they were beaten neere vnto *Italia* by the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*, so they obtained two great victories soone after; the one ouer the *Pelopon- nesiens*, neere vnto *Ceeryphalia*; the other ouer the *Aiginets*, neere vnto *Agina*; where they sunke and carried away threecore and ten Gallies of their Enemies. Furthermore, they landed their forces on the suddaine, and besieged *Agina*, from vvhen they could not be moued, notwithstanding that the *Corinthians*, to diuert them, invaded *Megara*; where, after a great fight, vvith equall losse, the *Corinthians*, vvhen they re- turned againe to set vp their *Trophie*, as Victors in the former battaile, vvere vtterly broken and slaughtered by the *Athenian* Garrisons and *Megarians*, to their great losse and dishonour.

Again, as the *Athenians* vvere discomfited neere to *Tanagra*, by the *Lacedemonians*, vvho returned from the succour of the *Dorians* against the *Phocians* (at vvich time the *Thessalian* horse-men turned from their Allies the *Athenians*, and fought against themso about threecore daies after the *Athenians* entred *Beotia* vnder the conduct of *Myronides*, vvho being beating that Nation, they wan *Phocia* on the gulfe *Ocetus*, and euened the wals of *Tanagra*, to the ground. Finally, they enforced *Agina* to render vpon most base condi- tions; as to beat downe the wals of their Citie, and to giue them hostages for Tribute, the siege vvhereof they had continued, notwithstanding all their other brabbles and at- tempts cleswhere. Besides these victories they sackt and spoiled many places vpon the Sea-coast of *Peloponnesus*, belonging to the *Lacedemonians*; wan vpon the *Corinthians*, and ouerthrew the *Sicyonians* that came to their succour. These vvere the vnder takings of the *Athenians*, and their Allies, during the time of those six yeares that a part of their forces made warre in *Egypt*. In the end vvhereof they attempted *Thessalie*, persvaded thereun- to by *Orestes*, but were resisted by the King *Pharsalus*, who had chased *Orestes* out of his Dominions. They also landed in *Sictonia*, and had victory ouer those that resisted, after vvich they made truce vvith the *Lacedemonians* for five yeares, and sent *Cimon* into *Cypru* vvith two hundred ships; but they were againe allured by *Amirteus* one of the race of their former Kings, vvho held the Marish and Wooddie parts of *Egypt* from the *Persians*, to vvhom they sent sixtie of their ships. The rest of their Armie failing in their enter- prise of *Cyprus*, and their fortunate and victorious Leader *Cimon* dying there, as they coasted the land, incountred a fleet of the *Phenicians* and *Cilicians*, ouer both vvich Nations they returned victorious into *Greece*: as also those returned safe vvich vvore sent into *Egypt*.

## §. VII.

*Of Artaxerxes Longimanus, that he was Ahasuerus the husband of Quene Hester.*

**T**hese *Egyptian* troubles being ended, the reigne of *Artaxerxes* continued peace- able; vvherof the length is by some restrained into twenty yeares, but the more and better Authors giue him fortie, some allow vnto him foure and forty. He

He was a Prince of much humanity, and noted for many examples of gentleness. His fauour was exceeding great to the *Jewes*; as appeareth by the Histories of *Esdra*s and *Nehemiah*; vvich fell in his time.

To proue that this was the King vvho gaue countenance and aide to that great worke of building the Temple, it vvere a needlesse trauaile; considering that all the late *Di- vines* haue taken very much paines, to shew that those two Prophets were licensed by him, and succoured in that building, in such sort as appeares in their writings.

This was likewise that King *Ahasuerus* vvho married *Hester*. Vvhereof if it be need- full to giue prooffe, it may suffice; That *Ahasuerus* liued in *Susa*, reigning from *India* to *Ethiopia*, and therefore must haue bin a *Persian*; That he liued in peace, as appeares by the circumstances of the Historie, & vveld the countaile of the seuen Princes, the autho- rity vvich Princes began vnder *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, vvherefore he could be neither *Cyrus* nor *Cambyses*.

The continuall Warres vvich excresced King *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspes*, to- vvether vvith the certainty of his marriages vvith sundry vvives, from none of vvhom he vvvas diuorced, but left his first vvife *Astosa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, alieue in great honour, she being mother to *Xerxes* the succeeding King; doe manifestly proue that *Hester* vvvas not his. Vvhereunto is added by *Philo* the *Jew*, That at the persvasion of *Mardacheus*, *Ioiachim* the high Priest the son of *Iesus*, caused the feast of *Purim* to be instituted in memory of that deliuerance. Now the time of *Ioiachim* vvvas in the reigne of *Artaxerxes*, at the coming of *Esdra*s, and *Nehemiah*: *Iesus* his father dying about the end of *Darius*.

The same continuance of warres, vvith other his furious and tragicall loues, vvherewith *Xerxes* did consume such little time, as he had free from warre, are enough to proue, that the storie of *Hester* pertained no vnto the time of *Xerxes*, vvho liued but one and twentie yeares, whereas the two and thirtieth of *Ahasuerus* or *Artasaltha* is ex- pressed by *Nehemiah*. Again, it is well knowne, that *Xerxes* in the seventh yeare of his reigne (vvherein this marriage must haue bin celebrated) came not neere to *Susa*. Of the Princes that succeeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to proue that none of them could be *Ahasuerus*, it is enough to say, that *Mardacheus* hauing bene carried from *Ierusalem* captiue, vvith *Ischonia*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, vvvas vnlikely to haue liued vvntill their times.

But of this *Artaxerxes* it is true, that he liued in *Susa*, reigned from *India* to *Ethio- pia*, liued in peace, vvvas contemporarie vvith *Ioiachim* the high Priest: and further he had happily by his Lieutenants reclaimed the rebellious *Egyptians* in that seventh yeare of his reigne; vvich good fortune might well giue occasion to such a Royall feast, as is described in the beginning of *Hester*. This is the summe of the arguments, brought to proue the age of *Hesters* storie by the learned and diligent *Krentzheimius*, vvho adds the authorities of *Iosephus*, affirming the same, and of *Philo*, giuing to *Mardacheus* eightene yeares more than *Isaac* the Patriarch liued, namely, one hundred foure- score and eightene yeares in all, vvich expire in the five and thirtieth yeare of this *Artaxerxes*, if we suppose him to haue bin carried away captiue, being a Boy of ten yeares old.

## §. VIII.

*Of the troubles in Greece, foregoing the Peloponnesian warre.*

**I**t vvit is fit that we now returne to the affaires of the *Greekes*, vvho from this time forward, more vvehemently prosecuting their ciuill warres, suffered the *Persians* for many ages to rest in peace: this *Egyptian* expedition being come to nought. Soone after this, the *Lacedemonians* vnderooke the warre called, Sacred, recovered the Temple and Ile of *Delphos*, and deliuered both to the inhabitants; but the *Athenians* re- gained the same, and gaue it in charge to the *Phocians*. In the meane vvile the banished *Boeotians* re-entred their owne Land, and mastred two of their own Townes posselt by the *Athenians*, vvich they soone recovered againe from them; but in their returne to- vvards *Athens*, the *Boeotians*, *Eubceans*, and *Locrians* (Nations opprest by the *Athenians*) set vpon them vvith such resolution, as the *Athenians* vvere in that fight all slaine or



taken, whereby the *Boeotians* recovered their former liberty, restoring to the *Athenians* their prisoners. The Ilanders of *Euboea* tooke such courage vpon this, that they revolted wholly from the *Athenians*, whom when *Pericles* intended to reconquer, he was aduertised that the *Megarians*, (who first left the *Lacedemonians*, & submitted themselves to *Athens*) being now weary of their yoke, had slaine the *Athenians* Garrisons, & ioyned themselves with the *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, & *Epidaurians*. These newes hastened *Pericles* homeward with all possible speed; but ere he could recouer *Attica*, the *Peloponnesians*, led by *Plisitanax*, the son of *Pausanias*, had invaded it, pillaged, & burnt many parts thereof; after whose returne *Pericles* went on with his first intent and recouered *Euboea*. Finally, the *Athenians* began to treat of peace with the *Peloponnesians*, and yielded to deliuer vp all the places which they held in the Countrey of *Peloponnesus*: and this truce was made for thirtie yeares.

After fixe of these yeares were expired, the *Athenians* (fauouring the *Mylefians* against the *Samians*) invaded *Samos* by *Pericles*, and after many repulses, and some great losses, both by Sea and Land, the Citizens were forc't to yeelde themselves vpon most lamentable conditions, Namely, to deliuer vp all their ships, to breake downe their own wals, to pay the charge of the war, and to restore whatsoeuer had bene taken by themselves, or by their practice from the *Athenians*. In the necke of which followed that long and cruell *Peloponnesian* Warre, whereof I haue gathered this brieue following: the same contention taking beginning fiftie yeares after the flight of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*. But because there was no Citie thereof, which either in the beginning of this warre, or in the continuance of it, was not drawne into the quarrell; I hold it convenient now at the first to shew briefly the estate of the Countrey at that time, and especially the condition of those two great Cities, *Athens*, and *Sparta*, vpon which all the rest had most dependance.

## CHAP. VIII.

## Of the Peloponnesian Warre.

## S. 1.

Vpon what searimes the two principall Cities of Greece, Athens and Sparta, stood, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian Warre.



*G*reece was neuer vnitd vnder the gouernement of any one Prince or Estate, vntill *Philip* of *Macedon*, and after him *Alexander*, brought them rather to a Vnion and League against the *Persians*, whereof they were Captaines, than into any absolute subiection. For every Estate held their owne, and were gouerned by Lawes farre different, and by their owne Magistrates, notwithstanding the power of the *Macedonians*, to whom they did yeelde obedience no otherwise than as to such, who were (perforce) their leaders in the *Persian* war (deemed the Generall quarrell of Greece)

and tooke the profit and honour of the victorie, to their owne vse and increase of greatness. But the Kings which afterwards reigned in *Macedonia*, did so farre enlarge their authority, that all *Greece* was by them brought vnder such obedience, as differed little from seruitude; very few excepted, who could hardly, sometimes with armes, and sometimes with gifts, preferue their libertie; of whom the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians* were chiefe: which two people deserued best the plague of tyranny, hauing first giuen occasion thereunto, by their great ambition, which wearied and weakened all the Countrey by perpetuall Warre. For, vntill these two Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* distracted all *Greece*, drawing euery State into the quarrell, on the one or other side, and so gaue beginning to the *Peloponnesian* warre (the effects whereof in true estimation ceased not, before the time that *Philip* had ouer-mastered all, forasmuch as euery conclusion

conclusion of one was afforded hencforth matter of some new distraction of the whole Countrey) the warres, commenced betwene one Citie of *Greece* and another, were neither great, nor of long continuance. All controuersies were soone decided, either by the authoritie of the *Ambassadors*, who were the generall Councell of *Greece*; or by the power of the *Lacedemonians*, whose aide was commonly held as good as the assurance of victorie.

The *Lacedemonians* had liued about foure hundred yeares vnder one forme of Gouernment, when the *Peloponnesian* warre began: Their education was onely to practice feates of Armes; wherein they so excelled, that a very few of them were thought equall to very great numbers of any other people. They were poore, and cared not much for wealth; euery one had an equall portion of the common field, which sufficed to maintaine him in such manner as they vsed. For brauery they had none, and curious building or apparrell they regarded not. Their diet was simple, their feasts and ordinary meales being in common Halls, where all fared alike. They vsed money of *Iron*, whereof they could not be couetous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they liued *Plinian*-like, saue that they vsed no other occupation than Warre, placing all their felicitie in the glory of their valour. Herby it came to passe that in all enterprises, whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all *Greece* followed their conduct. But the *Athenians* were in all points contrary to this. For they sought wealth, and measured the honours of their victories by the profit; they vsed mercenarie Souldiers in their warres, and exacted great tribute of their Subiects, which were for the most part Ilanders, compelled to obey them, because the *Athenian* fleet was great.

As in forme of policy, and in course of life, so in conditions naturall, the difference between these two people was very much. The *Athenians* were eager and violent, suddaine in their conclusions, and as hastic in the execution: The *Lacedemonians* very slow in their deliberations, full of grauitie, but very resolute, & such as would in cold blood performe what the *Athenians* did vsually in flagrant. Whereby it came to passe, that the *Lacedemonians* had all the Estates of *Greece* depending vpon them, as on men firme & assured, that sought honor & not riches; whereas the *Athenians* were followed by such as obeyed them perforce, being held in streight subiection. But the Signory of the *Athenians* was nothing large, vntill such time as the *Persian* *Xerxes* had invaded *Greece*, pretending onely a quarrell to *Athens*: For then the Citizens perceiuing well, that the town of *Athens* could not be defended against his great Armie of seuteente hundred thousand men, bestowed all their wealth vpon a Naue, & (assisted by the other *Greeks*) ouerthrew the fleet of *Xerxes*, whose Land-forces were soone after discomfited by them, & the *Greekes*, who all serued vnder conduct of the *Spartans*. After these victories, the *Athenians* being now very mighty in fleet, reduced all the Ilands of the *Greekish* Seas vnder their obedience; imposing vpon them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as they pretended) of war against the *Persians*; though indeed they employed their forces chiefly, to the conquest of such Ilands, and haue Townes, of their owne Countymen, as stood out against them. All which was easily suffered by the *Lacedemonians*, who were Ilanders, and men that delighted not in expeditions to be made farre from home. But afterwards perceiuing the power of the *Athenians* to grow great, they held them in much ielousie, and were very apt to quarrell with them; but much more willing to breede contention between them & other Estates. Wherefore at such time as the *Thebans* would haue oppressed the *Plataeans*, when they of *Platae* repaired to *Sparta* for succour, they found there no other aide, than this aduice, That they should seeke helpe at *Athens*. Herby it was thought, that the *Athenians* should be intangled in a long and tedious Warre, with their neighbours of *Thebes*. But it proved otherwise, for their force was now so great, that all such occasions did onely serue to increase their honour and puissance.

## S. II.

How Sparta and Athens entred into warre.

**N**euetheless many Estates of *Greece* were very ill affected to *Athens*, because that Citie grew very insolent vpon suddaine prosperitie, and maintaining the weaker Townes against the stronger, inroached apace vpon their Neighbourhood, taking their

their dependants from them. Especially the *Corinthians* were much enraged, because the people of the Iland *Coryra*, their Colonie which had rebelled against them, and given them a great overthrow by Sea, was by the *Athenians* (who desired to increase their fleet by adioyning that of *Coryra* vnto it) taken into protection, and the *Corinthians* thereby impeached of that reuenge which else they would haue taken. Now howsoeuer it were so, that these dealings of the *Athenians* were not directly against the conditions of peace agreed vpon among the *Greekes*, yet were the complaints made at *Sparta* so vehement, that (though with much ado) they concluded to redresse by warre the iniuries done to their Allies.

First therefore seeking religious pretences, they required the *Athenians* to expiate certain offences committed against the gods; whereto hauing for answer, That they themselves should expiate other the like offences, committed in *Sparta*; they began to deale plainly, and required that the people of some Townes, oppressed by the State of *Athen*, should be set at liberty; and that a decree made against those of *Megara*, whereby they were forbidden to enter any Port of the *Athenians*, should be reuerled. This last point, they so earnestly presse, that if they might obtaine it, they promised to abstain from their purpose of making Warre.

This they desired, not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a trifle) but only that by seeming to haue obtained somewhat, they might preferue their reputation without entering into a warre, which threatened them with greater difficulties apparant, than they were very willing to vnder-goe.

But the *Athenians* would yeeld to nothing, for it was their whole desire that all *Greece* should take notice, how faine they were from feare of any other Citie. Hereupon they prepared on both sides very strongly, all that was needefull to the Warre; wherein the *Lacedemonians* were Superiour, both in number and quality, being assisted by most of the Cities in *Greece*, & hauing the generall fauour; as men that pretended to set at liberty such as were oppressed: but the *Athenians* did as farre exceede them in all prouisions of Money, Shipping, Engines, and absolute power of command among their Subjects; which they held; & afterward found of greater vse in such neede, than the willing readinesse of friends, who soone grow weary, and are not easily assailed.

## §. III.

## The beginning of the Peloponnesian Warre.

THE first and second yeares expedition was very grievous to the Citie of *Athen*. For the Fields were wasted, the Trees cut downe; the Countrey people driuen to flye, with Wiues, Children, and Cattle, into the Towne; whereby a most furious pestilence grew in the Citie, such as before they had neuer felt, nor heard of. Hereunto was added the reuolt of the *Mytilenians*, in the Ile of *Lesbos*, & the siege of *Plataea* their confederated Citie, which they durst not aduenture to raise; besides some small overthrowes receiued. The *Lacedemonians* assembling as great forces as they could raise out of *Peloponnesus*, did in the beginning of Summer enter the Countrey of *Attica*, and therein abide, vntill victuals began to faile, wasting and destroying all things round about: The Governours of the *Athenians* would not suffer the people to issue into the field against them; for they knew the valour of their Enemies; but vsed to send a fleet into *Peloponnesus*, which wasted as fast all the Sea-coast of their Enemies, whilst they were making warre in *Attica*. So the *Peloponnesians* being the stronger by Land, won the Towne of *Plataea*, which wanted rescue; the *Athenians* likewise being more mighty by Sea, did subdue *Mystene* which had rebelled, but could not be succoured from *Sparta*. By these proceedings in that warre, the *Lacedemonians* beganne to perceiue how vnfit they were to deale with such enemies. For after that *Attica* was thoroughly wasted, it lay not greatly in their power to doe any offence equall to such harme as they themselves might, and did receiue. Their Confederates beganne to set forward very slowly in their expeditions into *Attica*; perceiuing wel that *Athen* was plentifully relieved with all necessaries, which came by the Sea from the Ilands that were subiect vnto that Estate; and therefore these invaders tooke but small pleasure in beholding the walls of that mighty Citie, or in wasting a forsaken field, which was to them a patterne of the calamities, with which their owne Territorie was the whilst afflicted. Wherefore they began

began to set their care to build a strong Naue, wherein they had little good success, being easily vanquished by the *Athenians*, who both had more and better ships, and were so skilfull in Sea-fights, that a few Vessels of theirs durst undertake a great number of the *Peloponnesians*.

## §. IIII.

## Of the great losse which the Spartans received at Pylus.

AMONG other losses which the *Spartans* had felt by Sea; they received at *Pylus* a very sore blow, that compelled them to sue for peace. A fleet of *Athenian* ships bound for *Coryra*, waiting in that passage, as their manner was, the coast of *Laconia*, and all the halfe Ile of *Peloponnesus*, was by contrarie windes detained at *Pylus*, which is a ragged Promontorie, ioyning to the maine, by a strange necke of Land. Before it there lies a small barren Iland of lesse than two miles compass, and within that a creeke, which is a good harbour for ships, the force of weather being borne off by the head-Land and Isle. This Promontorie the *Athenians* fortified, as well as in haste they might; and what was wanting in their artificiall fortification, was supplied by the natural strength and site of the place. By holding this piece of ground, and haueing, they in reason expected many aduantages against their enemies. For the Countrey adioyning was inhabited by the *Messenians*, who in ancient times had held very strong and cruell warre with *Sparta*; and (though quite subdued) they were held in streight subiection, yet was not the olde hatred so extinguished, that by the neere neighbourhood and assistance of the *Athenians*, it might not be reuiued. Furthermore it was thought, that many ill-willers to the *Lacedemonians*, and as many of their bond-slaves as could escape from them, would repaire to *Pylus*, and from thence make daily excursions into *Laconia*, which was not faire off: Or if other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this haue, lying almost in the mid-way betwene them and *Coryra*, make them able to sur-round all *Peloponnesus*, and waste it at their pleasure. The newes of these doings at *Pylus* drew the *Peloponnesians* thither in all haste out of *Attica*, which they had entred a few daies before with their whole Armie: but now they brought not onely their Land-forces, but all their Naue, to recouer this peece, which how bad a neighbour it might proue in time, they well fore-saw, little fearing the grieuous losse at hand, which they there in few daies receiued. For when they in vaine made a generall assault on all sides, both by Sea and Land, finding that small Garrison which the *Athenians* had left, very resolute in the defence: they occupied the haue, placing foure hundred & twenty choice men all of them, Citizens of *Sparta*, in the Iland before mentioned, at each end whereof is a channell, that leads into the Port; but so narrow, that onely two ships in front could enter between the Ile and *Pylus*; likewise but seuen or eight ships could enter at once by the further channell, between the Iland and the Main. Hauing thus taken order to shut vp this new Towne by Sea, they sent part of their fleet to fetch wood, and other stuf, wherewith to fortifie round about, and blocke vp the peece on all sides. But in the meane season the *Athenian* fleet, hearing of their danger that were left at *Pylus*, returned thither, and with great courage entering the haue, did breake and sink many of their Enemies vessels; tooke siue, and so enforced the residue to runne themselves a-ground.

Now was the Towne secure, and the *Spartans* abiding in the Iland as good as lost. Wherefore the Magistrates were sent from *Sparta* to the campe (as was their custome in great dangers) to aduise what were best for the publike safety; who when they did perceiue that there was no other way to rescue their Citizens out of the Isle, than by composition with their enemies, they agreed to entreat with the *Athenians* about peace, taking truce in the meane while with the Captaines at *Pylus*. The conditions of the truce were, That the *Lacedemonians* should deliuer vp all the ships which were in the coast, and that they should attempt nothing against the town, nor the *Athenians* against the campe: That a certaine quantitie of Bread, Wine, and Flesh, should be daily carried into the Isle, but that no ships should passe into the Iland secretly: That the *Athenians* should carry the *Lacedemonian* Embassadors to *Athen*, there to treat of peace, and should bring them backe, at whose returne the truce should end, which if in the meane time it were broken in any one point, should be held vtterly void in all: That when the truce was expired, the

Athenians

*Athenians* should restore the *Peloponnesian* ships, in as good case as they receiued them. The Embassadors coming to *Athenes*, were of opinion, that as they themselves had begun the warre, so might they end it when they pleased. Wherefore they told the *Athenians* how great an honour it was that the *Lacedemonians* did sue to them for peace, advising them to make an end of warre, whilst with such reputation they might. But they found all contrarie to their expectation: For in stead of concluding vpon euen termes, or desiring of meet recompence for losse sustained, the *Athenians* demanded certain Cities to be restored to them, which had been taken from them by the *Lacedemonians* long before this warre beganne, refusing likewise to continue the treaty of peace. The *Spartans* which were in the Isle, were first rendered vnto them as prisoners. Thence the Embassadors returned without effect, at which time the truce being ended, it was desired from the *Athenian* Captaines, that they should, according to their covenant, restore the ships, which had beene put into their hands. Whereunto answer was made, that the condition of the truce was, That if any one article were broken, all should be held void; now, said the *Athenians*, ye haue assaulted our Garrisons, and thereby are we acquired of our promise to restore the ships. This and the like frivolous allegations which they made, were but meer shifts; yet profit so far ouer-weighed honour, that better answer none could be got. Then were the *Lacedemonians* driuen to vse many hard meanes, for conuincance of victuals into the Isle; which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried prisoner to *Athenes*, where it was decreed that when the *Peloponnesians* next invaded *Attica*, these prisoners should all be slaine. Whether fearing the death of these men, or with-held by the troubles, which (according to the *Athenians* hope) fell vpon them, the *Lacedemonians* were so farre from waiting *Attica*, that they suffered their own Countrey to be continually ouer-runne, both by the *Athenians*, who landed on all parts of their coast, and by those which issued out of *Pylus*, which became the Rendezuous of all that were ill-affected vnto them.

## S. V.

*How the Lacedemonians hardly, and to their great disadvantage, obtained a peace, that was not well kept.*

Therefore they indeouored greatly to obtain peace; which the *Athenians* would not harken vnto. For they were so puffed vp with continuance of good success, that hauing sent a few bands of men into *Sicilie*, to hold vp a faction there, and make what profit they might of the *Sicilians* quarrels; when afterward they heard that the differences in that Isle were taken away, and their bands returned without either gaine or losse, they banished the Captaines, as if it had beene merely through their default, that the Isle of *Sicilie* was not conquered; which (besides the longer distance, was in power to offend others, or defend it selfe, no whit inferiour vnto *Peloponnesus*. Yet was this their ouer-weening much abated shortly after, by some disasters received, especially in *Thrace*, where in a battaile which they lost at *Amphipolis*, *Cleon* and *Brasidas*, Generalls of the *Athenian* and *Lacedemonian* forces, were both slaine; which two had most bin aduersaries to the peace. As the *Athenians* by their losses were taught moderation; so the *Lacedemonians*, who not onely felt the like wounds, but through the great Naue which they had receiued at *Pylus*, were faine to proceed lamely in the war, against such as, through commoditie of their good fleet, had all aduantage that could be found in expedition, were feruently desirous to conclude the businesse, ere Fortune by any new fauour should reuine the infolence, which was at this time well mortified in their Enemies. Neither was it onely a consideration of their present estate, that vrged them to bring the treaty of peace to a good and speedy effect; but other dangers hanging ouer their heads, and ready to fall on them, which vnto them they compounded with the *Athenians*, they knew not how to auoide. The estate of *Argos*, which had ancient enmity with them, was now, after a truce of thirty yeares well-nigh expired, ready to take the benefit of their present troubles, by ioyning with those who alone found them worke enough. *Argos* was a rich and strong Citie, which though inferiour to *Sparta* in valour, yet was not so vnwarlike, nor held such ill correspondence with the neighbouring Estates, that the *Lacedemonians* could euer farre preuaile vpon it, when they had little else to doe.

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This was a thing that in the beginning of this Warre had not beene regarded. For it was then thought, that by waisting the Territorie of *Athenes* with sword and fire, the quarrell should easily and in short time haue beene ended, whereby not onely the *Athenians* should haue been brought to good order, but the *Corinthians*, and others, for whose sake the war was vnder-taken, haue bin so firmly knit to the *Lacedemonians*, that they should for loue of them haue abandoned the *Argives*, to their own fortunes. But now the vanity of those hopes appeared, in that the *Athenians* abounding in ready money, & meanes to raise more, were able to secure themselves by a strong fleet from any great harme that the *Peloponnesians* vvaunting vvhetherwith to maintain a Naue, could doe vnto them; yea as Masters of the Sea, to weary them out, as in effect already they had done. As for the Confederates of *Sparta*, they could now endure neither warre nor peace; their daily traualles, and many losses had so wearied and incensed them. Wherefore the *Lacedemonians* were glad to vse the occasion, vvhich the inclination of their enemies did then afford, of making a final peace, vvhich vvvith much adoe they procured, as seemed equall and easie; but was indeed impossible to be performed, and therefore all their traualle was little effectuall.

The restitution of prisoners and places taken being agreed vpon, it fell out by lot, that the *Lacedemonians* should restore first. These had vvvome more townes vpon the continent from the *Athenians*, than the *Athenians* had from them; but vvvhat they had vvvonne, they had not vvvonne absolutely. For they had restored some Townes to such of their Allies, from vvhom the State of *Athenes* had taken them, some, and those the most, they had set at libertie (as reason required) vvhich had opened their gates vnto them, as to their friends & deliuerers, & not compelled them to breake in as enemies. Now concerning the Townes vvhich were not in their owne hands, but had bin rendered vnto their Confederates, the *Spartans* found meanes to giue some satisfaction, by permitting the *Athenians* to retaine others, vvhich they had gotten in the Warre; as for the rest, they promised more than afterwards they could performe. The Cities which they had taken into protection, could not endure to heare of being abandoned, neither would they by any meanes yeeld themselves into the hands of their old Lords the *Athenians*, vvhom they had offended by reuolting, notwithstanding what ouer articles were drawne, and concluded, for their securitie, and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of conditions on the side of the *Spartans*, made the *Athenians* become as backward in doing those things vvhich on their part were required; so that restoring onely the prisoners vvhich they had, they deferred the rest, vntill such time as they might recieue the full satisfaction, according to the agreement. But before such time as these difficulties brake out into matter of open quarrell, the *Lacedemonians* entred into a more streight alliance vvvith the *Athenians*, making a league offensive and defensive with them. Hereunto they were moued by the backwardnesse of the *Argives*, who being (as they thought) likely to haue succ for peace at their hands, as soone as things were once compounded betwene *Athenes* and *Sparta*, did shew themselves plainly vnwilling to giue care to any such motion. Thinking therefore, that by cutting from *Argos* all hope of *Athenian* succour, they should make sure worke, the *Spartans* regarded not the affections of other States, whom they had either bound vnto them by well-deferring in the late warre, or found to trouble some, that their enmities (if perhaps they durst let it appeare) was little worse than friendship. It bred great ieaalousie in all the Cities of *Greece*, to perceiue such a coniunction betwene two so powerfull Signiories: especially one claue threatening every one, that was any thing apt to feare, with a secret intent that might be harboured in their proud conceits, of subduing the whole Countrey, and taking each what they could lay hold on. For besides the other articles, it was agreed, That they might by mutual consent adde new conditions, or alter the old at their owne pleasures. This impression wrought so strongly in the *Corinthians*, *Thebans*, and other ancient Confederates of *Sparta*, that the hate which they had borne to the *Athenians* their professed enemies, was violently thrown vpon the *Lacedemonians* their vniuist friends: whereby it came to passe, that they who had lately borne chiefe sway in *Greece*, might haue been abandoned to the discretion of their enemies, as already in effect they were, had the enemies wisely vsed the aduantage.

## §. VI.

*Of the negotiations, and practices, held between many States of Greece, by occasion of the peace that was concluded.*

**T**He admiration wherein all Greece held the valour of *Sparta* as vnrefutable, and able to make way through all impediments, had bin so excellencie, that when by some sinister accidents, that Citie was compelled to take and seeke peace, vpon termes not founding very honourable, this common opinion was not onely abated, but (as happens vsually in things extreame) was changed into much contempt. For it was neuer thought that any *Lacedemonian* would haue endured to lay down his weapons, & yeeld himselfe prisoner, nor that any misfortune should haue bin so great, as should haue drawn that Citie to relieue it selfe otherwise than by force of Armes. But when once it had appeared that many of their Citizens, among whom were some of especiall marke, being ouer-laid by enemies, in the Iland before *Pylus*, had rather chosen to liue in captiuitie, than to die in fight, and that *Pylus* it selfe, sticking as a thorne in the foot of *Laconia*, had bred such anguish in that Estate, as vtterly wearying the accustomed *Spartan* resolution, had made it sit down, and seeke to refresh it selfe by dishonorable ease: then did not onely the *Corinthians* and *Thebans* begin to conceiue basely of those men which were vertuous, though vnfortunate; but other lesser Cities ioyning with these in the same opinion, did cast their eies vpon the rich & great Citie of *Argos*, of whose abilitytie, to do much, they conceiued a strong beleefe, because of long time it had done nothing. Such is the base condition, which through foolish enuie is become almost natural in the greater part of mankind. We curiously search into their vices, in whom, had they kept some distance, we should haue discerned only the vertues; and comparing inuicibly our best parts with their worst, are iustly plagued with a false opinion of that good in strangers which we know to be wanting in our selues.

The first that published their dislike of *Sparta* were the *Corinthians*, at whose vehement entreaty (though moued rather by enuy at the greatness of *Athens* daily encroaching the *Lacedemonians* had entred into the present Warre. But these *Corinthians* did onely murmur at the peace, alleading as grievances, that some townes of theirs were left in the *Athenians* hands. The *Marinthians*, who during the time of Warre, had procured some part of the *Arcadians* to become their followers, and forsake their dependancy vpon the State of *Sparta*, did more freely and readily discouer themselves; feare of reuenge to come, working more effectually, than indignation at things already past. The *Argues* feeling the gale of prosperous fortune that began to fill their failles, prepared themselves to take as much of it as they could stand vnder; giuing for that purpose vnto twelue of their Citizens, a full & absolute commission to make alliance betweene them & any free Cities of Greece (*Athens* & *Sparta* excepted) without any further trouble of propounding euery particular businesse to the multitude. When the gates of *Argos* were set thus open to all comers; the *Marinthians* began to leade the way, and many Cities of *Peloponnesus* following them, entred into this new confederacy; some incited by priuate respects, others thinking it the wisest way to do as the most did. What inconuenience might arise vnto them by these courses, the *Lacedemonians* easily discerned; & therefore sent Embassadors to stop the matter at *Corinth*, where they well perceived that the mischief had bin hatched. These Embassadors found in the *Corinthians* a very rough disposition, with a grauity expressing the opinion which they had conceiued of their present aduantage ouer *Sparta*. They had caused all Cities which had not entred yet into alliance with *Argos*, to send their Agents to them, in whose presence they gaue audience to the *Lacedemonians*; the purport of whose Embassie was this: That the *Corinthians*, without breach of their oath, could not forsake the alliance, which they had long since made with *Sparta*; and that reason did as well binde them to hold themselves contented with the peace lately made, as religion enforced them to continue in their ancient confederacy, forasmuch as it had bin agreed between the *Spartans* and their associates, that the consent of the greater part, (which had yeelded vnto peace with *Athens*) should binde the lesser number to performe what was concluded, if no diuine impediment withstood them. Hereunto the *Corinthians* made answer, that the *Spartans* had first begun to doe them open wrong, in concluding the warre wherein they had lost many places, without

provision of restitution; and that the very clause, alledged by the Embassadors, did acquire them from any necessity of subscribing to the late peace, forasmuch as they had sworn vnto those people whom they perswaded to rebell against *Athens*, that they would neuer abandon them, nor willingly suffer them to fall againe into the tyrannous hands of the *Athenians*. Wherefore they held themselves bound both in reason & religion to vse all meanes of vpholding those, whom by common consent they had taken into protection; for that an oath was no lesse to be accounted a Diuine impediment, than were pestilence, tempest, or any the like accident, hindering the performance of things vnderaken. As for the alliance with *Argos*, they said that they would do as they should find cause. Having dismissed the Embassadors with this answer, they made haste to ioyne themselves with *Argos*, & caused other States to do the like; so that *Sparta* & *Athens* were in a manner left to themselves, the *Thebans* and *Megarians* being also vpon the point to haue entred into this new confederacie. But as the affections were diuers, which caused this hastie confluence of sudden friends to *Argos*, it so likewise came to passe that the friendship it selfe, such as it was, had much diuersitie both of sinceritie and of continuance. For some there were that hated or feared the *Lacedemonians*: as the *Marinthians* and *Eleans*; these did firmly betake themselves to the *Argues*, in whom they knew the same affection to be inueterate; others did onely hate the peace concluded; and these would rather haue followed the *Spartans* than the *Argues* in war, yet rather the *Argues* in war than the *Lacedemonians* in peace. Of this number were the *Corinthians*, who knowing that the *Thebans* were affected like vnto themselves, dealt with them to enter into the societie of the *Argues*, as they had done: but the different formes of gouernment, vsed in *Thebes* and *Argos*, caused the *Thebans* to hold rather with *Sparta*, that was ruled by the principall men, than to incur the danger of inuouation, by ioyning with such as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This businesse hauing ill succeeded, the *Corinthians* began to bethinke themselves of their owne danger, who had not so much as any truce with *Athens*, and yet were vnprepared for warre. They fought therefore to come to some temporary agreement with the *Athenians*, and hardly obtained it. For the *Athenians* who had dealt with all Greece at one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment with one Citie that had shewed against them more stomacke than force, but gaue them to vnderstand that they might be safe enough from them, if they would claime the benefit of that alliance, which *Athens* had lately made with *Sparta* & her dependants; yet finally they granted vnto these *Corinthians* (which were loth to acknowledge themselves dependants of *Sparta*) the truce that they desired; but into priuate confederacie they would not admit them, it being an article of the league between them and the *Spartans*, That the one should not make peace nor warre without the other.

Herein, as in many other passages, may clearly be seene the great aduantage which absolute Lords haue, as well in peace as in warre, ouer such as are serued by voluntaries. We shall hardly finde any Signiorie, that hath bene so constantly followed as *Sparta* was by so many States, and some of them little inferior to it it selfe, being all as free: whereas contrariwise, the *Athenians* had lately, and by compulsion meanes gotten their Dominion, wherein they demeaned themselves as Tyrants. But in performance of conditions agreed vpon, the *Athenians* were able to make their words good, by excluding any State out of their Confederacie, and giuing vp such places as were agreed vpon: of which the *Lacedemonians* could do neither the one nor the other. For such Townes as their old Allies had gotten by their meanes in the late war, could not be restored without their consent, which had them in present possession; and particularly the Towne of *Panale*, which the *Thebans* held, could by no meanes be obtained from them by the *Lacedemonians* (who earnestly desired it, that by restitution thereof vnto the *Athenians*, as earnestly demanding it, themselves might recouer *Pylus*) vnlesse that they would agree to make a priuate alliance with *Thebes*; which thereupon they were constrained to doe, though knowing it to be contrarie to the last agreement betweene them and *Athens*.

The *Lacedemonians* hauing broken one article of the league made betweene them and the *Athenians*, that by so doing they might enable themselves to the performance of another, were shamefully disappointed of their hopes by the *Thebans*, who did not giue vp the towne of *Panale*, till first they had vtterly demolished it, and made it of no worth to the

the *Athenians*. This was sought to haue bin excused by the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadors, who comming to *Athens* (vvhither they had sent home all prisoners that had bin detained at *Thebes*) hoping with gentle words to salue the matter; saying, That from henceforth no enemy to *Athens* should nestle in *Panætie*, for it was destroyed. But these Embassadors had not to deale vvith tame fooles. For the *Athenians* told them in plain termes, That of three priuate conditions agreed vpon in their late League, they had not performed any one, but vsed such base conclusion as stood nor vvith their honour: hauing made priuate alliance vvith the *Thebans*; hauing destroyed a Towne that they should haue restored; and not hauing forced their dependants by Warre, to make good the Couenants of the late concluded peace. Heereupon they dismissed the Embassadors vvith rough words, meaning vvith as rough deeds to anger those that sent them.

There were at that time, both in *Athens* and *Sparta*, many that were ill-contented with the peace: among whom were the *Ephori*, chosen for that yeare, in *Sparta*; and *Alcibiades*, a powerfull young Gentleman in *Athens*. But the *Ephori*, though desiring to renew the warre, yet wished that first they might get from the *Athenians* as much as was to be rendered to them by Couenant, especially *Pylus* that had so forcibly troubled them. *Alcibiades*, whose Nobilitie, riches, & fauour with the people, made him desire warre, as the meanes wherby himself might procure some honourable employment; vsed all meanes to set the quarrell on foot, whilst the *Athenians* had yet both advantage enough, as not having<sup>10</sup> rendered ought saue their prisoners, and pretence enough to vsit that advantage of breaking the peace, by reason that the *Lacedemonians* (though indeed against their wills) had broken all covenants with them. Now the State of *Athens* had fully determined to retain *Pylus*, and to performe nothing that the *Lacedemonians* should, and might require, vntill they had first, without any longer halting, fulfilled all articles whereto they were bound, euen to the vtmost point. This was enough to make them sweare, who having already done the most that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the deliue-  
ry of their Citizens, vvhich were prisoners. But *Alcibiades* vvhishing a speedy beginning of open warre, sent priuily to the *Argiues*, and gaue them to vnderstand how fitly the time serued for them to associate themselves with *Athens*, vvhich was enough to giue<sup>11</sup> them securitie against all Enemies.

The *Argives* vpon the first confluence of many Estates vnto their societie, had embraced great hopes of working wonders, as if they should haue had the conduct of all *Grec* against the *Athenians*, robbing *Sparta* of that honour, as hauing ill vfed it, and thereby leaving their old enemies in case of much contempt and difabilitie. But these suddain apprehensions of vaine ioy, were suddainly changed into as vaine feare; which ill agreed with the great opinion that had lately bin conceiued of *Argos*. For when the *Thebans* had refused their alliance, when the *Corinthians* had fought securitie from *Athens*; and when a false rumour was noyed abroad, *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, were cometo a full agreement vpon all points of difference; then began the *Argives* to let fall their crest, and sue for peace vnto the *Lacedemonians*, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their grauity, and were not ouer-hastie to accept it. At this time, and in this perturbation, the message of *Alcibiades* came very welcome to the *Argives*, which were not now consulting how to become the chiefe of all others, but how to saue themselves. Wherefore they lent away presently to *Athens*, their owne Embassadours, accompanied with the *Mantineans* and *Eleans*, to make a leaguer offensive, and defensive, between their Estates and the *Athenians*.

Of this businesse the *Lacedemonians* knew not what to thinke: for well they saw, that such a combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were desirous to prevent it, but to keepe the loue of the *Athenians*, the new *Ephori* thought that more was already done, than stood with their honour, or profit; others held it the wisest way, hauing done so much, not to stick vpon a little more, but rather by giuing full satisfaction, to retaine the friendship of that State, which was more to be valued than all the rest of *Greece*. This resolution preuailling, they sent away such of their Citizens as were best affected to the peace, who comming to *Athens*, with full commission to make an end of all controversies, did earnestly labour in the Councell-houle, to make the truth of things appeare, saying; that their Confederacie with the *Thebans* had tended to none other end than the recovery of *Panailæ*: concerning which Towne, or any other businesse; that it much grieued

used the Lacedæmonians, to see things fall out in such wise as might grieve to the Athenians cause of displeasure; but that all should be done which in reason might be required for making matters even between them; to which purpose they shewed that themselves had absolute commission. Wherefore they desired that Pylus might be restored to them, and especially for the present, that the negotiation with the Argiues might be called aside. Favourable audience was given to this proposition, the rather, because they which promised amends, had power to make their words good. But all this faire likelihood of good agreement was dashed on the fuddaine, by the practice of *Alcibiades*, who, secretly dealing with the Lacedæmonian Embassadors, perswaded them well of his friendship towards their city, & aduised them to take all care that their absolute power to conclude what they pleased in the name of Sparta, might not be knowne to the Commonalty of Athens, lest the insolent multitude should thereupon grow peremptory & yeeld to nothing, unless they could draw them to vnreasonable conditions. The Embassadors beleued him, & fashioned their tale in the assembly of the people, as he had aduised them. Hereupon the same *Alcibiades* taking presently the aduantage, which their double dealing afforded, inueighed openly against them, as men of no sincerity, that were comē to Athens for no other purpose, than to hinder the people from strengthening themselves with friends, meaning to draw the Argiues & their Adherents to their owne alliance, as (contrary to their owne Oath) already they had the Thebans. The people of Athens, whom a pleasing errand would very hardly haue satisfied, or brought into a good opinion of the Lacedæmonians, (whose honest meanings had so ill been seconded with good performance) were now so much incensed with the double dealing of the Embassadors, and the strong perswasions of *Alcibiades*, that little wanted of concluding the league with Argos. Yet for the present to farre did *Nicias*, an honourable Citizen, and great friend to the peace, preuaile with them, that the businesse was put off, vntill he himselfe, with other Embassadors, might fetch a better answer from Sparta.

It may also seeme a great wonder, how so poore a trick of *Alcibiades* was able to carry a matter of so great importance, when the Spartan Embassadors might haue cast the load vpon his owne shoulders, by discouering the truth: But the grauity which was usually found in the Lacedaemonians, hindered them (perhaps) from playing their game handfully against so nimble a wit; and they might well haue bene thought vntruly men, had they professed themselves such as would say and vn-say for their most aduantage.

*Nicias* and his Companions had a fowre message to deliuer at Sparta, being peremptorily to require performance of all conditions, and among the rest, that the Lacedæmonians should take the paines to rebuild Panactæ, and should immediately renounce their Alliance made with the Thebans; letting them vnderstand that otherwise the Athenians, without further delay, would enter into confederacy with the Argiues, and their adherents. The Ephori at Sparta had no minde to forsake the Thebans, assured friends to their State; but wrought so hard, that the anger of the Athenians was suffered to breake out what way it could, which to mitigate, they would doe no more, than only (at the request of *Nicias* their honourable friend, who would not seeme to haue effected nothing) sweare a new to keepe the Articles of the league between him and Athens. Immediately therefore vpon returne of the Embassadors, a new league was made between the Athenians, Argiues, Mantinæans, & Eleans, with very ample provision for holding the same common friends and enemies; wherein, though the Lacedæmonians were passed ouer with silence, yet was it manifest that the whole intent of this confederacy did bend it selfe chiefly against them, as in short while after was proved by effect.

At this time the Lacedæmonians were in ill case, who having restored all that they could unto the Athenians, and procured others to doe the like, had themselves recovered nothing of their owne (prisoners excepted) for default of restoring all that they should. But that which did most of all disfigure them, was the loss of reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late Warre by misfortunes, than in sundry passages betweene them and the Athenians: to procure and keepe whose Amity, they had left sundry of their old friends to lift for themselves. Contrariwise, the Athenians, by the treaty of peace, had recovered the most part of that which they lost in warre;

all their gettings they had retained; and were strengthened by the access of new Confederates.

## §. VII.

*How the peace betwene Athens and Sparta was ill kept, though not openly broken.*

**I**T was not long ere the Argives and their fellowes had found businesse wherwith to fertifie the Athenians on worke, and make vse of this coniunction. For, presuming vpon the strength of their side, they began to meddle with the Epidaurians, whom it concerned the State of Sparta to defend. So, many acts of hostility were committed, wherein Athens and Sparta did (as principals) infect each the other, but came in collaterally, as to the aide of their severall friends.

By these occasions the Corinthians, Boeotians, Phocians, Locrians, & other people of Greece, began a new to range themselves vnder the Lacedaemonians, & follow their ensignes. One victory which the Lacedaemonians obtained by their meere valour in a set battell, neer to Mantinea, against the Argive-side, helped well to repaire their decayed reputation, though otherwise it yeelded them no great profit. The ciuill dissension arising shortly after within Argos it selfe, betwene the principall Citizens and the Commons, had almost throwne downe the whole frame of the new combination. For the chiefe Citizens getting the vpper hand, made a league with Sparta, wherein they proceeded so faire as to renounce the amity of the Athenians in expresse words, and forced the Mantinians to the like. But in short space of time the multitude preuailling, reuered all this, and hauing chased away their ambitious Nobility, applied themselves to the Athenians as closely as before.

Beside these vprores in Peloponnesus, many affaies were made to raise vp troubles in all parts of Greece, & likewise in Macedon, to the Athenians; whose forces & readines for execution, prevented some things, reuenged other, and requited all with some prosperous attempts. Finally, the Athenians wanting matter of quarrell, & the Lacedaemonians growing weary, they began to be quiet, retaining still that enmity in their hearts, which they had sufficiently discovered in effects, though not yet breaking out into terms, of open Warre.

## §. VIII.

*The Athenians sending two Fleets to sacke Siracuse, are put to flight, and utterly dissipated.*

**D**Vring this intermission of open War, the Athenians re-entertained their hopes of subduing Sicill, whither they sent a Fleet so mighty as neuer was set forth by Greece in any Age before or after.

This Fleet was very well manned, & furnished with all necessaries to so great expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the factions in Athens, whence *Alcibiades* Author of that voyage, and one of the Generalls of their Fleet, was driuen to banish himselfe, for feare of such iudgement, as else he was like to haue vndergone, among the incensed people; partly by the inuasion which the Lacedaemonians made vpon Attica, whilst the forces of that State were so far from home. Hereunto was added the aide of the King of Persia, who supplied the Peloponnesians with money.

Neither was the successe of things in Sicilia such, as without help from Athens, could giue any likelihood of a good end in that warre. For although in the beginning, the enterprise had so well succeeded, that they besieged Siracuse, the chiefe City of all the Island, and one of the fairest Townes which the Greekes inhabited, obtaining the better in sundry battailes by Land and Sea; yet when the Towne was relieued with strong aide from Peloponnesus, it came to passe that the Athenians were put to the worke on all sides, in such wise that their Fleet was shut vp into the haven of Siracuse, and could not issue out.

As the Athenian affaies went very ill in Sicill, so did they at home stand vpon hard terms, for that the Lacedaemonians, who had bene formerly accustomed to make wearisome yearly iournies into Attica, which hauing pilld & forraged, they returned home, did

now

now by counsell of *Alcibiades*, (who seeking reuenge vpon his owne Citizens was fled vnto them) fortifie the Town of Declea, which was neere to Athens, whence they ceased not with daily excursions to harry all the Country round about, and sometimes giue alarme vnto the City it selfe. In these extremities, the peruerse obstinacy of the Athenians was very strange; who leauing at their backes, and at their owne doores, an enemy little lesse mighty than themselves, did yet send forth another Fleet into Sicill, to inuade a people no lesse puissant, which had neuer offended them.

It often happens, that prosperous euent makes foolish counsaile seem wiser than it was; which came to passe many times among the Athenians, whose vaine conceits *Pallas* was said to turne vnto the best. But where vnfound aduice, finding bad prooffe, is obstinately pursued, neither *Pallas* nor *Fortune* can be iustly blamed for a miserable issue. This second Fleet of the Athenians, which better might haue serued to conuey home the former that was defeated; after some attempts made to small purpose against the Siracusians, was finally (together with the other part of the Naue, which was there before) quite vanquished, & bard vp into the haven of Siracuse, whereby the camp of the Athenians, vtterly depriued of all benefit by Sea, either for succour or departure, was driuen to breake vp, and flye away by Land; in which flight they were ouer-taken, routed, and quite ouerthrowne, in such wise that scarce any man escaped.

This mischiefe wel deserved fell vpon the Athenians, who had wickedly condemned into exile *Sophocles* and *Pisiodorus* Generalls, formerly sent into that Ile, pretending that they had taken money for making peace in Sicill, whereas indeed there was not any means or possibility to haue made warre. Hereby it came to passe, that *Nicias*, who had the chiefe command in this vnhappy enterprise, did rather choose to hazzard the ruine of his Country by the losse of that Army, wherein consisted little lesse than all the power of Athens; than to aduenture his owne estate, his life, and his honour vpon the tongues of shamelesse accusers, and the sentence of Iudges before his triall resolu'd to condemne him, by retiring from Siracuse, when wisdom and necessity required it. For (said hee) *they had giue sentence vpon vs, who know not the reason of our doings, nor would giue care to any that would speake in our behalfe, but altogether hardened to suspicious and vaine rumors that shall be brought against vs; yea these our Souldiers who now are so desirous to returne in safety, will in our danger be well contented to frame their tales to the pleasure of the lewd and insolent multitude.*

This resolution of *Nicias* though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of an honest and valiant man to doe what reason willeth, not what opinion expecteth; & to measure honour or dishonour by the assurance of his well-informed conscience, rather than by the malicious report & censure of others) yet it may be excused, since he had before his eyes the iniustice of his people, and had well vnderstood that a wicked sentence is infinitely worse than a wicked fact, as being held a president and patterne whereby oppression beginning vpon one, is extended as warrantable vpon all. Therefore his feare of wrongfull condemnation was such, as a constant man could not easily haue over-mastered; but when afterwards the Army, hauing no other expectation of safety than the faint hope of a secret flight, he was so terrified with an Eclipse of the Moon, happening when they were about to dislodge, that he would not consent to haue the camp break vp till seuen and twenty daies were past. His timorousefnesse was cuen as foolish and ridiculous, as the issue of it was lamentable. For he should not haue thought that the power of the Heauens, & the course of Nature, would be as vniust as his Athenians, or might pretend lesse euill to the slothfull, than to such as did their best. Neither doe I thinke that any Astrologer can allege this Eclipse, as either a cause or prognostication of that Armes destruction, otherwise than as the folly of men did, by application, turne it to their owne confusion. Had *C. Cestius* the Roman, he, who slew *Iulius Caesar*, imitated this superstition of *Nicias*, he had surely found the same fortune in a case very like. But when, hee retrying, the broken remainder of *Craesus* his Army defeated by the Parthian Archers, was aduised, vpon such an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the Sunne were past the signe of *Scorpio*; he made answer that he stood not in such feare of *Scorpio*, as of *Sagittarius*. So aduenturing rather to abide the frowning of the Heauens, than the neerer danger of Enemies vpon earth, he made such a safe and honourable retreat, as did both shew his noble resolution, and giue a faire example to that good rule,



*Sapiens dominabitur astris.*

Thus we see that God, who ordinarily workes by a concatenation of meanes, deprives the Governours of vnderstanding, when he intends euill to the multitude; and that the wickednesse of vniust men is the ready meane to weaken the vertue of those who might haue done them good.

## S. IX.

*Of the troubles where-into the State of Athens fell, after the great losse of the Fleet, and Army, in Sicilia.*

**T**he losse of this Army was the ruine of the Athenian Dominion, and may be well accounted a very little lesse calamity to that Estate, than was the subuersion of the walls, when the City about seuen yeares after was taken by *Lysander*. For now began the subjects of the Athenian Estate to rebell, of whom, some they reduced vnder their obedience, others held out, some for feare of greater inconuenience were set at liberty, promising onely to be their good friends, as formerly they had been their Subjects; others hauing a kinde of liberty offered by the Athenians, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and perfect liberty by force. Among these troubles it fell out very vnseasonably, that the principall men of Athens being wearied with the peoples insolency, tooke vpon them to change the forme of that Estate, and bring the gouernment into the hands of a few. To which purpose conspiring with the Captains which were abroad, they caused them to set vp the forme of an Aristocratie in the Townes of their Confederates; and in the meane time, some that were most likely to withstand this inuolution, being slaine at Athens, the Commonalty were so dismayed, that none durst speake against the Conspirators, whose number they knew not, but every man was affraid of his neighbour, lest he should be a member of the league. In this generall feare the Maiesty of Athens was vsurped by foure hundred men, who obscuring in shew the ancient forme of proceeding, did cause all matters to be propounded vnto the people, and concluded vpon by the greater part of voices: but the things propounded were onely such as were first allowed in priuate among themselves; neither had the Commonalty any other liberty, than onely to approue and giue consent: for whosoeuer presumed any further, was quickly dispatched out of the way, and no inquiry made of the murther. By these meanes were many Decrees made, all tending to the establishment of this new Authority, which neuertheless endured not long. For the Fleet and Army which then was in the Isle of Samos, did altogether detest these dealings of the foure hundred vsurpers, and held them as Enemies; whereupon they reuoked *Alcibiades* out of banishment, and by his assistance procured that the supplies which the Persian King had promised to the Lacedæmonians, were by *Tissaphernes* his Lieutenant, made vnprofitable, through the slow and bad performance. *Alcibiades* had at the first bene very well entertained in Sparta, whilest his seruice done vnto that State was not growne to be the object of euill. But when it appeared that in Counsaile & good performance he so far excelled all the Lacedæmonians, that all their good successe was ascribed to his wit and valour, then were all the principall Citizens weary of his vertue, especially *Agis* one of their Kings, whose wife had so far yeelded herselfe to the loue of this Athenian, that among her inward friends she could not forbear to call her young child by his name. Hereupon order was taken, that *Alcibiades* should be killed out of the way. But he discovering the Spartan treachery, conueighed himself vnto *Tissaphernes*, whom he so bewitched with his great beauty, sweet conuersation, and sound wit, that he soone became the Master of that barbarous Vice-royes affections, and had free power to dispose the great Kings Treasures and Forces in those parts. Then began he to aduise *Tissaphernes*, not so far forth to assist the Lacedæmonians, that they should quite ouerthrow the State of Athens, but rather to helpe the weaker side, and let them one consume another, whereby all should fall at length into the hands of the Persian. By this counsaile he made way to other practises, wherein by strength of his reputation (as the onely Favourite of so great a Potentate) he played his owne game, procuring his restitution. At length his banishment being repealed by the Army, but not by the Citizens (who then were oppressed by the foure hundred) he laboured greatly to recon-

reconcile the Souldiers to the Governours; or at least to diuert their heat another way, and turne it vpon the common Enemy. Some of the foure hundred approoued his motion, as being weary of the tyranny wherof they were partakers, partly because they saw it could not long endure; and partly for that themselves, being lesse regarded by the rest of their companions, than stood with their good liking, sought to acquit themselves of it as honestly as they might. But the most of that Faction laboured to obtaine peace of the Lacedæmonians, desiring chiefly to maintain both their own authority & the greatness of their City, if they might; but if this could not be, they did rather wish to preserve their owne power, or safety at least, than the good Estate of the Common-wealth. Therefore they made sundry ouertures of peace to the Lacedæmonians, desiring to compound in as good termes as they might, and affirming that they were fitter to be trusted than the waivering multitude; especially considering that the City of Sparta was gouerned by an Aristocratie, to which form they had now reduced Athens. All these passages between the foure hundred (or the most and chiefe of them) and the Lacedæmonians, were kept as secret as might be. For the city of Athens, hoping, without any great cause, to repaire their losses, was not inclined to make composition, from which vpon iust ground the Enemy was much more averse, trusting well that the discord of the Athenians (not unknowne abroad) might yeeld some faire opportunity to the destruction of it selfe, which in effect (though not then presently) came to passe. And vpon this hope king *Agis* did sometimes bring his Forces from Decelea to Athens, where doing no good, he received some small losses. Likewise the Naue of Peloponnesus made shew of attempting the City, but seeing no likelihood of successe, they bent their course from thence to other places, where they obtained victories, which in the better Fortune of the Athenians might more lightly haue bin regarded, than in this their decayed estate. Yet it seemes, without any disparagement to their wisdom, they should rather haue forborne to present vnto the City, or to the Countries neere adioyning, any terror of the warre. For the dissension within the walls might soon haue done more good than could be received from the Fleet or Army without, which indeed gaue occasion to set the Citizens at vniuity, though it lasted not very long. The foure hundred, by means of these troubles, were faine to resigne their authority, which they could not now hold, when the people hauing taken armes to repell forraigne Enemies, would not lay them downe, till they had freed themselves from such as oppressed the State at home. Yet was not this alteration of gouernment a full restitution of the soveraign command vnto the people, or whole body of the City, but only to five thousand; which company the foure hundred (when their authority began) had pretended to take vnto them as assistants: herein seeming to do little wrong or none to the Commonalty, who seldome assembled in greater number. But now when the highest power was come indeed into the hands of so many, it was soon agreed that *Alcibiades* and his Companions should be recalled from exile, and that the Army at Samos should be requested to vndertake the gouernment: which was forthwith reformed according to the Souldiers desire.

## S. X.

*How Alcibiades wonne many important victories for the Athenians; was recalled from exile; made their Generall, and againe deposed.*

**T**his establishment of things in the City, was accompanied with some good successe in the Warres. For the Lacedæmonians were about the same time ouerthrown at Sea, in a great battell, by the Athenian Fleet, which had remained at Samos, to which *Alcibiades* afterwards ioyning such forces as he could raise, obtained many victories. Before the Towne of Abydos, his arriuall with eighteen ships, gaue the honour of a great battell to the Athenians; he ouerthrew and vtterly destroyed the Fleet of the Lacedæmonians, commanded by *Mindarus*; took the Towns of Cyzicus, and Perinthus, made the Selymbrians ransome their City, & fortified Chrysopolis. Hercupon letters were sent to Sparta, which the Athenians, intercepting, found to containe the distress of the Army, in these few words: *All is lost; Mindarus is slaine; the Souldiers want victuals; we know not what to doe.*

Shortly after this, *Alcibiades* ouerthrew the Lacedæmonians in fight by land at Chalcedon, took Selymbria, besieged & won Byzantium, now called Constantinople, which eu-

in those dayes was a goodly, rich, and very strong City. Hereupon he returned home with very great welcome, and was made high Admirall of all the Naue.

But this his honour continued not long; for it was taken from him, and he driuen to banish himselfe againe; onely because his Lieutenant, contrary to the expresse command of *Alciades*, fighting with the enemies in his absence, had lost a great part of the Fleet.

The second banishment of *Alciades* was to the Athenians more harmefull than the first; and the losse which thereupon they receiued, was (though more heauie to them, yet) lesse to be pittied of others, than that which ensued vpon his former exile. For whereas at the first, he had fought reuenge vpon his owne City; now, as insured to aduersity, he rather pittied their fury, who in time of such danger had cast out him that should haue repaired their weak estate, than fought by procuring or beholding the calamity of his people, to comfort himselfe after injury receiued. Before they, who were instituted in the place of *Alciades*, arrived at the Fleet, he presented battaile to *Lysander* the Lacedaemonian Admirall, who was not so confident vpon his former victory, as to vndertake *Alciades* himselfe, bringing ships more in number (notwithstanding the former losse of fifteen) than his enemies had, & better ordered than they had bin vnder his Lieutenant. But when the decree of the people was published in the Naue, then did *Alciades* with-draw himselfe to a Towne vpon Hellespont, called Bizanthe, where he had built a Castle.

## §. II.

*The battaile at Arginusæ, and condemnation of the victorious Athenian Captains by the people.*

**A**fter this time, the Athenians receiuing many losses and discomfitures, were driuen to flee into the Hauens of Mytelene, where they were streightly besieged both by Land and Sea. For the raising of this siege necessity enforced them to man all their Vessels, and to put the vttermost of their forces into the hazzard of one battaile. This battaile was fought at Arginusæ, where *Callicradidas*, Admirall of the Lacedaemonians, losing the honour of the day, preferred his own reputation by dying valiantly in the fight. It might well haue bene expected, that the ten Captaines, who ioyntly had command in chiefe ouer the Athenian fleet, should for that good daies seruice, and so happy a victory, haue receiued great honour of their Citizens. But contrariwise they were forthwith called home, & accused, as if wilfully they had suffered many of the Citizens, whose ships were broken & sunke, to be cast away, when by appointing some Vessels to take them vp, they might haue saued them from being drowned. Hereto the Captaines readily made a very iust answer, That they pursuing the victory, had left part of the fleet, vnder sufficient men, to saue those that were wrackt; which if it were not well accomplished, it was, because a tempest arising about the end of the fight, had hindered the performance of that, and other their intendments. This excuse auailed not: For a lewd fellow was brought forth, who said, That he himselfe escaping in a meale-tubbe, had been intreated by those who were in perill of drowning, to desire of the people reuenge of their deaths vpon the Captaines. It was very strange, that vpon such an accusation maintained with so slender euidence, men that had well deserved of their Country should be ouerthrowne. But their enemies had so incensed the small multitude, that no man durst absolve them, saue onely *Socrates* the wise and valiant Philosopher, whose voice in this iudgement was not regarded. Sixe of them were put to death, of whom one had hardly escaped drowning, and was with much adoerelieved by other vessels in the storme: but the Captaines which were absent escaped; for when the fury of the people was ouer-past, this iudgement was reuerfed, and the accusers called into question for hauing decieued and peruerfed the Citizens. Thus the Athenians went about to free themselves from the infamy of iniustice; but the diuine iustice was not a-sleep, nor would be so deluded.

## §. XII.

## §. XII.

*The battaile at Egos-Potamos, wherein the whole State of Athens was ruined; with the end of the Peloponnesian warre.*

**T**he Peloponnesian fleet vnder *Lysander*, the year next following, hauing scowred the Aegean Seas, entred Hellespont, where (landing Souldiers) it besieged & took the town of Lampacus. Hereupon all the naue of Athens, being an hundred & fourescore saile, made thither in haste, but finding Lampacus taken before their coming, they put in at Sestos, where hauing refreshed themselves, they sailed to the riuer called, *Egos-Potamos*, which is (as we might name it) *Goats-Brook*, or the riuer of the *Goats*; being on the Continent, opposite to Lampacus; and there they cast Anchors, not one whole league off from *Lysander*, who rode at Lampacus in the harbor. The next day after their arrival they presented fight vnto the Peloponnesians, who refused it, whereupon the Athenians returned again to *Egos-Potamos*; & thus they continued fve daies, brauing euery day the Enemy, & returning to their own harbour when it drew towards evening.

The Castle of *Alciades* was not far from the Naue, & his power in those places was such as might haue greatly auailed his Countreimen, if they could haue made vse of it. For he had waged Mercenaries, & making war in his own name vpon some people of the Thracians, had gathered much wealth, & obtained much reputation among them. He perceiving the disorderly course of the Athenian Commanders, repaired vnto them, & shewed what great inconuenience might grow, if they did not soon fore-see & preuent it. For they lay in a roade subiect to euery weather, neither neere enough to any Towne wherethey might furnish themselves with necessities, nor so farre off as had been more expedient. Sestos was the next Market-Towne; thither both Souldiers and Mariners resorted, flocking away from the Naue euery day, as soone as they were returned from brauing the Enemy. Therefore *Alciades* willed them either to lie at Sestos, which was not farre off, or at least to consider how neere their Enemy was, whose feare proceeded rather from obedience to their General, than from any cowardise. This admonition was so farre despised, that some of the Commanders willed him to meddle with his owne matters, & to remember that his authority was out of date. Had it not bin for these opprobrious words, he could (as he told his familiars) haue compelled the Lacedaemonians, either to fight vpon vnequall terms, or vterly to quit their Fleet. And like enough it was that he might so haue done by transporting the light-armed Thracians his Confederates, and others his Followers ouer the Streights, who assaulting the Peloponnesians by Land, would either haue compelled them to put to Sea, or else to leaue their ships to the mercy of the Athenians. But finding their acceptance of his good counsaile no better than hath bin rehearsed, he left them to their fortune, which how euill it would be he did prognosticate.

*Lysander* all this while defending himselfe by the aduantage of his Hauens, was not careless in looking into the demeanour of the Athenians. When they departed, his manner was to send forth some of his swiftest Vessels after them, who obseruing their doings, related vnto him what they had seene. Therefore vnderstanding in what careless fashion they roamed vp & down the Country; he kept all his men a-board after their departure, & the fifth day gaue especiall charge to his Scouts, That when they perceived the Athenians, disimbarcking, as their custome was, & walking towards Sestos, they should forthwith returne, and hang vp a brazen shield in the Prow, as a token for him to weigh Anchor.

The Scouts performed their charge, and *Lysander* being in a readinesse, made all speed that strength of Oares could giue, to *Egos-Potamos*, where he found very few of his enemies a-board their ships, not many neere them, and all in great confusion vpon the news of his approach.

Insomuch that the greatest industry which the Athenians then shewed, was in the escape of eight or nine ships, which knowing how much that losse imported, gaue ouer Athens as desperate, & made a long flight vnto the Ile of Cyprus; all the rest were taken, & such of the Souldiers as came in to the rescue cut in peeces. Thus was the war which had lasted seuen and twenty years, with variable successe concluded in one houre, & the glory of Athens in such wise eclipsed, that the neuer afterward shone in her perfect light.

Immediately vpon this victory *Lysander*, hauing taken such Townes as readily did

yeeld vpon the first fame of his exploit, set saile for Athens, and ioyning his forces with those of *Agis* & *Parfanias*, Kings of Sparta, summoned the City, which hindring too stubborn to yeeld, and too strong to be won on the sudden, he put forth againe to Sea, & rather by terrour than violence, compelling all the Ilands, and such Towns of the Ionians, as had formerly held of the Athenians, to submit themselves to Sparta, hee did thereby cut off all prouision of victuals, and other necessities, from the citie, & enforced the people by meere famine to yeeld to these conditions: That the long wals, leading from the Towne to the Port, should be throwne downe; That all Cities subiect to their Estate, should be set at liberty; That the Athenians should be Masters only of their own Territories, and the fields adioyning to their Town; And that they should keep no more than twelve Ships; That they should hold as Friends or Enemies, the same, whom the Lacedæmonians did, and follow the Lacedæmonians as Leaders in the Wars.

These Articles being agreed vpon, the wals were throwne down with great reioicing of those who had borne displeasure to Athens; & not without some consultation of destroying the City, and laying waste the Land about it. Which aduice, although it was not entertained, yet were thirty Governours, or rather cruell Tyrants, appointed ouer the people, who recompensed their former infoleny and iniustice ouer their Captaines, by oppressing them with all base and intolerable slavery.

The only small hope then remaining to the Athenians, was, that *Alcibiades* might perhaps repair what their owne folly had ruined. But the thirty Tyrants perceiving this, aduertised the Lacedæmonians thereof, who continued, and (as now domincing in every quarter) soon effected his suddaine death.

Such end had the Peloponnesian war. After which the Lacedæmonians abusing reputation, and great power, which therein they had obtained, grew very odious to Greece, & by Combination of many Cities against them, were dispossessed of their high authority, euen in that very Age, in which they had subdued Athens. The greatest foile that they took was of the Thebans, led by *Eparinondas*, vnder whom *Philip* of Macedon, father to *Alexander* the Great, had the best of his education. By these Thebans, the City of Sparta (besides other great losses receiued) was sundry times in danger of being taken. But these haughty attempts of the Thebans came finally to nothing; for the seuerall Estates & Signories of Greece, were grown so ialous one of anothers greatness, that the Lacedæmonians, Athenians, Argiues, & Thebans, which were the mightiest, associating themselves with the weaker party, did so counterpoize the stronger, that no one City could extend the limits of her iurisdiction so far as might make her terrible to her Neighbors. And thus all parts of the country remained rather euely ballanced, than well agreeing, till such time as *Philip*, and after him *Alexander*, Kings of Macedon, (whose forefathers had bin dependants, & followers, yea almost meere Vassals to the Estates of Athens and Sparta) found means, by making vse of their factions, to bring them all into seruitude, from which they neuer could be free, till the Romans presenting them with a shew of liberty, did themselves indeed become their Masters.

## CHAP. IX.

Of matters concurring with the Peloponnesian Warre, or shortly following it.

### S. I.

How the affaires of Persia stood in these times.



During the times of this Peloponnesian War, and those other lesse expeditions foregoing it, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, hauing peaceably enjoyed a long reigne ouer the Persians, left it by his death either to *Darius*, who was called *Darius Nothus*, or the Bastard, whom the Greeke Historians (lightly passing ouer *Xerxes* the second, and *Sogdianus*, as Vsurpers, and for their short reigne little to be regarded) place next vnto them, or to *Xerxes* the second; who, and his brother *Sogdianus* after him (seeming to haue bene the

the sons of *Hester*) held the Kingdome but one year betweene them, the younger succeeding his elder brother. It is not my purpose (as I haue said before) to pursue the History of the Persians from henceforth. by rehearfall of all the particulars, otherwise than as they shall be incident to the affaires of Greece. It may therefore suffice to say, That *Xerxes* the second, being a vicious Prince, did perish after a moneth or two, if not by surfeit, then by the treachery of his riotous brother *Sogdianus*. Likewise of *Sogdianus* it is found, that being as ill as his brother, and more cruell, he slew vniuissly *Bagoas* a principall Eunuch, & would haue done as much to his brother *Darius* the Bastard, had not he foreseen it, and by raising a stronger Army than this hated King *Sogdianus* could leaue, seized at once vpon the King and Kingdome. *Darius* hauing slaine his brother, held the Empire nineteene yeares. *Amptas* of Saïs an Egyptian rebelled against him, and hauing partly slaine, partly chased out of the Land the Persian Garrisons, allied himselfe so firmly with the Greeks, that by their aide he maintained the Kingdome, and deliuered it ouer to his posterity, who (notwithstanding the fury of their ciuill Warres) maintained it against the Persian, all the dayes of this *Darius*, and of his son *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. Likewise *Amorges*, a Subiect of his owne and of the Royall bloud, being Lieutenant of Caria, rebelled against him, confederating himselfe with the Athenians. But the great calamity, before spoken of, which fell vpon the Athenians in Sicily, hauing put new life into the Spartans, and giuen courage to the Ilanders & others, subiect to the State of Athens, to shake off the yoke of their long continued bondage: It fell out well for *Darius*, that the Lacedæmonians being destitute of mony, wherewith to defray the charge of a great Naue, without which it was impossible to aduance the war against the state of Athens, that remained powerful by sea, were driuen to craue his assistance, which he granted vnto them, first vpon what conditions best pleased himselfe, though after wards the Articles of the league betwene him and them were set downe in more precise tearmes; wherein it was concluded, That he and they should make warre ioynly vpon the Athenians, and vpon all that should rebell from either of them, and (which was highly to the Kings honour and profit) that all the Cities of Asia, which had formerly bene his, or his Predecessours, should returne to his obedience. By this Treaty, and the war ensuing (of which I haue already spoken) he recovered all that his Grand-father and Father had lost in Asia. Likewise by assistance of the Lacedæmonians, he got *Amorges* a-line into his hands; who was taken in the City of Ialys; the Athenians wanting either force or courage to succour him. Neuertheless Egypt still held out against him, the cause wherof cannot be the employment of the Persian forces on the parts of Greece: for he abounded in men, of whom he had enough for all occasions, but they wanted manhood, which caused him to fight with gold; which effected for him by Souldiers of other Nations, & his naturall enemies, what the valour of his own Subiects was insufficient to performe. *Darius* had in marriage *Parysatis* his owne sister, who bare vnto him (besides other children) *Artaxerxes* called *Mnemon*, that is to say, the Mindefull, or the Rememberer, who succeeded him in the Kingdome; & *Cyrus* the younger, a Prince of singular vertue, and accounted by all that knew him, the most excellent man that euer Persia bred after *Cyrus* the Great. But the old King *Darius*, intending to leaue vnto his elder sonne *Artaxerxes* the inheritance of that great Empire, did cast a ialous eye vpon the doings of yong *Cyrus*, who being Lieutenant of the lower Asia, tooke more vpon him than befit a Subiect: for which cause his father sent for him, with intent to haue taken some very sharpe course with him, had not his owne death preuented the coming of his younger sonne, and placed the elder in his Throne. Of the warre betweene these brethren, and summarily of *Artaxerxes*, we shall haue occasion to speake somewhat in more conuenient place.

### S. II.

How the thirty Tyrants got their Dominion in Athens.

I Hold it in this place very conuenient to shew the proceedings of the Greeks, after the subuersion of the wals of Athens, which gaue end to that warre called the Peloponnesian warre, but could not free the vnhappy Country of Greece from ciuill broiles. The thirty Governours, commonly called the thirty Tyrants of Athens, were chosen the first by the people to compile a body of their Law, & make a collection of such

such ancient Statutes, as were meet to be put in practice: the condition of the City standing as it did in that so sodaine alteration. To this charge was annexed the supreme authority, either as a recompence of their labours, or because the necessity of the times did so require it, wherein the Law being vncertain, it was fit that such men should giue iudgement in particular causes, to whose iudgement the Lawes themselves, by which the City was to be ordered, were become subiect. But these thirty, hauing so great power in their hands, were more carefull to hold it, than to deferue it, by faithfull execution of that which was committed to them in trust.

Therefore apprehending such troublesome fellowes, as were odious to the City, though not punishable therefore by law, they condemned them to death; which proceeding was by all men highly approued, who considered their lewd conditions, but did not withall bethinke themselves, how easie a thing it would be vnto these thirty men, to take away the liues of Innocents, by calling them perturburs of the peace, or what else they listed, when condemnation without true trial and proofe had beene once well allowed. Hauing thus plausibly entred into a wicked course of government, they thought it best to fortifie themselves with a sure guard, ere they brake out into those disorders, which they must needs commit for the establishing of their authority. Wherefore dispatching two of their own company to Sparta, they informed the Lacedaemonians, that it was the full intent of the thirty, to keep the City free from all rebellious motions: to which purpose it behooued them to cut off such as were seditious; and therefore desired the Lacedaemonians to send them a Garrison, which they promised at their own cost to maintaine. This motion was well approued, and a Guard sent, the Captaine of which was so well entertained by the thirty, that none of their misdeeds could want his high commendations at Sparta. Hereupon the Tyrants began to take heart, and looking no more after base and detested persons, invaded the principall men of the City, sending armed men from House to House, who drew out such as were of great reputation, and likely, or able to make any head against this wicked forme of government: whereby there was such effusion of blood, as to *Theramenes* (one of the thirty) seemed very horrible, and vnable to escape vengeance. His dislike of their proceedings being openly couched, caused his fellowes to bethinke themselves, and prouide for their own security, and his destruction, lest he should make himselfe a Captaine of the discontented (which were almost the whole City) and redeeme his owne peace with their ruine. Wherefore they selected three thousand of the Citizens, whom they thought meetest, and giue vnto them some part of publike authority, the rest they disarmed; and hauing thus increased their owne strength, and weakened their opposites, they began a-fresh to shed the blood, not onely of their priuate enemies, but of such whose money, or goods, might enrich them, and enable them for the payment of their guard. And to this purpose they concluded, that euery one of them should name one man, vpon whose goods he should feize, putting the owner to death. But when *Theramenes* vttered his detestation of so wicked intent, then did *Critias*, who of all the thirty was most tyrannicall, accuse him to the Councell, as a treacherous man, and (whereas one maine priuiledge of the three thousand was, that none of them should suffer death at the appointment of the thirty, but haue the accustomed trial) he took vpon him to strike out of that number the name of *Theramenes*, and so reduced him vnder the triall and sentence of that order. It was well alleaged by *Theramenes*, that his name was not more easie to be blotted out of the Catalogue, than any other mans; vpon which consideration, he aduised them all to conceiue no otherwise of his case, than as of their owne, who were liable to the same forme of proceeding: but euery man choosing rather to preferre his owne life by silence, than presently to draw vpon himselfe the danger, which as yet concerned him little, and perhaps would neuer come neer him; the Tyrants interpreting silence as consent, condemned him forthwith, and compelled him to drinke poison.

## S. III.

The conspiracy against the thirty Tyrants, and their deposing.

After the death of *Theramenes*, the thirty began to vse such outrage, as excelled their former villanies. For, hauing three thousand (as they thought) firme vnto them, they robbed all others without feare or shame, despoiling them of lands and

and goods, & caused them to flie into banishment, for safeguard of their liues. This flight of the Citizens procured their liberty, & the generall good of the City. For the banished Citizens, who were fled to Thebes, entred into consulation, & resolved to hazzard their liues in setting free the City of Athens. They very thought of such a practice had bin treason at home, which had no other danger abroad, than might be found in the execution. Seventy men, or thereabout, were the first vndertakers, who with their Captaine *Thrasybulus* took Phyla, a place of strength in the Territory of Athens. No sooner did the thirty heare of their exploit, than seek means to prevent further danger, assembling the three thousand, and their Lacedaemonian guard, with which force they attempted Phyla, but were with some losse of their men repelled. Finding the place too strong to be taken by assault, they intended to besiege it; which purpose came to nought by means of snow that fell, and other stormy weather, against which they had not made prouision. Retiring therefore to the City, which about all they were to make good, they left the most of their guard, and two companies of Horse, to weary out them which lay in Phyla, with a flying siege. But it was not long ere the followers of *Thrasybulus* were increased from seventy to seuen hundred, which aduentured to giue charge vpon those guards, of whom they cut off about an hundred and twenty. These small, but prosperous beginnings, added more to the number of those in Phyla, who now with a thousand men got entrance into Piræus, the suburbe of Athens, lying on the Port. Before their comming the thirty had resolved to fortifie the Towne of Eleusine, to their owne vse, whereinto they might make an easie retreat, and saue themselves from any sudden perill. It may well seeme strange, that whereas their barbarous manner of government had brought them into such danger, they were so far from seeking to obtaine mens good will, that contrariwise, to assure themselves of Eleusine, they got all of the place who could beare armes into their hands by a traine, & wickedly (though vnder forme of iustice) murdered them all. But, *Sedebus tutum per scelera eliter*, the mischiefs which they had already done were such, as left them no hope of going backward, nor any other apparant likelihood of safety, than by extending their cruelty vnto all, seeing few or none were left, whom they could trust. When *Thrasybulus* and his fellowes, who as yet were teamed conspirators, had taken the Piræus, then were the three thousand armed againe by the Tyrants, & brought to assault it; but in this enterprise *Thrasybulus* had the better, & repelled his enemies, of whom although there were slain to the number of seventy only, yet the victory seemed the greater, because *Critias*, and one other of the thirty, perished in that fight. The death of *Critias*, & the stout defence of Piræus, together with some exhortations vsed by *Thrasybulus* to the Citizens, wrought such effect, that the thirty were deposted. Neuertheless there were so many of the three thousand, who hauing communicated with the thirty in their misdeeds, feared to be called to a sharpe account, that no peace, nor quiet form of government could be established. For Embassadors were sent to Sparta, who craving aide against *Thrasybulus*, & his followers, had fauourable audience, & a power sent to their assistance, both by Land & Sea, vnder the conduct of *Lysander*, & his Brother; whom *Pausanias* the Spartan King did follow, raising an Army of the Cities confederate with the Lacedaemonians. And here appeared first the ieaousie, wherein some people held the State of Sparta. The Bœotians and Corinthians, who in the late wars had bin the most bitter enemies to Athens, refused to follow *Pausanias* in this expedition; alleging that it stood not with their oathes, to make war against that people, who had not hitherto broken any one article of the league: but fearing indeed, lest the Lacedaemonians should annexe the Territory of Athens to their own Demains. It is not to be doubted, that *Pausanias* took this answer in good part. For it was not his purpose to destroy those against whom he went, but only to crosse the proceedings of *Lysander*, whom he enuied. Therefore hauing in some small skirmishes against them of *Thrasybulus* his party, made a shew of war, finally wrought such means, that all things were compounded quietly: the thirty men, & such others, as were like to giue cause of tumults, being sent to Sparta. The remainder of that tyrannicall faction, hauing withdrawn themselves to Eleusine, were shortly after found to attempt some inuouation; whereupon the whole City rising against them, took their Captains, as they were comming to Parlic, and slew them: which done, to auoid further inuouation, a law was made, that all iniuries past should be forgotten, and no man called into question for wrongs committed. By which order, wisely made, and carefully obserued, the City returned to her former quietnesse.

## CHAP. X.

Of the expedition of Cyrus the younger.

## §. I.

The grounds of Cyrus his attempt against his brother.



HE matters of Greece standing vpon such termes, that no one <sup>11</sup> Estate durst oppose it selfe against that of Lacedæmon; young *Cyrus*, brother to *Artaxerxes*, King of Persia, hauing in his fathers life time very carefully prosecuted the Warre against *Athens*, did send his messengers to Sparta, requesting that their loue might appeare no lesse to him, than that which hee had shewed towards them in their dangerous war against the Athenians. To this request, being generally, the Lacedæmonians gave a sum-  
table answer, commanding their Admirall to performe vnto *Cyrus* all seruice that he should require of him. If *Cyrus* had plainly discovered himselfe, & the Lacedæmonians bent their whole power to his assistance, very like it is, that either the Kingdome of Per-<sup>12</sup> sia should haue been the recompence of his deserts; or that he perishing in battaile, as af-  
ter he did, the subuersion of that Empire had forthwith ensued. But it pleased God, rather to shew vnto the Greeks the wayes, which vnder the Macedonian Ensignes, the vi-  
storious foot-steps of their posterity should measure; & opening vnto them the riches, and withall the weaknesse of the Persian, to kindle in them both desire and hope of that  
Conquest, which he referred to another generation; than to giue into their hands that  
mighty Kingdome, whose houre was not yet come. The loue which *Parysatis* the Queen-  
Mother of Persia bare vnto *Cyrus* her younger son, being seconded by the earnest fauour  
of the people, & ready desires of many principall men, had moued this young Prince, in  
his fathers old age, to aspire after the succession. But being sent for by his Father (as hath  
before bin shewed) whose meaning was to curbe this ambitious youth; he found his el-  
der brother *Artaxerxes* established so surely by the old Kings fauour, that it were not safe  
to attempt any means of displanting him, by whose disfaour himselfe might easily lose  
the place of a Vice-roy, which he held in Asia the lesse, & hardly be able to maintaine his  
owne life. The nearest neighbour to *Cyrus* of all the Kings Deputies in the lower Asia,  
was *Tissaphernes*, a man compounded of cowardise, treachery, craft, & all vices which ac-  
customably branch out of these. This man accompanied *Cyrus* to his Father, vsing by the  
way all faire shewes of friendship, as to a Prince, for whom it might wel be thought that  
Queene *Parysatis* had obtained the inheritance of that mighty Empire. And it was very  
true, that *Parysatis* had vsed the best of her endeavour to that purpose, alleading that  
(which in former ages had bin much auailable to *Xerxes*, in the like disceparation with his  
elder brother) *Artaxerxes* was born whilst his father was a priuate man, but *Cyrus*, when  
he was a crowned King. All which not sufficing; when the most that could be obtained  
for *Cyrus*, was the pardon of some presumptuous demeanour, and confirmation of his  
place in Lydia, and the parts adioyning: then did this *Tissaphernes* discover his nature,  
and accuse his friend *Cyrus* to the new King *Artaxerxes*, of a dangerous treason intended  
against his person. Vpon this accusation, whether true or false, very easily beleued, *Cy-  
rus* was arrested, and by the most vehement intreaty of his Mother very hardly deliue-  
red, and sent backe into his owne Prouince.

## §. II.

The preparations of Cyrus, and his first entry into the warre.

THE forme of gouernment which the Persian Lieutenants vsed in their severall  
Prouinces, was in many points almost Regall. For they made War and Peace,  
as they thought it meet, not onely for the Kings behoofe, but for their owne  
reputation; vially indeede with the Kings enemies, yet sometimes one with an-  
other: which was the more easily tolerated, because their owne heads were held onely  
at

at the Kings pleasure, which caused them to frame all their doings to his wil, whatsoeuer  
it were, or they could coniecture it to be. *Cyrus* therefore being settled in *Lydia*, began to  
consider with himselfe, the interest that he had in the Kingdome; the small assurance of  
his brothers loue, held only by his Mothers intercession; the disgrace endured by his late  
imprisonment; and the meanes which he had by loue of his own people, and that good  
neighbourhood of the Lacedæmonians, whom he had bound vnto him, to obtaine the  
Crown for himselfe. Neither was it expedient that he should long sit idle, as wait-  
ing till occasion should present it selfe: but rather enterprize somewhat whilst yet his  
Mother lived, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no  
more than only questionable. Hereupon he first began to quarrell with *Tissaphernes*,  
and seized vpon many Townes of his iurisdiction, annexing them to his own Prouince;  
which displeased not *Artaxerxes* at all, who (besides that he was of condition somewhat  
simple being truly paid by *Cyrus* the accustomed Tributes out of those places, vvas  
well contented to see his brothers hot spirit exercised in priuate quarrels. But *Tissapher-  
nes*, whose base conditions were hated, & cowardize despised, although he durst not ad-  
uenture to take armes against *Cyrus*, yet perceiuing that the *Milesians* were about to giue  
vp themselves into the hands of that young Prince, as many other townes of the *Io-  
nians* had done, thought by terrour to preferue his reputation, and keepe the towne in  
his own hands. Wherefore he slew many, and many he banished, who flying to *Cyrus*,  
were gently entertained, as bringing faire occasion to take armes, vvhich vvas no small  
part of his desire. In leuying Souldiers he vsed great policie; for he tooke not only the  
men of his own Prouince, or of the Countries adioyning, whose liues were ready at his  
will; but secretly he furnished some *Grecian* Captaines with money, who being very  
good men of war, entertained Souldiers therewith, some of them warring in *Thrace*,  
others in *Thessalie*, others elsewhere in *Greece*; but all of them ready to crosse the Seas,  
at the first call of *Cyrus*, til which time they had secret instructions to prolong their seueral  
warres, that the Souldiers might be held in continuall exercise, and ready in armes  
vpon the sudden. *Cyrus* hauing sent a power of men to besiege *Miletus*, forthwith sum-  
moned these bands of the *Greekes*, who very readily cameouer to his assistance, being  
thirteen thousand very firme Souldiers, and able to make head (which is almost incre-  
dible) against the whole power of *Artaxerxes*. With this Armie, and that which he had  
leued before, he could very easily haue forced *Miletus*, and chased away *Tissaphernes*  
out of Asia the lesse: but his purpose was not so to lose time in small matters, that was  
to be employed in the accomplishment of higher designs. Pretending therefore that  
the *Pisidians*, a people of Asia the lesse, not subiect to the Persian, had invaded his Ter-  
ritorie, he raised the siege of *Miletus*, and with all speed marched Eastward, leauing  
*Tissaphernes* much amazed, vvhich had no leisure to reioyce that *Cyrus* had left him to him-  
selfe, when he considered, that so great an Army, and so strong, was neuer leued against  
the Roiers of *Pisidia*, but rather against the great King his Master. For which cause ta-  
king a band of fise hundred horse, he posted away to carry tidings to the Court of this  
great preparation.

## §. III.

How Cyrus took his iourney into the higher Asia, and came vp close to his Brother.

THE tumult which his coming brought was very great, and great the exclamati-  
ons of the Queene *Statira*, against *Parysatis*, the Queen-Mother, whom she called  
the Author and occasioner of the war. But whilst the King in great feare was ar-  
ming the high Countries in his defence, the danger hastened vpon him very fast. For *Cyrus*  
made great marches, hauing his number much increased, by the repaire of his Countri-  
men, though most strengthened by the access of seven hundred *Greeks*, & of other four  
hundred of the same Nation, who revolted vnto him from the King. How terrible the  
*Greeks* were to the *Barbarians*, he found by triall in a Muster, which (to please the Queene  
of *Cilicia*, who had brought him aide) he made in *Phrygia*, where the *Greeks* by his directi-  
on making offer of a charge vpon the rest of his Armie, which contained a hundred thou-  
sand men, the whole Campe (not perceiuing that this was but a bravery) fled a maine, the  
victuals and baggagers forsaking their cabbins, and running all away for very feare.  
This was to *Cyrus* a ioyfull spectacle, who knew very well, that his brother was followed  
by

by men of the same temper, and the more vnlikely to make resistance, because they were preist to the warre against their will & dispositions, vvh whereas his Armie vvas drawne along by meere affection and good will. Neuerthelesse he found it a very hard matter to perswade the *Greekes* to passe the Riuer of *Euphrates*. For the very length of the vvvay vvhich they had troden, wearied them with the conceit of the tedious returne. Therefore he vvas driuen, being yet in *Cilicia*, to seeke excuses, telling them, that *Abrocomas*, one of the Kings principall Captaines, & his own great enemy, lay by the Riuer, against whom he requested them to assist him. By such deuices, and excessive promise of reward, he brought them to *Euphrates*, vvh where some of the *Greekes* considering, That who so passed the Riuer first, should haue the most thanks, and might safely returne if the rest should refuse to follow them; they entred the Foords, vvh whereby vvere all finally perswaded to do as some had begun; and being allured by great hopes, they resolved to seeke out *Artaxerxes*, vvh where he vvas to be found. The King in the meane time hauing raised an armie of nine hundred thousand men, vvas not so confident vpon this huge multitude, as to aduenture them in triall of a plaine battaile. *Abrocomas*, who with three hundred thousand men, had vnder-taken to make good the Streights of *Syria*, vvh where vvere very narrow, and fortified with a strong vvall, and other defences of nature, and art, which made the place to seeme impregnable, had quitted the passage, and retired himself toward the kings forces, not daring to looke *Cyrus* in the face, who despairing to finde any vvvay by Land, had procured the *Lacedemonian* fleet, by the benefit vvh whereof to haue transported his Armie. I do not finde that this cowardly of *Abrocomas*, or of his Souldiers, who arrived not at the Campe, till five dayes vvere past after the battaile, receiued either punishment, or disgrace, for they, toward vvhom he vvvith-drew himselfe, vvere all made of the same metall.

Therefore *Artaxerxes* vvas vpon the point of retiring to the vttermost bounds of his kingdome, vntill by *Teribazus*, one of his Captaines, he vvas perswaded not to abandon so many goodly Prouinces to the Enemy, vvh who vould thereby haue gathered addition of strength, and (vvh where in the sharpe disputation of Title to a kingdome is most auailable) would haue grown superior in reputation. By such aduice, the king resolved vpon meeting with his brother, who now began to be secure, being fully perswaded that *Artaxerxes* would neuer dare to abide him in the field. For the king hauing call vva a Trench of almost fortie miles in length, about thirtie foot broad, and eigheteen foot deepe, intended there to haue encamped; but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing so safe, as to be farre distant from his enemies.

## §. IIII.

## The battaile betwene Cyrus and Artaxerxes.

The Armie of *Cyrus* hauing overcome many difficulties of euill vvayes, and scarcity of victuals, vvas much encouraged by perceiuing this great feare of *Artaxerxes*; and being past this trench, marched carelesly in great disorder, hauing bestowed their Armes in Carts, and vpon Beasts of carriage, vvh when on the sudden one of their Vauit-currors, brought newes of the kings approach. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themselves, & had ranged their battailes in good order vpon the side of the Riuer *Euphrates*, where they waited for the coming of their enemies, whom they saw not till it was after-noon. But when they saw the cloud of dust raised by the feete of that huge multitude, which the king drew after him, and perceiued by their neere approach how well they were marshalled, coming on very orderly in silence, whereas it had bin expected, that rushing violently with loud clamours, they should haue spent all their force vpon the first brunt; and when it appeared that the fronts of the two Armies were so vnequall in distent, being all embattailed in one body and square, that *Cyrus* taking his place (as was the *Persian* manner) in the midst of his own, did not with the corner, and vvmost point thereof, reach to the halfe breadth of *Artaxerxes* his battaile, who carried a front proportionable to his number, exceeding nine times that of *Cyrus*; then did the *Greekes* begin to distrust their own manhood, which was not accustomed to make proofe of it selfe, vpon such excessive oddes. It was almost incredible, that so great an Armie should be so easily chased. Neuerthelesse, it quickly appeared, that these *Persians*, hauing learned (contrary to their custome) to giue charge vpon their

their enemies with silence, had not learned for it was contrary to their nature, to receive a strong charge with courage. Vpon the very first offer of on-set, made by the *Greekes*, all that beastly rabble of cowards fled aaine, without abiding the stroke, or staying till they were within reach of a Dart. The Chariots armed with hookes and fithes (whereof *Artaxerxes* had two hundred, and *Cyrus* not twenty) did small hurt that day, because the quivers of them leaping downe, fled away on foot. This base demeanour of his enemies gaue so much confidence to *Cyrus*, and his Followers, that such as were about him forth-with adored him as King. And certainly, the Title had bin assured vnto him, than they had not he sought how to declare himselfe worthy of it, ere yet he had obtained it. For, perceiuing that *Artaxerxes*, who found that part of the field which lay before him void, was about to encompass the *Greekes*, and to set vpon them in the reare, he advanced with sixe hundred Horse, and gaue so valiant a charge vpon a Squadron of *Spartans*, which lay before the King, that he brake it, slaying the Capitaine thereof *Arctonius*, with his own hands, and putting all the rest to flight. Hettupon his whole company of sixe hundred, very few excepted, began to follow the chace, leaving *Cyrus* too ill attended, who perceiuing where the King stood in troupe, vncertaine whether to fight, or leave the field; could not containe himselfe, but said; *I see the man*; and presently with a small handfull of men about him ran vpon his brother, whom he strake through the Curace, and wounded in the breast. Hauing given this stroke, which was his last, he receiued immediately the full blow, which gaue period at once to his ambition and life; being wounded vnder the eye with a dart, throwne by a base fellow, whereupon he fell dead from his horse, or so hurt, that it was vnpossible to haue recovered him, though all which were with him, did their best for his rescue; not caring afterwards for their own liues, when once they perceiued that *Cyrus* their Master was slain. *Artaxerxes* caused the head and right hand of his brother to be forthwith stricken off, and shewed to his people; who now pursuing them, fled apace, calling vpon the name of *Cyrus*, and desiring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had broken new courage into the Kings troups, and vnto the dismayed *Persian* Captaines were now, euen in their owne eyes, no better than rebels; it was not long ere the Campe of *Cyrus* was taken, being quite abandoned, from whence *Artaxerxes* making all speede, arrived quickly at the quarter of the *Greekes*, which was about three miles from the place where *Cyrus* fell. There he met with *Tissaphernes*, who hauing made way through the battaile of the *Greekes*, was ready now to ioyne vvvith his Master in spoiling their Tents. Had not the newes, which *Artaxerxes* brought with him of his brothers death, bin sufficient to countervaille all disasters receiued, the exploit of *Tissaphernes* in breaking through the *Greekes* would haue yielded little comfort. For *Tissaphernes* had not slaine any one man of the *Greekes*, but contrariwise, when he gaue vpon them, they opening their battaile, draue him with great slaughter through them, in such wise, that he rather escaped as out of an hard passage, than forced his way through the Squadron of the *Greekes*. Hereof the King being informed by him, and that the *Greekes* as Masters of the field gaue chace to all that came in their sight, they ranged their Companies into good order, and followed after these *Greekes*, intending to set vpon them in the reare. But these good Souldiers perceiuing the Kings approach, turned their faces and made head against him; who not intending to seeke honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled; being pursued vnto a certaine Village, that lay vnder a Hill on the top whereof he made a stand, rather in a brauery, than with purpose to stand vpon these bold fellows any further. For he knew well that his brothers death had soured his estate, vvh where he vould seeme to haue slaine with his owne hand, thinking that fact alone sufficient to giue reputation to his valour; and this reputation he thought that he might now preserve well enough, shewing a manly looke, halfe a mile off. On the top of this Hill therefore he advanced his Standard, a golden Eagle displayed on the top of a Speare. This ensigne might haue encouraged his people, had not some of the *Greekes* espied it, who not meaning that he should abide so neere them, with all their power marched toward him. The King discovering their approach, fled vpon the spur, so that none remained in the place of battaile, save onely the *Greeke*, who had lost that day not one man, nor taken any other harme, than that one of them was hurt with an arrow. Much they wondered that they heard no newes of *Cyrus*; but thinking that he was pursuing the Armie, they thought it was fittest for them, hauing



having that day done enough, to returne to their quarter, and take their Supper, to which they had good appetite, because the expectation of the Kings coming had given them no leisure to dine.

*The hard estate of the Greekes after the fight, and how Artaxerxes theaine sought to have made their fields void.*

**I**T was now about the setting of the Sunne, and they bringing home darke night with them, found their Campe spoiled, little or nothing being left that might serve for food: so that wanting victuals to satiate their hunger, they refreshed their weary bodies with sleep. In the meane season Artaxerxes returning to his Campe, which he entered by Torch light, could not enjoy the pleasure of his good fortune, because he perceived that the baseness of his people, & weakenesse of his Empire, was now plainly discovered to the Greekes: which gave him assurance, that if any of them who had beheld the shameful demeanor of his Armie, should live to carry tidings home, it would not be long, ere with greater forces they disputed with him: for his whole indignity, wherefore he resolved to try all means, whereby he might bring them to destruction, and not let one escape to carry tidings of that which he had done: to which purpose he sent them a braue message the next morning, Charging them to deliver up their Armes, and come to his Gates, to awaite there vpon his Mercie. It seemed that he was in good hope to have found their high courages broken, vpon report of his brother's death: but he was greatly deceived in that thought. For the Greekes being advertised the morning from Ariana, a principall Commander vnder Cyrus, that his Master being slain, he had retired himselfe to the place of their last encamping, about eight miles from thence, whence intending to returne into Ionia, his meaning was to dislodge the next day, waiting for them so long if they would ioyne with him, but resolving to stay no longer: they sent answer backe to Ariana, that having beaten the King out of the field, and doing none that durst resist them, they would place Ariana himselfe in the Kings Throne, if he would ioyne with them, and pursue the victory. Before they received any reply to this answer, the Messengers of Artaxerxes arrived at the Campe, with false errands, offered to the Captaines very insolent: One told them, that it was not for the Vanquishers to yeelde their Weapons; another, that he would dye ere he yeelded to such a motion; a third asked, whether the king, as having the victory, required their Weapons; if so, why did he not fetch them? or whether he desired them in way of friendship, for then would they first know, with what courteous he meant to requise their kindnesse. To this question Phalimus a Graecian, waiting vpon Tissaphernes, answered; That the king having slaine Cyrus, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdom, in the midst whereof he held them fast enclosed with great Riuers, being able to bring against them such numbers of men, as they wanted strength to kill if they would hold vp their throats, for which cause he accounted them his prisoners. These words, rather, who knew themselves to be free, were nothing pleasant. Therefore, one told Phalimus that having nothing left but their Armes and Valour, whilst they kept their Armes, their Valour would be seruiciable; but should they yeelde them, it was to be doubted, that their bodies would not long remaine their owne. Hereat Phalimus laughed, saying, This young man did seeme a Philosopher, and made a pretty speech; but that his deep speculation shewed his wits to be very shallow, if he thought with his Armes and Valour, to preuaile against the great King. It seemed that Phalimus, being a Courtier, and employed in a businesse of importance, thought himselfe too profound a States-man, to be cheit in his Embassage by a bookish disputer. But his wisdom here in failed him. For whatsoeuer he himselfe was of whom no more is knowne, than that he brought an vnpleasant message to his own Countreymen, perswading them basely to surrender their Weapons, and Lives, to the mercilesse Artaxerxes: this young Scholler by him despised, was that great Xenophon, who, when all the principall Commanders were surprisid by treachery of the Persians, being a private Gentleman, and having neuer seen the warre before, vnder-tooke the conduct of the Armie, which he brought safe into Greece, being free from all those, and from greater dangers, than Phalimus could propound. Some there were who promised to be faithfull to the King, as they had bin to Cyrus, offering

their seruice in Egypt, where they thought Artaxerxes might haue vse of them. But the small answer was, That without Weapons they could neither doe the king good, as Friends, nor defend themselves from him as Enemies. Hereupon Phalimus delivered the Kings further pleasure, which was to grant them Truce; whilst they abode where they then were, denouncing War if they stirred thence; Whereunto he required their answer. Clearchus the General told him, they liked it. How (saith Phalimus) must I vnderstand you? As choosing peace if we stay, or otherwise warre, said Clearchus. But whether warre or peace; quoth this politike Embassadour: To whom Clearchus (not willing to acquaint him with their purpose,) Let our doings tell you; and so dismissed him, no wiser than he came. All that day the Greekes were faine to feed vpon their Horses, Asles, and other Beasts, which they rosted with arrowes, darts, and wooden targets, throwne away by the Enemies.

## S. V. I.

*How the Greekes began to returne home-wards.*

**A**T night they tooke their way towards Ariana, to whom they came at mid-night, being forsaken by foure hundred foot, and forty horse, all Thracians, who fled quer to the King, by whom how they were entertained, I do not find. Like enough it is that they were cut in peeces; for had they bin kindly vsed, it may well be thought that some of them should haue accompanied Tissaphernes, and serued as Statists to draw in the rest. Ariana being of too base a temper, and birth, to thinke vpon seeking the kingdom for himselfe, with such assistance as might haue given it vnto Cyrus, was very well pleased to make couenant with them for mutual assistance vnto the last: Whereunto both parts hauing sworne, he aduised them to take another way homeward, which should be somewhat longer, yet safer and siter to relieue them with victuals, than that by which they came. The next day, hauing made a wearisome march, & tyred the Souldiers, they found the Kings Armie which had coasted them, lodged in certain Villages, where they purposed themselves to haue encamped: towards which Clearchus made difficult, because he would not seeme by declining them to shew feare, or weakenesse. That the Kings men were contented to remoue, and giue place to their betters, it cannot be strange to any that hath considered their former behauiour; Nor strange, that the Graecians, being weary and hungry, and lying among enemies in an vnknown Country, should be very fearefull: but it is almost past belief, that the noise which was heard of these poore men, calling one to another tumultuously, as the present condition inforced them to do, should make the Persians flie out of their Campe, and so affright the great King, that in stead of demanding their Armes, he should craue peace of them. The next day verily came messengers from Artaxerxes, desiring free access for Embassadours, to entreat of peace. Were it not that such particulars do best open the quality of the persons, by whom things were managed, I should hold it fitter, to run over the generall passages of those times, than to dwell among circumstances. But surely it is a point very remarkable, that when Clearchus had willed the Messengers to bid the King prepare for battle, because the Greekes (as he said) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to heare of truce till their bellies were full; Artaxerxes dissembling the dignity, was contented sweetly to swallow down this pill, sending them guides, who conducted them to a place where was plenty of victuals to relieue them.

## S. V. II.

*How Tissaphernes, vnder colour of peace, betrayed all the Captaines of the Greekes.*

**H**itherto the Greekes, relying vpon their own vertue, had rather aduanced their affaires, than brought themselves into any straights or tearmes of disadvantage. But now came vnto them the subtile Foxe Tissaphernes, who circumventing the Chiefe Commanders by fine sleights, did mischieuously entrappe them, to the extreame danger of the Armie. He told them, that his Prouince, lying neere vnto Greece, had caused him greatly to desire, that their deliuerance might be wrought by his procurement; knowing well that in time to come, both they, and their Countreymen at home, would not be vnthankfull for such a benefit. Herewithall he forgot not to rehearse

the great service that he had done to his Master, being the first that advertised him of *Cyrus* his intent, and having not onely brought him a good strength of men, but in the day of battaile shewed his face to the *Greekes*, when all others turned their backs: that he, together with the King, did enter their Campe, and gaue chase to the *Barbarians* that stood on the part of *Cyrus*. All this (quoth he) did I alledge to the King, entreating that he would giue me leave to conduct you safe into *Greece*; in which suite I haue good hope to speede, if you will send a milde answer to him, vvhich hath vvilled me to aske you, for what cause ye haue borne Armes against him. The Captaines hearing this, were contented to giue gentle words, which *Tissaphernes* relating to the King, procured (though very hardly as he said) that peace should be granted: the conditions whereof were; That they should passe freely through all the Kings Dominions, paying for that they tooke, and committing no spoile: yet that it should be lawfull for them to take victuals by force, in any place that refused to afford them an open Market. Hereupon both parties hauing sworn, the League was concluded, and *Tissaphernes* returning to the king to take leave, and end all businesse, came vnto them againe after twenty dayes, and then they set forward. This interuall of twenty dayes, vvhich *Tissaphernes* did spend at the Court, ministered great occasion of mistrust to his new Confederates. For besides his long absence, vvhich alone sufficed to breede doubt, the Brethren, and Kindred of *Arius*, repairing daily to him, and other *Persians* to his Souldiers, did worke him and them so with assurance of pardon, and other allurements, that he daily grew more strange to the *Greekes*, than formerly he had bin. This caused many to aduise *Clearchus*, rather to passe forward as well as he might, than to relye vpon couenants, and sit still whilest the king layed snares to entrappe them. But he on the contrary perswaded them, to rest contented whilest they were well, and not to cast themselves againe into those difficulties, out of which they were newly freed by the late Treatie; reciting withall their own wants, and the kings meanes, but especially the Oathes mutually giuen and taken, vvhich he saw no reason why the enemy should haue clogged himself if he meant mischief, hauing power enough to do them harme by a faire and open Waire.

*Tissaphernes* was a very honourable man (if honour may be valued by greatness and place in Court) which caused his Oath to be the more esteemed, for as much as no enforcement, or base respect, was like to haue drawne it from him. But his falshood was such, both in substance and in success, as may fitly expound that saying, which proceeded from the fountaine of Truth, *I hate a rich man a lyer*. A lyer may finde excuse when it growes out of feare: for that passion hath his originall from weaknesse. But when Power, vvhich is a Character of the Almighty, shall be made the supporter of vntueth, the falshood is most abominable; for the offender, like proud *Lucifer*, aduancing his own strength against the diuine Iustice, doth commit that sinne with an high hand, vvhich commonly produceth lamentable effects, and is followed with sure vengeance. It was not long ere *Tissaphernes* found means to destroy all the Captaines, whom he subtilly got into his power by a traine; making the Generall *Clearchus* himselfe the meane to draw in all the rest. The businesse was contriued thus: Hauing trauielled some dayes together in such wise, that the *Persians* did not encampe with the *Greekes*, vvhich were very ialous of the great familiarity, appearing betwene *Tissaphernes*, and *Arius*; *Clearchus* thought it convenient to roote out of *Tissaphernes* his braines all causes of distrust, whereof many had grown in that short time. To which purpose obtaining priuate conference with him, he rehearsed the oath of Confederacie, which had past between them, shewing how religiously he would keepe it, and repeating the benefits, which the *Greekes* did receiue by the helpe of *Tissaphernes*, he promised that their loue should appeare to him not vnfruitfull, if he would make vse of their seruice against the *Mysians* or *Pisidians*, who were accustomed to infect his Prouince; or against the *Egyptians*, vvhich were then Rebels to the great King. For which cause he desired him, that whereas all diuine and humane respects had linked them together, he would not giue place to any close accusation or suspicion, whereby might grow sudden inconuenience to either of them, vpon no iust ground. The faithlesse *Persian* was very much delighted with this speech, which ministered faire occasion to the execution of his purpose. Therefore he told *Clearchus*, that all this was by him wisely considered, wishing him further to call to minde how many waies he could haue used to bring them to confusion, without perill to himselfe, especially by

by burning the country, through which they were to passe, wherby they must needs haue perished by meere famine. For vvhich cause he said that it had bin great folly, to seeke by perillous, odious to God and Man, the destruction of such as were already in his hands; But the truth was, that his owne loue to them had moued him to worke their safetie, not onely for those ends which *Clearchus* had recounted, of pleasures that might redound to himselfe, and the King, by their assistance: but for that he might by their friendship, hope to obtaine what *Cyrus* had mist. Finally, he invited the credulous Gentlemen to Supper, and sent him away so well assured of his good will, that he promised to bring all the Captaines with him to the same place, where, in presence of them all, *Tissaphernes* likewise promised to tell openly, vvhich of them had by secret information sought to raise dissension between them. *Clearchus* himselfe being thus deceived, vvhich great importunitie drew all the chiefe Commanders, and many of the inferiour Leaders, to repaire with him to the Campe of *Tissaphernes*, vvhither followed them about two hundred of the common Souldiers as it had bin to some common Faire. But being there arrived, *Clearchus* vvvith other the five principall Coronels, were called into the Tent, the rest staying without, vvhich they had not vvaited long ere a signe was giuen, vpon vvhich they vvvithin were apprehended, and the residue slaine. Forth-with certaine bands of *Persian* Horsemen scoured the field, killing as many *Greekes* as they met, and riding vpto the very Campe of the *Grecians*, who vvondred much at the tumult, vvherof they knew not the cause, till one, escaping sorely vvounded, informed them of all that had bin done. Heereupon the *Greekes* tooke Armes in haste, thinking that the enemy would forthwith haue assailed their Campe. Anon they might perceiue the Embassadors of *Tissaphernes*, among whom were his own brother, and *Arius*, followed with three hundred Horse, vvho called for the principall men in the Armie, saying, that they brought a message from the King, vvhich *Arius* deliuered to this effect: That *Clearchus* hauing broken his faith, and the league made, was iustly rewarded vvith death; that *Menon* and *Proxenus*, two other of the five Coronels, for detecting his treacherie, were highly honored; and finally, that the King required them to surrender their Arms, vvhich were due to him, as hauing belonged vnto his seruant *Cyrus*. When some altercation had followed vpon this message, *Xenophon* told the Embassadors, that if *Clearchus* had in such sort offended, it was well that he was in such sort punished: but he willed them to send backe *Menon* and *Proxenus*, vvhom they had so greatly honoured, that by them, as by common friends to both Nations, the *Greekes* might be aduised how to answer the *Persian*. Hereunto the Embassadors knew not how to frame any reply, and therefore departed vvithout speaking one vvord more. *Clearchus*, & the other foure were sent to *Artaxerxes*, by vvhose commandement their heads were stricken off. I hold it now amisse to preuent the order of time, annexing to this perfidiousnesse of *Tissaphernes*, the reward vvhich he afterward receiued. He saw his Prouince vvasted by the *Greekes*, against vvhom receiuing from his Master conuenient aid of men and mony, he did so ill manage vvhis affaires, that neither subtiltie, nor periuie (to vvich he failed not to haue recourse) availed him; finally, the king was ialous of his cunning head, and sent a new Lieutenant into those parts, vvho tooke it from his shoulders. Such was the recompence of his treacherie, vvhich made him so mistrusted at home, that the seruice vvich he could not do, he was thought vpon priuate ends to neglect; & so hated abroad, that he knew not vvich vvay to flie from the stroke, all the vvorld being shut against him. But now let vs returne to the prosperitie, vvherin he triumphed vvithout great cause, hauing betrayed brauer men than himselfe, and intending to bring the like mischief vpon the vvhole Armie.

## §. VIII.

How *Xenophon* heartened the *Greekes*, and in despite of *Tissaphernes* went off safely.

Great was the heavinesse of the Souldiers, being now left destitute of Leaders, and no lesse their feare of the euill hanging ouer their heads, vvich they knew not well how to auoide. Among the rest, *Xenophon*, vvwhose learning supplied his want of experience, finding the deepe sadnesse of the vvhole Armie to be such as hindered them from taking any course of preuenting the danger at hand, began to aduise the vnder-



were to passe, made countenance of warre: but some companies being sent by night to seize vpon a place of equall height to that whereon the enemies lay, making vpon the piece of ground which they had taken, secured the ascent of the sea, which caused these people to flye, every one retreating to the defence of his owne. The first vpon whose Countrie the *Greekes* did enter were the *Tacchi*, who consuming all their provision of victuals into strong holds, brought the Armie into much want, untill with hard labour one place was forced, wherein great store of cattails were taken; the people in this captiuitie, threw themselves head-long downe the rocks, the very women throwing down first their own children, and then casting themselves vpon them. Here was taken a great bootie of Cattails, which serued to feed them, trauiailing through the land of the *Chalybes*, of whom they got nothing but strokes. The *Chalybes* were a very stout Nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encountered the *Greekes* hand to hand, killing as many as they tooke prisoners, and cutting off their heads, which they carried away, singing and dancing, to the great griefe of their companions living; who were glad, when after seven dayes iourney they escaped from those continual skirmishes, wherewith they had bin vexed by these *Barbarians*. Hence trauiailing through a good corne Countrie, inhabited by an obscure Nation called the *Syrithini*, they came to a rich Towne, the Lord whereof, and of the Region adioyning, vied them friendly, and promised to guide them to a Mountaine, whence they might discover the *Black Sea*. From *Gymnias* (vvhich was the name of this Towne) he led them through the Territory of his enemies, desiring them to waste it with sword and fire. After the first march, they came to a Mountaine called *Tcher*, being (as I thinke) a part of the *Mountaines* called *Moschies*, whence their guide shewed them the Sea; towards which they bent their course, and passing friendly through the Region of the *Macrones*, (with whom by means of an interpreter, found among themselves, who borne in that place had bin sold into Greece, they made a good peace) they arrived in the Land of *Calchis*, wherein stands the Citie of *Trabizond*, called then *Trapezum*, a Colonie of the *Greekes*. The *Calchis* entertaining them with hospitality, were requited with the like; for the Armie having now good leisure to repose themselves among their friends the *Trapezuntians*, did spoile the Countrie thirte dayes together, forbearing onely the Borders vpon *Trabizond*, at the Citizens request.

Trabizond a Colonie of the *Greekes*, situated in the bottom of the *Euxine Sea*.

### §. XII.

How the Armie began at *Trabizond* to provide a Fleet, wherewith to returne home by Sea: how it came into the Territory of *Sinope*, and there persecuted the same purpose.

Having now found an Haven Towne, the Souldiers were desirous to shipping, & change their tedious Land-iournies into an easie Navigation. To which purpose *Cerophylus* a *Lacedaemonian*, one of the principall Commanders, promised by means of *Anaxibius* the *Lacedaemonian* Admirall, who was his friend, that he would provide Vessels to imbarke them. Having thus concluded, they likewise tooke order for the staying of such ships as should passe that way, meaning to vie them forth in navigation. Left all this provision should be found insufficient for the transportation of the whole Armie, *Xenophon* perswaded the Cities adioyning to cleare the wayes, and make an easie passage for them by Land; vvhareunto the Souldiers were vnterwilling to giue care, being desirous to returne by Sea; but the Countrie fearing what inconvenience might grow by their long stay, did readily condescend to *Xenophons* request. Two ships they borrowed of the *Trapezuntians*, vvhich they manned and sent to Sea: the one of them sailed directly into Greece, forsaking their Companions, who had put them in trust to bring ships into the Port of *Trabizond*: the other tooke Merchants and passengers, whose goods were safely kept for the owners, but the Vessels were stained to increate the fleet. After long abode, when victuals began to faile, by reason that all the Land of the *Calchis*, neere vnto the Campe was already quite wasted, they were faine to imbarke their sicke men, with the women, children, and such of the baggage as might best be spared, in those few ships which they had already provided. The rest of the Armie took the way by Land to *Cerasus*, a *Greece* Towne, where the fleet likewise arrived. Here the Armie being mustered, was found to consist of eight thousand and six hundred men. From hence they passed through the Countrie of the *Macrones*, who were divided

Macrones a Nation of Pontus Cappadocia.

divided into factions. The stronger partie, despising their friendship, caused them to ioyne them with the weaker, whom they left Masters of all.

The next place of their abode was *Sinope*, a *Greece* Towne likewise, and a Colonie of the *Sinopians*, as *Trapezum* and *Cerasus* were; but the entertainment which here they found was very churlish, having neither an open Market afforded to them, nor the sicke men that were among them admitted into any house. Hereupon the Souldiers entred the Towne by force, and (committing no outrage) bestowed those which were sicke in convenient lodgings, taking into their own hands the custody of the Gates. Provision for the Armie they made by strong hand, partly out of the Territory of the *Paphlagonians*, partly out of the Lands belonging to the Towne. These newes were vnto the *Sinope*, whence Embassadours were sent to the Campe, who complaining of these dealings and threatening to ioyne with the *Paphlagonians*, if redresse could not otherwise be had, were roundly answered by *Xenophon*. That were necessitie had enforced the Army to reach those of *Cerasus* good manners in so bad a method: letting them know, that he feared not to deal with them and the *Paphlagonians* at once; though perhaps the *Paphlagonians* would be glad to take *Sinope* it selfe, to vvhich, if cause were giuen, they would lend assistance. Vpon this answer the Embassadours grew better aduised, promising all friendship that the State of *Sinope* could shew, and commanding the Towne of *Cerasus* to relieve the Souldiers as well as they might. Further, they promised to assist them with shipping, letting them vnderstand how difficult the passage by Land would proue, in regard of the many and great Riuers, as *Thermodon*, *Iris*, *Halys*, and *Parthenius*, which crossed their way. This good counsaile, and the faire promises accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the Armie, which well perceived, that the City of *Sinope* would spare for no cost, to be freed from such a neighbourhood. It was therefore decreed that they would passe the rest of the way by Sea; provided that if there should want such number of Vessels as might serue to imbarke euery one of them, then would they not put from the shore.

*Sinope* a Port-Towne in the same Region.

*Sinope* a Port-Towne in the same Region.

### §. XIII.

Of dissension which arose in the Armie; and how it was imbarked.

Hitherto the danger of enemies, and miseries of weather and wants, had kept the companie in firme vnite; which now beganne to dissolve and to thaw, by the neighbouring aire of Greece, warming their heads with priuate respects to their severall ends and purposes. Whilest they, who were sent as Agents from the Campe, remained at *Sinope*; *Xenophon* considering the strength and valour of his men, and the opportunity of the coast whereon they lay, thought it would be an honourable vvorke to build a City in those parts, which were soone like to proue great and wealthie, in regard both of their owne puissance, and of the great repaire of the *Greekes* into that quarter. For this cause he made sacrifice, according to the superstition of his time and Countrie, desiring of his successe by the entrails of beasts. The Sooth-sayer whom he employed had received a great reward of *Cyrus*, for coniecturing aright, that *Artaxerxes* would not giue battle in ten daies; he therefore, having preferred his mone carefully, was desirous to be soone at home, that he might freely enioy his gettings. By him the purpose of *Xenophon* was divulged, which was interpreted according to the diuersitie of mens opinions; some approving the motion, but the greater part reiecting it. They of *Sinope* and *Hiraclea*, being informed of this consultation, were sore afraid, lest the pouertie of the Souldiers, who had not wherewith to maintaine themselves at home, should giue successe to the proiect. Which to prevent, they promised to supply the Armie with a sufficient fleet, and likewise offered mony to some of the Captaines, who thereupon vnderstood to giue the Souldiers pay, if they would presently set saile for Greece. One of these Captaines being a banished man, desired them to follow him into *Traas*; another offered to lead them into *Cherronesus*. *Xenophon* who desired onely the common good, was pleased greatly with these propositions, and professed openly that he would haue them to set forward, and hold together in any case, punishing him as a traitor that should forsake the Armie, before such time as they were arrived at their iournies end. *Silanus* the Sooth-sayer, who had vttered *Xenophons* purpose, was hereby staied from persuading his fellows, and driuen to abide with his wealth among poore men; longer than stood.

stood with his good liking. Also the other Captaines were much troubled and afraid, when they perceived, that ships were prepared sufficient for their Navigation, but that the money promised to them, and by them to the Souldiers, came not. For the people of *Sinope*, and *Heraclea*, knowing that the Armie was now resolved for the voyage, and that *Xenophon*, whom they feared, had perswaded them to this resolution, thought it the wisest way to furnish them with a Naue whilst they were in good readinesse, to depart, but to keep the money to themselves. The Captaines therefore who being disappointed by these townes, found themselves in great danger of their men, whom they had deceived with faire hopes, repented much of their faire offers, & signifying as much to *Xenophon*, prayed him to make proposition to the Armie, of taking the ships, & saying to *Phasis*, where they might seize vpon Lands, and plant themselves in such wise as should stand best with their good liking. But finding him cold in the businesse, they began to vvoike the principall of their own followers, hoping by them to draw in all the rest. These newes becoming publike, bred a suspicion of *Xenophon*, as if he had won the rest of the Captaines to his purpose, and meant now to carry the Army quite another way from their own home. Wherefore assembling the Companies, he gaue them satisfaction, and withall complained of some disorders which he caused them to redresse. A generall inquisition was likewise made of offences committed since the death of *Cyrus*; which being punished, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came Embassadors from *Corys*, Lord of the *Paphlagonians*, who sending presents, desired peace of the *Greeks*: the Embassadors were friendly entertained, & peace concluded, vvhich needed not to haue bin sought, for that the *Greeks* hauing now their fleet in a readines, did soon weigh Anchors, & set saile for *Harmene* the Port of *Sinope*, whither *Cherisophus* came, bringing with him a few Gallies from the Admiral *Anaxibius*, who promised to giue the Army pay as soon as they came into the parts of *Greece*.

## §. XIV.

*Another great disfection and distraction of the Armie. How the mutinies were beaten by the Barbarians, and rescued by Xenophon.*

THE nearer that they approached to *Greece*, the greater vvas their desire to make provision for themselves, that they might not returne home empty-handed. Wherefore trusting well that if the charge of the Armie were absolutely committed to one sufficient man, he might the more conueniently procure the good of them all; they determined to make *Xenophon* sole Commander of all; in whose fauour the well the Captaines as the common Souldiers were very earnest and violent. But he, either fearing to displease the *Lacedemonians*, who were ialous of him already (being incited by that fugitive who forsooke the Army at *Trabizond*, flying with one of their two ships) or moued by some tokens appearing to him in the entrails that threatened ill successe to his gouernment, procured with vehement contention, that this honour vvas laid vpon *Cherisophus* a *Lacedemonian*; It seemes that *Xenophon*, considering the vexation incident to the conduct of a voluntary Army, wanting pay, did wisely in yeelding to such tokens as forbade him to accept it; especially, knowing how well their desire, which vvas, by right or by wrong to get wealth whersoever it might be found, without all regard of friend or Foe. *Cherisophus* had bin Generall but sixe or seuen dayes, vvhien he vvas depose, for hauing bin vnwilling to rob the Towne of *Heraclea* which had sent presents to the Campe, and bin very beneficiall vnto them in lending ships for their transportation. Two daies they had sailed by the coast of *Asia*, when being past those great Riuers, which would haue giuen impediment to their journey by Land, they touched at *Heraclea*, where consulting how to take their way onwards, whether by Land or Sea; one feditious man began to put them in minde of seeking to get somewhat for themselves; telling them that all their provision would be spent in three dayes, and that being now come out of the enemies Country, victuals and other necessaries could not be had without money; for which cause he gaue aduice to send messengers into the Towne of *Heraclea*, giuing the Citizens to vnderstand what their wants were, and demanding of them three thousand pieces of money, called *Cyzicens*, which summe amounteth to two thousand and five hundred pound sterling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the sum raised to ten thousand *Cyzicens* at least: which to require, they thought *Cherisophus*

as being Generall, the fittest man, others had more desire to send *Xenophon*; but in vaine, for they both refused it, and renounced the action as dishonest. Left therefore either of these should faile in managing the busines which agreed not with his disposition, others of more impudency and lesse discretion were sent, who in such wise deliuered their insolent message, that the Citizens taking time to deliberate vpon their request, brought what they could out of the fields into the Towne, and shutting the Gates, did forthwith man the Walls. When the Souldiers perceived themselves to be disappointed of their rauinous purpose, they fell to mutiny, saying, That their Leaders had betrayed them: and being for the more part of them *Arcadians* & *Acheans*; they forsooke immediately *Cherisophus* and *Xenophon*, choosing new Leaders out of their owne number. Above foure thousand and five hundred they were, all heauily armed, who electing ten Captains, sailed into the Port of *Calphas*, which is in the mid-way between *Heraclea* & *Byzantium*, with purpose to assaile the *Bythinians* on the suddaine. With *Cherisophus* there abode two thousand and one hundred, of whom one thousand and foure hundred were armed weightily: *Xenophon* had two thousand foot, three hundred wherof were lightly armed, and forty horse; which small band had done good seruice already, and could not haue bin spared now. *Cherisophus* had agreed with *Cleander* Gouernour of *Byzantium*, to meet him at the mouth of the Riuier *Calphas*, whither *Cleander* promised to bring some Gallies to conuey him ouer into *Greece*; for which cause he tooke his way thither by Land, leauing to *Xenophon* such shipping as he had; who passing some part of the way by Sea, landed vpon the Confines of *Heraclea*, & *Thracia* *Asiatica*, intending to make a cut through the mid-land-Country to the Propont. The Mutinies who had landed at *Calphas* by night, with purpose to take spoiles in *Bythinia*, diuided themselves into ten Companies, euery Capitaine leading his owne Regiment into some Village, five or sixe miles from the Sea, in the greater Townes were two Regiments quartered; and so was that part of the country surprised on the sudden, and sacked all at one time. The place of *Rendauus* was an high piece of ground, where some of them arriued, finding no disturbance; others, not without much trouble & danger: two Companies were broken and defeated, only eight men escaped, the rest were all put to the sword. For the *Thracians* which had slept at first out of the Souldiers hands, did raise the Country, and finding the *Greeks* laden with booty, tooke the aduantage of their disorder, cutting in pieces those two Regiments: which done, they attempted the rest, encompassing the hill wheron they encamped. One great aduantage the *Thracians* had, that being all light armed, they could at pleasure make retrait from these *Arcadians* & *Acheans*: who wanting the assistance of horse, & hauing neither Archers nor Slingers among them, were driuen to stand meerly vpon their defence, bearing off with greater danger, & many wounds received, the Darts & Arrows of the Barbarians, till finally they were driuen from their watering place, & enforced to craue parley. Whatsoever the Articles of composition were, the *Thracians* yeilded to all; but pledges for assurance they would giue none, without which the *Greeks* well knew, that all promises of such people, especially to increase, were nothing worth. In the mean time *Xenophon* holding his way quietly through the In-land Region, did enquire of some Trauailers, whether they knew ought of any Grecian Army, passing along those parts: & receiuing by them true information of the desperate case into which these Gallies had foolishly throwne themselves, he marched directly towards the place wherethey lay, taking with him for guides them who gaue him the intelligence. His horse-men he sent before to discover, & to scower the waies, the light-armed foot-men took the hill tops on either hand, all of them setting fire on whatsoever they found combustible; wherby the whole Country seemed to be on a light flame, to the great terror of the enemies, who thought that some huge Army had approached. That night he encamped on a hill, within five miles of the *Arcadians*, encreasing still the number of his fires, which he caused hastily to be quenched soon after Supper. The enemies perceiving this, thought certainly that he would haue fallen vpon them in the dark, which caused them in all haste to dislodge. Early in the next morning *Xenophon* aduancing thither in very good order, to haue giuen battell, found that his deuice; to fright the *Thracians*, had taken full effect; but he marvelled that the *Greeks* were also departed, concerning whom he learned by enquiry, that they remoued at break of day, & perceived by signes that they had taken the way to the Port of *Calphas*, in which iourney he ouertook them. They embraced Him and His, with great ioy: Confessing that they themselves had

thought the same which the enemies did, looking that he should haue come by night wherein finding themselves deceived, they were affraid lest he had forsaken them, and therefore hastened away, to ouertake him, and ioyne with him. So they arrived at the Hauens of Calpas, where it was decreed, That whosoever from thenceforth made any motion to disioyne the Army, should suffer death.

## §. XV.

*Of diuers pieces of seruice done by Xenophon; and how the Army returned into Greece. The occasions of the Warre betwene the Lacedæmonians and the Persian.*

**T**He Hauens of Calpas lay vnder a goodly head-land, that was very strong, and abounding with all kinde of Graine and Fruits, except Oliues. There was also Timber for building and shipping, and a very conuenient Sea for a great City. All which commodities, that might haue allured the Souldiers to stay there, and to plant, caused them to haste away, fearing lest *Xenophon* should finde some deuise to haue settled himselfe and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good meanes to liue at home; neither did they so much for hope of gaine follow *Cyrus* in that Warre, as in regard of his Honour, and the loue which they bare vnto him: the poorer sort were such as left their Parents, Wiues, and Children, to whom (though failing of the riches which they had hoped to purchase) they were now desirous to returne. But whether it were so that *Xenophon* found aduantage by their owne superstition, to make them stay, which they greatly suspected; or whether the signes appearing in the entrails, did indeed forbid their departure: so long they were forced to abide in the place till victuals failed, neither would the Captaines leade them forth to forrage the Country, vntill the Sacrifices should promise good successe. *Cherisophus* was dead of an Ague, and his ships were gone, being returned to the Heraclians, of whom they were borrowed. His followers were ioyned to the rest of the Army, which the greater it was, the more provision it needed, and the sooner felt want. For which cause, he that was chosen Coronell into the place of *Cherisophus*, would needes aduenture to gratifie the Souldiers with the spoile of some Villages that stood neer at hand; in which enterprise he found ill successe, the whole Country lying in wait to entrap him, and an Army of Horse being sent by *Pharmabazus* the Satrapa, or Vice-roy of Phrygia, to the assistance of these Bythinian Thracians, which troupes falling vpon the Greeks that were scattered abroad in seeking booty, slew five hundred of them, and chased the rest to a certaine Mountaine thereby. The newes of this ouerthrow comming to *Xenophon*, he led forth a part of the Army to the rescue of those that suruiued, and brought them safe to the Campe; vpon which the Bythinians made an offer that night, & breaking a Corps du garde, slew some, pursuing the rest to the very Tents. This new courage of the enemy, together with the present condition of the Army, so disheartened and vnurnished of necessaries, caused the Greekes to remoue their Campe to a place of more strength; vvhich hauing intrenched, and committed to the defence of such as were least able to endure trauaile, *Xenophon* with the fittest and best able men went forth, both to bury those which were lately slaine, and to abate the pride of the Thracians, and their assistants. In this iourney his demeanour was very honourable. For hauing giuen buriall to the dead, the Enemy was discovered, lying on the tops of the Hills adioyning, to whom (notwithstanding that the way was very rough, and troublesome, so that some thought it a matter of too great danger, to leaue their backs a wood (scarce passeable) he marched directly, telling his men plainly, that he had rather follow the enemy with halfe the number, than turn his back to them with twice as many; & letting them further know, that if they did not charge the Barbarians, he would not faile with the greater resolution to pursue them; from whom if they could safely retire to the camp, yet what should they do there, wanting victuals to sustain them in the place, and ships to carry them away? Wherefore he willed them rather to fight vvell that day, hauing eaten their dinners, than another day fasting; and not to regard the vneale returne, which might serue to stay Cowards from running away, but to with vnto the Enemy a faire and easie way, by vvhich he might flye from them. These perswasions were followed vwith so valiant execution, that both Persians and Bythinians being chased out of the field, abandoned the Country forthwith, remouing their Families, and leauing all that could not suddenly be conueighed away,

to the discretion of the Greekes, vvho at good leisure gathered the Haruest of these bad Neighbourhoods fields. This was the last fight which they had on the side of Asia. For they were not onely suffered quietly to enioy the spoile of the country, but vvhen the opinion grew common in those parts, that it was the intent of *Xenophon* to plant a Colony on the Port of Calpas, Embassadors were sent from the Neighbour people, to desire friendship, and make offer of their best assistance. But the Souldiers had no minde to stay. Wherefore entering further into Bythinia, they tooke a great booty, which they carried away vnto Chrysolpolis, a city neer vnto Chalcedon, where they told it. *Pharmabazus*, Lieutenant in Phrygia to *Artaxerxes*, did greatly feare, lest their long stay in that Country might breed in them a desire to visite his Prouince, vvherethey might haue found great vvealth, and little power to guard it. Therefore he sent to the Lacedæmonian Admirall, entreating him with much instance and large promises to waft them ouer into Europe; to whom *Anaxibius* the Admirall condescending, promised to giue the Souldiers pay, as soon as they arrived at Byzantium. So were they carried out of Asia at the intreaty of the Persian, who in the height of his pride had thought them so surely imprisoned with mighty Riuers, that he not onely denied to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to surrender their Armes into his hands, and so to yeeld their liues to his discretion. How discourteously they were intreated by *Anaxibius*, and how to requite his inuiolent dealings, they seized vpon Byzantium, vvhich by *Xenophon's* perswasion they forbore to sacke; I hold it superfluous to relate. For the residue of their doings appertain little to the generall course of things. But this expedition, as in all ages it was glorious, so did it both discouer the secrets of Asia, and stirre vp the Greekes to thinke vpon greater enterprises, than euer their forefathers had undertaken. Likewise it was the onely remarkeable action which the time afforded: For the Roman warres did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring Townes of Italy; and in Greece all things were quiet, the Lacedæmonians ruling insolently, but without disturbance. True it is, that the seedes of the Warre shortly following, which the Lacedæmonians made vpon *Artaxerxes*, were already sowne, before these companies returned out of the high Countries of Asia. For the Townes of Ionia, which had sided with young *Cyrus* against *Tissaphernes*, if not against the great King, prepared to rebell, which they thought safer, than to fall into the hands of *Tissaphernes*, who was now appointed Lieutenant, both of his old Prouince, and of all that had belonged to *Cyrus*. Wherefore the Ionians besought the Lacedæmonians to send them aide, whereby to recover their liberty, & obtaine their request. For a power was sent ouer, vnder conduct of *Thimbroa* Spartan, who bestowed his men in such Towns as had already revolted, to secure the Cities and their Fields, but not to make any offensive War.

## CHAP. XI.

*Of the affaires of Greece, vvhist they were managed by the Lacedæmonians.*

## §. I.

*How the Lacedæmonians tooke courage by example of Xenophon's Army, to make Warre vpon Artaxerxes.*



**I**T seemed that the Lacedæmonians did well perceiue in how all part *Artaxerxes* tooke their fauour shewed vnto his brotherland yet were timorous in beginning an open war against him, thinking it sufficient to take all care, that no aduantage might slip, which could serue to strengthen their Estate, by finding the Persian worke beyond the Sea. But when *Xenophon's* Army had reucaled the baseness of those effeminate Asiaticques, and rehearsed the many victories which they themselves had gotten, vpon termes of extreme disadvantage, then was all Greece filled with desire of vnder-taking vpon this huge vncleady Empire; thinking it no hard matter for the Ioyne forces



forces of that whole Nation, to hew out the way to Susa, whereof one handfull had opened the passage to Babylon, and further, finding no power that was able to give them resistance, in all that long journey of foure and thirty thousand two hundred and fifty five furlongs, spent in going and returning, which make of English miles about foure thousand two hundred fourecore and one, a very painful march of one yeare and three moneths. Neuertheless the ciuill distraction wherwith Greece was miserably torne, & especially that hote fire of the Theban Warre, which, kindled with Persian gold, brake forth sodainly into a great flame, drew backe out of Asia the power of the Lacedæmonians, to the defence of their own Estate; leauing it questionable, whether *Agessilaus*, hauing both the fame, and far greater forces, could haue wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole space of two yeares, which he spent in Asia, his deedes procured more commendation of magnanimity and faire behauiour, than of stout courage, and great, or profitable atchieuements. For how highly foucer it pleased *Xenophon*, who was his friend, and follower in this, and in other warres, to extoll his vertue; his exploits being onely a few incursions into the Countries lying neere the Sea, carrying no proportion to *Xenophon*'s own iourney, which I know not whether any Age hath paralleled: the famous reitrait of *Conon* the Briton with sixe thousand men from Aquileia, to his own Country, through all the breadth of Italy, and length of France, in despite of the Emperor *Theodosius*, being rather like it than equall. But of *Agessilaus* and his wars in Asia and Greece, we shall speake more in due place.

## S. II.

*The prosperous beginnings of the warre in Asia.*

**T**himbro receiuing *Xenophon*'s men, began to take in Townes, and to entertaine all such as were willing to revolt from the Persian, who were many, and some of them such, as had beene highly beholding to the King; who seeme to haue had no other cause of discontent, than that they were to liue vnder the government of *Tissaphernes*, whom all others did as vehemently hate as the King his Master did loue him. The managing of the warre begun by *Thimbro*, was for his oppressions taken out of his hands, and committed to *Dercyllidas* a Spartan, who behaued himselfe as a good man of Warre; and a wise Commander. For whereas the rule of the low-Countries of Asia was diuided between *Pharnabazus* and *Tissaphernes*, vwho did ill agree, *Pharnabazus* being the worthier man, but the other by his Princes fauour the greater, and hauing the chiefe command in those warres against the Greekes; *Dercyllidas* who did beare a priuate hatred to *Pharnabazus* (knowing well that *Tissaphernes* was of a mischieuous nature, and would not be sorry to see his Corriuall thoroughly beaten, thought to the Kings losse) made an appointment with *Tissaphernes* and forthwith entred *Æolis*, which was vnder the iurisdiction of *Pharnabazus*, which Prouince in few dayes, he brought into his owne power.

That Country of *Æolis* had about the same time suffered a violent alteration, which gaue easie successe to the attempts of *Dercyllidas*. *Zenis* a Dardanian had bin Deputy to *Pharnabazus* in those parts; after whose death his wife *Mania* procured his Office, wherein she behaued her selfe so well, that she not only was beloued of the people vnder her government; but enlarged her Territory, by the conquest of certaine Townes adjoining; and sundry times gaue assistance to *Pharnabazus* in his warres against the Myrians and Persians. For she had in pay some Companies of Greekes, whose valour by her good vsage did her great seruice. But somewhat before the arriual of *Dercyllidas* in those parts, a Sonne-in-law of hers, called *Midias*, whom she trusted and loued much, being blinded with ambition, found meanes to stifle her; and kill her sonne of seuentene yeares old; which done, he seized vpon twp of her principall Townes, wherein her treasure lay, hoping to haue beene admitted into possession of her whole estate. Being denied entrance by her Souldiers that lay in Garrison, he sent Messengers with presents to *Pharnabazus*, desiring him to make him Gouverneur in the place of *Mania*. His presents were not onely reiected by *Pharnabazus*, but reuenge of his foule treason threatned, where by the wicked villaine was driuen into tearmes of almost vter desperation. In the meane time came *Dercyllidas*, to whom the Townes of *Mania*, that held against *Midias*, did quickly open their Gates. One onely Towne stood out foure dayes (against the

will of the Citizens, who were couetous of liberty) the Gouverneur striving in vaine to haue kept it to the vse of *Pharnabazus*. Now remained only two Cities, Gergethe and Scepsis, which the Traitor held, who fearing all men, as being loud of none, sent Embassadors to *Dercyllidas*, desiring leaue to speake with him, and pledges for his security: vpon the deliuey of which he issued out of Scepsis, and coming into the Camp, made offer to ioyne with the Greekes vpon such conditions, as might seeme reasonable. But he was plainly told by *Dercyllidas*, that other condition there was none, than to set the Citizens freely at liberty. And presently vpon these words they marched toward Scepsis. When *Midias* perceiued that it was in vaine to strue against the Army, and the Towne-men, who were all of one minde; he quickly went along with *Dercyllidas*, who remaining but a few houres in the City, did a sacrifice to *Minerua*, & then leading away the Garrison of *Midias*, he left the City free, and departed toward Gergethe. *Midias* did not forsake his Company, but followed him, earnestly intreating that he might be suffered to retaine Gergethe: but comming to the Gates, he was bidden to command his Souldiers that they should be opened; for (quoth *Dercyllidas*) I must here likewise doe a sacrifice to *Minerua*. The Traitor, not daring to make deniall, caused his Mercenaries to open the Gates, whereby *Dercyllidas*, taking possession of the place, tendered pay to the Garrison, who did not refuse to serue vnder his Ensignes. This done, all the yegods of *Mania* were seized vpon, as belonging to one that had beene subiect to *Pharnabazus*, who was enemy to the Greekes: and so the murderous wretch was sent away naked, not knowing in what part of the World he might finde any place to hide his detested head. *Dercyllidas*, hauing in eight dayes taken nine Cities, purposed for the ease of his Confederates to winter in Bythinia, to which end he tooke Truce with *Pharnabazus*, who had not any desire of Warre. That Winter, and the Summer ensuing, the truce being recontinued, held; in which time, besides the wasting of Bythinia, the neck of Land ioyning Cherronca to the Main, was fortified, being foure or five miles in breadth, by which meanes eleuen Towns, with much good Land belonging to them, were freed from the incursions of the wilde Thracians, and made fit and able to victuall the Camp. Likewise the City of Atarne was taken, which was of great strength, and very well stored with provision. After this, *Dercyllidas* had command from Sparta, to diuert the warre into Caria, where was the seate of *Tissaphernes*; for that hereby it was thought not vncafe to recover all the Townes of Ionia; *Pharax* the Admirall of the fleet (which was a yearly Office) being appointed to ioyne with him. Though it was manifest that *Tissaphernes* had neglected *Pharnabazus* in time of necessity, yet was he not in his owne danger requited with the like. For *Pharnabazus* hauing respect to the Kings seruice, came to assist his priuate enemy *Tissaphernes*, and so passing into Caria, they thrust Garrisons into all places of strength; which done, they marched towards Ionia, hoping to finde the Townes ill manned for resistance. As these Persians were desirous to keepe the warre from their owne doores, so was *Dercyllidas* willing to free his Confederates the Ionians from the spoile and danger of the war, by transferring it into Caria. For which cause he passed the Riuer of *Maander*, and not looking to haue bin so soon encountered, marched carelessly through the Country: when on the very sodaine the whole Army of *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* was discovered, consisting of Persians, Carians, & some Mercenary Greekes, who were all marshalled in very good order to present battaile. The oddes was too apparant, both in numbers of men, and in readinesse, as also in aduantage of ground: for the Persian had a great multitude of Horse, the Greeke very few and feeble, being to fight in an open plaine. Therefore all the Ionians, together with the Islanders and others, of such places as bordered vpon the Kings Dominions, did either betake themselves to present flight; or abiding a while for shame, did plainly discover by their looks, that they meant not to be more bold than wise. Onely *Dercyllidas* with his Peloponnesians regarding their honour, prepared to endure the fight: which must needs haue brought them to destruction, if the counsaile of *Pharnabazus* had been followed, who perceiving the opportunity of so great a victory, was not willing to let it slip. But *Tissaphernes*, who naturally was a coward, seeing that countenance of resistance was made, began to consider what strange defence the Souldiers of *Xenophon* had shewed, and thinking that all the Greekes were of the like resolution, held it the wisest way to craue parley; the conclusion of which was, That a truce should be made, to last vntill *Tissaphernes* might receiue answer from the King, & *Dercyllidas* from

Sparta, concerning the demands propounded in the Treaty; which were on the one part, That all the Greeks in Asia might enjoy their own liberty and lawes; but contrariwise on the other side, That the Lacedæmonians should depart Asia, & leave the Towns to the Kings pleasure. This Treaty was of none effect; only it served to free the Greeks from the present danger, and to gaine time vnto *Tissaphernes*, who desired to auoide the Warre by procrastination, which he durst not adventure to finish by triall of a battaile.

## §. III.

*How the Lacedæmonians took reuenge vpon the Eleans for old displeasure. The discontent of the Corinthians and Thebans, conceived against the State of Sparta.*

**I**N the meane season the Lacedæmonians, who found none able to withstand them in Greece, began to call the Eleans to accompt for some disgraces received by them during the late Warres, when leisure was wanting to the requitall of such petty iniuries. These Eleans being Presidents of the Olympique games, had set a fine vpon the City of Sparta, for Non-payment of which, they forbade them to come to the solemnity; and publicly whipt one of them, that was of note, for presuming to contend against their decree. Likewise they hindred *Agis* King of Sparta, from doing sacrifice to *Jupiter*; and in all points vsed great contempt toward the Spartans, who now had no businesse that could hinder them from taking reuenge: and therefore sent a peremptory message to the Eleans, commanding them to set at liberty the Cities which they held in subiection. This was the vsuall pretence which they made the ground of all their Warres: though little they cared for the liberty of such Townes, which they caused afterwards to become followers, and little better than meere Vassals of the Lacedæmonians. In their late Warres with Athens, the strong opposition which they found, caused this goodly Title of liberty to worke very slowly; but hauing now to doe with a State of great spirit and small force, it gaue present successe to their desires. Two yeares together they sent an Army into the Country of the Eleans: the first yeare an Earth-quake (held in those times a prodigious signe, and which did alwayes forbid the prosecution of any enterprize in hand) caused them to retire: the second yeare, all the Townes of the Eleans did hastily reuolt, and the City it selfe was driuen to submission; consenting both to suffer their old subiects freely to enjoy their liberty, and to haue their owne wals throwne downe. Only the Presidentship of the Olympian games was left vnto them, which, it was not to be doubted that they would in time comming vse modestly, finding themselves to stand at the mercy of Sparta. In this expedition all the Greeks were assistant to the Lacedæmonians, excepting the Corinthians & Boeotians, whose aide hauing bin of as much importance in the late Peloponnesian War, as the force of Sparta it selfe, they could not smother their dislike of their vnequall diuision following the victory; which gaue to Sparta the command of all Greece; to Thebes & Corinth, only security against Athens, but such security as was worsethan the danger. For when the equall greatnes of two mighty Estates did counterpoise each the other, it was in the power of these Neutrall Common-weals to adhere to either, as the condition of their affaires required; but when to reuenge iniuries, they had by mortall hatred prosecuted the Warre to extremity, leauing the one City naked of power and friends, the other mightily encreased in both; it was then (if not necessary to obey the greatnesse which themselves had made, yet) foolish and dangerous to prouoke it. Neuerthelesse, it was not the purpose of the Spartans to take occasion of any quarrell, which they could not finish at pleasure, till such time as they had by victory or composition made some good end with the Persian, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

## §. IV.

## §. IV.

*The passage of Agesilaus into Asia. His warre with Tissaphernes. How Tissaphernes was put to death; and the warre diuerted into another Province, through perswasion and gifts of Tithraustes his successeur. How carelesse the Persian Lieutenants were of the Kings good.*

**A**GESILAUS newly made King of Sparta, was desirous to haue the honour of the victory, which not without cause, he expected vpon those of Asia; and therefore procuring a great Army to ioyne with that of *Dyrceillus*, he took his way in great pomp to Aulis in Boeotia, a Haven, lying opposite to the Island of Eubœa; in which place *Agamemnon* (leading the power of all Greece to the war against Troy, many Ages before) had embarked his men. In imitation of *Agamemnon* he meant also to doe sacrifice in Aulis, which the Thebans, Lords of that Country, would not permit, but saying, that the performance of such ceremonies in that place, belonged vnto their Officers; they were so vnable to conceale their malice, that sending some Companies of horse, they threw downe his sacrifice from the Altar. It was not then convenient time for *Agesilaus* to entangle himselfe and his Country in a new warre; therefore waiting better opportunity of reuenge, he quietly swallowed the contumely, and followed his maine intent. Hauing landed his men at Ephesus, he was entertained by *Tissaphernes* with a Treaty of peace, wherein *Agesilaus* peremptorily requiring that the Persian should restore to liberty all the Greek Towns in Asia, was promised that the King, being first informed of his demand, should send answer to his good liking, if he would in the meane while make Truce. Truce was therefore made, which *Tissaphernes* had sought, only to win time of making prouision for the warre, and getting supply of men and money from *Artaxerxes*; whilest *Agesilaus* was busie in settling the estates of his confederate Cities on that side of the Sea. The end of this long vacation from war was at the coming downe of the forces which *Artaxerxes* had sent: at what time *Agesilaus* received a plaine message from *Tissaphernes*, that either he must forth-with depart out of Asia, or make good his abode by strong hand. *Agesilaus* returning word, that he was glad to heare that his enemies had by perjury deserued vengeance from Heauen, prepared to invade them; and sending word to all the Towns which lay between him and Caria, that they should prouide victuals & other necessities for his Army, did easily make *Tissaphernes* beleue, that his intent was to invade that Province wherein *Tissaphernes* dwelt, and which was vsit for Horse, in which part of his forces the Persian had most confidence. Therefore *Tissaphernes* bestowing all his Companies of foot in Caria, entred with his horse into the plains of *Meander*, hoping thereby to stop the passage of a heauie foot-Army, not suffering them to passe into that Country which was fittest for their service. But the Greekes left him waiting there in vaine, and marched directly into Phrygia, where they tooke great spoyle without resistance, till such time as the Horse-men of *Pharnabazus* met him, who in a small skirmish hauing the better of the Greekes, were the occasion that *Agesilaus* returned to Ephesus. Although in this last fight only twelue men were lost, yet *Agesilaus* perceiuing by that triall how hard it would be to preuaile, and hold the mastery of the field, without a greater strength of Horse, tooke all possible care to encrease that part of his forces. By which means hauing enabled himselfe, whilest winter lasted, he entred vpon the Country of *Tissaphernes*, as soone as the season of the yeare would permit, and not only tooke a great booty, but finding the Horse-men of *Tissaphernes* in the plaine of *Meander*, without assistance of their infantry, he gaue them battaile, and had a great victory, taking their Campe in which he found great riches. The blame of this losse fell heauie vpon *Tissaphernes*, who either vpon cowardise had absented himselfe from the battaile, or following some other businesse, was then at Sardis. For which cause his Master hauing him in distrust, and thinking that peace might be the sooner had, which he much desired, if the man, so odious to the whole Nation of the Greekes, were taken out of the way, he sent into those parts *Tithraustes* a Persian, to cut off the head of *Tissaphernes*, and succed him in the government. Such was the end of this base and cowardly Politician, who little caring to offend Heauen, when by perjury he could aduance his purposes on Earth, failed at the last through too much ouer-weening of his owne wisdom, even in that part of cunning, wherein he thought himselfe most perfect; for supposing

posing, that by his great skill in subtile negotiation he should one way or other circum-  
uent the Greeks, and make them weary of Asia; he did not seeke to finish the warre, and  
according to his Masters will, bring all things speedily to quiet, but rather to tempo-  
rize, till he might finde some opportunity of making such end as best might stand with  
the Kings honour and his owne. Wherein it seemes that he much mistooke his Princes  
disposition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aide which he did bring in  
his time of danger, yet would he much more gladly haue taken it, if he could haue found  
such meanes whereby the danger in selfe might haue bene auoided: as not loosing to  
haue warre, whilst by any conditions (honourable or not) he might obtaine peace. And  
this appeared well by the course which *Tithraustes* took at his first possession of the low-  
Countries. For he sent Embassadors to *Agessilaus*, in very friendly sort, letting him know,  
that the man who had been Author of the warre, was now taken out of the way; and  
that it was the Kings pleasure to let the Greeks enioy their owne lawes and liberty, vpon  
condition, that they should pay him the tribute accustomed, and the Army be forth-  
with dismissed. The answer to this proposition, was by *Agessilaus* referred to the Coun-  
cill of Sparta; in the meane season he was content to transerre the warre into the Pro-  
uince of *Pharnabazus*, at the request of *Tithraustes*, who bought his departure with thir-  
ty Talents.

This was a strange manner of Warre, both on the offense and on the defense part.  
For *Agessilaus* hauing entertained great hopes of vanquishing the great King, was conten-  
ted to forbear his seuerall Prouinces, at the entreaty of the Lieutenants: & those Lieu-  
tenants being employed by the King to maintaine his Estates against all enemies (where-  
in if they failed, they knew that their heads might easily be taken from their shoulders)  
were little offended at any losse that fell on their next Neighbour-Princes, which were  
subiect likewise to the same Crowne of Persia, so long as their owne gouernment could  
be preferred free from waste and danger. The cause of this disorder on the Persian side,  
I can ascribe to nothing so deseruedly, as to the corrupted estate of the Court, wherein  
Eunuches, Concubines, and ministers of pleasure, were able by partiall contribution to  
countenance, or disgrace, the actions of such as had the managing of things abroad, and  
to that foolish manner of the Kings (which was so viual that it might be called a rule) to  
reward or punish the Prouinciall Gouernour, according to the benefit or losse, which  
the Country giuen in charge vnto each of them, receiued, during the time of his rule.  
Whereby it came to passe, that as euery one was desirous to make his owne Territory  
yeeld a large increase to the Kings treasure; so no man was careful to assist his border-  
ers, if losse or danger might thereby grow to himselfe and his; but sat still as an idle  
beholder, whence perhaps by ioyning their forces, it had not bin vnease to recompence  
the spoile of one Country, by conquering another, or defending a third from far greater  
miseries.

## §. V.

*The warre and Treaty betweene Agessilaus and Pharnabazus.*

**A**gessilaus hauing thus compounded with *Tithraustes*, entred Phrygia, burning and  
wasting the Country without resistance. He tooke the Palace of *Pharnabazus*,  
and by his Lieutenant draue him out of his Campe. These actions, together  
with his honourable behaviour, which added much to their lustre, were more glorious  
than profitable. For he did not win Cities and Places of strength, which might haue  
increased his power, and giuen assurance to the rest of his proceedings: but purchased  
fame and high reputation, by which he drew vnto him some that were discontented and  
stood vpon bad termes with the great King; whom he lost againe as easily, by means  
of some slight injury done to them by his vnder-Captaines. *Pharnabazus* did not en-  
close himselfe in any Towne for feare of being besieged, but kept the field, lying as neer  
as he could safely to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpose to fight, but to make  
some good end by composition, which he found not vnease to doe. For the pleasures,  
by him formerly done to the State of Sparta, in the times of their most necessity, had  
bene so great, that when he obtaining parley did set before their eyes his bounty  
towards them, and his love, which had been such, that besides many other hazzards of his  
person, he had for the rescue of their fleet when it was driuen to run a-shore at Abydus,

aduentured to ride into the Seas as farre as he could finde any ground, & fight on horse-  
backe against the Athenians) together with his faith which had neuer bene violated in  
word or deed: they knew not how to excuse their ingratitude, otherwise than by telling  
him, That hauing warre with his Master, they were enforced, against their will, to offend  
him. *Agessilaus* did make a faire offer to him, that if he would reuolt from the King to  
them; they would maintaine him against the Persian, and establish him free Prince of  
the Country wherein he was at that time onely Deputy to *Artaxerxes*. But *Pharnaba-  
zus* told him plainly, That if the King his Master did put him in trust to make war against  
them, he would not faile to doe the best that he could as their enemy, if the charge were  
taken out of his hand, and he commanded to obey another, he would then shift side, and  
betake himselfe to their alliance. The issue of this parlie was, That the Army should no  
longer abide in Phrygia, nor againe returne into it, whilst employment could be found  
elsewhere. The excuse made by *Agessilaus*, and the withdrawing of his forces out of those  
parts, were not sufficient to appease *Pharnabazus*, whom he had not inuaded for want of  
more necessary businesse elsewhere; but because his Country would yeeld great booty,  
& for the hire of thirty Talents. By this means the Lacedaemonians changed an honou-  
rable Friend into a hot Enemy, who afterwards required their vnthankfulness with  
full reuenge.

## §. VI.

*The great commotions raised in Greece by the Thebans and others, that were hyred with gold  
from the Persian.*

**I**N the meane vvhile *Tithraustes*, perceiving that *Agessilaus* meant nothing lesse  
than to returne into Greece, and let *Artaxerxes* rest quietly in Asia, tooke a vviſe  
cople, vvheryby the City of Sparta was not onely driuen to looke to her owne,  
and gve ouer her great hopes of subverting the Empire, but was beaten out of all that  
had been gotten by many late victories, and saw her Dominion restrained vnto the nar-  
row bounds of her owne Territory. He sent into Greece fifty talents of siluer, to be im-  
ploied in raising war against the Lacedaemonians; which treasure was, by the subtile pra-  
ctice of him that was put in trust with it, in such wise dispersed among the principal men  
of the Thebans, Argiues, & Corinthians, that all those Estates hauing formerly born se-  
cret hate to that of Sparta, were now desirous of nothing so much as of open war. And  
lest this great heate of the incensed multitude should, for want of present exercise, begin  
to faine, & vanish away in idle words, occasion was found out to thrust the Lacedaemo-  
nians into Armes, that they themselves might seem Authors of the quarrell. Some land  
there was in the tenure of the Locrians, to which the Thebans had in former time laid  
claim; but the Phocians either hauing the better title, or finding the greater fauour, had it  
adjudged vnto them, and receiued yearly monny for it. This monny the Locrians were ci-  
ther hired or persuaded to pay now to the Thebans, who readily accepted it. The Pho-  
cians not meaning so to lose their Rent, made a distresse by strong hand, recovering a  
great deale more than their own, which the Thebans (as in protection of their new Ten-  
nants) requited with an inuasion made vpon Phocis, wasting that Country in the maner  
of open war. Such were the beginnings of professed hostility between Thebes & Sparta;  
& the first breaking out of their close enmity, that had long time, though hardly, bin con-  
cealed. For when the Phocian Embassadors came to Sparta, complaining of the violence  
done by the Thebans, & requesting succour, they had very fauourable audience, & ready  
consent to their suit; it being the maner of the Lacedaemonians, to deferre the acknow-  
ledgement of injuries receiued, vntil occasion of reuenge were offered, & then to discouer  
their indignation in cold blood. At this time they had very good opportunity to worke  
their own wills, hauing no other war to disturbe them in Greece; & hearing out of Asia  
no news, that could offend or trouble them. Wherefore they sent *Lyfander* to raise all the  
Counties about Phocis, & with such forces as he could leuie, to attend the coming  
of *Pausanias* King of Sparta (for Sparta, as hath bin shewed before, had two Kings) who  
should follow him with the strength of Peloponnesus. *Lyfander* did as he was appoint-  
ed, & being of great reputation in those parts, he drew the Orchomenians to reuolt from  
Thebes. *Pausanias* likewise raised all Peloponnesus, except the Corinthians, (who refused  
to assist him in that enterprize) meaning to ioyne with *Lyfander*, & make a speedy end

of the warre. The consideration of so great a danger, approaching so swiftly, caused the Thebans to seeke what help they could abroad, for as much as their owne strength was far too little to make resistance against such mighty preparations. It was not unknown to them, that many followers of the Lacedæmonians were otherwise affected in heart than they durst utter in countenance; but the good wishes of such people were little available, considering that the most which could be expected from them, was, that they should do as little hurt as they could: by which manner of tergiversation, the Corinthians did at that present cast themselves into the displeasure of the Spartans, to the no great benefit of Thebes. Wherefore it was thought the safest course, to procure the assistance of some Estate that might presently declare it selfe on their side, which would cause many others to follow the example, and make their party strong. To this end they sent Embassadors to Athens, excusing old offences, as either not committed by public allowance, or done in time of the generall warre, and recompensed with friendship lately shewne in their refusal of assisting *Paulanias*, when he came in behalfe of the thirty Tyrants, against the good Citizens of Athens. In regard of which, and for their owne Honour sake, they requested them of aide in the present warre, offering to doe the best that they could for the restoring of Athens to her former Estate & Dignity. *Thrasybulus* and his Friends, who persecuted by the thirty, had been well entertained at Thebes, procured now the City to make a large requittall of the courtesie which they had received. For it was decreed, that the State of Athens should not only refuse to aide the Lacedæmonians in this Warre; but that it should assist the Thebans, and engage it selfe in their cause. Whilest *Paulanias* lay still, waiting the arrivall of his Confederates, *Isander* being desirous to do somewhat that might advance the businesse in hand, came to *Haliartus*, where though *Paulanias* did not meet him, as had been appointed, yet he attempted the Towne, and was slaine in fight by the Thebans, who came hastily to therefore. As this victory did encourage the Thebans, so the coming of *Paulanias* with his great Army did againe amaze them, with presentation of extreame danger; but their spirits were soon reuiued by the strong succour which was brought from Athens, in consideration of which, and of the late battaile, *Paulanias* durst not hazard a new fight with them, but receiuing the bodies of those that were slaine, by composition, departed out of their Territory; for which, either cowardise or indiscretion, he was at his return to Sparta condemned as a Traitor, and driuen to flie into Tegea, where he ended his daies in banishment.

## §. VII.

*How Agesilaus was called out of Asia to helpe his Country. A victory of the Spartans. Conon the Athenian, assisted by Pharnabazus, overcomes the Lacedæmonian Fleet; recouers the mastery of the Seas; and rebuilds the walls of Athens.*

**T**his good successe, & the confederacy made with Athens, gave such reputation to the Thebans, that the Argives, Corinthians, Eubœans, Locrians, and Acarnanes, did forthwith side with them, and raising a strong Army, determined to giue battaile to the Lacedæmonians as neere as they might, to their owne doors. Considering that the force of Sparta it selfe, was not great, but grew more and more by the adiunction of their Confederates. The Magistrates of Sparta perceiving the danger, sent for *Agesilaus*, who readily obeyed them, & promising his friends in Asia to returne speedily for their assistance, passed the Streights of Hellespont into Europe. In the mean time the Cities of the new league had giuen battaile to the Lacedæmonians, & the remainder of their Associates, but with ill successe. For when the right-wing of each part had gotten the better hand, the Argives & Thebans returning from the chase in some disorder, were broken & defeated by the Lacedæmonians, who meeting them in good order, won from them the Honour which they had gotten, by forcing the left-wing of the Lacedæmonians, and made the victory of that day entirely their own. The reporters of this battaile meeting *Agesilaus* at Amphipolis, were by him sent out into Asia, wherein it is not likely that they brought much comfort vnto his friends, who had since his departure seen the Spartan Fleet beaten, and *Isander* the Admirall slaine. The same man, whose endeuour had brought the Athenians into order, by advancing the Sea-forces of the Lacedæmonians with money, and all manner of supplies, was now the occasion that the power

power of Athens grew strong at Sea, when the City was despoiled of her old reputation, & scarcely able to maintain an Army by Land for her defence. *Pharnabazus* considering how much it imported the King his Master, to haue the Greeks diuided into such factions, as might utterly disable them from vndertaking abroad, thought it the safest way for himselfe, during these broiles, to take such order, that he should not need any more, to seeke peace by entreaty and commemoration of old benefits, at their hands, who vnprouoked had sold his loue for thirty Talents. To which purpose he furnished *Conon* the Athenian with eight ships, who had escaped, when the Fleet of Athens was surprized by *Isander* at *Ægos-Potamos*, giuing him the command of a great Nauy, wherewith he required the losse receiued at *Ægos-Potamos*, by repaying the Lacedæmonians with the like destruction of their Fleet at *Cnidus*. After this victory *Conon* sailed to Athens, bringing with him, partly as the liberality of *Pharnabazus*, partly as the fruit of his victory, so strong a Nauie, and so much Gold, as encouraged the Athenians to rebuild their Walls, and thinke more hopefully vpon recouering the Signiory which they had lost.

## §. VIII.

*Of sundry small victories gotten on each part. The Lacedæmonians lose all in Asia; The Athenians recouer some part of their old Dominion.*

**N**euertheless the Lacedæmonians, by many victories at Land, maintained for some yeares the honour of their Estate, endangered very greatly by this losse at Sea. For *Agesilaus* obtained the better with his horse-men from the Thessalians, who were accounted the best riders in Greece: He wasted Beotia, and fought a great battaile at *Coronea* against the Thebans, and their Allies, whom hee ouer-threw; and by his Marshall *Gylus* foraged the Country of *Locris*: which done, hee returned home.

The gain of these victories was not great, & the reputation of them was, by many losses, much defaced. For the Thebans did in the battell of *Coronea* vanquish the Orchomenians, who stood opposite vnto them, & retired vnbroken to Mount *Helicon*, opening way perforce when *Agesilaus* charged them in the returne from the pursuit. Likewise *Gylus* was slaine with a great part of his Army by the Locrians; and some other exploits by the Lacedæmonians performed against the Corinthians, were repayed with equall damage receiued in the parts adioyning; many Towns being easily taken, & as easily recovered. The variety of which enterfeats was such, that the Thebans themselves were drawn by the losse of the haue of *Corinth*, to sue for peace, but could not get audience, till such time as the newes came of a great victory obtained by *Ischierates*, General of the Athenian forces at *Lechæum*; wherupon the Theban Embassadors being sent for, and willed to doe their message, required only in scorne, to haue a safe conduct giuen them, that they might enter into *Corinth*. From this time forward the Warre was made for a while only by incursions, wherein the Achæans, Confederates of Sparta, felt most losse, their whole state being endangered by the Acarnanians, who held with the contrary side, vntill *Agesilaus* repayed these inuaders with equall, or greater calamities, brought vpon their owne Lands, which did so afflict the Acarnanes, that they were driuen to sue for peace. But the affairs at Sea were of most consequence, vpon which the successe of all depended. For when the Towns of Asia perceived, that the Lacedæmonians were not only intangled in an hard war at home, but almost disabled to passe the Seas, hauing lost their Fleet at *Cnidus*; they soon gaue care to *Pharnabazus*, who promised to allow that they should vse their own lawes, if they would expell the Spartan Go-burnours. Only the City of *Abydus* did stand firme, wherin *Dercyllidas* lay, who did his best to contain all the Townes about *Hellespont*, in the alliance of the Lacedæmonians, which he could not do, because the Athenian Fleet vnder *Thrasybulus* took in *Byzantium*, *Chalcedon*; and other places thereabout, reducing the Ile of *Lesbos* to their ancient acknowledgement of Athens.

## S. IX.

The base conditions offered vnto the Persian by the Lacedæmonian. Of sundry fights and other passages in the warre. The peace of Antalcidas.

About this time the Spartans began to perceiue how vnease a thing it would be, to maintain the warre against men as good as themselves, assisted with the treasures of Persia: wherefore they craued peace of *Artaxerxes*, most basely offering, not onely to renounce the Greeks inhabiting Asia, and to leaue them to the Kings disposition, but withall to fet the Islanders, & euery Town in Greece, as well the little as the great, at full and absolute liberty, whereby they said that all the principall Estates of their Country would be so weakened, that no one, nor all of them should be able to stir against the great King. And sure it was, that the power of the Country being so broken and rent into many small pieces, could neither haue disquieted the Persian, by an offensive warre, nor haue made any good defence against him, but would haue left it easie for him in continuance of time, to haue taken the Cities one after another, till he had made himselfe Master of all. The Spartans were not ignorant of this, but were so carried with enuie, that perceiuing how the dominion of the Seas was like to returne to Athens, they chose rather to giue all from themselves and others, and make all a-like weak, than to permit that any of their owne Nation should grow stronger than themselves, who so lately had commanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the first accepted, both in regard that the other Estates of Greece, who had in the Kings behalfe ioyned together against the Lacedæmonians, did by their severall Embassadors oppose themselves vnto it, & for that it was thought safest for *Artaxerxes*, rather to weaken the Lacedæmonians yet more, than by interposing himselfe to bring friends and foes on the fiddlen to an equality. Especially *Struthas*, whom *Artaxerxes* had sent as his Lieutenant into the low Countries, did seek to repay the harme done by *Agessilas* in those parts: which his intent appearing plaine, and all hope of the peace being thereby cut off, *Thimbro* was sent into Asia to make warre vpon *Struthas*; and others were appointed to other places, whereby the warre being scattered about, all the Isles and Townes on the firme Land, grew almost to the manner of Piracy and Robbery, affording many skirmishes, but few great actions worthy of remembrance. *Thimbro* was slaine by *Struthas*, & in his place *Dibridus* was sent, who demeaned himselfe more warily. *Dercyllides* was removed from his charge at Abydus, because he had not impeached *Thrasibulus* in his enterprises about Hellespont; *Anaxibius*, who succeeded him, was surpris'd & slaine in a skirmish by *Sphicrates* the Athenian. *Thrasibulus*, departing from Lesbos toward Rhodes, was slaine by the way at Aspendus. The city of Rhodes had long before ioyned with the Lacedæmonians, who erected there (as was their maner) an Aristocratic, or the Government of a few the principall Citizens; whereas contrariwise the Athenians were accustomed to put the Soueraignty into the hands of the people, each of them seeking to assure themselves, by erecting in the town of their Confederates a government like vnto their own: which doing, where more especiall cause did not hinder, caused the Nobility to fauour Sparta, & the Commons to incline to Athens. The people of *Agina* roued vpon the coast of Attica, which caused the Athenians to land an Army in *Agina*, & besiege their Towne: but this siege being raised by the assistance of the Lacedæmonian fleet, the Islanders began a new to molest Attica, which caused the Athenians to man their ships again, that returned beaten, hauing lost foure of thirteen. The losse of these ships was soon recompensed by a victory which *Chabrias* the Athenian Generall had in *Agina*, where vpon the Islanders were faine to keepe home, and leaue to the Athenians the Seas free. It may well seem strange that the City of Athens, hauing but newly raised her walls, hauing not by any fortunate & important battell secured her estate from dangers by land, but only depending vpon the assistance of such Confederates, as carried vnto different ends, had often discovered themselves irresolute in the common cause; would send a Fleet & an Army to Cyprus, in defence of *Euaerorus*, when the mastery of the Seas was so ill assured, that an Island lying in the cie of *Pyræum*, had ability to vex the coast of Attica. But as the ouer-weening of that City did cause it vsually to embrace more than it could compass; so the infoleny & humblesse iniustice of the people, had now bred in the chiefe Commanders, a desire to keepe themselves farre out of sight, and to seek employments at such distance

distance as might secure them from the cie of the enuious, & from publike iudgements, out of which, few or none escaped. For which cause *Timotheus* did passe away much part of his time in the Ile of *Lesbos*; *Sphicrates* in *Thrace*; and *Chabrias* now did carry away into *Cyprus* a greater force than his Country well could haue spared: with which he returned not when the businesse in *Cyprus* came to an end, but sought new adventures in *Egypt*; whereby arose neither thanks to himselfe, nor profit to his City, though honour both to him and it. The Athenians being thus carelesse of things at hand, had a notable blow giuen vnto them, shortly after that *Chabrias* was gone to *Cyprus*, euen within their owne Hauens. For *Telesites*, a Lacedæmonian, being made Gouvernour of *Agina*, conceived a strong hope of surprising the Naue of *Athens*, as it lay in *Piræum*; thinking a right that it was an harder matter to encounter with ten ships prepared for the fight, than with twenty lying in harbour, whose Mariners were asleepe in their Cabbins, or drinking in *Tauernies*. Wherefore he sailed by night into the mouth of the Port, which entering at the breake of day, hee found (according to his expectation) most of the men on shore, and few or none left aboard to make resistance: by which meanes hee tooke many ships laden with merchandizes, many filther-men, passengers, and other Vessels, also three or foure Gallies, hauing sunke or broken, and made vsenueicable, as many of the rest as the time would suffer. About this time *Pharnabazus*, the Lieutenant of *Phrygia*, had one of the Kings Daughters giuen to him in marriage, with whom he liued about the Court; and many Officers that faoured the Lacedæmonians were placed in the lower Asia; by whose assistance the Fleet of *Sparta* grew victorious about *Hellespont*; in such wise, that perhaps they should not haue needed the peace, which they themselves procured by *Antalcidas*, from the great King, the conditions whereof were such as are mentioned before, giuing freedom to all the Cities of Greece, and diuiding the Country into as many severall States as were petty Boroughes in it. Thus *Artaxerxes* hauing bought his owne peace with money, did likewise by his money become Arbitrator and decider of Controuersies betwene the *Greekes*, disposing of their businesse in such wise as stood best with his owne good. The tenor of *Artaxerxes* his decree was, That all Asia and *Cyprus* should be his owne, the Isles of *Lesbos*, *Iambus*, and *Scirus* be subject to *Athens*; all other *Greece* Towns, as well the little as the great, be set at liberty; and that whosoever should refuse this peace, vpon them the approuers of it should make warre, the King assisting them by Land and Sea, with men, and ships, and treasure. The Athenians were so discouraged by their losses at Sea; the Lacedæmonians by reuolt of their Confederates, and the necessity of maintaining many Garrisons, for which they wanted money; and other States by the miseries of the warre, whereof they saw no end; that all (excepting the *Thebans*) did consent vnto these Articles. This was called the peace of *Antalcidas*: whereof the Lacedæmonians taking vpon themselves the execution, did not onely compell the *Argines* to depart out of *Corinth* (which vnder pretence of defending they held by Garrisons, lately thrust into it, not as Patrons, but as Lords) and the *Thebans* to leaue *Boeotia* free, of which Prouince *Thebes* had alwaies held the government: the *Thebans* themselves being also comprehended vnder the name of the *Boeotians*; but caused the *Mantineans* to throw downe their owne City, and to dwell in Villages: alleging that they had formerly beene accustomed so to doe, though purposing indeed to chastise them, as hauing beene ill affected to *Sparta* in the late Warre. By these courtesies the Lacedæmonians did hope that all the small Townes in Greece would, when occasion should require it, willingly follow them in their warres, as Authors of their liberty; and that the great Cities hauing lost all their dependants, would be vnable to make opposition.

## §. X.

The warre which the Lacedæmonians made vpon *Olynthus*. They take *Thebes* by treason; and *Olynthus* by famine.

Hisle the Warres, which ended without either victory or profit, consumed the riches and power of Greece, the Citie of *Olynthus* in *Thrace* was growne so mighty, that shee did not onely command her Neighbour Townes, but was also become terrible to places farre remooued, and to *Sparta* it selfe. Great part of *Macedonia*, together with *Pella*, the principall Citie of that Kingdome, was taken by the *Olynthians*,

*Olynthians*, vvhio following the vsuall pretence of the *Lacedemonians*, to set at libertie the places ouer which King *Amyntas* did tyrannize, had almost now driuen him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themselves. The Citizens of *Acanthus* and of *Apollonia*, being neereft vnto the danger of those inchoaching neighbours, acquainted the *Lacedemonians* with their feare, affirming that this Dominion of the *Olynthians* would be too strong for all *Greece*, if continuance of time should giue it reputation, which onely it wanted: wherefore they requested assistance, but in such termes as did found of compulsion, protesting that either they must warre vpon *Olynthus*, or become subiect vnto her, and fight in her defence. Hercupon was made a hastic leuie of men, two thousand being presently sent away, with promise to be seconded by a greater Armie. Whilest these two thousand gaue such beginning to the warre, as agreed with their small number, the body of the Armie following them, surprized the Cittadell of *Thebes*, which was betrayed into the hand of *Phæbidæ*, the *Lacedemonian*, by some of the Magistrates, who sought to strengthen their faction by the flauerie of their Country. The *Thebans* were ill affected to *Sparta*, but had not in any one point violated the peace lately made between them, vvhich caused the *Lacedemonians* to doubt whether this act of *Phæbidæ* were more worthy of reward or of punishment. In conclusion, profit so farre ouer-weighed honestie, that the decde was approued, many principall Citizens of *Thebes* condemned to death, many driuen into banishment, and the Traitors rewarded with the gouernment of the Citie: by whose authoritie, and the force of the Garison, the *Thebans* were compelled to serue the *Lacedemonians*, in all, and more than all that they could require. This access of power hauing strengthened the *Lacedemonians*, caused them to entertaine the greater forces about *Olynthus*, vvhich (notwithstanding the losse of one great battaile, & some other disasters) they compelled at length by famine to render it selfe vnto their obedience.

## §. X. I.

*How the Thebans recovered their libertie, druing out the Lacedemonian Garison.*

**A**fter this *Olynthian* Warre, which endured almost three yeares, it seemed that no Estate in *Greece* was able to make head against that of *Sparta*: but it was not long ere the *Thebans* found a meanes to shake off their yoaके, and gaue both example and meanes to others to do the like. One of the banisht men found by conference with a Scribe of the *Theban* Magistrates, comming to *Athens*, that the tyrannie vvhich his Countie was oppressed, pleased him no better than it did those who for feare of it were fledde from home. Whereupon a plot was layd betweene the two, that soore found very good successe, being managed thus. Seven of the banished men forsooke *Athens* priuily, and entred by night into the fields of *Thebes*, vvhich spending the next day secretly, they came late in the euening to the Gates like husband-men returned from worke, and so passed vndiscovered vnto the house of *Charon*, vvhom *Phyllidas* the Scribe had drawne into the conspiracie. The day following, a solemne feast being then held in the Citie, *Phyllidas* promised the Gouernours, who were insolent & lustfull men, that he would conueigh vnto them that night the most beautifull Dames of the Towne, with whom they should take their pleasure. Hauing cheared them with such hope, and plentie of good wine, he told them when the time of performance (which they vrged) came that he could not make good his promise, vnlasse they would dismisle their followers, because the Gentlewomen, who attended without a Chamber, would not endure that any of the seruants should see their faces. Vpon this occasion the attendants were dismissed, and the Conspirators, attired like Ladies and their Maides, brought into the place, vvhio taking aduantage of the Gouernours loose behauiour, slew them all vpon the sodaine with Daggers, which they brought hidden vnder their garments. Then presently casting off their disguise, they went to other places, where feigning themselves to come to the Gouernours vpon business, they got admittance, and likewise slew those which were of the *Lacedemonian* faction. By the like deuice they brake into the prison, slew the *Gaoler*, and set at liberty such as they thought meet; and being followed by these desperate men, proclaimed libertie, making the death of the Tyrants known. The Captaine of the Castle hearing the sodaine Proclamation, thought the Rebels to be stronger than indeede they were: the Citizens contrariwise mistrusted, that it was

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a practice to discouer such as would be forward vpon occasion of revolting. But as soon as day-light reuealed the plaine truth, all the people tooke armes & besieged the Castle, sending hastily to *Athens* for succour. The Garison also sent for aide vnto the Townes adioyning, whence a few broken troupes comming to the rescue, were defeated in the way by the horse-men of *Thebes*. On the other side the banished *Thebans* did not only make speed to assist their Countie-men, but procured some *Athenians* to ioine with them, & thereby came so strong into the Citie, that the Castle was yeelded, more through feare than any necessitie, vpon condition that the Souldiers might quietly depart with their Armes, for which composition the Captaine at his returne to *Sparta* was put to death. When the newes of the doings at *Thebes*, and the successe arrived at *Sparta*, an Armie was raised forth-with, and all things prepared as earnestly for the recouering of that Citie, as if some part of their ancient inheritance had bin taken from the *Lacedemonians*, and not a Towne perfidiously vsurped by them, restored to her own liberty. *Cleombrotus*, one of the Kings, was sent on this expedition, vvhio hauing wearied his followers with a toilesome Winters iourney, returned home without any good or harme done; leaving *Sphodrius*, with part of his Armie, at *Thebes*, to intell the *Thebans*; who doing them some displeasures, made large amends by a foolish attempt vpon the Hauens of *Athens*, which failing to take, he wasted the Countie adioyning, and draue away Carrell, causing by this outrage the *Athenians* to enter with all their power into the War, out of which they were before very carefully seeking how they might possibly with-draw themselves.

## CHAP. XII.

*Of the flourishing estate of Thebes, from the battaile of Leuctra, to the battaile of Mantinea.*

## §. I.

*How Thebes and Athens ioined together against Sparta. How the Athenians made peace for themselves, and others, out of which the Thebans were excluded. The battaile of Leuctra, and beginning of the Theban greatnesse.*

**T**HE *Lacedemonians* were men of great resolution, and of much grauitie in all their proceedings, but one dishonourable rule that held, That all respects withstanding the commoditie of *Sparta* were to be neglected; the practice of which doctrine, euen by the best & wisest of them, did greatly blemish that Estate: but when it was put in execution by insufficient ouer-weening men, it fel-dome failed to bring vpon them in stead of profit vniustly expected, both shame and losse. And so it befall them in these enterprises of *Phæbidæ*, vpon the Castle of *Thebes*, and *Sphodrius* vpon the *Piræus*. For, howsoeuer *Agesilaus* did spoyle the Country about *Thebes*, in which he spent two Summers, yet the diligence of the *Thebans* repaired all, who by the good successe of some attempts, grew stronger than they were at the first.

The *Athenians* likewise began to looke abroad, laying to the Isle of *Corcyra*, where they ordered things at their pleasure, and hauing in some fights at Sea preuniled, began as in the *Peloponnesian* Warre, to surround *Peloponnesus* with a Nauie, assisting to the *Lacedemonians*, that had not the *Thebans* by their insolencie wearied their friends, and caused them to seeke for peace, it had bin very likely that the end of this warre, should haue soone come to a good ende, which neuerthelesse, being prosecuted by the *Thebans* (who opposed at once both these two great Estates) left the City of *Sparta* as much dejected, as the beginning found it proud and tyrannous. But the *Athenians* perceiving how *Thebes* encroached euery day vpon her weak Neighbours, not sparing such as had bin dependants vpon *Athens*, and finding themselves, whilest engaged in such a war, ynable to relieue their complaining friends, resolved to settle the affaires of

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Greece,



Greece, by renewing that forme of peace which *Anaxilaus* had brought from the *Persian*. Wherefore they sent Messengers to *Thebes*, peremptorily signifying, That it was their intent to finish the Warre; to which purpose they willed the *Thebans* to send Embassadors along with them to *Sparta*; vvho readily condescended, fearing otherwise that they should be left out of the Treaty of peace: which came to passe, being so wrought by the couragious wisedome of *Epaminondas*, vvho vvnderstood farre better than his Countymen, vvhat was to be feared or hoped. In this Treatie the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians* did soone agree; but vvhen the *Thebans* offered to sweare to the Articles in the name of the *Baotians*; *Agefilas* required them to sweare in their own name, and to leaue the *Baotians* free, vvhom they had lately reduced vvnder their obedience. Whereunto *Epaminondas* made answer, That the City of *Sparta* should giue example to *Thebes* by setting the *Laconians* free; for that the Signorie of *Baotia* did by as good right appertaine to the *Thebans*, as that of *Laconia* to the *Spartans*. This was vvell and truly spoken; but was heard vvith no patience: For *Agefilas* bearing a vehement hatred vvnto those of *Thebes*, by vvhom he was drawn backe out of *Asia* into *Greece*, and disappointed of all the glory vvwhich he had hoped to achieve by the *Persian* war, did now passionately vvgethat point of setting the *Baotians* at libertie; & finding it as obstinately refused, he dashed the name of the *Thebans* out of the league. At the same time *Cleombrotus* the other King of *Sparta* lay in *Phocia*, vvho receiued command from the Gouvernours of *Sparta* forthvvith to enter vvpon the Land of the *Thebans* with all his power; vvwhich he did, and vvvas there slain at *Leuttra*, and vvwith him the flower of his Armie. This battale of *Leuttra*, being one of the most famous that euer vvvere fought between the *Greekes*, vvvas not so notable for any circumstance fore-going it, or for the managing of the fight it self, as for the death of the King, and many Citizens of *Sparta*; but especially, for that after this battell (betwene vvwhich and the conclusion of the generall peace there passed but twentie daies) the *Lacedemonians* were neuer able to recouer the strength and reputation vvwhich had formerly made them redoubted farre and neere; whereas contrariwise the *Thebans*, vvwhose greatest ambition had in former times confined it selfe vvnto the little Region of *Baotia*, did now begin to vvndertake the leading and command of many People and Estates, in such vvise, that soone after they brought an Armie of threescore and ten thousand strong vvnto the Gates of *Sparta*. So much do the afflictions of an hard warre, vvvaliantly endured, aduance the affaires of the distressed, and guide them into the vvway of Conquest, by stiffening that resolution vvwith a manly temper, vvwhich wealth & ease had through luxurie, retchlesnes, and many other vvices or vanities, made rustie and effeminate.

## S. II.

How the Athenians tooke vvpon them to maintain the peace of Greece. New troubles hme arising. *Epaminondas* innadeth and vvasteth the Territorie of *Lacedemon*.

The *Athenians*, refusing to take aduantage of this ouerthrow fallen vvpon their old Enemies, and new Confederates the *Lacedemonians*; did neuertheless finely giue them to vvnderstand, that their Dominion was expired, and therefore their pride might vvell be laid away. For taking vvpon themselues the maintenance of the peace lately concluded, vvwhich *Agefilas* (perhaps of purpose to make benefit of quarrels that might arise) had left vvnprefect, they assembled the Deputies of all the Estates confederated at *Athens*, vvwhere the generall libertie of all Townes, as vvwell as great, was ratified, vvnder the stile of the *Athenians*, and their Associates. Herevvpon began fresh garboiles. The *Mantineans*, claiming power by this decree to order their affaires at their own pleasure, did (as it vvwere) in despite of the *Spartans*, vvwho had enforced them to raise their town, reedifie it, and allie themselues vvwith such of the *Arcadians* as stood vvwith affected to *Sparta*. The *Arcadians*, a strong Nation, consisting of many Cities, vvvere distracted vvwith factions, some desiring to hold good correspondency vvwith the *Lacedemonians*, some to vvweaken & keepe them low, yet all pretending other ends. The *Lacedemonians* durst not giue impeachment to the *Mantineans*; nor take vvpon them to correct their ill-willers among the *Arcadians*, till such time as the factions brake out into vvviolence, and each part called in foraine helpe. Then was an Armie sent from *Sparta*, as it vvwere in defence of the people of *Tegea*, against the *Mantineans*, but indeed against them both. *Agefilas* had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The *Thebans* had by this time subdued the

the *Thebans* and vvwere become head of the *Eorians*, *Acarnanians*, *Enchaens*, and many others, vvwith the power of vvwhich Countries they entered *Peloponnesus* in fauour of the *Arcadians*, vvwho had, vvpon expectation of their coming, abstained from giuing battaile to *Agefilas*. The Armie of the *Spartans*, being dismissed, and *Epaminondas* ioyned vvwith the *Arcadians*, the Region of *Laconia* vvvas invaded & spoyled: a thing so strange, that no Oracle vvould haue found beliet it any had foretold it. Almost 600. yeares vvwere spent, vvsince the *Dorians*, vvnder the posteritie of *Hercules*, had seized vvpon *Laconia*, in all vvwhich time the sound of an enemies trumpet vvvas not heard in that Countrie: Ten yeares vvwere not fully past, vvsince all *Greece* vvvas at the deuotion of the *Spartans*; but now the Region vvwhich vvwith *Xerxes* vvwith his huge Armie could once looke vvpon, nor the mighty forces of *Athens*, and other enemye States had dared to set foot on, vvsluing by stealth, vvvas all on a light fire, the vvvery smoke vvwhereof the vvwomen of *Sparta* vvwere ashamed to behold. At vvwhich indignitie notwithstanding, the *Lacedemonians* did not issue out of *Sparta* to fight, but sought how to preserve the Towne, setting at libertie as many of their *Heiotes* or *Slaves* vvwere vvilling to beare Armes in defence of the State; & somewhat pittifully entreated the *Athenians* to giue them succour. From *Corinth* & some Townes of *Peloponnesus* they receiued speedy assistance; the *Athenians* came forward more slowly, so that *Epaminondas* returned vvwithout battell, hauing re-builled the Citie of *Messene*, and peopled it vvnew by calling home the ancient inhabitants, vvvhom the *Lacedemonians* many ages before had chased away to other Countries, possessing their Territories themselues.

## S. III.

The Composition betwene *Athens* and *Sparta* for command in warre against the *Thebans*, vvwho againe invade and spoyle *Peloponnesus*. The vvunfortunate presumption of the *Arcadians*.

This iourne therefore vtterly defaced the reputation of the *Spartans*, in such vvise, that they did no longer demand the conduct of the Army, vvwhich vvvas to be raised, nor any manner of precedence: but sending Embassadors from *Sparta*, and from all the Cities vvwhich held league vvwith it, vvnto *Athens*, they offered to vvyeeld the Admiraltie to the *Athenians*, vvrequesting that they themselues might be Generals by Land. This had been a composition vvwell agreeing vvwith the situation and qualitie of those two Cities; but it vvvas vvrejected, because the Mariners and others that vvwereto be employed at Sea, vvwere men of no marke or estimation, in regard of those companies of horse and foot, vvwhereof the Land-Armie vvvas compounded, vvwho being all Gentlemen or Citizens of *Athens*, vvwere to haue serued vvnder the *Lacedemonians*. Wherefore it vvvas agreed that the Authority should be diuided by time, the *Athenians* ruling vvsome daies, the *Lacedemonians* other vvsome, and so vvsuccessfully that each of them should haue command of all, both by Land and by Sea. It is manifest, that in this conclusion vvaine ambition vvvas more regarded than the common profit; vvwhich must of necessity be vvvery slowly aduanced vvwhere consultation, resolution, and performance are so often to change hands. This appeared by a second invasion of *Peloponnesus*, vvwherein the *Thebans* found their enemies so vvunable to impeach them, that hauing fortified *Ilthmus* from Sea to Sea, as in former times they had done against *Xerxes*, they vvwere driven out of their strength by *Epaminondas*, vvwho foraged the Countrey vvvvithout resistance. But as the Articles of this league betwene *Athens* and *Sparta* did, by diuiding the conduct in such manner, disable the societie, and make it insufficient to those ends for vvwhich it vvvas concluded; so the example of it vv wrought their good, by filling the enemies heads vvwith the like vanitie. For the *Arcadians* considering their owne numbers vvwhich they brought into the field, and hauing found by many trials that their people vvwere not inferior to others in strength of body, in courage, or in good Souldiership, thought it good reason that they should in like manner share the gouernment, vvwith their friends the *Thebans*; and not alvvwaies continue followers of others, by increasing vvwhose greatnesse they should strengthen their owne yoke. Herevvpon they began to demaene themselues vvvery insolently, vvwhereby they grew hateful to their Neighbors, and suspected of the *Thebans* in an ill time. For a motion of generall peace hauing bin made (vvwhich tooke not effect, because the Citie of *Messene* vvvas not abandoned to the *Lacedemonians*) the next enterprise of the *Spartans* & their friends vvvas vvpon these *Arcadians*, vvwho relying too much vvpon their owne vvworth,

were ouerthrowne in a great battaile, their calamitie being as pleasing to their Confederates, as to their Enemies.

## S. IIII.

*The great growth of the Theban Estate. Embassages of the Greeks to the Persian, with the reasons why he most favoured the Thebans. Troubles in the Persian Empire. The fruitlesse issue of the Embassages.*

**T**He Thebans especially reioyced at the Arcadians misfortune, considering, that without their aide, the successe of all enterprises proued so ill; whereas they themselves had by their owne power accomplished very well whatsoever they tooke in hand, and were become not onely victorious ouer the Lacedemonians, but patrons ouer the Thessalonians, and moderatours of the great quarrels that had risen in Macedonia; where compounding the differences about that Kingdome, as pleased them best, they carried Philip the Sonne of Amyntus and Father of Alexander the Great, as an Hostage vnto Thebes. Having therefore obtained such reputation, that little seemed wanting to make them absolute Commanders of all Greece, they sought meanes of alliance with the Persian king, to whom they sent Embassadours the great and famous Capitaine Pelopidas, whose reputation drew Artaxerxes to grant vnto the Thebans all that they desired; whereof two especiall points were, That Mespene should remaine free from the Lacedemonians, and that the Athenians should forbear to send their ships of Warre to Sea; only the latter of these two was somewhat qualified with reference to further aide. The other States of Greece did also send their Embassadours at the same time, of whom few or none receiued much contentment. For the King hauing found by long experience, how farre it concerned him to maintaine a sure partie in Greece, did vpon many weightie considerations resolute, to binde the Thebans firmly vnto him; iustly expecting, that their greatnesse should be on that side his owne securitie. The Athenians had bene ancient enemies to his Crowne; and hauing turned the profit of their victories vpon the Persian to the purchase of a great Estate in Greece, maintained their Signorie in such puissant manner, that (sundry grievous misfortunes notwithstanding) they had endured a terrible warre, wherein the Lacedemonians being followed by most of the Greeks, and supplid with treasure, and all sorts of aide by Darius Notus, were not able to vanquish them, till their owne indiscretion brought them on their knees. The Lacedemonians being victorious ouer Athens, had no sooner established their Dominion at home, than they undertooke the conquest of Asia, from vvhich though by the commotion raised in Greece with Persian gold, they were called backe, yet hauing renewed their power, and settled things in Greece, it was not vnlikely, that they should vpon the next aduantage haue pursued the same enterprise, had not they bene impeached by this Theban Warre. But the Thebans contrariwise had alwayes discovered a good affection to the Crowne of Persia. They had sided with Xerxes in his inuasion of Greece; vvith Darius and the Lacedemonians against Athens: And finally, hauing offered much contumely to Agesilaus when he put to Sea, they drew him home by making warre on the Confederates of Sparta. Besides all these their good seruings, they were no Sea-men, and therefore vnlikely to looke abroad; vvhereupon if perchance they should haue any desire, yet were they disabled by the want of good hauentownes, which they could not seize vpon without open breach of that peace, whereof they intended to become the Executors, giuing liberty to all Cities that had at any time bene free. Wherefore Artaxerxes did vvholly condescend vnto the requests of Pelopidas, as farre forth as he might without giuing open defiance to the rest of Greece; and by that meane he purchased his owne quiet, being neuer afterward molested by that Nation in the lower Asia. The ill meane which the Greeks had to disturbe Artaxerxes, was very beneficiall to the Estate of Persia shortly after these times, in that great rebellion of all the Maritime Provinces. For had then the affaires of Greece bene so composed, that any one Citie might without impeachment of the rest haue transported an Armie, to assist the reuoluing Satraps, or Picroys: of Caria, Phrygia, Lydia, Mysia, Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphilia, Cilicia, Syria, and Phoenicia, humane reason can hardly find the meane, by which the Empire could haue bene preferred from that ruine, which the diuine Counsell had deferred vnto the dayes of Alexander. But this great conspiracie of so many large and wealthy Provinces, wanting

ing a firme body of good and hardy Souldiers, was in short space discuffed, and vanisht like a mist, vvithout effect: these effeminate Asiatics wearied quickly with the troubles and dangers incident to war, forsaking the common cause, and each man struing to be the first, that by treason to his company should both redeeme the former treason to his Prince, and purchase vvithall his owne promotion vvith encrease of riches. Of this commotion, which in course of time followed some actions not as yet related, I haue rather chosen to make short mention in this place, than hereafter to interrupt the Narration of things more important, but for that it was like a sudden storme, rashly commenced, idly followed, and foolishly layed downe, hauing made a great noise vvithout effect, and hauing small reference to any other action regardable; as also because in the whole reigne of Artaxerxes, from the warre of Cyrus, to the inuasion of Egypt, I finde nothing (this insurrection, and a fruitlesse journey against the Cadusians excepted) worthy of any mention; much lesse of digression from the course of the businesse in Greece. All, or the most of his time passed away so quietly, that he enioyed the pleasures which an Empire so great and wealthy could afford vnto so absolute a Lord, vvith little disturbance. The troubles which he found were onely or chiefly Domestically, growing out of the hatred which Parysatis the Quene-Mother bare vnto his wife Statira, and to such as had bene the greatest enemies to her sonne Cyrus, or gloried in his death: vpon whom, when by poyson and mischieuous practices she had satisfied her feminine appetite of reuenge, she thenceforth the vvholly applied her selfe to the Kings disposition, cherishing in him the lewd desire of marrying his owne Daughter, and filling him vvith the perfwasion, which Princes, not ended vvith an especiall grace, doe readily entertaine: That his owne will was the supream law of his subiect, and the rule by which all things were to be measured and adiudged to be good or euill. In this imaginative happinesse Pelopidas, and the other Embassadours of Greece, both found and left him; but left him by so much more assured than they found him, by how much the conclusion of his Treatie vvith them, being altogether to his owne aduantage, did seeme to promise, if not the perpetuities, a long continuance of the same felicity to him and his, or (at the least) a full securitie of danger from Greece, whence onely could any danger be feared. But such foundations of eternitie laied by mortall men in this transitory world, like the Tower of Babel, are either shaken from heauen, or made vaine and vvprofitable, ere the frame can be raised to full height, by confusion of tongues among the builders. Hereof was found a good example in the Thebans, and other Estates of Greece that had sent Embassadours to the Persian. For whereas it had bene concluded, that all Townes, as vvell the little as the great, should be set at liberty, and the Thebans made Protectors of this common peace, vvho therby should become the Iudges of all controuersies that might arise, and Leaders in warre of all that vvould enter into this Confederacy; the kings letters being solemnly published at Thebes, in the presence of Embassadours, drawne thither from all parts of Greece, vvhen an oath was required for obseruation of the forme of peace therein set downe, a dilatorie answer was made by the Embassadours, vvho said, that they were sent to heare the articles; not to swear vvnto them. Hereby the Thebans were driuen to send vvnto each of the Cities to requirre the Oath; But in vaine. For vvhen the Corinthians had boldly refused it, saying, That they did not neede it; others tooke courage by their example to doe the like, disappointing the Thebans of their glorious hopes, to vvhom this negotiation vvith Artaxerxes gaue neither addition nor confirmation of greatnesse, but left them as it found them to relye vpon their own swords.

## S. V.

*How all Greece was diuided betwene the Athenians and Lacedemonians, on the one side, and Thebans on the other. Of the great tumults rising in Arcadia.*

**T**He condition of things in Greece at that time did stand thus. Athens and Sparta, vvich in former times had commanded all that Nation, and each vvpon enemie of the others greatnesse drawne all their followers into a cruell intestine warre, by vvich the vvhole Countrey, and especially the Estate of these two Cities, was brought very low, did now conioyn their forces against the Thebans, vvho sought to make themselves Lords of all. The Eleans, Corinthians, & Acadians, followed the party of these ancient governing Cities; either for the old reputation of them, & benefits receiued, or in dislike

dislike of those, who by strong hand were ready to become Rulers, to which authority they could not suddenly aspire without some iniurie and much enuie. The Citie of Thebes abounding with men, whom necessity had made warlike; & many victories in few yeares had filled with great spirits; and being so mighty in dependants, that she had reduced all the continent of Greece without Peloponnesus, (the Region of Attica, and very little part beside excepted) vnder such acknowledgement, as wanted not much of subiect Vassallage, did hope to bring all Peloponnesus to the like obedience, wherein already she had set good footing by her conjunction with the States of Argos, and of Arcadia: The Argives had bene alwayes bad Neighbours to the Spartans, to whom they thought themselves in ancient Nobilitie Superiours, but were farre vnder them in valour, hauing bene often beaten out of the field by them, and put in danger of losing all: which caused them to suspect & enuie nothing more than the greatnesse and honour of Sparta, taking truce with her when she was at rest, and had leisure, to bend her whole force against them; but firmly ioyning with her enemies whensoever they found her entangled in a difficult Warre. As the Argives were, in hatred of Sparta, sure friends of Thebes, so the Arcadians, transported with a great opinion of their owne worthinesse, had formerly renounced and prouoked against their old Confederates & Leaders, the Lacedemonians, and were now become very doubtfull adherents to the Thebans. In which regard it was thought conuenient by Epaminondas, & the State of Thebes, to send an Armie into Peloponnesus, before such time as these waivering friends should fall further off, and become either Neutrall, or which was to be feared, open enemies. And surely great cause there was to suspect the worst of them, considering that without consent of the Thebans, they had made peace with Athens, which was very strange, & seemed no lesse to the Athenians themselves, who holding a firme league with Sparta at the same time when the Arcadians treated with them, did neuertheless accept this new Confederacy, not relinquishing the old, because they found that howsoever these Arcadians were enemies to the Lacedemonians, they should hereby be drawn somewhat further from their alliance with Thebes, which without them was unlikely to invade Peloponnesus with a strong Armie. But this did rather hasten, than by any means stay, the coming of Epaminondas, who finding the way somewhat more cleare for him (because the Citie of Corinth, which lay vpon the Isthmus, and had bene aduerser to Thebes, was now, by miseries of this grievous warre, driuen to become Neutrall) tooke occasion hereby, and by some disorders among the Arcadians, to visit Peloponnesus with an Armie, consisting of all the power of Thebes. A great tumult had risen in Arcadia about consecrated money, which many principall men among them had laid hands on, vnder pretence of employing it to publike vses. In compounding the differences growne vpon this occasion such as had least wil to render account of the money which had come into their hands, procured the Captaine of some Theban Souldiers, lying in Tegea, to take prisoners many of their Countreimen, as people desirous of innouation. This was done: but the vprour thereby caused was so great, that the prisoners were forth-with enlarged, and the Arcadians, who had in great numbers taken Armes, with much a-doe scarce pacified. When complaint of the Captaines proceedings came to Thebes, Epaminondas turned all the blame vpon them, who had made the peace with Athens, letting them know, that he would be shortly among them, to iudge of their fidelity, by the assistance which they should giue him, in that warre, which he intended to make in Peloponnesus. These Lordly words did greatly amaze the Arcadians; who needing not the aide of so mighty a power as he drew along with him, did vehemently suspect that great preparation to be made against themselves. Hereupon such of them as had before sought meanes to settle the affaires of their Countrey, by drawing things to some good conclusion of peace, did now forthwith send to Athens for helpe, & withall dispatched some of the principall among them as Ambassadors to Sparta, by whom they offered themselves to the common defence of Peloponnesus, now ready to be invaded. This Embassage brought much comfort to the Lacedemonians, who feared nothing more than the coming of Epaminondas, against whom they well knew, that all their forces, and best prouisions, would be no more than very hardly sufficient. Forbearing therefore to dispute about prerogatives, they (who had bene accustomed vnto such a supremacie, as they would in no wise communicate with the powerfull Citie of Athens, till other hope of securing their owne Estate could not be thought vpon) did now very gently yeelde to the Arcadians, that the

the command of the Army in chiefe, should be giuen, for the time, to that Citie, in whose Territorie it lay.

## S. V. I.

## A terrible inuasion of Peloponnesus by Epaminondas.

Certaine it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a very firme consent, and vniforme care of the common safetie. For, beside the great forces raised out of the other parts of Greece, the Argives and Messenians, prepared with all their strength to ioyne with Epaminondas; who hauing lien a while at Ne-mea, to intercept the Athenians, receiued there intelligence, that the Armeie coming from Athens would passe by Sea, whereupon he dislodged, and came to Tegea, which Citie, and the most of all Arcadia besides, forthwith declared themselves his. The common opinion was; that the first attempt of the Thebans, would be vpon such of the Arcadians as had revolted; which caused the Lacedemonian Captaines to fortifie Mantinea with all diligence, and to send for Agesilaus to Sparta, that he bringing with him all that small force of able men which remained in the Towne, they might be strong enough to abide Epaminondas there. But Epaminondas held so good eapiall vpon his Enemies, that had not an vnknowne fellow brought hasty aduertisement of his purpose to Agesilaus, who was then well onward in the vway to Mantinea, the Citie of Sparta had suddenly bene taken. For thither with all speede and secrecie did the Thebans march, who had surely carried the Citie, notwithstanding any defence that could haue bene made by that handfull of men remaining within it; but that Agesilaus in all flying haste got into it with his Companies, whom the Armeie of his Confederates followed thither to the rescue as fast as it was able. The arrivall of the Lacedemonians and their friends, as it cut off all hope from Epaminondas of taking Sparta, so it presented him with a faire aduantage vpon Mantinea. It was the time of Haruest, which made it very likely, that the Mantinians, finding the warre to be carried from their sowles into another quarter, would vse the commoditie of that vacation, by fetching in their come, and turning out their cattell into their fields, whilst no enemy was neere that might empeach them. Wherefore he turned away from Sparta to Mantinea; sending his horse-men before him, to seize vpon all that might be found without the Citie. The Mantinians (according to the expectation of Epaminondas) were scattered abroad in the Countrey; farre more intent vpon their haruest-businesse, than vpon the warre, whereof they were secure, as thinking themselves out of distance. By which presumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their Cattell, being vnable to recover the Towne, were in a desperate case; and the Towne it selfe in no great likelihood of holding out, when the enemy should haue taken all their prouision of victuals, with so many of the people as had not ouer-deerly bene redeemed, by that Citie returning to societie with Thebes. But at the same time, the Athenians coming to the succour of their Confederates, whom they thought to haue found at Mantinea, were very earnestly entreated by the Citizens to rescue their goods, and people, from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were possible by any courageous aduerture to deliuer those who otherwise were giuen as lost. The Thebans were knowne at that time to be the best Souldiers of all the Greekes, and the commendation of good horsemanship had alwayes bene giuen to the Thessalians, as excelling in that qualitie all other Nations, yet the regard of honour so wrought vpon the Athenians, that for the reputation of their Citie, which had entred into this warre, vpon no necessitie of her owne, but onely in desire of relieuing her distressed friends, they issued forth of Mantinea, not abiding so long as to refresh themselves, or their horses with meate, and giuing a lustie charge vpon the enemy, who as brauely receiued them, after a long and hotfight, they remained masters of the field, giuing by this victory a safe and easie retreat to all that were without the wals. The whole power of the Thebians arrived in the place soone after this battaile, whom the Lacedemonians and their Assistants were not farre behinde.

## S. VII.

The great battaile of Mantinea. The honourable death of Epaminondas, with his commendation.

**E**paminondas, considering that his Commission was almost now expired, and that his attempts of surprizing *Sparta* and *Mantinea*, having failed, the impression of terror which his name had wrought in the *Peloponnesians*, would soone vanish, vnlesse by some notable act he should abate their courage in their first growth, and leaue some memorable character of his expedition; resolved to giue them battaile, whereby he reasonably hoped both to settle the doubtfull affections of his own Associates, and to leaue the *Spartans* as weak in spirit and abilitie, as he found them, if not wholly to bring them into subiection. Having therefore warned his men to prepare for that battaile, wherein victory should be rewarded with Lordship of all *Greece*, and finding the alacrity of his Souldiers to be such as promised the accomplishment of his own desire; he made shew of declining the enemy, and intrenching himselfe in a place of more aduantage, that so by taking from them all expectation of fighting that day, he might allay the heate of their valour, and afterward strike their senses with amazement, when he should come vpon them vnexpected. This opinion decieued him not. For with very much tumult, as in fo great and sodaine a danger, the enemy ran to Armes, necessity enforcing their resolution, and the consequence of that dayes seruice vrging them to doe as well as they might. The *Theban* Armie consisted of thirtie thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the *Lacedemonians* and their friends were short of this number, both in horse and in foot, by a third part. The *Mantineans* (because the war was in their Countrey) stood in the right wing, and with them the *Lacedemonians*: the *Athenians* had the left wing; the *Acians*, *Elcians*, and others of lesse account, filled the body of the Armie. The *Thebans* stood in the left wing of their owne battaile, opposit to the *Lacedemonians*, hauing by them the *Arcadians*, the *Embozans*, *Locrians*, *Sicyonians*, *Asephenians*, and *Thebessians* with others, compounding the maine battaile; the *Argiues* held the right wing; the horse-men on each part were placed in the flanks, onely a troupe of the *Elcians* were in reare. Before the footmen could ioyne, the encounter of the horse on both sides was very rough, wherein finally the *Thebans* preuailed, notwithstanding the valiant resistance of the *Athenians*: who not yielding to the enemy either in courage or skill, were ouer-laid with numbers, and so beaten vpon by *Thebessians* slings, that they were driuen to forsake the place, and leaue their infanterie naked. But this retrait was the lesse disgracefull, because they kept themselves together, and did not fall backe vpon their owne foot-men; but finding the *Theban* horse to haue giuen them ouer, and withall discouering some Companies of foot, which had bene sent about by *Epaminondas*, to charge their battaile in the reare, they brake vpon them, routed them, and hewed them all in peeces. In the meane season the battaile of the *Athenians* had not onely to doe with the *Argiues*, but was hardly pressed by the *Theban* Horse-men, in such wise that it began to open, and was ready to turne backe, when the *Elcan* Squadron of Horse came vnto the reliefe of it, and restored all on that part. With some greater violence did the *Lacedemonians* and *Thebans* meete, these contending for Dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient honour, so that equal courage and equal losse on both sides made the hope and appearance of victory to either equally doubtfull: vnlesse perhaps the *Lacedemonians* being very firme abiders, might seeme the more likely to preuaile, as hauing borne the first brunt and furie of the on-set, which was not hitherto remitted; and being framed by Discipline, as it were by Nature, to excell in patience, whereof the *Thebans*, by practice of a few yeares, cannot be thought to haue gotten a habite so fure and general. But *Epaminondas*, perceiving the obstinate stiffenesse of the Enemies to be such, as neither the bad successe of their owne horse, nor all the force of the *Boeotian* Armie, could abate so farre, as to make them giue one foote of ground: taking a choise Companie of the most able men, whom he cast into the forme of a Wedge, or Diamond, by the aduantage of that figure against a Squadron, and by his owne exceeding vertue, accompanied with the great strength and resolution of them which followed him, did open their ranks, & cleaue the whole battaile in despite of all resistance. Thus was the honour of that day won by the *Thebans*, who

who may iustly be said to haue carried the victory, seeing that they remained Masters of the ground whereon the battaile was fought, hauing driuen the Enemy to lodge farther off. For that which was alleaged by the *Athenians*, as a token that the victorie was partly theirs, the slaughter of those Mercenaries vpon whom they lighted by chance in their own flight, finding them behinde their Armie, and the retaining of their dead bodies; it was a Ceremonie regardable onely among the *Greekes*, and serued merely for ostentation, shewing that by the fight they had obtained somewhat, which the Enemy could not get from them otherwise than by request. But the *Thebans* arrived at the generall immediate end of battaile; none daring to abide them in the field: whereof a manifest confession is expresse from them, who forsake the place which they had chosen or accepted, as indifferent for trial of their abilitie and prowess. This wasthe last worke of the incomparable vertue of *Epaminondas*, who being in the head of that Warlike troupe of men, which broke the *Lacedemonian* Squadron, and forced it to giue backe in disorder, was furiously charged on the sodaine, by a desperate Company of the *Spartans*, who all at once threw their Darts at him alone; whereby receiuing many wounds, he neuertheless with a singular courage maintained the fight, vsing against the Enemies many of their Darts, which he drew out of his owne body: till at length by a *Spartan*, called *Anticrates*, he receiued so violent a stroake with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leauing the yron and a peece of the truncheon in his breast. Hereupon he funke downe, and was soone conueighed out of the fight by his friends; hauing by his fall somewhat animated the *Spartans* (who faine would haue got his body,) but much more inflamed with reuengefull indignation, the *Thebans*, who raging at this heauie mischance, did with great slaughter compell their disordered enemies to leaue the field, though long they followed not the chafe, being wearied more with the sadnesse of this disaster, than with all the trauaile of the day. *Epaminondas* being brought into his Tent, was told by the Physicians, That when the head of the Dart should be drawn out of his body, he must needs dye. Hearing this, he called for his shield, which to haue lost, was held a great dishonour: It was brought vnto him. He bad them tell him which part had the victory; answer was made, that the *Boeotians* had won the field. Then said he, It is faire time for me to dye, and withall sent for *Isidas*, and *Diophantes*, two principall men of Warre, that were both slaine; which being told him, He aduised the *Thebans* to make Peace, whilst with aduantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to discharge the office of a Generall. Herewithall he willed, that the head of the weapon should be drawne out of his body; comforting his friends that lamented his death, and want of issue, by telling them, that the victories of *Leuctra* and *Mantinea* were two faire Daughters, in whom his memory should liue.

So died *Epaminondas*, the worthiest man that euer was bred in that Nation of *Greece*, and hardly to be matched in any Age or Countrey: for he equalled all others in the several vertues, which in each of them were singular. His Iustice, and Sincerity, his Temperance, Wisedome, and high Magnanimity, were no way inferior to his Militarie vertue; in euery part whereof he so excelled, that he could not properly be called a Warlike Valiant, a Politique, a Bountifull, or an Industrious, and a Proud Captain. Neither was his private Conuersation vnanswerable to those high parts, which gaue him praise abroad. For he was Graue, and yet very Affable and Curteous; resolute in publique businesse, but in his owne particular easie, and of much mildenesse: a louer of his People, bearing with mens infirmities, wittie & pleasant in speech, farre from insolence, Master of his own affections, and furnished with all qualities that might win and keepe loue. To these Graces were added great abilitie of body, much Eloquence, & very deepe knowledge in all parts of Philosophy and Learning, wherewith his minde being enlightened, rested not in the sweetnesse of Contemplation, but brake forth into such effects as gaue vnto *Thebes*, which had euer more been an vnderling, a dreadfull reputation among all people adioyning and the highest command in *Greece*.

## §. VIII.

*Of the peace concluded in Greece after the battaile of Mantinæa. The voyage of Agesilaus into Egypt. His death, and qualities; with an examination of the comparifon made betwene him and Pompey the Roman.*

**T**His battaile of Mantinæa was the greatest that had euer bin fought in that Country between the Naturals; and the last. For at *Marathon*, and *Platæa*, the populous Armies of the barbarous Nations gaue rather a great fame, than a hard triall to the *Grecian* valour, neither were the practice of Armes and Art Militarie, so perfect in the beginnings of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, as long continuance and daily exercise had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, those excepted which were vndertaken against forraine enemies, prouing for the most part vnfortunate. But in this last fight all *Greece* was interested, which neuer had more able Souldiers, and braue Commanders, nor euer contended for victory with greater care of the successe, or more obstinate resolution. All which notwithstanding the issue being such as hath bin related, it was found best for euerie particular Estate, that a generall peace should be established, euerie one retaining what he presently had, & none being forced to depend vpon another. The *Messenians* were by name comprised in this new league, which caused the *Lacedæmonians* not to enter into it. Their standing out hindred not the rest from proceeding to conclusion, considering that *Sparta* was now too weak to offend her Neighbours, and therefore might well be allowed to shew that anger in ceremonies, which had no power to declare it selfe in execution. This peace, as it gaue some breath and refreshing to all the Country, so to the Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* it afforded leisure to seeke after wealth by forraine employment in *Egypt*, whither *Agesilaus* was sent with some small forces to assist, or indeede, as a Mercenarie, to serue vnder *Tachos* King of *Egypt* in his warre vpon *Syria*. *Chabrias* the *Sithenian*, who had before commanded vnder *Acoris* King of *Egypt*, went now as a voluntary, with such forces as he could raise, by entreatie, and offer of good pay, to the same seruice. These *Egyptian* Kings descended from *Amyrtæus* of *Sais*, who rebelled against *Darius* *Nosbus*, hauing retained the Country, notwithstanding all intestine dissensions, and forraine inuasions, during three Generations of their owne race, were so well acquainted with the valour of the *Greekes*, that by their helpe (easily procured with gold) they conceived great hope, not onely to assure themselves, but to become Lords of the Prouinces adioyning, which were held by the *Persian*. What the issue of this great enterprise might haue bene, had it not fallen by Domesticall rebellion, it is vncertaine. But very likely it is, that the rebellion it self had soone come to nothing, if *Agesilaus* had not procured a false Traitor, ioyning with *Neclanebus*, who rose against his Prince, and helping the Rebelle with that Armie which the mony of *Tachos* had waged. This falshood *Agesilaus* excused, as tending to the good of his own Country; though it seeme rather, that he grudged because the King tooke vpon himselfe the Conduct of the Armie, vnder his seruice onely as Lieutenant, who had made full accompt of being appointed the Generall. Howsoeuer it came to passe, *Tachos* being shamefully betrayed by them, in whom he had reposed his chiefe confidence, fled vnto the *Persian*, vho vpon his submission gaue him gentle entertainment; and *Neclanebus* (who seemes to haue bene the Nephew of *Tachos*) reigned in his stead. At the same time the Citizens of *Mendes* had set vpon another King, to whom all, or most of the *Egyptians* yielded their obedience. But *Agesilaus* fighting with him in places of aduantage, preuailed so farre, that he left *Neclanebus* in quiet possession of the Kingdome; who in recompence of his treason to the former King *Tachos*, and good seruice done to himselfe, rewarded him with two hundred and thirtie Talents of siluer, with which bootie sailing homewards, he died by the way. He was a Prince very temperate, and valiant, and a good Leader in *Warre*, free from couetousnesse, and not reproached with any blemish of lust; which praises are the lesse admirable in him, for that the discipline of *Sparta* was such as did endue euerie one of the Citizens (not carried away by the violent streame of an ill nature) with all, or the chiefe, of these good qualities. He was neuertheless very arrogant, peruerse, vniust, and vaine, glorious, measuring all things by his owne will, and obstinately prosecuting those courses, whose ends were beyond hope. The expedition of *Xenophon* had filled him

him with an opinion, that by his hand the Empire of *Persia* should be ouerthrowne, with which conceit being transported, & finding his proceedings interrupted by the *Thebans* & their Allies, he did euer after bear such hatred vnto *Thebes*, as compelled that Estate by mere necessity to grow war-like, and able, to the vtter dishonour of *Sparta*, and the irreparable losse of all her former greatnesse. The commendations giuen to him by *Xenophon* his good friend, haue caused *Plutarch* to lay his name in the ballance against *Pompey* the Great; whose actions (the solemne grauity of carriage excepted) are very disproportionable. Yet we may truly say, That as *Pompey* made great warres vnder sundry Climates, and in all the Prouinces of the Roman Empire, exceeding in the multitude of imployments all that were before him; so *Agesilaus* had at one time or other, some quarrell with euerie Towne in *Greece*, had made a Warre in *Asia*, and medled in the businesse of the *Egyptians*, in which variety he went beyond all his Predecessours: yet not winning any Countries, as *Pompey* did many, but obtaining large wages, which *Pompey* neuer tooke. Herein also they were very like; Each of them was the last great Captain which his Nation brought forth in time of liberty, and each of them ruined the liberty of his Country by his owne Lordly wilfulnessse. We may therefore well say, *Similia magis amul quam paria*; The resemblance was neerer than the equality. Indeede the freedome of *Rome* was lost with *Pompey*, falling into the hands of *Cæsar*, whom he had enforced to take Armes, yet the Roman Empire stood, the forme of Government only being changed: But the liberty of *Greece*, or of *Sparta* it selfe, was not forfeited vnto the *Thebans*, whom *Agesilaus* had compelled to enter into a victorious Warre; yet the

Signiory, and ancient renowne of  
*Sparta* was presently lost;  
and the freedome of  
all *Greece*

being wounded in this *Theban* warre, and after much blood lost, ill healed by the peace ensuing, did very soon, vpon the death of *Agesilaus*, giue vp the Ghost, & the Lordship of the whole Country was seized by *Philip* king of *Macedon*, whose actions are now on foot, and more to be regarded than the Contemporary passages of things, in any other Nation.

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*Fini Libri Tertii.*

Tcc

THE



# THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM THE  
reigne of PHILIP OF MACEDON, to the  
establishing of that Kingdome, in the race of  
ANTIGONVS.

THE FOURTH BOOKE.

## CHAP. I.

Of Philip the Father of Alexander the Great,  
King of Macedon.

### §. I.

what Kings reigned in Macedon before Philip.



THE Greekes, of whom we haue already made large discourse, not as yet wearied with intestine War, nor made wise by their vain contention for superiority, do still as in former times, continue the inuasion and vastation of each other.

Against *Xerxes*, the greatest Monarch of that part of the World, they defended their liberty, with as happy success as euer Nation had, & with no less honor, than hath euer bin acquired by deeds of Armes. And hauing had a trial and experience, more than fortunate, against those Nations, they so little regarded what might come from them, who had so often forfeited the reputation of their forces, as whatsoeuer could be spared from their owne distraction at home, they transported over the Hellespont, as sufficient, to entertaine and busie them withall.

But, as it commonly falleth out with euery man of mark in the world, that they vnderfall, and perill, by the hands and harmes which they least feare; so fared it at this time with the Greeks. For of *Philip* of Macedon (of whom we are now to speak) they had so little regard, as they grew euen then more violent in denouncing each other, when the falling growing greatness of such a Neighbour-King, should, in regard of their owne safeties, haue serued them for a strong argument of vnion and accord. But the glory of their Persian victories, where with they were panted and made proud, taught them to neglect all Nations but themselves, and the rather to value at little the power & purposes of the Macedonians, because those Kings & States, which late neerer them than they did, had in the time of *Amintus*, the father of *Philip*, so much weakened them, & won vpon them, that they were not (as the Grecians perswaded themselves) in any one age, likely to recover

recover their owne, much lesse to worke any wonders against their borderers. And, indeed, it was not in their Philosophy to consider; That all great alterations are storme-like, suddaine, and violent; and that it is then ouer-late to repaire the decayed and broken bricke, when great rivers are once swollen, fast-running, and enraged. No, the Greeks did rather employ themselves, in breaking downe those defences, which stood between them and this inuasion, than seek to rampare and re-enforce their owne fields, which by the leuells of reason they might haue found to haue lien vnder it. It was therefore well concluded by *Orosius*: *Græci Ciuitates imperare singula cupiunt, imperium omnes perdidit*; The Cities of Greece lost their command, by striving each of them to command all.

The Kingdome of Macedon, so called of *Maccedon*, the sonne of *Orsius*, or, as other Authors affirme, of *Imper* and *Albra*, is the next Region towards the North which bordereth Greece; It hath to the East, the Aegean Sea; it is bounded on the North and North-west, by the Thracians and Illyrians, and on the South and South-west, by the Thely and Epirus.

Their Kings were of the family of *Temenus*, of the race of *Hercules*, & by Nation Argiues; who are listed as followeth. About some fixe yeares after the translation of the Assyrian Empire, *Arbaces* then gouerning Media; *Caranus* of Argos, commanded by an Oracle, to leade a Colony into Macedon, departed thence with many people, and as he was marching through that Country, the weather being raynye and tempestuous, he espied a great heard of Goats, which fled the storme as fast as they could, hasting them to their knowne place of couert. Whereupon *Caranus*, calling to minde, that he had also by another Oracle bene directed, to follow the first troupe of beasts, that should either leade him, or sic before him; He pursued these Goates to the Gates of Edessa, and being vndiscovered by the Inhabitants, by reason of the darknesse of the aire, he entred their City without resistance, and posselt it. Soone after this, by the ouerthrow of *Cisseus*, *Caranus* became Lord of the rest of Macedon, and held it eight and twenty yeares. *Caranus* succeeded *Caranus*, and reigned twelue yeares. *Tyrinus* followed *Cenus*, and ruled eight and twenty yeares.

*Perdiccas* the first, the sonne of *Tyrinus*, gouerned one and fifty yeares: a Prince, for his great valour, and many other vertues, much renowned. *Solimus*, *Plinius*, *Iustine*, *Eusebius*, *Therophilus*, *Antiochennus*, and others affirme, that hee appointed a place of buriall for himselfe, and for all the Kings of Macedon his Successours, at *Agæ*: assuring them, that the Kingdome should so long continue in his Line & Race, as they continued to lay vpon their bodies in that Sepulchre, wherein it is said, that because *Alexander* the Great failed, therefore the posterity of the *Temenidæ* failed in him: a thing rather deuised after the effect, as I conceiue, than foretold by *Perdiccas*.

*Argæus* succeeded vnto *Perdiccas*, and ruled eight and twenty yeares.

*Philip* the first, his Successour, reigned eight and twenty yeares.

*Europus* followed *Philip*, and gouerned fixe and twenty yeares: in whose infancy the Illyrians inuaded Macedon, and hauing obtained a great victory, they pursued the same, to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the Macedonians, gathering new forces, and resolving either to recover their former losse; or to lose at once both their Kingdome & their King, they carried him with them in his Cradle into the field, & returned victorious; for they were either confident that their Nation could not bee beaten (their King being present) or rather they perswaded themselves that there was no man so void of honour and compassion, as to abandon their naturall Lord, being an infant, and no way (but by the hands of his seruants) able to defend himselfe from destruction. The liels reported by *Aimonius* of *Closarius* the son of *Fredegunda*.

*Alces* succeeded *Europus*, and ruled nine and twenty yeares.

*Amintus* the first, succeeded *Alces*, and reigned fifty yeares; He liued at such time as *Darius* *Histiapes*, after his vnprosperous returne out of Scythia, sent *Megabazus* with an Army into Europe, who in *Xerxes* name required *Amintus* to acknowledge him for his Supreme Lord, by yeelding vnto him Earth and Water. But his Embassadors, as you haue heard before, were, for their insolent behauiour towards the Macedonian Ladies, slaine by the direction of *Alexander*, who was the sonne of *Amintus*, and his Successour.

*Alexander* surnamed the Rich, the sonne of *Amintus*, gouerned Macedon three and forty



forty years. He did not onely appease the wrath of *Megabazus*, for the slaughter of the Persian Embassadors, by giving *Ogys* his Sister, to *Bubares* of the bloud of Persia, but by that match he grew so great in *Xerxes* grace; as he obtained all that Region between the Mountains of Olympus and Hemus, to be vnit to the Kingdome of Macedon. Yet could not these benefits buy his affection from the Greekes. For *Xerxes* being returned into Asia, and *Mardonius* made General of the Persian Army; *Alexander* acquainted the Greeks with all his intents and purposes against them. He had three sons, *Perdiccas*, *Archelaus*, and *Philip*.

Her. lib. 8.  
Plut. Euclib.  
Iur. Gr.

*Perdiccas* the second, the sonne of *Alexander*, liued in the time of the Peloponnesian Warre, and reigned in all eight and twenty yeares. The Warres which he made were not much remarkable: the Story of them is found here and there by pieces in *Thucydides* his first sixe bookes. He left behind him two sons; *Perdiccas*, who was very young, and *Archelaus*, who was base borne.

*Perdiccas* the third, being deliuered to the custody and care of *Archelaus*, was at seven yeares of age cast into a Well and drowned by his false Guardian: who excusing this fact to *Cleopatra* the mother of the young King, said, That the child in following a Goose hastily, fell therinto by misadventure. But *Archelaus* stayed not here: for hauing thus dispatched his brother, he slew both his Vncle *Alcetas* the sonne of *Alexander* the Rich, and *Alexander* the son of this *Alcetas*, his Cosen Germaine, and enioyed the Kingdome of Macedon himselfe foure and twenty yeares.

Plat. in Corp.  
Aristot. Pol.

This *Archelaus*, of whom both *Plato* and *Aristotle* make mention, though he made himselfe King by wicked murder, yet he performed many things greatly to the profit of his Nation. It is said, That he sought by all means to draw *Socrates* vnto him, and that he greatly loued and honoured *Eurypides* the Tragedian. He had two sons, *Archelaus* and *Orestes*.

*Archelaus* the second succeeded his father, and hauing reigned seven yeares, he was slaine in hunting, either by chance, or of purpose by *Crataeus*.

*Orestes* his younger sonne was committed to the education of *Eropus*, of the royall bloud of Macedon, & had the same measure which *Archelaus* had measure to his Pupil, for *Eropus* murdered him and vsurped the Kingdome, which he held some five yeares: so the same who denied passage to *Agelilaus* King of Sparta, who desired after his returne from the Asian expedition, to passe by the way of Macedon into Greece.

Diod. Polyar.  
I. Iur. in Demet.

This Vsurper left three sons, *Pausanias*, *Argaeus*, and *Alexander*. *Pausanias* succeeded his father *Eropus*, and hauing reigned one year, he was driuen out by *Amyntas* the son of *Philip*, the son of the first *Perdiccas*, the son of *Alexander* the Rich; which *Philip* was then preferred, when *Archelaus* the Bastard slew his Brother *Perdiccas*, his Vncle *Alcetas*, and his son *Alexander*. This *Amyntas* reigned (though very vnquietly) foure & twenty yeares; for he was not only infected by *Pausanias*, assisted by the Thracians, and by his brother *Argaeus*, encouraged by the Illyrians; and by the said *Argaeus*, forty two years dispossest of Macedon: but on the other side, the Olynthians, his Neighbours neere the Aegean Sea, made themselves for a while Masters of Pella, the chiefe City of Macedon.

*Amyntas* the second had by his Wife *Eurydice* the Illyrian, three Sonnes; *Alexander* the second, *Perdiccas* the third, and *Philip* the second, Father of *Alexander* the Great; and one Daughter called *Euryone* or *Exione*: Hee had also by his second Wife *Ogys*, three Sons, *Archelaus*, *Argaeus*, and *Meneclaus*, afterward slaine by their brother *Philip*: He had more by a Concubine, *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Alorites*, of the City Alorus, wherein he was borne.

*Alexander* the second reigned not much about one year, in which time he was invaded by *Pausanias*, the sonne of *Eropus*, but defended by *Sphicrates* the Athenian, while he was at that time about Amphipolis. He was also constrained (for the payment of a great sum of money) to leaue his youngest brother *Philip* in Hostage with the Illyrians, who had subiected his father *Amyntas* to the payment of tribute. After this, *Alexander* being inuited by the Aleuadae against *Alexander* the tyrant of Pheres in Thessaly, hauing redeemed his brother *Philip*; to draw the Thebans to his assistance, entred into Confederacy with *Pelopides*, being at that time in the same Country, with whom hee also left *Philip* with diuers other principall persons for the gage of his promises to *Pelopides*. But *Eurydice* his mother falling in loue with her Sonne-in-law, who had married her Daughter

Daughter *Euryone* or *Exione*, practised the death of *Alexander* her sonne, with a purpose to conferre the Kingdome on her Paramour, which *Ptolemy Alorites* did put in execution: by meanes whereof he held Macedon for three yeares, but was soon after slaine by *Perdiccas* the brother of *Alexander*. *Diodore* hath it otherwise of *Philip* being made pledge; and saith, That *Amyntas* his Father deliuered him for hostage to the Illyrians, by whom he was conueyed to Thebes, there to be kept: others report that *Philip* (while his father was yet liuing) was first ingaged to the Thebans, and deliuered for hostage a second time by *Alexander* his brother.

*Perdiccas* the third, after hee had slaine *Alorites* his base brother, gouerned Macedon foure yeares, and was then slaine in a battaile against the Illyrians, according to *Diodorus*; but *Iustine* affirmeth, that he perished by the practice of *Eurydice* his mother, as *Alexander* the first did.

### §. II.

The beginning of Philips reigne; and how he deliuered Macedon from the troubles wherein he found it entangled.

**P**hilip the second, the youngest sonne of *Amyntas*: by *Eurydice*, hauing beene instructed in all knowledge requisite vnto the gouernment of a Kingdome, in that excellent education which he had vnder *Epaminondas*, making an escape from *Thebes*, returned into Macedon, in the first yeare of the hundred and fifti Olympiad, which was after the building of Rome three hundred fourecore and thirteen yeares; and finding the many enemies and dangers wherewith the Kingdome was enuironed, hee tooke on him, not as a King (for *Perdiccas* left a sonne, though but an infant) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the men of Warre. Yet his fruitfull ambition soone ouer-grew his modesty, and hee was easily perfwaded by the people to accept both the Title of King, and withall, the absolute Rule of the Kingdome. And to say the truth, The necessity of the State of Macedon at that time required a King both potent & active. For, besides the incursions of the Illyrians and Pannonians, the King of Thrace did set vp in opposition *Pausanias*; the Athenians, *Argaeus*; sonnes of the late *Ysopes* *Eropus*; each of these labouring to place in Macedon a King of their owne Election. These heauie burdens when *Philip* could not well beare, hee bought off the weight by money, and by faire promises vnloaded himselfe of so many of the rest, as hee ranne vnder the remainder happily enough. For, notwithstanding that his brother *Perdiccas* had his death accompanied with foure thousand Macedonians, beside these that were wounded and taken prisoners; and that the Pannonians were destroying all before them in Macedon; and that the Athenians with a Fleet by Sea, and three thousand Souldiers by Land vnder *Mantias*, did beate vpon him on all sides and quarters of his Country: Yet after he had practised the men of warre of Pannonia; and corrupted them with gifts; and had also bought the King of Thrace from *Pausanias*, he forthwith made head against the Athenians his stiffest enemies; and, for the first, he prevented their recovery of Amphipolis, a city on the frontier of Macedon: and did then pursue *Argaeus* the sonne of *Eropus*, set against him by the Athenians, and followed him so hard at the heeles, in his retreat from *Aeges*, that he forced him to abide the battaile: which *Argaeus* lost, hauing the greatest part of his Army slaine in the place. Those of the Athenians, and others which remained vnbroken, tooke the aduantage of a strong peece of ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet auoiding thereby the present fury of the Souldiers, they obtained of the vanquishers life and liberty to returne into Attica. Whereupon a peace was concluded betwene him and the Athenians for that present, and for this clemency hee was greatly renowned and honoured by all the Greekes.

### §. III.

The good succeffe which Philip had in many enterprises.

**N**ow had *Philip* leisure to looke Northward, and to attend the Illyrians and Pannonians, his irreconcilable enemies and borderers: both which he inuaded with

so prosperous successe, as he flew *Bardillus*, King of the Illyrians, with seven thousand of his Nation, & thereby recovered all those places which the Illyrians held in Macedonia: and withall, vpon the death of the King of Pannonia, he pierc't that country, and after a maine victory obtained, he enforced them to pay him tribute. This was no sooner done, than (without staying to take longer breath) he hastened speedily towards *Larissa*, vpon the riuier *Pencus* in Thessaly, of which Towne he soon made himselfe master; & thereby he got good footing in that Country, whereof he made vse in time following. Now although he resolved either to subdue the Thessalians, or to make them his owne against all others, because the horse-men of that Country were the best, and most feared in that part of Europe; yet he thought it most for his safety to close vp the entrances out of Thrace, least while he invaded Thessaly and Greece towards the South, those ample Nations, lying towards the North, should either withdraw him, or ouer-run Macedonia, as in former times. He therefore attempted *Amphipolis*, seated on the famous Riuer of *Strimon*, which parteth Thrace from Macedonia, and won it. He also recovered *Pydna*; and (to the North of *Amphipolis*) the city of *Crenides* (sometime *Datus*), and called it after his name *Philippi*: to the people whereof *Saint Paul* afterward directed one of his Epistles. This place, wherein *Philippi* stood, is very rich in mines of gold, out of which, greatly to the aduancement of *Philips* affaires, he drew yearly a thousand talents, which make fixe hundred thousand French Crownes.

And that he might with the more ease disburden the Thracian shores of the Athenian Garrisons, to which he had giuen a great blow by the taking in of *Amphipolis*, he entered into league with his fathers malicious enemies the Olynthians; whom the better to fasten vnto him, he gaue them the City of *Pydna* with the Territory, meaning nothing less than that they should enjoy it, or their owne Estate, many years.

Now that he might by degrees win ground vpon the Greeks, he tooke the faire occasion to deliuer the City of *Pheres* in Thessaly, from the tyrants *Lycophron* & *Tisiphonus*: who, after they had conspired with *Thebe* the wife of *Alexander*, who vsurped vpon the liberty of that State, they themselves (*Alexander* being murdered) held it also by the same strong hand and oppression that *Alexander* did, till by the assistance of *Philip* they were beaten out, and *Pheres* restored to her former liberty. Which act of *Philip* did for euer after fasten the Thessalians vnto him, and, to his exceeding great aduantage, binde them to his seruice.

## S. IV.

Of the Phocian Warre which first drew Philip into Greece.

About this time, to wit, in the second yeare of the hundred and sixth Olympiad, eight yeares after the battaile of *Mantinara*, and about the eighth yeare of *Artaxerxes Ochus*, beganne that Warre, called *sacred*. Now, as all occasions concur towards the execution of eternall prouidence, and of euery great alteration in the World there is some preceeding preparation, though not at the first easily discerned; so did this reuengefull hatred by the Thebans, Thessalians, and Locrians, conceived against the Phocians, not onely teach *Philip* how he might with halfe a hand wrest the sword out of their fingers; but the Greeks themselves, beating downe their own defenses, to giue him an easie passage; & beating themselves, to giue him victory without perill, left nothing vnperformed towards their owne slavery, sauing the ritle and imposition. Of this Warre the Thebans (made ouer-proud by their victory at *Leuctres*) were the instigators. For at the Councell of the Amphictyones, or of the generall Estates of Greece; in which, at that time, they swayed most, they caused both the Lacedaemonians and Phocians to bee condemned in greater summes of money than they could well beare; the one for surprizing the Castle of *Cadmea* in the time of peace, the other for ploughing vpon a peece of ground belonging to the Temple of *Delphos*. The Phocians being resolved not to obey this Edict, were secretly set on and encouraged by the Lacedaemonians: and for refusall were exposed as Sacrilegers, and accused to all their Neighbour-Nations, for whom it was then lawfull to invade, and destroy them at their pleasures.

The Phocians perswaded thereunto by *Philomelus*, a Capitaine of their owne, cast the same dice of hazzard that *Cesar* after many Ages following did; but had not the same chance.

chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the enemies of their owne Nation. And the better to beare out a vngracious quarrell, of which there was left no hope of composition, they resolved to sacke the Temple it selfe. For seeing that for the ploughing of a peece of *Apollo's* ground, they had so much offended their Neighbour-God, and their Neighbour-Nations, as worse could not befall them than already was intended; they resolved to take the gold with the ground, and either to perish for all, or to preuaile against all that had commission to call them to account. The treasure which they tooke out of the Temple in the beginning of the Warre, was ten thousand talents, which in those daies serued them to wage a great many men; and such was their successe in the beginning of the war, as they won three great battailes against the Thebans, Thessalians, and Locrians; but being beaten in the fourth, their Leader *Philomelus* cast himselfe head-long over the Rocks.

In the meane while the cities of *Cheronefus*, both to defend themselves against their bad neighbour *Philip*, who encroched vpon them, and to draw others into their quarrell, rendered themselves to the Athenians. *Philip* prepareth to get them into his hands, and at the siege of *Merthone* lost one of his eyes. It is said, That hee that shot him, did purposely direct his arrow towards him, and that it was written on the shaft thereof: After *Philip*; After to *Philip*: for so he was called that gaue him the wound. This City heeuened with the soile.

The Tyrant *Lycophron* before mentioned, while *Philip* was busied on the border of Thrace, and the Thessalians engaged in the holy war, entered Thessaly with new forces, being assisted by *Onomarchus*, Commander of the Phocian Army, in place of *Philomelus*. For hereby the Phocians hoped so to entertaine the Thessalians at home, as they should not find leisure to invade them. Hereupon was *Philip* the second time called into Thessaly; but both the Thessalians, and Macedonians, (*Philip* being present) were vterly ouerthrowne by *Onomarchus*; and great numbers of both Nations lost. From Thessaly, *Onomarchus* drew speedily towards Boeotia, and with the same victorious Army brake the forces of the Boeotians, and tooke from them their City of *Coronea*. But *Philip* impatient of his late misadventure, after he had re-enforced his Army, returned with all speed into Thessaly, there to find againe the honour which he lately lost: and was the second time encountered by *Onomarchus*; who brought into the field twenty thousand foot, and five hundred horse. All this great preparation sufficed not; for *Onomarchus* was by *Philip* surmounted, both in numbers and in good fortune, his Army ouerturned, fixe thousand slaine, and three thousand taken: of which number himselfe being one, was among others hanged by *Philip*. Those that fled, were in part receiued by the Athenian Gallies, which sailed alongst the coast, commanded by *Chares*; but the greatest number of those that tooke the Sea, were therein deuoured ere they recovered them. *Lycophron* was now againe driuen out of Thessaly, and *Pheres* made free as before.

## S. V.

Of the Olynthian Warre. The ambitious practices of Philip.

From hence *Philip* resolved to invade Phocis it selfe, but the Athenians did not fauour his entrance into those parts; and therefore with the helpe of the Lacedaemonians, they retrencht his passage at the Streits of *Thermopylis*. Whereupon he returned into Macedonia, and after the taking of *Micyberne*, *Torone*, and other Townes, he quarrelled with the Olynthians, whom not long before he had wooed to his alliance, and bought his peace of them. For the Olynthians were very strong, and had euermore both braued and beaten the Macedonians. It is said, that *Philip* hauing put to death *Archelaus* his halfe brother (for *Amyntas* had three sons by *Eurydice* the Mother of *Philip*, and three other sonnes by *Gygis*; but *Philip* elder brothers by the same Mother being dead, he determined to rid himselfe also of the rest) the two younger held themselves within Olynthus; & that the receiuing of them by the Olynthians was the cause of the war, *Iustine* affirmeth. But iust quarrels are ballanced by iust Princes, for to this King all things were lawfull that might serue his turne, all his affections, & passions, how diuers soeuer in other men, were in his ambition swallowed vp, and therinto conuerted.

For

For he neither forbore the murder of his owne brothers, the breach of faith, the buying of other mens fidelity; hee esteemed no place strong where his Asse loaden with gold might enter: Nor any City or State vnconquerable, where a few of the greatest, to be made greater, could lose the sense of other mens sorrow and subiection. And because he thought it vain to practise the winning of Olynthus, til he had inclosed all the power they had within their owne Walls, he entred their Territory, and by the aduantage of a well-compounded and trained Army, he gaue them two ouerthrowes ere hee fate down before the City it selfe: which done, hee bought *Euthicrates* and *Lasthenes* from their people, and from the seruice of their Country and Common-weale, by whose treason hee entred the Towne, slew his brothers therein, sackt it, and sold the inhabitants for slaues by the drumme. By the spoile of this place he greatly enriched himselfe, and had treasure sufficient to buy in other Cities withall, which he daily did. For so was headuised by the Oracle in the beginning of his vndertaking, *That he should make his assaults with silver speares*: Whereupon *Horace* well and truly said,

Hor. sat. 1.  
Od. 16.

Diffidit Urbium  
Portas vir Macedo, & subruit amulos  
Reges muneribus.

By gifts the Macedon claue Gates asunder,  
And Kings enuying his estate brought vnder.

And it is true that he won more by corruption and fraud, than he did by force. For as he had in all the principall Cities of Greece his secret workers (which way of Conquest was well followed by *Philip* the second of Spaine:) So when in the contention between the Competitors, for the kingdom of Thrace, he was chosen the Arbitrator, he came not to the Counsell accompanied with Piety and Iustice, but with a powerfull Army, and having beaten and slaine both Kings, gaue sentence for himselfe, and made the Kingdom his owne.

### §. VI.

*How Philip ended the Phocian warre.*

**T**He warre still continued betwene the Phocians, and the Associates of the holy warre, the Boeotians, finding themselves vnable to subist without some present aide; sent vnto *Philip* for succour, who willingly yeelded to their necessities, and sent them such a proportion of men, as were neither sufficient to master their enemies, nor to assure themselves; but yet to inable them to continue the warre, and to wasteth the strength of Greece. They also sent to *Artaxerxes Ochus* for supply of treasure, who lent them thirty talents, which makes a hundred & fourescore thousand crownes: but when with these supplie they had stil the worst against the Phocians, who held from them three of the strongest Cities within Boeotia it selfe, they then besought *Philip* of Macedon that he would assist them in person, to whom they would giue an entrance into their Territory, and in all things obey his Commandements in war.

Now had *Philip* what he longed for; for he knew himselfe in state to giue the law to both, & so quitting all his other purposes towards the North, he marched with a speedy pace towards Boeotia, where being arriued, *Phaltecus* who commanded the Phocian Army, fearing to shock with this victorious King, made his owne peace, and withdrew himselfe with a Regiment of eight thousand Souldiers into Peloponnesus, leauing the Phocians to the mercy of the Conquerour, and for conclusion he had the glory of that war called *Sacred*, which the Grecians with so many mutall slaughters had continued for ten years; and besides the glory, he posselt himself of Orchomene, Coronea, & Corisia, in the country of the Boeotians, who inuited him to be victorious ouer themselves. He brought the Phocians into seruitude, & wasted their Cities, and gaue them but their Villages to inhabite, reseruing vnto himselfe the yearly tribute of threescore talents, which make fixe & thirty thousand French Crownes. He also hereby (besides the fame of piety for service of the gods) obtained the same double voice in the Council of the Amphictyones.

phictyones which the Phocians had, with the superintendency of the Pythian games, forfeited by the Corinthians, by being partakers in the Phocian sacriledge.

### §. VII.

*How Philip with ill success attempted vpon Perinthus, Byzantium and the Sythians.*

**P***Philip*, after his triumphant returne into Macedon, by the Lieutenant of his Army *Permerius*, slaughtered many thousands of the Illyrians and Dardarians, and brought the Thracians to pay him the tenth part of all their reuenues. But his next enterprise against the Perinthians stayed his fury. Perinthus was a City of Thrace, seated vpon Propontis, in the mid-way between Sestos and Byzantium, a place of great strength, and a people resolute to defend their liberty against *Philip*, where the Athenians encouraged and assisted them. *Philip* fate downe before it with a puissant Army, made many faire breaches, gaue many furious assaults, built many ouer-topping and commanding Towers about it. But he was repelled with equall violence. For whereas *Philip* thought by his continuall assaults to vncarey them, and waste both their men and munition, they were supplied, not only from the Persian with men and mony, & succoured from Byzantium which stood vpon the same Sea-coast, but they were relieved from Athens, Chio, and Rhodes, by the conduction of *Phocius*, with whatsoeuer was wanting to their necessity. But because those of Byzantium, by reason of their neighbourhood, and easie passage by water, gaue them often and ready helpe; *Philip* removed the one halfe of his Army and besieged it, leauing fiftene thousand foot before Perinthus, to force it if they could; But to be short, he failed in both attempts, (as all Princes commonly doe that vnder take diuers enterprises at one time) and returned into Macedon with no lesse dishonour than losse: whereupon hee made an Ouerture of peace with the Athenians, and greatly desired it, to which though *Phocius* perswaded them in all he could, & that by the occasion offered they might greatly aduantage their conditions: Yet *Demothenes* with his eloquence preuailed in the refusal. In the meane while, *Philip* hauing digested his late affront, and supplied his expence, by the taking of an hundred and threescore and ten Merchants ships, he gathered new forces, and being accompanied with his sonne *Alexander*, led them into Scythia; but he was also vnprosperous in this enterprise: For the Triballi, a people of Mæsia, set on him in his return, wounded him, and tooke from him the greatest part of the spoiles, which he had gathered.

### §. VIII.

*How Philip overthrowing the Greeces in the battaile of Cheronea, was chosen Capitaine-Generall of Greece. The death of Philip.*

**A**mong these Northern Nations (part of which he suppress, and part quieted) he spent some eight years; and in the ninth year, after the end of the holy Warre, he was by his great aduantage inuited againe by the Grecians to their assistance. For the Citizens of Amphissa hauing disobeyed the decree of the Amphictyones, in which *Philip* had a double voice, and who by reason that the Thebans & Locrians gaue countenance and aide to the Amphissionians, the rest were not of themselves able to constrain them, they besought *Philip* to come in person to their assistance. Now you must thinke that *Philip* was not long in resolving vpon this enterprise; hee needed no drawing on, whom nothing could keepe backe; nor other dissuasion than a mastering power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his Army forthwith to march, the same being compounded of thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse; and with as much expedition as could be made, he entred Phocis, wan Plataea, and brought into subiection all that Region.

The rest, & especially the Athenians, although they had good cause to fear that a great part of this storme would fall on themselves, yet were they dissuaded by *Demothenes* from accepting such reasonable conditions of peace as *Philip* offered, and rather made choice (hauing drawne the Thebans to ioyne with them) to leaue the enioying of their estates

estates and their freedome to the chance of one battaile, than to hold them either by composition, or by the grace of *Philip*. But this their Oratours eloquence cost them deere. It is true that he could far more easily minde them of the vertue of their Ancestors, than make them such as they were. He might repeat vnto them (with words mouing passion) the wonders they wrought at *Marathon*, but he could not transforme the Macedonians into Persians, nor draw from the dead, a *Miltiades*, an *Aristides*, a *Themistocles*, or a *Cimon*, or any of those famous Commanders, whose great vertues they had payed with the greatest ingratitude that euer Nation did. A *Phocion* they had, but by the strength of a contrary faction he was at this time in disgrace, and not employed in so much as when the Armies of *Philip* and the Confederates incourted, although some thousand of the Athenians did abide the killing, and the like number well-neere of the Thebans died with them; yet the want of the worthy men on that side to hold vp the rest, and to draw them on, and the many choice Captains of the Macedonians, incouraged by a King of a growing fortune, as it gaue to *Philip* so shining a victory that *Alexander* by the light thereof found his way (in despite of all the Nations interiacent) into Persia, India, and Egypt; so it cut to the ground, and gaue end and date to all the Grecian glory: Yea their liberty (saith *Curtius*) with their large Dominion won with so many difficulties, continued for so many Ages, and so often defended against the greatest Kings, was now lost in a moment, and for euer lost.

Now this aduised King (neuer passionate to the end he might obtaine the Soueraignty ouer all Greece, and be acknowledged for their Capitaine. Generall against the Persians, without any further hazzard or trouble, was content to let go those Athenians that were taken at this battell of *Claronæ*, as he also forbore to attempt any thing against their City: but in Thebes (which lately by the vertue of *Epmionondas* triumphed ouer the rest) he lodged a Garrison of Macedonians. And being soone after (according vnto the long desire which he had nourished of this Soueraignty) by the generall States at Corinth, stiled the first Commander of all the Grecians, & contribution of men and money granted him, he compounded an Army of great strength, and vnder the Commandement of *Antalus* and *Parmenio*, transported the same ouer the Hellespont into Asia, to begin the warre. Of his enterprise against Persia, he sought the successe from the Oracle at Delphos, from whence he received such another conuertible riddle, as *Crasus* did when he attempted *Cyrus*, and was in like sort mistaken in the exposition.

But as it is hard to discerne and withstand the flatteries of our owne appetites, so did *Philips* ambitious desire to inuade Persia, abuse his iudgement, so farre, that the death, wherewith himselfe was threatened, he vnderstood to be deliuered of his enemy, whom he intended presently to inuade. Before his purposed departure into Asia, he prepared for the marriage of his Daughter *Cleopatra*, with *Alexander* King of Epirus; to which feast and pastimes thereat appointed, he inuited all his Friends and Allies, with the principall persons of the Grecian Cities, from whom he received much honour and many rich presents: but this was indeede the feast of his Funerall. For hauing refused to doe iustice to one *Pausanias*, a Gentleman of his Guard, whom *Antalus* (greatly flououred by *Philip*) had first made drunke, and then left to bee carnally abused by blunders base persons: this *Pausanias* grew into so great a detestation of the Kings partiality in so foule a fact, as when *Philip* was passing towards the Theater, hee drew a sword from vnder his long garment and wounded him to death, when hee had liued fixe and forty yeares, and reigned five and twenty. *Tullius* reports it, that *Olympias* incouraged *Pausanias* to murder the King her husband, which after his death she boldly auowed by the honour she did vnto *Pausanias*, in crowning his dead body, in consecrating his sword vnto *Apollo*, by building for him a monument, and other like Graces.

## §. IX.

What good foundations of Alexanders greatnesse were laid by *Philip*. Of his laudable qualities, and issue.

Now although hee were then taken from the World, when hee had mastered all opposition on that side of the Sea, and had scene the fruits of his hopes, and labours, changing colour towards ripenesse and perfection; yet hee was here.

herein happy that he liued to see his son *Alexander* at mans estate, and had himselfe bin an eye-witnesse of his resolution, and singular valour in this last battaile.

The foundation of whose future greatnesse he had laid so soundly for him, with so plaiged a patterne of the buildings which himselfe meant to erect, as the performance and finishing was farre more easie to *Alexander*, though more glorious than the beginnings vnto *Philip*, though lesse famous. For, besides the recovery of Macedon it selfe, in competition between him and the sonnes of *Alepus*, the one assisted by the Thracians, the other by the Athenians, and besides the re-gaining of many places possessed by the Illyrians, the crushing of all those Northern Kings his Neighbours, the ouerthrow of *Olynthus*, a State that despised the power of his Father, the many Maritime Cities taken, of great strength and ancient freedome, and the subiection of that famous Nation of Greece, which for so many Ages had defended it selfe against the greatest Kings of the World, and won vpon them; He left vnto his sonne, and had bred vp for him, so many choice Commanders, as the most of them, both for their valour and iudgement in the Warre, were no lesse worthy of Crownes, than himselfe was that wore a Crowne: For it was said of *Parmenio* (whom *Alexander*, vngatefull to so great vertue, suspiciously murdered). That *Parmenio* had performed many things challenging eternall fame, without the King, but the King, without *Parmenio* neuer did any thing worthy of renowne: as for the rest of his Capitaines, though content to obey the Sonne of such a Father, yet did they not after *Alexanders* death endure to acknowledge any man Superior to 10 themselves.

Of this Prince it is hard to iudge, whether his ambition had taught him the exercise of more vices, than Nature & his excellent Education had enriched him with vertues. For, besides that he was Valiant, Wise, Learned, and Master of his Affections, he had this fauour of Piety that he rather laboured to satisfe those that were grieved, than to suppress them. Whereof (among many other) we finde a good example in his dealing with *Arcadian*, and *Nicanor*; whom, when for their euill speech of *Philip*, his familiars perswaded him to put to death, He answered them, That first it ought to be considered, whether the fault were in them, that gaue him ill language, or in himselfe: Secondly, that it was in euery mans owne power to be well spoken off; and this was shortly proved, for after *Philip* relieved their necessities, there were none within his Kingdome that did him more honour than they did. Whereupon he told those that had perswaded him to vs violence, that he was a better Physician for euill speech than they were.

His Epistles to *Alexander* his sonne are remembered to *Cicero*, and *Celsius*, and by *Dionysius* and *Chrysostome* exceedingly commended. His Stratagems are gathered by *Polyaenus*, and *Frontinus*, his wife sayings by *Plutarch*. And albeit he held Macedon as in his owne right, all the time of his reigne, yet was he not the true and next Heire thereof; for, *Amyntas* the sonne of his brother *Perdiccas* (of whom hee had the protection during his infancy) had the right. This *Amyntas* he married to his Daughter *Cyna*, who had by him a Daughter called *Eurydice*, who was married to *Philips* base sonne *Aridaus*, her Vncle by the Mothers side: both which *Olympias*, *Philips* first Wife, and Mother to *Alexander* the Great, put to death; *Aridaus*, by extreme torments; *Eurydice* she strangled.

*Philip* had by this *Olympias*, the Daughter of *Neoptolemus*, King of the Molossians (of the race of *Achilles*). *Alexander* the Great, and *Cleopatra*, *Cleopatra* was married to, her Vncle *Alexander*, King of Epirus, and was after her byother *Alexanders* death slaine at Sardis, by the commandement of *Antigonus*.

By *Antidotea*, an Illyrian, his second Wife, he had *Cyna*, married as is shewed before. By *Nicaeopolis*, the Sister of *Iafan*, Tyrant of *Pheres*, he had *Thessalonice*, whom *Cassander*, after hee had taken *Pidna*, married; but shee was afterward by her Father-in-law *Antipater* put to death.

By *Cleopatra* the Niece of *Antalus*, he had *Caranus*, whom others call *Philip*: him, *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander* the Great, caused to be stoned to death in a copper Pan. Others lay this murder to *Alexander* himselfe. By the same *Cleopatra* he had likewise a Daughter, called *Europa*, whom *Olympias* also murdered at the Mothers breast.

By *Antis* and *Meda* he had no issue. He had also two Concubines, *Arinoe*, whom after hee had gotten with child, he married to an obscure man, called *Lagis*, who bare *Ptolemy* King of Egypt, called the founder of *Aegypt* (as esteemed the sonne of *Philip*: by *Ptolemy*, his second Concubine, a pub-

Cic. Off. 1.  
Gell. l. 9. c. 3.  
Dion. l. 2. c. 12.  
58.

Athen. l. 13.  
c. 2. l. 1. 3.

a publike Dancer, he had *Aridam*, of vvhom vve shall haue much occasion to speake hereafter.

## CHAP. II.

## Of Alexander the Great.

## S. I.

*A briefe rehearfall of Alexanders doings, before he innuaded Asia.*



*Alexander*, afterward called the Great, succeeded vnto *Philip* his Father; being a Prince no lesse valiant by Nature, than by Education, vvell instructed, and enriched in all sorts of Learning and good Arts. He began his reigne ouer the Macedonians foure hundred and seuentene yeares after Rome was built, and after his owne birth twenty yeares. The strange dreames of *Philip* his father, and that one of the gods in the shape of a Snake, begat him on *Olympia* his Mother, I omit as foolish tales; but that the Temple of *Diana* (a vvorker of the most magnificent of the World) was burnt vpon the day of his birth, & that so strange an accident was accompanied with the newes of three keuall victories, obtained by the Macedonians, it was very remarkable, & might vvith the reason of those times be interpreted for ominous, and fore-shewing the great things by *Alexander* afterward performed. Vpon the change of the King, the Neighbor-Nations, whom *Philip* had oppressed, began to consult about the recouery of their former liberty, and to aduenture it by force of Armes. *Alexanders* young-years gaue them hope of preuailing, & his suspected severity increased courage in those, who could better resolue to die, than to liue slauiishly. But *Alexander* gaue no time to those swelling humours, which might speedily haue endangered the health of his Estate. For after reuenge taken vpon the Conspirators against his Father, whom he slew vpon his Tombe, & the celebration of his Funerals, he first fastened vnto him his owne Nation, by freeing them from all exactions & bodily slavery, other than their seruice in his Wars; and vsed such kindly austeritie towards those that contemned his young yeares, and such clemency to the rest that perswaded themselves of the cruelty of his disposition, as all affections being passed at home, he made a present iourney into Peloponnesus, & so vvell exercised his spirits among them, as by the Councell of the States of Greece, he was according to the great desire of his heart, elected Captain-Generall against the Persians, vpon which war *Philip* had not only resolved, (who had obtained the same title of Generall Commander) but had transported vnder the leading of *Parmenio*, and *Attalus*, a part of his Army, to recouer some places on Asia-side, for the safe descent of the rest.

This enterprize against the Persian occupied all *Alexanders* affections; those faire maits of Riches, Honour, and large Dominion, he now shot at both sleeping and waking: all other thoughts & innaginations were either grieuous or hateful. But a contrary wind ariseth, for he receiueth aduertisement that the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedaemonians, had vsited themselves against him, and, by assistance from the Persian, hoped for the recouery of their former freedome. Hereto they vvere perswaded by *Demosthenes*, himselfe being thereto perswaded by the gold of Persia: the deuice he vsed was more subtil than profitable; for he caused it to be bruited that *Alexander* was slaine in a battaile against the Triballles, & brought into the assembly a Companion whom he had corrupted to affirme, That himselfe was present and wounded in the battaile. There is indeed a certaine Doctrine of Policy (as Policy is now a dayes defined by falshood & knauey) that deuised rumors & lies, if they serue the turn, but for a day or two, are greatly available. It is true that common people are sometime mockt by them, as Souldiers are by false alarms in the Wars; but in all that I haue obserued, I haue found the successe as ridiculous as the inuention. For as those that find themselves at one time abused by such like bruits, do at other times neglect their duties, when they are vpon true reports, and

in occasions perillous summoned to assemble; so doe all men in generall condemne the Venters of such trumpery; and for them, fear vpon necessary occasions to entertaine the truth it selfe. This labour vvlooked for, and losse of time, was not onely very grieuous to *Alexander*, but by turning his sword from the ignoble and effeminate Persians, against which he had directed it, towards the manly & famous Grecians, of vvhole assistance he thought himselfe assured, his present vndertaking was greatly disordered. But that cannot conduce to serue against the winde, shall hardly attaine the Port which he vvould wish to recouer: and it no lesse becommeth the vvorthiest men to oppose vvifortunes, than it doth the weakest children to bewaile them.

He therefore made such expedition towards these Reuolters, as that himselfe, with the Army that followed him, brought them the first newes of his preparation. Hereupon all staggered, and the Athenians, as they were the first that moued, so vvore they the first that fainted, seeking by their Embassadours to pacifie the King, and to be receiued again into his grace. *Alexander* was not long in resolving; for the Persians perswaded him to pardon the Grecians. Wife men are not easily drawne from great purposes by such occasions as may easily be taken off, neither hath any King euer brought to effect any great affaire, who hath intrangled himselfe in many enterprizes at once, not tending to one and the same certaine end.

And hauing now quieted his borderers towards the South, he resolved to assure those Nations which lay on the North-side of Macedonia, to vvith the Thracians, Triballles, Prones, Getae, Agrians, and other saluage people, which had greatly vexed vvith incursions, not much other of his Predecessours, but euen *Philip* his Father: vvith all which, after diuers ouerthrowes giuen them, he made peace, or else brought them into subiection. Not vvithstanding this good successe, he could not yet finde the way out of Europe. There is nothing more naturall to man than liberty; the Greekes had enioyed it ouer-long, and vvith too late to forget it; they therefore shake off the yoke once againe. The Thebans, who had in their Citadell a Garrison of a thousand Macedonians, attempt to force it; *Alexander* halseth to their succour, and presents himselfe vvith thirty thousand foot, all old Souldiers, & three thousand horse, before the City, & gaue the Inhabitants some daies to resolve, being euen heart-sicke vvith the desire of passing into Asia. So vvilling, indeed, he was to draw blood of the Grecians, by whom he hoped to serue himselfe elsewhere, that he offered the Thebans remission, if they vvould onely deliuer into his hands *Phanias* and *Prothys*, the stirrers vp of the Rebellion. But they, opposing the mounting fortune of *Alexander*, (which bare all resistance before it, like the breaking in of the Ocean Sea) in stead of such an answer, as men besieged and abandoned should haue made, demanded *Philon* and *Antipater* to be deliuered vnto them; as if *Thebes* alone, then layed in the ballance of Fortune vvith the Kingdome of Macedonia, and many other Prouinces, could eyther haue euened the scale or swaied it. Therefore in the end they perished in their obstinacy. For vvile the Thebans oppose the Army assailable, they are charged at the back by the Macedonian Garrison, their City taken and razed to the ground, fixe thousand slaine, and thirty thousand sold for slaues, at the price of foure hundred and forty talents. This the King did to the terrour of the other Grecian Cities.

Many Arguments were vsed by *Cleodemus* one of the prisoners, to perswade *Alexander* to forbear the destruction of *Thebes*. He prayed the King to beleue that they were rather misse-led by giuing hasty credit to false reports, than any way malicious; for being perswaded of *Alexanders* death, they rebelled but against his Succellour. He also be- longed the King to remember, that his father *Philip* had his education in that City, yea, that his Ancestor *Heracles* was borne therein: but all perswasions were fruitlesse, the times wherein offences are committed, doe greatly aggravate them. Yet for the honour he vvould to learning, he pardoned all of the race of *Pindarus* the Poet, and spared, and set at liberty *Timoclea*, the sister of *Theagenes*, who died in defence of the liberty of Greece against his father *Philip*. This noble woman being taken by a Thracian, and by him ravished, he threatened to take her life, vvlesse she vvould confesse her treasure: she led that Thracian to a Well, and told him that she had therein cast it: and vvhen the Thracian stooped to looke into the Well, she suddenly thrust him into the mouth thereof, and stoned him to death.

Now because the Athenians had receiued into their city so many of the Thebans, as had escaped,

escaped and fled vnto them for succour, *Alexander* would not giue them peace, but vpon condition to deliuer into his hands both their *Orators* which perswaded this record reading their *Captaines*; yet in the end it being a torment vnto him to foreward the enterprise of *Persia*, he was content that the *Orators* should remaine, and accepted of the banishment of the *Captaines*, wherein he was exceeding ill aduised, had not his fortune, or rather the providence of God, made all the resistance against him vnprofitable: for these good Leaders of the *Gracians* beooke themselves to the seruice of the *Persians*, vnto whom after a few dayes he inuaded.

## §. II.

*How Alexander passing into Asia, fought with the Persians upon the River of Granick.*

**W**hen all was now quieted at home, *Alexander*, committing to the trust of *Antipater* both *Greece* and *Macedon*, in the first of the Spring did passe the *Hellepont*, and being ready to disimbarke, he threw a Dart towards the *Asian* shore, as a token of defiance, commanding his Souldiers not to make any waite in their own Territorie, or to burne, or deface those buildings which themselves were presently, and in the future to possesse. He landed his Armie, consisting of two and thirty thousand foot, and siue thousand horse, all old Souldiers, nere vnto *Troy*, where he offered a solemne sacrifice vpon *Achilles* Tombe, his maternall Ancestor.

But before he left his own coast, he put to death without any offence giuen him, all his Mother-in-lawes Kinsmen, whom *Philip* his Father had greatly advanced, not sparing such of his own as he suspected. He also took with him many of his tributary Princes, of whose fidelity he doubted; thinking by vniust cruelty to assure all things, both in the present and future. Yet the end of all fell out contrary to the policy which his Ambition had commended vnto him, though agreeing very well with the iustice of God; for all that he had planted, was soone after withered, & rooted vp; those, whom he most trusted, were the most traiterous, his mother, friends, and children, fell by such another mercilesse sword as his owne, and all manner of confusion followed his dead body to the graue, and left him there.

When the knowledge of *Alexanders* landing on *Asia* side was brought to *Darius*, he so much scorned the Armie of *Macedon*, and had so contemptible an opinion of *Alexander* himselfe, as hauing stiled him his seruant on a letter which he wrote vnto him, reprehending his disloyalty and audacitie; for *Darius* intituled himselfe King of Kings, and the Kinsman of the gods; he gaue order withall to his Lieutenants of the lesser *Asia*, that they should take *Alexander* aliue, whip him with rods, and then conuey him to his presence; that they should sinke his ships, and send the *Macedons* taken prisoners beyond the Red-Sea; belike into *Ethiopia*, or some other vnhealthfull part of *Africa*.

In this fort did this glorious king, confident in the glittering, but heartlesse, multitude which he commanded, dispose of the already-vanquished *Macedonians*: But the ill destinies of men beare them to the ground, by what strong confidence fouer armed. The great numbers which he gathered together, & brought in one heape into the field, gaue rather an exceeding aduantage to his enemies, than any discouragement at all. For besides that they were men vtterly vnacquainted with dangers, men who by the name and countenance of their king were wont to preuaile against those of lesse courage than themselves, men that tooke more care how to embroder with gold and siluer their vpper garments, as if they attended the inuasion but of the Sunne-beames, than they did to arme themselves with yron and Steele against the sharpe pikes, swords and darts of the hardie *Macedonians*; I say, besides all these, even the opinion they had of their own numbers, of which euery one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turne to fight, filled euery of them with the care of their owne safetie, without any intent at all to hazard any thing but their owne breath, and that of their horses, in running away. The *Macedonians*, as they came to fight, and thereby to enrich themselves with the gold and iewels of *Persia*, both which they needed; so the *Persians*, who expected nothing in that Warre but blowes and wounds, which they needed not, obeyed the kings, who had power to constrain them in assembling themselves for his seruice; but their own fears and cowardise, which in time of danger had more power over them, they

they only then obeyed, when their rebellion against so seruile a passion did iustly and violently require it. For, saith *Vegetius*: *Quemadmodum bene exercitatus miles praelium capit, ita formidat indolens; nam sciendum est in pugna vnum amplius prodesse, quam vires*. As the well-practised Souldier desires to come to battaile, so the raw one fears it: for we must wonder, that what in fight is more auaisle to haue beene accustomed vnto the like, than onely to haue ruled throughly. What manner of men the *Persians* were, *Alexander* discouered in the first encounter, before which time it is said, by those that write his Story, That it was hard to iudge, whether his daring to vndertake the conquest of an Empire so well peopled, with a handfull of men, or the successe he had, were more to be wondered at. For at the River of *Granick*, which leuereth the Territorie of *Troy* from *Propontis*, the *Persians* fought to stop his passage, taking the higher ground and banke of the River to defend, which *Alexander* was forced (as it were) to clime vp vnto, and scale from the Leuel of the water. Great resistance (saith *Curtius*) was made by the *Persians*, yet in the end *Alexander* preuailed. But it seemes to me, that the victory then gotten was exceeding easie; and that the twenty thousand *Persian* foot-men, said to be slaine, were rather kill'd in the backe, in running away, than hurt in the bosomes by resisting. For had those twenty thousand foot, and two hundred and fiftie horsemen, or after *Plutarch*, two thousand and siue hundred horse-men, dyed with their faces towards the *Macedonians*, *Alexander* could not haue bought their liues at so small a rate, as with the losse of foure and thirtie of all sorts of his own. And if it were also true, that *Plutarch* doth report, how *Alexander* encountered two of the *Persian* Commanders, *Spythridates* and *Rhufaces*, and that the *Persian* horse-men fought with great furie, though in the end scattered; and lastly, how those *Gracians* in *Darius* his pay, holding themselves in one body vpon a piece of ground of aduantage, did (after mercy was refused them) fight it out to the last; how doth it then resemble truth, that such resistance hauing beene made, yet of *Alexanders* Armie there fell but twelue Foot-men, and two and twenty Horse-men?

## §. III.

*Apposition concerning the defence of hard passages. Of things following the battaile of Granicke.*

**T**he winning of this passage did greatly encourage the *Macedonians*, and brought such terror vpon all those of the lesser *Asia*, as he obtained all the Kingdomes thereof without a blow, some one or two Townes excepted. For in all inuasions, where the Nations inuaded haue once beene beaten vpon a great aduantage of the place, as in defence of Rivers, Streights, and Mountaines; they will soone haue perswaded themselves, that such an enemy vpon equall termes and euen ground, can hardly be resisted. It was therefore *Machiavels* counsell, That he which resoluech to defend a passage, should with his ablest force oppose the Assailant. And to say truth, few Regions of any great circuit are so well fenced, that Armies of such force as may be thought sufficient to conquer them, can be debarred all entrance, by the naturall difficultie of the wayes. One passage or other is commonly left vnguarded: if all be defended, then must the forces of the Country be distracted; and yet lightly some one place will be found that is defended very weakely. How often haue the *Alpes* giuen way to Armies, breaking into *Italie*. Yea, where shall we find that euer they kept out an inuadour? Yet are they such as (to speake briefly) assist with all difficulties those that trauaile ouer them; but they giue no security to those that lye behinde them: for they are of too large extent. The townes of *Lombardie* perswaded themselves that they might enioy their quiet, when the *Waile* Nation of the *Switzers* had vndertaken to hinder *Francis* the French king from descending into the Dutchie of *Milan*: but whilst these Patrons of *Milan*, whom their own dwelling in those Mountaines had made fittest of all other for such a seruice, were buid in such hole of the *Alpes*; *Francis* appeared in *Lombardie*, to so much the greater terror of the Inhabitants, by how much the lesse they had expected his arrival. What shall we say of those Mountaines, which locke vp whole Regions in such sort, as they leaue but one gate open? The Streights, or (as they were called) the gates of *Tanrus* in *Cilicia*, and those of *Thermopylae*, haue seldome beene attempted, perhaps, because they were thought impregnable; but how seldome (if euer) haue they beene attempted in vaine? *Alexander* and long after him, the *Romans*, forced the entrance of



*Thermopylae*; *Cyrus* the younger, and after him *Alexander*, found the Gates of *Ellis* wide open; how strongly fouler they had bin locked and barred, yet were those Countries open enough to a fleet that should enter on the backe-side. The defence of *Rivers* how hard a thing it is, we find examples in all histories that beare good witness. The deepest haue many Fords; the swiftest and broadest may be passed by Boates, in case it be found a matter of difficultie to make a bridge. He that hath men enow to defend all the length of his owne bankes, hath also enow to beare his enemy; and may therefore doe better to let him come ouer, to his losse, than by straining in vaine to hinder the passage, as a matter tending to his owne disadvantage, fill the heads of his Souldiers with an opinion, that they are in ill case, hauing their meanes of safeguard taken from them, by the skill or valour of such as are too good for them. Certainly, if a *Riuier* were sufficient defence against an Armie, the Isle of *Mona*, now called *Anglesey*, which is diuided from North-Wales by an arme of the Sea, had bene safe enough against the *Romans*, inuading it vnder conduct of *Iulius Agricola*. But he wanting, & not meaning to spend the time in making vessels to transport his forces, did assay the foords. Whereby he so amazed the enemies attending for ships and such like prouision by Sea, that surely beleeuing nothing could be hard or inuincible to men, which came so minded to Warre, they humbly intreated for peace, and yeelded the Island. Yet the *Britaines* were men stout enough, the *Persians* were very dailards.

It was therefore wisely done of *Alexander*, to passe the *Riuier* of *Granicke* in face of the enemy, not marching higher to seeke an easier way, nor labouring to conuey his men ouer it by some safer meanes. For, hauing beaten them vpon their owne ground, he did thereby cut off no lesse of their reputation, than of their strength, leauing no hope of succour to the partakers and followers of such vnable Protectors.

Soone after this victory he recovered *Sardis*, *Ephesus*, the Cities of the *Trallians* and *Magnesians*, which were rendred vnto him. The Inhabitants of which, with the people of the Countrey, he receiued with great grace, suffering them to be gouerned by their owne lawes. For he obserued it well; *Nouum Imperium inchoantibus vtilis clementia summa*; It is commodious vnto such as lay the foundations of a new Soueraignty, to haue the same of being mercifull. He then by *Parmenio* wan *Atletus*, and by force mastered *Halicarnassus*, which because it resisted obstinately, he razed to the ground. From whence he entred into *Caria*, where *Ada* the Queene, who had bene cast out of all that the held (except the Citie of *Alinda*) by *Darius* his Lieutenants, presented her selfe vnto him, and adopted him her son and successeur; which *Alexander* accepted in so gracious part, as he left the whole Kingdome to her disposing. He then entred into *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, and obtained all the Sea coasts, and subiecting vnto him *Pisidia*, he directed himselfe towards *Darius* (who was said to be aduanced towards him with a marvellous Armie) by the way of *Phrygia*: For all the Prouince of *Asia* the lesse, bordering vpon the Sea, his first victory layed vnder his feet.

While he gaue order for the gouernment and setting of *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, they sent *Cleander* to raise some new Capitaines in *Peloponnesus*, and marching towards the North, he entred *Celene* seated on the *Riuier* *Meander*, vvhich was abandoned vnto him, the Castle onely holding out, which also after forty dayes was giuen vp: for so long time he gaue them to attend succour from *Darius*. From *Celene* he past on through *Phrygia* towards the *Euxine* Sea, till he came to a City called *Gordium*, the Regall-seate, in former times, of King *Midus*. In this City it was that he found the *Gordian*-knot, which when he knew not how to vndoe, he cut it a sunder with his sword. For there was an ancient propheticke did promise to him that could vntie it, the Lordship of all *Asia*; whereupon *Alexander*, not respecting the manner how, so it were done, assumed to himselfe the fulfilling of the propheticke, by hewing it in pieces.

But before he turned from this part of *Asia* the lesse towards the east, he tooke care to clear the Sea-coast on his backe, and to thrust the *Persians* out of the Ilands of *Lesbos*, *Chio*, and *Ceos*: the charge whereof he committed vnto two of his Capitaines, giuing them such order as he thought to be most conuenient for that seruice; and deliuering vnto them fiftie Talents to defray the charge; and withall out of his first spoyle gotten, he sent threescore Talents more to *Antipater* his Lieutenant in *Greece* and *Macedon*. From *Celene* he removed to *Ancira*, now called *Anguiri*, standing on the same *Riuier* of *Sangarius*, which runneth through *Gordium*: there he mustered his Armie, and then

then entred *Paphlagonia*, vvhose people submitted themselves vnto him, and obtained freedom of tribute: where he left *Catus* Gouernor with one Regiment of *Macedonians* lately arrived.

He had vnderstood of the death of *Memnon*, *Darius* Lieutenant, vvhich heartned him greatly to passe on towards him; for of this onely Capitaine he had more respect than of all the multitude by *Darius* assembled, and of all the Commanders he had besides. For so much hath the Spirit of some one man excelled, as it hath vnderaken and effected the alteration of the greatest States and Common-weales, the creation of Monarchies, the conquest of kingdoms and Empires, guided handfule of men against multitudes of equal boldly strength, contriued victories beyond all hope and discourse of reason, conuerted the fearefull passions of his own followers into magnanimities, and the valour of his enemies into cowardize; such spirits haue bin stirred vp in sundry Ages of the world, and in diuers parts thereof, to erect and cast downe againe, to establish and to destroy; and to bring all things, Persons and States, to the same certaine ends, vvhich the infinite Spirit of the *Vniuersall*, piercing, mouing, and gouerning all things, hath ordained. Certainly the things that this king did were maruellous, and would hardly haue bin vnderaken by any man else: and though his Father had determined to haue inuaded the lesser *Asia*, it is like enough that he would haue contented himselfe with some part thereof, and not haue discovered the *Riuier* of *Indus*: as this man did. The swift course of victory, wherewith he ran ouer so large a portion of the World, in so short a space, may iustly be imputed vnto this, that he was neuer encountered by an equal spirit, concurring with equal power against him. Herby it came to passe that his actions being limited by no greater opposition, than desert places, and the meere length of tedious iournies could make, vverlike the *Celestus* of *Rhodes*, not so much to be admired for the workmanship, though therein also praise-worthy, as for the huge bulke. For certainly the things performed by *Xenophon*, discover as braue a spirit as *Alexanders*, and working no lesse exquisitely, though the effects were lesse materiall, as were also the forces and power of command, by which it wrought. But he that would finde the exact pattern of a noble Commander, must looke vpon such as *Epaminondas*, that encountering worthy Capitaines, and those better followed than themselves, haue by their singular vertue ouer-topped their valiant enemies, and still preuailed ouer those, that would not haue yeelded one foot to any other. Such as these are, doe seldome liue to obtaine great Empires. For it is a vvorke of more labour and longer time, to master the equall forces of one hardy & well-ordered State, than to tread down and vterly subdue a multitude of feeble Nations, compounding the body of a grosse vniueiled Empire. Wherefore these *Parrus Patentes*, men that with little haue done much vpon enemies of like ability, are to be regarded as choise examples of worth; but great Conquerours, to be rather admired for the substance of their actions, than the exquisite managing: exactnesse and greatnesse concurring so seldome, that I can find no instance of both in one, save onely that braue *Roman*, *Cesar*.

40 Having thus farre digressed, it is now time that we returne vnto our Easterne Conqueror, who is traailing hastily towards *Cilicia*, with a desire to recover the Streights thereof before *Darius* should arrive there. But first making a dispatch into *Greece*, he sent to those Cities, in which he reposed most trust, some of the *Persian* Targets which he had recovered in his first battaile, vpon which, by certaine inscriptions, he made them partakers of his victory. Herein he well aduised himselfe; for he that doth not as well impart of the honour which he gaines in the Warres, as he doth of the spoiles, shall neuer be long followed of those of the better fort. For men which are either well borne or well bred, and haue more of wealth than of reputation, do as often satisfie themselves vvhich the purchase of glory, as the weake in fortune, and strong in courage, doe with the gaine of gold and silver.

The Gouernour of *Cilicia* hearing of *Alexander* comming on, left some Companies to keepe the Streights, vvhich were indeede very defensible; and withall, as *Curtius* noteth, he began ouerlate to praise and put in execution the Counsell of *Memnon*: who in the beginning of the Warres aduised him to waste all the prouisions for Men and Horse, that could not be lodged in strong places, & alwayes to giue ground to the Inuader, till he found some such notable aduantage as might assuredly promise him the obtaining of victory. For the fury of an inuading Army is best broken, by delays, change

of diet, and want, eating sometimes too little, and sometimes too much, sometimes refusing themselves in beds, and more often on the cold ground. These and the like fuddaine alterations bring many diseases vpon all Nations out of their owne Countreies. Therefore if *Darius* had kept the *Macedonians* but a while: from meat and sleepe, and refusing to giue or take battaile, had wearied them with his light horse, as the *Parthians* afterward did the *Romans*, he might perchance haue saued his owne life, and his estate. For it was one of the greatest encouragements giuen by *Alexander*, to the *Macedonians*, in the third and last fatall battaile, that they were to fight with all the strength of *Perseus* once.

*Xenxes*, when he inuaded *Greece* and fought abroad, in being beaten, lost onely his men; but *Darius* being inuaded by the *Greekes*, and fighting at home, by being beaten, lost his kingdome. *Pericles* though the *Lacedaemonians* burnt all in *Africa* to the Gates of *Athens*, yet could not be drawne to hazzard a battaile: for the inuaded ought euermore to fight vpon the aduantage of time and place. Because we reade Histories to informe our vnderstanding by the examples therein found, wee will giue some instances of those that haue perished by aduenturing in their owne countreies, to charge an inuading Armie. The *Romans*, by fighting with *Hannibal*, were brought to the brink of their destruction.

*Pompey* was well aduised for a while, when he gaue *Cesar* ground, but when by the importunity of his Captaines he aduentured to fight at *Pharalia*, he lost the battaile, lost to the freedome of *Rome*, and his owne life.

*Ferdinand*, in the Conquest of *Naples*, would needs fight a battaile with the *French* to his confusion, though it was told him by a man of sound iudgement, that those Counsells which promise suretie in all things, are honourable enough.

The Constable of *France* made frustrate the mighty preparation of *Charles* the Fifth, when he inuaded *Provence*, by vassing the Countreie, and forbearing to fight; so did the Duke of *Alua* wearie the *French* in *Naples*, and dissolue the boisterous Armie of the Prince of *Orange* in the low-Countries.

The *Leigers*, contrarie to the aduice of their Generall, would needs fight a battaile with the *Bourgonians*, inuading their Country, and could not be perswaded to linger the time, and stay their aduantage; but they lost eight and twenty thousand vpon the place. *Philip* of *Valois* set vpon king *Edward* at *Chesie*; and King *Iohn* (when the *Englisb* were well-neere tired out, and would in short time by an orderly pursuit haue beene wasted to nothing) constrained the blacke *Prince* with great furie, neere *Poitiers*, to ioyne battaile with him: But all men know what lamentable successe these two *French* Kings found. *Charles* the fifth of *France* made another kind of *Fabian*-Warfare; and though the *Englisb* burnt and wasted many places, yet this King held his resolution to forbear blowes, and followed, his aduice, which told him, That the *Englisb* could neuer get his inheritance by smoake; and it is reported by *Bellay* and *Herrault*, that King *Edward* was vpon to say of this *Charles*, that he wan from him the Dutchie of *Guien* without euer putting on his Armour.

But where God hath a purpose to destroy, wise men grow short-lived, and the charge of things is committed vnto such as either cannot see what is for their good, or know not how to put in execution any found aduice. The course which *Memnon* had propounded, must in all appearance of reason haue brought the *Macedonian* to a great perplexity, and made him stand still a while at the Streights of *Cilicia*, doubting whether they were more shamefull to returne, or dangerous to proceede. For had *Cappadocia* & *Paphlagonia* bin wasted whilst *Alexander* was farre off; and the Streights of *Cilicia* beene defended by *Arseus*, Governour of that Prouince, with the best of his forces: hunger would not haue suffered the enemy, to stay the triall of all meanes that might be thought vpon, of forcing that passage; or if the place could not haue bin maintained, yet might *Cilicia*, at better leisure haue bin so thoroughly spoiled, that the heart of his Armie should haue beene broken, by seeking out miseries by painfull traile.

But *Arseus* leauing a small number to defend the Streights, tooke the best of his Armie with him, to waste and spoile the Countreie; or rather, as may seeme, to find himselfe some worke, by pretence of which he might honestly run further away from *Alexander*. He should rather haue aduentured his person in custody of the Streights, whereby he might perhaps haue saued the Prouince; and in the meane time, all that was in the fields, would

would haue beene conueighed into strong Townes. So should his Armie, if it were driven from the place of aduantage, haue found good entertainment within walled Cities, and himselfe with his horse-men haue had the lesse worke in destroying that little which was left abroad. Handling the matter as he did, he gaue the *Cilicians* cause to wish for *Alexander*'s coming, and as great cause to the Keepers of the passage not to hinder it. For cowards are wise in apprehending all formes of danger. These Guardians of the Streights, hearing that *Arseus* made all haste to ioyne himselfe with *Darius*, burning downe all as he went, like one despairing of the defence, began to grow circumspect, and to thinke that surely their Generall, who gaue as lost the Countreie behind their backes, had exposed themselves vnto certaine death, as men that were good for nothing else; but to dull the *Macedonian* swords. Wherefore, not affecting to die for their Prince and Countreie (which honour they saw that *Arseus* himselfe could well forbeare) they speedily followed the foot-steps of their Generall, gleaming after his Haruest. Thus *Alexander* without labour got both the entrance of *Cilicia*, abandoned by the cowardice of his Enemies, and the whole Prouince that had beene alienated from the *Persian* side by their indiscretion.

## §. IIII.

Of the vniwarlike Armie leuied by *Darius* against *Alexander*. The vnadvised courses which *Darius* took in this Expedition. He was vanquished at *Issus*; where his Mother, wife, and Children were made prisoners. Of some things following the battaile of *Issus*.

In the meane season *Darius* approached, who (as *Curtius* reports) had compounded an Armie of more than two hundred and ninetie thousand Souldiers, out of diuers Nations, *Iustus* musters them at three hundred thousand Foot, and a hundred thousand Horse; *Plutarch* at sixe hundred thousand.

The manner of his coming on, as *Curtius* describes it, was rather like a masker than a man of Warre, and like one that tooke more care to let out his glorie and riches, than to prouide for his own safety, perswading himselfe, as it seemed, to beat *Alexander* with pompe and sumptuous Pageants. For, before the Armie there was carried the holy fire, which the *Persians* worshipped, attended by their Priests, and after them three hundred and threescore and siue young-men, answering the number of the daies of the year, covered with Scarlet; then the Chariot of *Iupiter* drawne with white Horses, with their Riders clothed in the same colour, with rods of gold in their hands; And after it, the Horse of the *Sunne*: Next after these follow ten sumptuous Chariots, in-laid and garnished with siluer and gold; and then the Vanguard of their horse, compounded of twelue severall Nations, which the better to auoid confusion, did hardly vnderstand each others language, and these marshalled in the head of the rest, being beaten, might serue very fitly to disorder all that followed them; in the taile of these Horses the Regiment of foot marched, with the *Persians* called immortall, because if any died, the number was presently supplied: & these were armed with chaines of gold, & their coats with the same metall imbrodered, whereof the sleeves were garnished with pearle; baies, either to catch the hungrie *Macedonians* withall, or to perwade them that it were great inciuillitie to cut and to deface such glorious garments. But it was well said: *Sumptuosus induciis miles, si virtute superiorem alijs non existimet, cum in praelijs oporteat fortitudine animi, & non vestimentis muniri, quoniam hostes vestibus non debellantur*; Let no man thinke that hee exceedeth those in valour, whom he exceedeth in gay garments; for it is by men armed with fortitude of minde, and not by the apparrell they put on, that enemies are beaten. And it was perchance from the *Roman* Papyrius that this aduice was borrowed, who when he fought against the *Samnites* in that fatall battaile, wherein they all sware cyther to preuaile or dy, thirty thousand of them hauing apparrelled themselves in white garments, with high crests and great plumes of feathers, bade the *Roman* Souldiers to lay aside all feare: *Non enim crebris vulnere facere, & per pilla atque aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum*; For these plumed crests would wound no body, and the *Roman* pile would bore holes in painted and gilded shields.

To second this Court-like company, fiftene thousand were appointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparrelled like Women (belike to breed the more terror) & these were honoured with the Title of the Kings Kinsmen. Then came *Darius* himselfe,

himselfe, the Gentle-men of his Guard-robe, riding before his Chariot, which was supported with the gods of his Nation, cast and cut in pure gold; these the *Macedonians* did not ferue, but they ferued their turnes of these, by changing their massie-bodies into thin portable and currant coyne. The head of this Chariot was set with precious stones, with two little golden Idols, covered with an open-winged-Eagle of the same metall. The hinder part being raised high wheron *Darius* sat, had a covering of inestimable value. This Chariot of the king was followed with ten thousand Horse-men, their Lances plated with silver, and their heads gilt; which they meant not to imbrue in the *Macedonian* blood, for feare of marring their beauty. He had for the proper Guard of his own person, two hundred of the blood Royall; blood too Royall and precious to be spilt by any valorous aduventure, (I am of opinion that two hundred sturdy fellows, like the *Switzers*, would haue done him more seruice) and these were backt with thirtie thousand foot-men, after whom againe were led foure hundred spare horses for the king, which if he had meant to haue vsed, he would haue marshalled some what nearer him.

Now followed the Reareward, the same being led by *Sisygambris* the kings Mother, and by his Wife, drawn in glorious Chariots, followed by a great traine of Ladies their attendants on horse-backe, with fiftene Wagons of the Kings children, and the wives of the Nobility, waited on by two hundred and fiftie Concubines, and a world of Nurses and Eunuchs, most sumptuously appparelled. By which it should seeme that *Darius* thought that the *Macedonians* had bin *Comedians* or *Tumblers*; for this troope was far fitter to behold those sports than to be present at battailes. Betweene these and a company of flight-armed slaues, with a world of Vallers, was the kings treasure, charged on fixe hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, brought, as it proued, to pay the *Macedonians*. In this sort came the *May-game* King into the field, incumberd with a most vnecessary traine of Strumpets, attended with troupes of diuers Nations, speaking diuers languages, and for their numbers impossible to be marshalled; and for the most part so effeminate, and so rich in gold and in garments, as the same could not but haue encouraged the nakedst Nation of the vworld against them. We finde it in daily experience, that all discourse of magnanimity, of Nationall Vertue, of Religion, of Libertie, and whatsoever else hath bin vnto moue and incourage vertuous men, hath no force at all with the common-Souldier, in comparifon of spoyle and riches. The rich ships are boarded vpon all disadvantages, the rich Townes are furiously assaulted, & the plentifull Countries willingly inuaded. Our *English* nation haue attempted many places in the *Indies*, and run vpon the *Spaniards* head-long, in hope of their Royalls of plate, and Pillets; which, had they bin put to it vpon the like disadvantages in *Ireland*, or in any poore Country, they would haue turned their Peeces and Pikes against their Commanders, contesting that they had bin brought without reason to the Butchery and slaughter. It is true that the warre is made vwillingly, and for the most part with good successe, that is ordained against the richest Nations; for as the needie are alwaies aduenturous, so plenty is wont to flunne perill, and men that haue well to liue, do rather studie how to liue well, I meane wealthily, than care to die (as they call it) honourably. *Car non il y a rien a guerrier que des coups, volontiers il ny rapas.* *Norman makes haste to the market, where there is nothing to be bought but blowes.*

Now if *Alexander* had beheld this preparation before his consultation with his South-faiers, he vould haue satisfied himselfe by the out-fides of the *Persians*, and neuer haue looked into the intrayles of Beasts for successe. For leauing the description of this second battell (which is indeed no-where wel described, neither for the confusion & hasty running away of the *Asians* could it be) we haue enough by the slaughter that was made of them, & by the few that fell of the *Macedonians*, to informe vs what manner of resistance was made. For if it be true that three score thousand *Persian* footmen were slaine in this battaile, with ten thousand of their horsemen: Or (as *Curtius* saith) an hundred thousand footmen, with the same number of horsemen, and besides this slaughter, fortie thousand taken prisoners, while of *Alexanders* Armie there mis-carried but two hundred & foure-score of all sorts, of which numbers *Arianus* and other Historians cut off almost the one halfe: I do verily beleue, that this small number rather died with the ouer-trauile and paines-taking in killing their enemies, than by any strokes received from them. And surely if the *Persian* Nation (at this time degenerate & the basest of the World) had had any

any fauour remaining of the ancient valour of their fore-fathers, they would neuer haue sold so good cheape, and at so vile a price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daughters, and other the kings children; had their owne honour bene valued by them at nothing, and the kings safetie and his estate at lesse. *Darius* by this time found it true, that *Charidemus* a banished *Gracian* of *Athens* had told him, when he made a view of his Army about *Babylon* to wit, That the multitude which he had assembled of diuers Nations, richly attired, but poorly armed, would be found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the country, whom in passing by they would deuoure, than to the *Macedonians*, whom they meant to assaile; who being all old and obedient Souldiers, imbattailed in grosse squadrons, which they call their *Phalanx*, vwell covered with Armour for defence, and furnished with weapons for offence of great aduantage, vould make so little account of his delicate *Persians*, louing their ease and their palat, being withall ill armed and vvorle disciplined, as except it would please him to entertaine (hauiing so great abundance of treasure to do it withall) a sufficient number of the same *Gracians*, and so to encounter the *Macedonians* with men of equall courage, he would repent him ouerlate, as taught by the miserable successe liketo follow.

But this discourse was so vnpleasing to *Darius* (who had bin accustomed to nothing so much as to his owne praises, and to nothing so little as to heare truth,) as he commanded that this poore *Gracian* should be presently slaine: vwho while he vvas a funding in the Tormentors hand, yfed this speech to the king, That *Alexander*, against whom he had giuen this good counsell, should assuredly reuenge his death, and lay deserved punishment vpon *Darius* for despising his aduice.

It vvas the saying of a Wife man: *Desperata eius Principis salus est, cuius aures ita formidant, ut aspera quae utilia, nec quicquam nisi iucundum accipiat*; That Princes safetie is in a desperate case, whose eares indge all that is profitable to betoo sharpe, and will entertaine nothing that is vnpleasant.

For libertie in counsell is the life and essence of counsell; *Libertas consilij est ciuitatis, et essentia, quae erepta consilium euanescit*.

*Darius* did likewise value at nothing the Aduice giuen him by the *Gracian* Souldiers that serued him, vwho intreated him not to fight in the Streights: But had they bene 30 Counsellors and directors in that Warre, as they were vnderlings and commanded by others, they had vith the helpe of a good troupe of horse-men bin able to haue opposed the furie of *Alexander*, without any assistance of the *Persian* foot-men. For when *Darius* was ouerthrowne with all his cowardly and confused rabble, those *Gracians*, vnder their Captaine *Amyntus*, held firme, and marched away in order, in despite of the vanquishers. Old Souldiers are not easily dismayed: vve read in Histories ancient and moderne, what braue retraitts haue bin made by them, though the rest of the Army in which they haue serued, hath bin broken.

At the battaile of *Ramenna*, vwhere the Imperials vvere beaten by the *French*, a squadron of *Spaniards*, old Souldiers, came off vnbroken and vndismayed, vvhom when *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, and Nephew to *Lewis* the twelfth, charged, as holding the victorie not entire by their escape, he was ouer-turned and slaine in the place. For it is truly said of those men, who, by being acquainted with dangers, feare them not; That, *Negleste periculo imminenti, multi opus ipsam quantumvis difficile aggeruntur*; They goe about the businesse it selfe, how hard soeuer it be, not standing to consider of the danger, which, the mischise hanging ouer their heads, may bring: and as truly of those that know the warres but by heare-say; *Quod valentes sunt et praudentes ante periculum, in ipsi eadem periculo discedunt*; They haue abilitie enough, and to spare, till dangers appeare, but when perill indeed comes, they get them gone.

These *Gracians* also that made the retract, aduised *Darius* to retire his Army into the plaine of *Mesopotamia*, to the end that *Alexander* being entred into those large fields and great Champions, he might haue inuironed the *Macedonians* on all sides with his multitude; and withall they counselled him to diuide that his huge Armie into parts, not committing the whole to one stroke of Fortune, whereby he might haue fought many battailes, and haue brought no greater numbers at once than might haue bene well marshalled & conducted. But this counsell was so contrary to the cowardly affections of the *Persians*, as they perswaded *Darius* to inuiron the *Gracians* which giue the aduice, and to cut them in pieces as Traitors. The infinite wilddome of God doth not work at waies by

by one and the same way, but very often in the alteration of Kingdomes and Estates, by taking vnderstanding from the Gouvernours, so as they can neither give nor discern of Complicits. For *Darius* that would needs fight with *Alexander* vpon a streightned peece of ground, nere vnto the Citie of *Issus*, where he could bring no more hands to fight than *Alexander* could, (who by the aduice of *Parmenio* staid there, as in a place of bad advantage) was utterly overthrowen, his Treasure lost, his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the *Griecians* his followers had perswaded him to leave in *Babylon*, or elsewhere) taken prisoners, and all their traine of Ladies spoiled of their rich Garments, Jewels, and Honour. It is true, that both the Queene, with her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to *Alexanders* presence, were entertained with all respect due vnto their birth, their Honours preserved, and their Jewels and rich Garments restored vnto them; and though *Darius* Wife was a most beautiful Lady, and his Daughters of excellent forme, yet *Alexander* mastered his affections towards them all: only it is reported out of *Aristotle*, but the Historian, that he embraced the Wife of the valiant *Alcemon*, her Husband lately dead, who was taken flying from *Damascus* by *Parmenio*, at which time the Daughters of *Perfus* who reigned before *Darius*, and the Wives and Children of all the Nobility of *Orchus* in effect, fell into captiuitie; at which time also *Darius* Treasure (not lost at *Issus*) was seized, amounting to fixe thousand and two hundred talents of coine, and of *Bullion* fixe hundred talents, with a world of riches besides.

*Darius* himselfe leauing his brother dead, with diuers other of his chiefe Captaines, casting the Crowne from his head hardly escaped.

After this ouerthrow giuen vnto *Darius*, all *Ethania* (the Citie of *Tyre* excepted) was yielded to *Alexander*, of which *Parmenio* was made Gouvernour.

*Arachis*, *Zidon*, and *Biblos*, maritime Cities of great importance, of which one *Strata* was King (but hated of the people) acknowledged *Alexander*. Good fortune followed him so fast that it trod on his heeles; for *Antigonus*, *Alexanders* Lieutenant in *Asiathellie*, ouerthrew the *Cappadocians*, *Paphlagonians*, and others lately reuolted; *Arifodemus*, *Darius* Admirall, had his Fleet partly taken, and in part drowned by the *Macedonians* newly leuied; the *Lacedemonians* that warred against *Antipater* were beaten; foure thousand of those *Griecians* which made the retreat at the last battaile, forsaking both the party of *Darius* and of *Alexander*, and led by *Amyntas* into *Egypt*, to hold it for themselves, were buried there, for the time was not yet come to diuide Kingdomes.

*Alexander* to honour *Ephesus*, whom he loued most, gaue him power to dispose of the kingdome of *Zidon*. A man of a most poore estate, that laboured to sustain his life being of the Ittyall bloud, was commended by the people vnto him, who changed his Spade into a Scepter, so as he was beheld both a Beggar and a King in one and the same houre.

It was a good desire of this new King, when speaking to *Alexander*, he wisht that he could beare his prosperity with the same moderation, & quietnesse of heart, that he had done his aduersitie; but ill done of *Alexander*, in that he would not performe in himselfe that which he commended in another mans desire: for it was a signe that he did but accompany, and could not gouerne his felicitie.

While he made some stay in those parts, he receiued a letter from *Darius*, importing the ransom of his Wife, his Mother, and his Children, with some other conditions of peace, but such as rather became a Conqueror, than one that had now been twice shamefully beaten, nor vouchsafing, in his direction, to stile *Alexander* King. It is true, that the *Romans*, after that they had receiued an ouerthrow by *Pyrrhus*, returned him a more comeseull answer vpon the offer of peace, than they did before the trial of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, so that of *Darius* had already cast leafe; the one a resolu'd well armed and disciplined Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. *Alexander* disdain'd the offers of *Darius*, and sent him word that he not onely directed his letter to a King, but to the King of *Darius* himselfe.

## S. V.

How *Alexander* besieged and won the Citie of *Tyre*.

**A**lexander coming nere to the Citie of *Tyre*, receiued from them the present of a golden Crowne, with great store of victuals, and other presents, which he took very thankfully, resuming them answer, That he desired to offer a sacrifice

sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Protector of their Citie, from whom he was descended. But the *Tyrians* like not his companie within their Walls, but tell him that the Temple of *Hercules* was seared in the old City, layoyning, now abandoned and desolate. To be short, *Alexander* resolu'd to enter it by force: and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, because the Island whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the Maïne, yet with the labour of many hands, hauing great store of stone from the old *Tyre*, and timber sufficient from *Lybanus*, he filled the passage of the Sea betweene the Island and the Maïne, which being more than once carried away by the strength of the Sea vpon a storme of winde, sometime by the *Tyrians* fired, and sometime torne asunder, so yet with the helpe of his Nauie which arriued (during the flogge) from *Cyprus*, he ouercame all difficulties and preuailed; after he had spent seuen months in that attempt. The *Tyrians* in the beginning of the siege had barbarously drowned the messengers sent by *Alexander*, perswading them to render the Citie, in respect whereof, and of the great losse of men, he put eight thousand to the sword, and caused two thousand of those that escaped the first furie, to be hanged on Crosses on the Sea shore, and reserved for slauerie (saith *Diodore*) thirtene thousand; *Arrianus* reckons them at thirty thousand. Many more had died, had not the *Zidonians*, that serued *Alexander*, conveyed great numbers away by shipping vnto their owne Citie.

Happy it was for *Apollo* that the Towne was taken: for one of the *Tyrians* ha-ving dreamt, that this god meant to forsake the Citie, they bound him fast with a golden chaine to the Idol of *Hercules*; but *Alexander*, like a gracious Prince, loosened him againe.

It is true, that it was a notable enterprife and a difficult, but great things are made greater. For *Nabuchodonosor* had taken it before, and filled vp the channell, that lay betweene the Island and the Maïne.

The gouernement of this Territorie he gaue to *Philotas*, the Sonne of *Parmenio*; *Cilicia*, he committed to *Socrates*, and *Andromachus* Lieutenant vnder *Parmenio*; *Ephesus* had the charge of the Fleet, and was directed to finde *Alexander* at *Gaza* towards *Egypt*.

## S. V I.

How *Darius* offered conditions of peace to *Alexander*. *Alexander* wins *Gaza*; and deales graciously with the Iewes.

**I**N the meane while *Darius* sends againe to *Alexander*, sets before him all the difficulties of passing on towards the East, and laith the losse of the last battaile to the streightnesse of the place: he hoped to terrifie him, by threatening to encompass him in the plaine Countries, he bids him to consider, how impossible it was to passe the Riuer of *Eufrates*, *Tigris*, *Araxes*, and the rest, with all such other fearefull things: for he that was now filled with nothing but feare, had arguments enow of that nature to present vnto another. All the kingdomes betweene the Riuer of *Alps*, and the *Hellesspont*, he offered him in Dower with his beloued daughter. But *Alexander* answered, That he offered him nothing but his owne, and that which victory and his own vertue had posselt him of; That he was to giue conditions, and not to receiue any, & that he hauing passed the Sea it selfe, disdain'd to thinke of resistance in transporting himself ouer Riuer. It is said, that *Parmenio*, who was now old and full of honour and riches, told the king, That were he *Alexander*, he would accept of *Darius* his offers; to which *Alexander* answered, I hat so would he, if he were *Parmenio*.

But he goes on towards *Egypt*, and comming before *Gaza*, Gith a faithfull servant to *Darius*, shuts the Gate against him, and defends the Towne with an obstinate resolution, at the siege whereof *Alexander* receiued a wound in the shoulder, which was dangerous, and a blow on his legge with a stone. He found better men in this place than he did at the former battailes, for he left so many of his *Macedonians* buried in the sands of *Gaza*, that he was forc't to send for a new supply into *Greece*. Here it was that *Alexander* first began to change condition, and to exercise cruelty. For after that he had entred *Gaza* by assault, and taken *Betis*, (whom *Isophanes* calleth *Babemesis*) that was weakened with many wounds, and who neuer gaue ground to the Assailants, he bored holes through his feet, and caused him to be drawne about the street, whilst he was yet alive, who being a valiant

valiant a man as himselfe, diddaine to aske him either life or remission of his tennents. And what had he to countenance this his tyrannie, but the imitation of his Ancestor Achilles, who did the like to *Hector*: It is true, that crueky hath alwayes some what to couer her deformity.

Lib. 11. c. 11.

From *Gaza* (saith *Iosephus*) he led his Army towards *Ierusalem*, a Citie, for the antiquitie and great fame thereof, well knowne vnto him while he lay before *Tyre*; He had sent for some supply thither, which *Iaddus* the high Priest, being subiect and sworne to *Darius*, had refused him. The *Iewes* therefore fearing his reuenge, and vnable to resist, committed the care of their estates and safetie to *Iaddus*, who, being taught by God, assured out of the Citie couered with his Pontificall Robes, to wit, an vpper garment of purple, embroidered with gold, with his Miter, and the plate of gold wherein the name of God was written, the Priests and Leuites in their rich ornaments, & the people in white garments, in a manner so vnusuall, flatly and graue, as *Alexander* greatly admired it. *Iosephus* reports it, that he fell to the ground before the high Priest, as reuerencing the name of God, and that *Parmenio* reprehended him for it. Howsoeuer it was, I am of opinion, that he became so confident in his enterprise, and so assured of the successe after the prophetic of *Daniel* had been read vnto him, wherein he saw himselfe, and the conquest of *Persia* fo directly pointed at, as nothing thence forth could discourage him or feare him. He confessed to *Parmenio* (saith *Iosephus*) that in *Dio* a City of *Adacem*, when his mind laboured the conquest of *Asia*, he saw in his sleepe such a person as *Iaddus*, and so apparelled, professing one and the same God; by whom he was encouraged to pursue the purpose he had in hand, with assurance of victorie. This apparition, formerly apprehended onely by the light of his fantasie, he now beheld with his bodily eyes, wherewith he was so exceedingly pleased and imboldened, as contrarie to the practice of the *Phenicians*, (who hoped to haue sackt and destroyed *Ierusalem*) he gaue the *Iewes* all, and more than they desired, both of libertie and immunitie, with permission to liue vnder their owne lawes, and to exercise and inioy their owne Religion.

## §. VII.

*Alexander winnes Egypt: and makes a iourne to the Temple of Hammon.*

From *Ierusalem* *Alexander* turned againe towards *Egypt*, and entred it, where *Darius* his Lieutenant, *Asiaces*, receiued him and deliuered into his hand the Citie of *Memphis*, with eight hundred talents of treasure, and all other the Kings riches. By this we see that the king of *Persia*, who had more of affection than of iudgement, gaue to the valiantest man he had but the command of one Citie, and to the weakest toward the gouernment of all *Egypt*. When he had set things in order in *Egypt*, he began to trauaile after God-head, towards *Iupiter Hammon*; so foolish had prosperitie made him. He was to passe ouer the dangerous and drie lands, where, when the water which he brought on his Camels backe was spent, he could not but haue perished, had not a maruelous showre of raine fallen vpon him, when his Armie was in extreame despaire. All men that know *Egypt*, and haue written thereof, affirme, That it neuer raiues there: but the purposes of the Almighty God are secret, and he bringeth to passe what it pleaseth him; for it is also said, That when he had lost his way in those vast deserts, that a flight of Crowes flew before the armie; who making faster wing when they were followed, and fluttering slowly when the Armie was cast backe, guided them out those pathlesse lands to *Iupiters* Temple.

Arrian. l. 3.

*Arrianus* from the report of *Ptolemy*, the sonne of *Lagus*, saies, That he was led by two Dragons; both which reports may be a like true. But many of those wonders and things prodigious, are fained by those that haue written the Storie of *Alexander*, as, That an Eagle lay houering directly ouer his head at the battell of *Issus*; that a Swallow flew about his head when he slept, and could not be feared from him, till it had wakened him at *Halicarnassus*, fore-shewing the treason of *Atropus*, practised by *Darius* to haue slaine him; That from the yron barres of which the *Tyrans* made their defensue engines, when *Alexander* besieged them, there fell drops of blood; and that the like drops were found in a loafe of bread, broken by a *Macedonian* Souldier, at the same time; That a Turfe of earth fell on his shoulder, when he lay before *Gaza*, out of which there flew a Bird into the aire. The *Spaniards* in the conquest of the West *Indies* haue many such

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prety tales, telling how they haue bin assisted in battaile, by the presence of our Lady, & by Angels riding on white horses, with the like Romish miracles, which I think themselves do hardly beleue. The strangest thing that I haue read of in this kind being certainly true, was, That the night before the battaile at *Nouara*, all the Dogges which followed the French Army, ranne from them to the Switzers, leaping and fawning vpon them, as if they had bene bred and fed by them all their liues, and in the morning following, *Triunulzi* and *Tremouille*, Generals for *Lewis* the twelfth, were by these Imperiall Switzers vterly broken and put to mince.

The place of this Idoll of *Iupiter Hammon* is ill described by *Curtius*, for he bounds it to be by the Arabian Troglodites on the South, between whom & the Territory of *Hammon*, the Region *Thebais*, or the superiour *Egypt*, with the Mountains of *Lybia*, & the Riuer of *Nilus*, are interiacent; and on the North he ioynes it to a Nation, called *Nassamones*, who bordering the Sea-shore, liue (saith he) vpon the spoyle of shipwracke: whereas the temple or groue of this Idoll hath no Sea neere it by two hundred miles and more, being found on the South part of *Lybia*; these *Nassamones* being due West from it, in the South part of *Marmarica*. *Ptol. 4. Tab. 3.*

When *Alexander* came neere the place, he sent some of his Parasites before him to practise the Priests attending the Oracle, That their answer might be giuen in all things, agreeable to his madde ambition; who affected the title of *Iupiters* son. And so he was saluted, *Sonne of Iupiter*, by the Deuils Prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or rather (as some thinke) defectiue in the Greeke tongue; For whereas he meant to say *Opaidion*, he said *O pai dios*, that is, *O sonne of Iupiter*, in stead of, *O deare sonne*: for which Grammaticall error he was richly rewarded, and a rumour presently spred, that the great *Iupiter* had acknowledged *Alexander* for his owne.

He had heard that *Persus* and *Hercules* had formerly consulted with this Oracle, The one, when he was employed against *Gorgon*, The other against *Anteus* and *Bufris*; and seeing these men had deriued themselves from the gods, why might not he? By this it seemes, that he hoped to make his followers and the world fooles, though indeed he made himselfe one, by thinking to couer from the worlds knowledge his vanities and vices; and the better to confirme his followers in the beliefe of his Deity, he had practised the Priests to giue answer to such as consulted with the Oracle, that it should be pleasing to *Iupiter* to honour *Alexander* as his Son.

Who this *Ammon* was, and how represented, either by a Bosse carried in a Boat, or by a Ram, or a Rams-head, I see that many wise men haue troubled themselves to find out; but, as *Arrianus* speaks of *Dionysius*, or *Liber Pater* (who liued, saith *St. Augustine*, in *Massettime*) *Ea que de dijs veteres fabulis suis conscripsero, non sum nimium curiosè percutienda; Nec mihi not quer-curiosus search into the fables, which the Ancients haue written of their gods*, *Curtius 4.*

But this is certaine and notable, that after the Gospell began to be preached in the World, the Deuill in this and all other Idols became speechlesse. For, that this *Hammon* was neglected in the time of *Tiberius Cesar*, and in the time of *Traian* altogether forgotten, *Strabo* and *Plutarch* witnesse.

There is found neere his Temple a Fountaine called *Fons solis* (though *Ptolemy* in his third African Table sets it farther off) that at mid-night is as hot as boyling water, and at Noone as cold as any yce: to which I cannot but giue credit, because I haue heard of some other Wells of like nature, and because it is reported by *S. Augustine*, by *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, *Mela*, *Solinus*, *Arrianus*, *Curtius*, and others; and indeede our Bathes in England are much warmer in the night, than in the day.

## §. VIII.

*How Alexander marching against Darius, was opposed very vnskilfully by the Enemy.*

From the Temple of *Hammon* hee returned to *Memphis*, where among many other learned men, he heard the Philosopher *Psammones*, who, belike vnderstanding that hee affected the title of *Iupiters* Sonne, told him that God was the Father-King of all men in generall; and refining the pride of this haughty King, brought him to say, That God was the Father of all mortall men, but that hee acknowledged none for his children saue good men.

He gaue the charge of the severall Prouinces of Egypt to severall Gouvernours, following the rule of his Master *Aristotle*, That a great Dominion should not be continued in the hands of any one: whom therein the Romane Emperors also followed, not daring to commit the gouernment of Egypt to any of their Senators, but to men of meaner rank & degree. He then gaue order for the founding of Alexandria vpon the Westermost branch of Nilus. And hauing now settled (as he could) the estate of Egypt, with the Kingdoms of the lesser Asia, Phoenicia, and Syria, (which being but the pawns of *Darius* his ill fortune, one happy victory would readily haue redeemed,) he led his Army towards Euphrates, which passage though the same was committed to *Mazæus* to defend, yet was it abandoned, and *Alexander* without resistance past it. From thence he marched towards Tigris, a Riuer for the swiftnesse thereof called by the Persians The Arrow. Here, as *Curtius*, and Reason it selfe tells vs, might *Darius* easily haue repelled the invading Macedonian: for the violent course of the streame was such, as it draue before it many waighy stones, and those that moued not but lay in the bottome, were so round & well polished by continuall rolling, that no man was able to fight on so slippery a footing; nor the Macedonian foot-men to wade the riuer, otherwise than by ioyning their hands and entering their rimes together, making one waighy and entire body to resist the swift passage and furious race of the streame. Besides this notable helpe, the Channell was so deep towards the Easterne shore, where *Darius* should haue made head, as the footmen were inforced to lift their Bowes, and Arrowes, and Darts ouer their heads to keepe them from being moistned, and made vsueruiceable by the Waters. But it was truly and vnderstandingly said of *Homer*,

*Talis est hominum terrestrium mens,  
Qualem quotidie ducit pater virorumq; Deorumq;.*

The mindes of men are euer so affected,  
As by Gods will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that as all Estates of the world, by the surfeit of misgouernment haue beene subiect to many grieuous, and sometimes mortall diseases: So had the Empire of Persia at this time brought it selfe into a burning and consuming Feauer, and thereby become frantick and without vnderstanding, foreshewing manifestly the dissolution and death thereof.

But *Alexander* hath now recovered the Easterne shores of Tigris, without any other difficulty, than that of the nature of the place, where *Mazæus* (who had charge to defend the passage both of Euphrates and it) presented himselfe to the Macedonians, followed with certaine companies of Horse-men, as if with vneuen forces he durst haue charged them on euen ground, when as with a multitude farre exceeding them, he forsooke the aduantage which no valour of his enemies could easily haue overcome. But it is commonly seene, that fearfull and cowardly men doe euer follow those waies and counsels, whereof the opportunity is already lost.

It is true that he set all prisoniers a fire wherewith the Macedonians might serue themselves ouer Tigris, thinking thereby greatly to haue distressed them; but the execution of good counsell is fruitlesse, when vnseasonable. For now was *Alexander* so well furnished with carriages, as nothing was wanting to the competency of the Army which he conducted. Those things also which he sought to waste, *Alexander* being now in sight, were by his Horse-men saved and recovered. This, *Mazæus* might haue done some daies before at good leisure; or at this time with so great a strength of Horse-men, as the Macedonians durst not haue pursued them, leauing the strength of their foot out of sight, and far behind.

## §. IX.

The new provisions of *Darius*. Accidents foregoing the battaile of Arbela.

**D**arius, vpon *Alexanders* first returne out of Egypt, had assembled all the forces, which those Regions next him could furnish, and now also were the Asians, Scythians, Indians, and other Nations arrived; Nations (saith *Curtius*) that rather serued to make vp the names of men, than to make resistance. *Arriani* hath

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numbered them with their Leaders; and finds of foot-men of all sorts ten hundred thousand, and of horse foure hundred thousand, besides armed Chariots, and some few Elephants. *Curtius* who musters the Army of *Darius* at two hundred thousand foote, and neere fifty thousand horse, comes (I thinke) neerer to the true number, and yet seeing hee had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his Vassalls, it is like enough that he had gathered together of all sorts some three or foure hundred thousand, with which he hoped in those faire plaines of Assyria, to haue overcome the few numbers of the invading Army. But it is a Rule in the Philosophy of the War;

*In omni praelio non tam multitudo, & virtus indola, quam ars & exercitium solent præstare regem.*  
10 *Victoriam; in eueny battaile skill and practice doe more towards the victory, than multitude and rude audacity.*

While *Alexander* gaue rest to his Army after the passage ouer Tigris, there happened an Eclipse of the Moone, of which the Macedonians, not knowing the cause and reason, were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant (as the multitude alwaies are) tooke it for a certaine preface of their ouerthrow and destruction, in so much as they began not only to murmur, but to speake it boldly, That for the ambition of one man, a man that disdained *Philip* for his Father, and would needs be called the Son of *Jupiter*, they should all perish; For he not only inforced them to make warre against Worlds of enemies, but 10 against Riues, Mountaines, and the Heauens themselves.

Hercupon *Alexander* being ready to march forward, made a halt, and to quiet the mindes of the multitude, he called before him the Egyptian Astrologers, which followed him thence, that by them the Souldiers might be assured that this defection of the Moon was a certaine preface of good successe; for that it was naturall they neuer imparted to the common people, but reserved the knowledge to themselves, so as a sorry Almanack-maker had been no small foole in those daies.

Of this kind of superstitious obseruation *Cæsar* made good vse, when he fought against *Arminius* and the Germans: for they being perswaded by the casting of lots, that if they fought before the change of the Moone, they should certainly lose the battaile, *Cæsar* 10 forced them to abide it, though they durst not giue it, wherein hauing their minds already beaten by their owne superstition, and being resolutely charged by the Romans, the whole Army in effect perished.

These Egyptians gaue no other reason than this, That the Grecians were vnder the aspect of the Sun, the Persians of the Moone; and therefore the Moone failing and being darkened, the state of Persia was now in danger of falling, and their glory being obscured. This iudgment of the Egyptian Priests being noyed through all the Army, all were satisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the Warre, which, though deuised since, was well obserued then: *Exercitum terrore plenum Dux ad pugnam 10 ducit; Let not a Captaine leade his Army to the fight, when it is possessed with matter of*

It is truly obserued by *Curtius*, that the people are led by nothing so much as by superstition; yea, wee finde it in all stories, and often in our owne, that by such inuentions, deuised tales, dreames, and prophesies, the people of this Land haue been carried head-long into many dangerous tumults and insurrections, and still to their owne losse and ruine.

As *Alexander* drew neere the Persian Army, certaine letters were surprized, written by *Darius* to the Grecians, perswading them for great summes of money, either to kill or betray *Alexander*. But these by the aduice of *Parmenio* he suppressed,

At this time also *Darius* his faire Wife, oppressed with sorrow, and wearied with trauell, died. Which accident *Alexander* seemed no lesse to bewaile than *Darius*, who vpon the 10 first bruit, suspected that some dishonourable violence had beene offered her; but being satisfied by an Eunuch of his owne that attended her, of *Alexanders* Kingly respect towards her, from the day of her being taken, he desired the immortal Gods, That if they had decreed to make a new Master of the Persian Empire, then it would please them to conferre on so iust and continent an enemy as *Alexander*, to whom he once again before the last triall by battell offered these conditions of peace.

That with his Daughter in marriage he would deliuer vp & resigne all Asia the lesse, & with Egypt, all those Kingdoms betweene the Phoenician Sea, & the Riuer of Euphrates; That he would pay him for the ransom of his Mother, and his other Daughters 30.



thousand talents, and that for the performance thereof, he would leave his son *Ochus* in hostage: To this they fought to perswade *Alexander* by such arguments as they had, *Alexander* causing the Embassadors to be removed, advised with his Counsell, but heard no man speak but *Parmenio*, the very right hand of his good fortune, who perswaded him to accept of these faire conditions. He told him, that the Empire between *Euphrates* & *Hellefpont* was a faire addition to *Macedon*; that the retaining of the Persian prisoners was a great cumber, & the treasure offered for them of far better use than their persons, with divers other arguments; all which *Alexander* rejected. And yet it is probable that if he had followed his advice, and bounded his ambition within those limits, he might have lived as famous for vertue as for fortune, and left himselfe a Successor of ablage to have enjoyed his estate, which afterward, indeed, he much enlarged, rather to the greatning of others than himselfe: who to assure themselves of what they had vsurped vpon his issues, left not one of them to draw breath in the world within a few yeares after. The truth is, That *Alexander* in going so farre into the East, left behinde him the reputation which he brought out of *Macedon*; the reputation of a iust & prudent Prince, a Prince temperate, advised and gratefull: and being taught new lessons by abundance of prosperity, became a lover of wine, of his owne flattery, and of extreme cruelty. Yea, as *Seneca* hath observed, the taint of one vniust slaughter, amongst many, defaced and withered the flourishing beauty of all his great acts and glorious victories obtained. But the Persian Embassadors stay his answer, which was to this effect, That whatsoever he had bestowed on the wife and children of *Darius*, proceeded from his own naturall clemency and magnanimity, without all respect to their Master, but thanks to an enemy was improper; that he made no warres against aduersity, but against those that resisted him; not against Women and Children, but against armed enemies: and although by the reiterated practice of *Darius*, to corrupt his Souldiers, and by great summes of money to perswade his friends to attempt vpon his person, he had reason to doubt that the peace offered was rather pretended than meant, yet he could not (were it otherwise & faithfull) resolve in haste to accept the same, seeing *Darius* had made the Warre against him, not as a King with Royall and ouert force, but as a Traitor by secret & base practice; That for the Territory offered him, it was already his own, and if *Darius* could beat him back againe ouer *Euphrates*, which he had already past, he would then beleue that he offered him some what in his owne power: Otherwise he propounded to himselfe for the reward of the War which he had made, all those Kingdomes as yet in *Darius* possession; wherein, whether he were abused by his owne hopes or no, the battaile which he meant to fight in the day following should determine. For in conclusion, he told them, that he came into Asia to giue, & not to receive; That the Heauens could not hold two Suns: and therefore if *Darius* could be content to acknowledge *Alexander* for his Superior, he might perchance be perswaded to giue him conditions fit for a second Person, and his Inferiour.

## §. X.

The battaile of Arbela: and that it could not be so strongly fought as report hath made it.

**W**ith this answer the Embassadors returne; *Darius* prepares to fight, & sends *Mazæus* to defend a passage, which he neuer dared yet so much as to hazard. *Alexander* consults with his Captaines, *Parmenio* perswades him to force *Darius* his Campe by night; so that the multitude of enemies might not moue terror in the *Macedonians*, being but few. *Alexander* disdaines to steale the victory, and resolves to bring with him the day-light, to witness his valour. But it was the successe that made good *Alexanders* resolution, though the counsell giuen by *Parmenio* was more found: For it is a ground in Warre, *Si pauci necessarij cum multitudine pugnare cogantur, consilium est noctu tempore belli fortunam tentare*. Notwithstanding vpon the view of the multitude at hand, he staggers & trenches himselfe vpon a ground of aduantage, which the Persian had abandoned: And whereas *Darius* for feare of surprise had stood with his Army in armour all the day, and forborne sleepe all the night; *Alexander* gaue his men rest and store of foode; for reason had taught him this Rule in the Warre, *In pugna milites validius resistunt, si cibo potaque refecti fuerint, nam fames intrinsecus*

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*magna pugnæ, quàm sermone externis; Souldiers doe the better stand to it in fight, if they haue their bellies full of meate and drinke; for hunger within, fights more eagerly than Steele without.*

The numbers which *Alexander* had, saith *Arrianus*, were forty thousand foot, and seuen thousand horse; these besike were of the European Army: for he had besides both Syrians, Indians, Egyptians, & Arabians; that followed him out of those Regions. He vsed but a short speech to his Souldiers to incourage them; and I thinke that he needed little Rhetoric; for by the two former Battalles vpon the Riuer of *Granick* and in *Cilicia*, the *Macedonians* were best taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true saying, *Victoria victoriam parat, animamq; victoribus auget, & aduersarijs auferit*: One victory begets another, and puts courage into those that haue already had the better, taking spirit away from those that haue been beaten.

*Arrianus* and *Curcius* make large descriptions of this battaile, fought at *Gaugamela*; They tell vs of many charges and re-charges; That the victory inclined sometime to the Persians, sometime to the *Macedonians*; That *Parmenio* was in danger of being ouerthrowne, who led the left wing; That *Alexanders* Rear-guard was broken, and his carriages lost; That for the fierce and valourous encounters on both sides, Fortune herselfe was long vnresolued on whom to bestow the Garland: And lastly, That *Alexander* in person wrought wonders, being charged in his reitrait. But, in conclusion, *Curcius* tells vs in account but three hundred dead *Macedonians*, in all this terrible daies work, saying, That *Ephesiou*, *Perdiccas* and others of name were wounded. *Arrianus* findes not a third part of this number slaine; of the Persians there fell forty thousand (saith *Curcius*) thirty thousand according to *Arrianus*: Ninety thousand, if we beleue *Diadore*. But what can we iudge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former battailes, the Persians vpon the first charge ranne away, and that the *Macedonians* pursued: For if of these foure or five hundred thousand Asians brought into the field by *Darius*, every man had cast but a Dart, or a Stone, the *Macedonians* could not haue bought the Empire of the East at so easie a rate, as sixe or seuen hundred men in three notorious battailes. Certainly, if *Darius* had fought with *Alexander* vpon the banks of *Euphrates*, & had armed but fifty or threecore thousand of his great multitude, onely with Spades (for the most of all he had were fit for no other weapon) it had beene impossible for *Alexander* to haue past that riuer so easily, much lesse the riuer of *Tigris*. But as a man whose Empire God in his prouidence had determined, he abandoned all places of aduantage, and suffered *Alexander* to enter so farre into the bowels of his kingdomes, as all hope & possibility of escape by reitrait being taken from the *Macedonians*, they had presented vnto them the choice, either of death or victory; to which election *Darius* could no way constrain his own, seeing they had many large Regions to run in to from those that inuaded them.

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## §. XI.

Of things following the battaile of Arbela. I be reiding of Babylon and Susa.

**D**arius after the rout of his Army recovered Arbela the same night, better followed in his flight, than in the fight. He propounded vnto them that ranne after him his purpose of making a reitrait into Media, perswading them that the *Macedonians*, greedy of spoile & riches, would rather attempt Babylon, Susa, and other Cities, filled with treasure, than pursue the vanquished. This miserable resolution his Nobility rather obeyed than approved.

*Alexander* soon after *Darius* his departure arrives at Arbela, which with a great masse of treasure, and Princely ornaments, was rendred to him: for the feare which conducted *Darius*, took nothing with it but shame and dishonour. He that had beene twice beaten, should rather haue sent his treasure into Media, than brought it to Arbela, so neere the place where he abid the coming of his enemies; if he had been victorious, he might haue brought it after him at leisure; but being ouercome, he knew it vnpossible to driue Mules and Camels laden with gold from the pursuing Enemy, seeing himselfe, at the ouerthrow he had in *Cilicia*, cast the Crown from his head, to run away with the more speed. But errors are then best discerned when most incurable. Et *præterita magis reprehendi, postquam quàm corrigi*; It is easier to reprehend than amend what is past.

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Macedonians in Persepolis, which he had done in Susa, & gave the same formall honor to the Traitor *Tiridates*, that he had done to *Abuluz*; but he that had the trust of the place was *Nicarides*, a creature of his owne. The body of his Army he left here for thirty dayes, of which the Commanders were *Parmenio* and *Craterus*; and with a thousand horse and certaine troupes of chosen foote, he would needs view in the Winter-time those parts of Persia, which the Snow had covered; a fruitlesse & foolish enterprise, but as *Seneca* saies: *Non ille uult, sed non potest stare, Hec bath. non a uult to goe, but he is unable to stand still.* It is said and spoken in his praise: That when his Souldiers cried out against him, because they could not endure the extreme frost, and make way, but with extreme difficulty, through the snow, that *Alexander* forsook his horse, & led them the way. But what can be more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremity, thereby to shew how well himselfe can endure it? His walking on foote did no otherwise take off their wearinesse that followed him, than his sometime forbearing to drinke did quench their thirst, that could lesse endure it. For mine owne little judgement I shall rather commend that Captain, that makes carefull prouision for those that follow him, & that seekes wisely to preuent extreme necessity, than those witlesse arrogant fook, that make the vaunt of hauing endured equally with the common Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glory and importance.

We finde in all the Warres that *Cæsar* made, or the best of the Romane Commanders, that the prouision of victuals was their first care. For it was a true saying of *Cæ. 10* *higni*, Admirall of France; *That who so will scape that Beast* (meaning Warre) *must begin with his belly.*

But *Alexander* is now returned to Persepolis, where those Historians, that were most amorous of his vertues, complaine, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberality, of his clemency towards the vanquished, and all other his Kingly conditions, were drowned in drinke; That he smothered in carousing cups all the reputation of his actions past, and that by descending, as it were, from the reuerend Throne of the greatest King, into the company and familiarity of base Harlots, he began to be despised both of his own & all other Nations. For being perswaded, when he was enflamed with wine, by the infamous Strumpet *Thais*, he caused the most sumptuous and goodly Castle & City of Persepolis, to be consumed with fire, notwithstanding all the arguments of *Parmenio* to the contrary, who told him that it was a dishonour to destroy those things by the persuasions of others, which by his proper vertue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a most strong perswasion to the *Asians*, to think hardly of him, & thereby alien their hearts: For they might well beleue that he which demolished the goodliest Ornaments they had, meant nothing lesse than (after such vastation) to hold their possession, *in violentiam crudelitatis sequitur*; *Cruselly doth commonly follow drunkenness*: For it fo fell out soone after, and often, in *Alexander*.

## §. XIII.

The Treason of *Bessus* against *Darius*. *Darius his death.*

About this time he received a new supply of Souldiers out of Cilicia, and goes on to finde *Darius* in Media. *Darius* had there compounded his fourth and last Army, which he meant to haue increased in *Bactria*, had he not heard of *Alexanders* coming on, with whom (trusting to such companies as he had, which was numbered at thirty or forty thousand) he determined once againe to trie his fortune. Hetherfore calls together his Captaines and Commanders, and propounds vnto them his resolution, who being desperate of good successe vied silence for a while. *Artabazus*, one of his eldest men of Warre, who had sometime liued with *Philip* of Macedon, brake the yce, and protesting that he could neuer be beaten by any aduersity of the Kings, from the faith which he had euer ought him, with firme confidence, that all the rest were of the same condition (whereof they likewise assured *Darius* by the like protestation) he approached the Kings resolution. Two onely, and those the greatest, to wit, *Nabuzanes* and *Bessus*, whereof the latter was Gouvernour of *Bactria*, had conspired against their Master; and therefore aduised the King to lay a new foundation for the Warre, and to pursue it by some such person for the present, against whom neither the gods nor Fortune had in all things declared themselves to be an enemy: this preamble *Nabuzanes* vied, and

and in conclusion aduised the election of his fellow Traitor *Bessus*, with promise that the warres ended, the Empire should againe be restored to *Darius*. The King swollen with disdain prekt towards *Nabuzanes* to haue slain him, but *Bessus* & the *Bactrians* whom he commanded, being more in number than the rest, with-held him. In the meane while *Nabuzanes* with-drew himselfe, and *Bessus* followed him, making their quarter a-part from the rest of the Army. *Artabazus*, the Kings faithfull seruant, perswaded him to be aduised, and serue the time, seeing *Alexander* was at hand, and that hee would at least make shew of forgetting the offence made; which the King being of a gentle disposition, willingly yeelded vnto. *Bessus* makes his submission and attends the King, who remoues his Army. *Patrom*, who commanded a Regiment of foure thousand Greeks, which had in all the former Battailles serued *Darius* with great fidelity, and alwayes made the retreat in spite of the Macedonians, offered himselfe to guard his person, protesting against the Treason of *Bessus*; but it was not his destiny to follow their aduice who from the beginning of the Warre gaue him faithfull counsell, but he enclined still to *Bessus*, who told him, that the Greeks with *Patrom* their Captaine were corrupted by *Alexander*, and practised the diuision of his faithfull seruants. *Bessus* had drawne vnto him thirty thousand of the Army, promising them all those things, by which the louers of the World and themselves are wont to be allured, to wit, riches, safety, and honour.

Now the day following *Darius* plainly discovered the purposes of *Bessus*, and being overcome with passion, as thinking himselfe vnable to make head against these vngratefull and vnnatural Traitors, he praye *Artabazus* his faithfull seruant to depart from him, and to prouide for himselfe. In like sort he discharged the rest of his attendants, all save a few of his Eunuchs; for his Guards had voluntarily abandoned him: His Persians being most base cowards, durst not vndertake his defence against the *Bactrians*, notwithstanding that they had foure thousand Greeks to ioyne with him, who had been able to haue beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which forsakes himselfe, no man follows. It had been farre more Man-like and King-like, to haue dyed in the head of those foure thousand Greeks, which offered him the disposition of their liues, (to which *Artabazus* perswaded him) than to haue lien bewailing himselfe on the ground, and suffering himselfe to be bound like a Slaue by those ambitious Monsters that laid hand on him, whom neither the consideration of his former great estate, nor the honour he had given them, nor the trust reposed in them, nor the world of benefits bestowed on them, could moue to pity: no, nor his present aduersity, which about all things should haue moued them, could pierce their viperous and vngratefull hearts. Vaine it was indeed to hope it; for infidelity hath no compassion.

Now *Darius*, thus forsaken, was bound & laid in a Cart, covered with Hides of Beasts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not be discouered; & to adde despite and derision to his aduersity, they fastned him with Chaines of Gold, and so drew him among their ordinary Carriages and Carts. For *Bessus* and *Nabuzanes* perswaded themselves to redeem their liues and the Prouinces they held, either by deliuering him a prisoner to *Alexander*, or, if that hope failed, to make themselves Kings by his slaughter, and then to defend themselves by force of Armes. But they failed in both. For it was against the nature of God, who is most iust, to pardon so strange villany, yea, though against a Prince purely Heathenish and an Idolater.

*Alexander* hauing knowledge that *Darius* was retired towards *Bactria*, and durst not abide his coming, hastened after him with a violent speede, and because he would not force his foot-men beyond their powers, he mounted on horse back certain selected companies of them, & best armed, & with sixe thousand other horse, rather ran than marched against *Darius*. Such as hated the Treason of *Bessus*, and secretly forsooke him, gaue knowledge to *Alexander* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that *Bessus* took, and how neere he was at hand: for many men of worth daily ran from him. Hereupon *Alexander* againe doubled his pace, and his Vant-guard being discouered by *Bessus* his Rear, *Bessus* brought a Horse to the Cart, where *Darius* lay bound, perswading him to mount thereon, and to save himselfe. But the vnfortunate King refusing to follow those that had betrayed him, they cast Darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the Beasts that drew him, & flew two poore Seruants that attended his person. This done, they all fled that could, leaving the rest to the mercy of the Macedonian Swords.

*Polystratus* a Macedonian, being by pursuite of the vanquished prest with thirst, as hee was refreshing himselfe with some water that he had discovered, espying a Cart with a Teame of wounded beaſts breathing for life, and not able to move, leached the same, and therein found *Darius* bathing in his owne blood: And by a Persian captiue which followed this *Polystratus*, he vnderstood that it was *Darius*, and was informed of his bar- barous Tragedy. *Darius* also seemed greatly comforted (if dying men ignorant of the Iume: God can be comforted) that he cast not out his last sorrowes vnheard, but that by this Macedonian, *Alexander* might know and take vengeance on those Traitors, which had deſt not leſſe vnworthily than cruelly with him, recommending their reuenge to *Alexander* by this messenger, which he besought him to pursue, not because *Darius* had de- sired it, but for his owne honour, and for the safety of all that did, or should after wear 10 Crowns. He also, hauing nothing else to present, rendered thanks to *Alexander* for the Kingly grace vſed towards his Wife, Mother, & Children, desiring the immortall gods to subſiſt vnto him the Empire of the whole World. As he was thus speaking, impatient death preſſing out his few remaining ſpirits, he desired water, which *Polystratus* preſen- ted him, after which he liued but to tell him, that of all the best things that the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his last breath, wher- with to desire the gods to reward his compaſſion.

## §. XIV.

How Alexander pursued Bessus, and tooke into his grace Darius his Captaines.

IT was now hoped by the Macedonians, that their trauels were neere an end, ue- ry man preparing for his returne. Hereof when *Alexander* had knowledge, he was greatly grieved; for the bounded earth ſuſtained not his boundleſſe ambi- tion. Many arguments he therefore vſed to draw on his Army farther into the Eaſt, but that which had moſt ſtrength was, that *Bessus*, a moſt cruell Traitor to his Maſter *Darius*, hauing at his deuotion the Hyrcanians, and Bactrians, would in ſhort time (if the Macedonians ſhould returne) make himſelfe Lord of the Persian Empire, and enioy the fruits 30 of all their former traualles. In conſequence, he wan their conſents to go on: which done, leaving *Craterus* with certaine Regiments of foote, and *Amyntas* with fixe thouſand horse in Parthenia, he enters not without ſome oppoſition into Hyrcania; for the Mar- dons, and other barbarous Nations, defended certaine paſſages for a while. He paſſeth the riuier of Zioberis, which taking beginning in Parthia, diſſolues it ſelfe in the Caſpian Sea: it runneth vnder the ledge of Mountains, which bound Parthia & Hyrcania, where hiding it ſelfe vnder-ground for three hundred furlongs, it then riſeth again and follow- eth its former courſe. In Zadracarta or Zudracarta, the ſame City which *Ptolomy* writes Hyrcania, the Metropolis of that Region, he reſted ſixteen dayes, banquetting and feaſt- ing therein.

*Phthiphernes*, one of *Darius* his greateſt Commanders, with others of his beſt follow- ers, ſubmit themſelues to *Alexander*, and were reſtored to their places and gouernments. But of all other he graced *Artabazus* moſt highly for his approued and conſtant faith to his Maſter *Darius*. *Artabazus* brought with him ten thouſand and five hundred Greeks, the rem- nander of all thoſe that had ſerued *Darius*: he treats with *Alexander* for their par- don, before they were yet arriued, but in the end they render themſelues ſimply without promiſe or compoſition: he pardons all but the Lacedæmonians, whom he imprifoned, their Leader hauing ſlaine himſelfe. He was alſo wrought, (though to his great diſho- nour) to receive *Nabarzanes* that had ioyned with *Bessus* to murder *Darius*.

## §. XV.

Of Thaleſtris, Queene of the Amazons; where, by way of digreſſion, it is ſhewed, that ſuch Amazons haue bene, and are.

HE it is ſaid, that *Thaleſtris* or *Atinothea*, a Queene of the Amazons, came to vi- ſite him, and her ſuite was, (which the eaſily obtained) That ſhe might accom- pany him till the were made with child by him: which done (refuſing to fol- low him into India, ſhe returned into her owne Country.

*Plutarch*

*Plutarch* citeth many Hiſtorians, reporting this meeting of *Thaleſtris* with *Alexander*, and ſome contradiſting it. But, indeede, the letters of *Alexander* himſelfe to *Antipater*, recounting all that beſell him in thoſe parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this Amazonian buſineſſe, may iuſtly breed ſuſpition of the whole matter as forged. Much more iuſtly may we ſuſpect it as a vaine tale, becauſe an Hiſtorian of the ſame time ra- ding one of his bookes to *Lyſimachus* (then King of Thrace) who had followed *Alexander* in all his voyage; was laught at by the King for inſerting ſuch newes of the Ama- zons; and *Lyſimachus* himſelfe had neuer heard of. One that accompanied *Alexander* tooke vpon him to write his acts; which to amplifie, Herodotus how the King had fought 10 ſingle with an Elephant, and ſlaine it. The King hearing ſuch ſtuffe, caught the booke, and threw it into the riuier of Indus; ſaying, that it were well done to throw the writer after it, who by inſerting ſuch fables, diſparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as we beleeue & know that there are Elephants, though it were falſe that *Alexander* fought with one; ſo may we giue credit vnto writers, making mention of ſuch Amazons, whe- ther it were true or falſe that they met with *Alexander*; as *Plutarch* leaues the matter vndermined. Therefore I will here take leaue to make digreſſion, as well to ſhew the opinions of the ancient Hiſtorians, Coſmographers, and others, as alſo of ſome mo- derne diſcouerers touching theſe warlike Women, becauſe not onely *Strabo*, but many 30 others of theſe our times make doubt, whether, or no, there were any ſuch kinde of peo- ple. *Julius Solinus* ſeates them in the North parts of Aſia the leſſe. *Pom. Mela* finds two Regions filled with them; the one, on the Riuier Thermoodon; the other, neere the Ca- ſpian Sea; *Quas* (ſaith he) *Sauromatidas* appellant; which the people call *Sauromatidas*. 11. b. The former of theſe two had the Cimerians for their Neighbours; *Certum eſt* (ſaith *Va- dianus*, who hath commented vpon *Mela*) *illos proximos Amazonibus fuiſſe*; It is certaine 40 that the Cimerians were the next Nations to the Amazons. *Ptolomy* ſets them farther into the Land North-wards, neere the Mountains Hippaci, not farre from the Pillars of *Alexander*. And that they had Dominion in Aſia it ſelfe toward India, *Solinus* and *Pliny* telvs; Where they gouerned a people called the Pandæans, or Padæans, ſo called after 50 *Pandæa* the Daughter of *Hercules*, from whom all the reſt deriue themſelues. *Claudian* af- firmes, That they commanded many Nations: For he ſpeakes (largely perhaps as a Poet) thus:

*Medis leui buſſi, Sabais  
Imperat hic ſexus: Reginarumq; ſub armiſ,  
Barbarie pars magna ſacæ.*

*Claudian* de cap.  
Troſepina.

Ouer the Medes, and light Sabæans, reignes  
This female ſexe: and vnder armes of Queen,  
Great part of the Barbarian Land remains.

*Diadorus Siculus* hath heard of them in Lybia, who were more ancient (ſaith he) than 40 thoſe which kept the banks of Thermoodon, a riuier falling into the Euxine Sea, neere Heracleum.

*Herodotus* doth alſo make report of theſe Amazons, whom he tels vs that the Scythians call *Cherſopas*, which is as much, as *Viricides*, or Men-killers. And that they made in- cursion into Aſia the leſſe, ſackt Ephelus, & burnt the Temple of *Diana*, *Manethon* & *Auenti- nus* report, which they performed forty yeares after Troy was taken. At the ſiege of Troy it ſelfe we read of *Pentheſilea*, That ſhe came to the ſuccour of *Priamus*.

*Aeneid* 1. 1. 31

*Am. Marcellinus* giues the cauſe of their inhabiting vpon the Riuier of Thermoodon, ſpeaking confidently of the war they made with diuers Nations, & of their ouerthrow. 50 *Plutarch* in the life of *Theſeus*, out of *Philochorus*, *Hellenicus*, and other ancient Hiſtorians, reports the taking of *Antiope* Queene of the Amazons by *Hercules*, and by him giuen to *Theſeus*, though ſome affirme, That *Theſeus* himſelfe got her by ſtealth, when ſhe came to viſit him aboard his ſhip. But in ſubſtance there is little difference; all confeſſing, That ſuch Amazons there were. The ſame Author in the life of *Pompey* ſpeakes of certaine companies of the Amazons, that came to aide the Albanians againſt the Romans, by whom after the battell, many Targets and Buſkins of theirs were taken vp: and he ſaith farther, That theſe women entertaine the Gelæ and Celages once a yeare, Nations inha- biting between them and the Albanians.

*L. 23. c. 7.*

But

Hist. Ind.  
part. 1. c. 28.

But to omit the many Authors, making mention of Amazons that were in the old times, *Fran. Lopez* who hath written the nauigation of *Orellana*, which he made down the riuer of Amazons from Peru, in the year 1542. (vpon which riuer, for the diuers turnings, he is said to haue sailed fixe thousand miles) reports from the relation of the said *Orellana*, to the Councell of the Indies, That he both saw those women and fought with them, where they fought to impeach his passage towards the East-Sea.

It is also reported by *Vrichus Schmidel*, that in the year 1542. when he sailed vpon the Riuers of Paragna and Parabol, that he came to a King of that Country, called *Scherues*, inhabiting vnder the Tropick of *Capricorne*, who gaue his Captaine *Ernando Rieffere*, a Crowne of silver, which he had gotten in fight from a Queen of the Amazons in those parts.

*Ed. Lopez*, in his description of the Kingdome of *Congo*, makes relation of such Amazons, telling vs, That (agreeable to the reports of elder times) they burne off their right breasts, and liue a-part from men, saue at one time of the yeare, when they feast & accompany them for one moneth. These (saith he) possesse a part of the Kingdome of *Momotapa* in Africa, nineteen degrees to the Southward of the line : and that these women are the strongest Guards of this Emperour, all the East Indian Portugals know.

I haue produced these authorities in part, to iustifie mine owne relation of these Amazons, because that which was deliuered by me for truth by an ancient Cacique of *Guiana*, how vpon the riuer of *Papamena* (since the Spanish discoveries called Amazons) that these women still liue and gouerne, was held for a vaine and vnprobable report.

## §. XVI.

*How Alexander fell into the Persian Luxury : and how he further pursued Bessus.*

**N**OW as *Alexander* had begun to change his conditions after the taking of *Perspolis*: so at this time his prosperity had so much ouer-wrought his vertue, as he accepted clemency to be but basenesse, & the temperance which he had vsed all his life time, but a poore & dejected humour, rather becomming the instructors of his youth, than the condition and state of so mighty a King, as the World could not equall. For he perswaded himselfe that he now represented the greatnesse of the gods; he was pleased that those that came before him, should fall to the ground & adore him, he wore the robes and garments of the Persians, & commanded that his Nobility should doe the like: he entertained in his Court & Camp, the same shamelesse rabble of Curtisians, and Sodomiticall Eunuchs, that *Darius* had done, & imitated in all things the proud, voluptuous, & detested manners of the Persians, whom he had vanquished. So licentious is felicity, as notwithstanding that he was fully perswaded, that the gods whom he serued, detesting the vices of the inuaded, assisted him in all attempts against them, he himselfe, contrary to the Religion he professeth (which how Idolatrous fouler it were, could not be feared vnto him by neglecting it) became by imitation, & not by ignorance or education, a more foule and fearfull Monster than *Darius*, from whose tyranny he vaunted to haue deliuered so many Nations. Yea, those that were dearest and nearest vnto him, began to be ashamed of him, entertaining each other with this, and the like scornfull discourse; That *Alexander* of Macedon was become one of *Darius* his licentious Courtiers; That by his example, the Macedonians were in the end of so many traualles, more impouertised in their vertues, than enriched by their victories; & that it was hard to iudge whether the Conquerors, or the Conquered were the baser slaues. Neither were these opinions so reserved, but that the noise of them came to his eares. He therefore with great gifts sought to pacifie the better sort, and those of whose iudgments he was most ialous, and making it knowne to the Army, that *Bessus* had assumed the title of a King, and called himselfe *Artaxerxes*, & that he had compounded a great Army of the *Bactrians*, and other Nations, he had arguments enow to perswade them to goe on, to the end that all already gotten, might not with themselves (so farre engaged) be cast away. And because they were pestered with the spoiles of so many Cities, as the whole Army seemed but the guard of their carriages, (not much vnlike the warfare of the French) hauing commanded euery mans fardels to be brought into the market-place, he, together with his owne, caused all to be consumed with fire. Certainly, this could not but haue proued

most dangerous vnto him, seeing the common-Souldiers had more interest in these things which they had bought with their painefull traualles, and with their blood, than in the kings ambition; had not (as *Seneca* often obserued) his happy temeritie ouercome all things. As he was in his way, newes came to him, that *Satibarzanes*, whom he had established in his former gouernment ouer the *Arrians*, was revolted; whereupon leauing the way of *Bactria*, he sought him out; but the Rebelle, hearing of his coming, fled to *Bessus*, with two thousand Horse. He then went on towards *Bessus*, and by setting a great pile of wood on fire, with the aduantage of a strong winde, won the passage ouer an high and vnaccessable Rocke, which was defended against him, with thirtene thousand foot. For the extremitie of the Flame and smoake, forced them from the place, otherwise inuincible. I saw in the third ciuill warre of *France*, certaine Caves in *Languedoc*, which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of high Rockes, which we knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine, till at last, by certaine bundels of straw, let downe by anyron chaine, & a waighty stone in the midst, those that defended it, were so smothered, as they rendered themselves with their plate, mony, and other goods therein hidden. There were also some three yeeres before my arriuall in *Guiana*, three hundred *Spaniards* well mounted, smothered to death, together with their Horses, by the Countrie-people, who did set the long dry grasse on fire to the Eastward of them, (the winde in those parts being alwayes East) so as notwithstanding their flying from the smoake, there was not any one that escaped. *Sir John Borlows* also, with a hundred *English*, was in great danger of being lost at *Margurita*, in the *West-Indies*, by hauing the grasse fired behinde him; but the smoake being timelyly discovered, he recovered the Sea-shore with the losse of fixteene of his men. I remember these things, but to giue caution to those that shall in times to come inuade any part of those Countries, that they alwayes, before they passe into the Land, burne downe the grasse and sedge to the East of them; they may otherwise, without any other enemy, than a handfull of straw set on fire, dye the death of hony-Bees, burnt out of the Hiuie.

## §. XVII.

*A Conspiracie against Alexander. The death of Philotas and Parmenio.*

**A**LEXANDER was, after he parted hence, no where resisted, till he came into *Aria*; to the East of *Bactria*, where the chiefe Citie of that Prouince, called *Artacoana*, was a while defended against him, by the reuolt of *Satibarzanes*, but in the end he receiued the Inhabitants to mercy. At this place his Armie was re-enforced with a new supply of fixe thousand and fixe hundred foot, and neere fixe hundred Horse, out of *Greece*, *Thessalie*, and other places. His journey out of *Persia* into these parts, is very fully described. For hauing (as all his Historians tell vs) a determination to find *Bessus* in *Bactria*, he leaues it at the very entrance, & takes the way of *Hircania*; from thence he wanders Northwards towards the obscure *Mardi*, vpon the *Caspian-Sea*, and thence ouer the Mountaine *Coronus* into *Aria*, and *Drangiana*.

At this time it was that the treason of *Dimnus* brake out, of which *Philotas* the sonne of *Parmenio* was accused, as accessarie, if not principall. This *Dimnus*, hauing (I know not vpon what ground) conspired with some others against the life of *Alexander*, went about to draw *Nicomachus*, a young man whom he loued, into the same treason. The Youth, although he was first bound by oath to feircie, when he heard so foule a matter vttered, began to protest against it so vehemently, that his friend was like to haue slaine him for security of his owne life. So, constrained by feare, he made shew as if he had bin won by perswasion; and by seeming at length to like well of the businesse, he was told more at large what they were, that had vndertaken it. There were nine or ten of them, all men of ranke, whose names *Dimnus* (to countenance the enterprise) reckoned vpon to *Nicomachus*. *Nicomachus* had no sooner freed himself from the company of this Traitor *Dimnus*, than he acquainted his owne brother *Ceballinus* with the whole Historie; whereupon it was agreed between them, that *Ceballinus* (who might with least suspicion) should goe to the Court, and vtter all. *Ceballinus*, meeting with *Philotas*, told him the whole businesse, desiring him to acquaint the King therewith: which he promised to do;

B b b b

but

but did not. Two dayes passed, and *Philotas* neuer brake with the King about the matter, but still excused himselfe to *Ceballinus* by the Kings want of leisure. This, his coldnesse bred suspition, and caused *Ceballinus* to addresse himselfe to another, one *Metron*, Keeper of the Kings Amorie, who forth-with brought him to *Alexanders* presence. *Alexander*, finding by examination what had passed betwene *Ceballinus* and *Philotas*, did fully perswade himselfe that this concealment of the treason, argued his hand to haue bin in the businesse. Therefore when *Dimnus* was brought before him, he asked the Traitor no other question than this: *wherein haue I so offended thee, that thou shouldst thinke Philotas more worthy to be King than I? Dimnus* perceiuing when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had so wounded himselfe, that he liued no longer, than to giue his last groane in the Kings presence. Then was *Philotas* called, and charged with the suspition, which his silence might iustly breede. His answer vvas, That vvhien the practise was reuealed vnto him by *Nicomachus*, he iudging it to be but friuolous, did forbear to acquaint *Alexander* therewithall, untill he might haue better information. This error of his, (if it were onely an error) although *Alexander*, for the notorious seruices of his Father *Armenio*, of his brother *Nicanor* lately dead, and of *Philotas* himselfe, had freely pardoned and giuen him his hand for assurance; yet by the instigation of *Craterus*, he againe swallowed his Princely promise, & made his enemies his Iudges. *Curtius* giues a note of *Craterus* in this businesse; How he perswaded himselfe, that he could neuer find a better occasion to oppresse his priuate enemy, than by pretending pietie, and dutie towards the King. Hereof a Poet of our own hath giuen a note as much better, as it is more generall in his *Philotas*:

See how these great men cloathe their priuate hate,  
In these faire colours of the publike good;  
And to effect their ends, pretend the State,  
As if the State by their affection stood:  
And arm'd with power and Princes ieaousies,  
Will put the least conceit of discontent  
Into the greatest ranke of treacheries,  
That no one action shall seeme innocent:  
Yea valour, honour, bountie, shall be made  
As accessaries vnto ends vnjust:  
And euen the seruice of the State must lade  
The needfull ft vnder taking with distrust,  
So that base villenie, idle Luxurie,  
Seeme safer farre, than to doe worthily, &c.

Now although it were so, that the king following the aduice of *Craterus*, had reloued the next day to put *Philotas* to torment, yet in the very euening of the samenight in which he was apprehended, he called him to a banquet, and discoursed as familiarly with him as at any other time. But when in the dead of the night *Philotas* was taken in his lodging, and that they which hated him began to binde him, he cryed out vpon the king in these words: O *Alexander*, the malice of mine Enemies hath forsworned thymity, and their hatred is farre more constant than the word of a King. Many circumstances were viced against him by *Alexander* himselfe (for the kings of *Macedon* did in person examine the accusations of treason) and this was not the least (not the least offence, indeede, against the kings humour, who desired to be glorified as a God) That when *Alexander* wrote vnto him concerning the title giuen him by *Iupiter Hammon*: He answered, That he could not but reioyce that he was admitted into that sacred Fellowship of the gods, and yet he could not but with all grieve for those that should liue vnder such a one as would exceede the nature of man. This was (saith *Alexander*) a firme perswasion vnto me, that his heart was changed, and that he held my glory in dispight. See what a strange Monster Flatterie is, that can perswade kings to kill those that doe not praise and allow those things in them, which are of all other most to be abhorred. *Philotas* was brought before the multitude, to heare the kings Oration against him: he was brought forth in wilde garments and bound like a Theefe, where he heard himselfe, and his absent Father the greatest Captaine of the World, accused, his two other Brothers, *Heclor* and *Mitranor* hauing bene lost in the present Warre. He was so greatly oppress with griefe,

as for a while he could utter nothing but teares, and sorrow had so wasted his spirits, as he fank vnder those that led him. In the end, the king asked him, In what language he would make his defence; he answered, In the same wherein it had pleased the king to accuse him; which he did, to the end that the *Persians*, as well as the *Macedonians*, might vnderstand him. But hereof the king made his aduantage, perswading the assembly, that he disdaind the language of his owne Country, and so with-drawing himselfe, left him to his mercilesse enemies.

This proceeding of the kings, *Philotas* greatly lamented, seeing the king, who had so sharply inueyed against him, would not vouchsafe to heare his excuse. For not his enemies onely were emboldened thereby against him, but all the rest, hauing discouered the kings disposition and resolution, contending among themselves, which of them should exceede in hatred towards him. Among many other arguments, which he vsed in his owne defence, this was not the weakest; That when *Nicomachus*, desired to know of *Dimnus*, what men of marke and power were his partners in the conspiracie (as seeming vnwilling to adventure himselfe with inane and base Companions) *Dimnus* named vnto him *Demetrius* of the kings Chamber, *Nicanor*, *Amyntas*, and some others, but spake not a word of *Philotas*, who by being Commander of the Horse, would greatly haue valued the party, and haue encouraged *Nicomachus*. Indeece, as *Philotas* said well for himselfe, it is likely that *Dimnus*, thereby the better to haue heartned *Nicomachus*, would haue named him, though he had neuer dealt vwith him in any such practise. And for more certaine proofe, that he knew nothing of their intents that practised against the king, there vvas not any one of the Conspirators, being many, inforc'd by torments, or otherwise, that could accuse him; and it is true, that aduersity being seldome able to beare her own burden, is for the most part found so malicious, as she rather desires to draw others (not alwayes deserting it) into the same danger, than to spare any that it can accuse. Yet at the last, howsoeuer it were, to auoide the extremity of resistlesse and vnnaturall torments, deuised by his profest enemies *Craterus*, *Cenus*, *Ephesiton*, and others, *Philotas* accused his owne selfe, being perswaded that they would haue slaine him forthwith. But he failed euen in that miserable hope, and suffering all that could be laid on flesh and bloud, he was forced to deliuer, not what he knew, but whatsoeuer best pleased their eares, that were farre more mercilesse than death it selfe.

Of this kinde of iudiciall proceeding *S. Augustine* greatly complaineth, as a matter to be bewailed, saith he, with Fountaines of teares. *Quid cum in sua causa quisque torquetur: & cum queritur utrum sit nocens, cruciatur: & innocens laus pro incerto scelere certissimus poena: non quia illud commississe detegitur, sed quia non commississe nescitur? what shall we say* *Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. l. 9. c. 6.*  
it, when one is put to torture in his own cause; and tormented whilst yet it is in question whether he be guilty; and being innocent, suffers assured punishment for a fault, of which there is uncertaintie; not because he is knowne to haue committed the offence, but because others doe not know that he hath not committed it?

It had bene enough for *Alexanders* safety, if *Philotas* had bene put to death without torment, the rest would not much haue grieved thereat, because he was greatly suspected. But *Hemolus*, who afterward conspired against him, made the kings cruelty and delight in bloud, the greatest motiue of his owne ill intent. Therefore, *Seneca*, speaking of *Alexander*, saith thus: *Crudelitatis minime humanum malum est, indignum animi animae, irruisula rabies est sanguine gaudere & vulneribus, & abiectione hominis, in siluestre animal transire. Cruelty is not a humane vice; it is unworthy of so milde a spirit: It is euen a beasts rage to delight in bloud and wounds, and casting away the nature of man, to become a saueage Monster.* *Sen. de Clem. l. 1.*

For the conclusion of this Tragedie, *Curtius* makes a doubt, vvwhether the confession that *Philotas* made, vvwere to giue end to the torments which he could not any longer endure, or that the same was true indeede; For (saith he) in this case, they that speake truly, or they that deny falsly, cometo one and the same end. Now, vvwhile the kings hands vvwere yet wet in bloud, he commanded that *Lynceles*, sonne-in-Law to *Antipater*, who had bene three yeares in prison, should be slaine: The same dispatch had all those that *Nicomachus* had accused: others there vvwere that were suspected, because they had followed *Philotas*, but when they had answered for themselves that they knew no way so direct to winne the kings fauour, as by louing those whom the king fauoured; they vvwere dismissed. But *Parmenio* vvvas yet liuing; *Parmenio*, vvwho had serued



with great fidelitie as well *Philip of Macedon* the Kings Father, as himselfe; *Parmenio* that first opened the way into *Asia*; That had deprest *Attalus* the Kings enemie; that had alwayes, and in all hazards, the leading of the Kings Vant-guard, that was no lesse prudent in counsell, than fortunate in all attempts; A man beloued of the men of War, and, to say the truth, he that had made the purchase for the King of the Empire of the East, and of all the glory and fame he had: That he might not therefore reuenge the death of his Sonne, though not vpon the King, (for it was vnlkely that he would haue dishonoured his fidelity in his eldest age, hauing now liued threecore and ten yeares) yet vpon those that by the witchcraft of flattery had posselt themselves of his affection; it was resolu'd that he should be dispatcht. *Polydamis* was employed in this businesse, a man whom of all other *Parmenio* trusted most, and loued best, who (to be short) finding him in *Media*, and hauing *Cleander* and other Murderers with him, flew him walking in his Garden, while he was reading the Kings letters. *Hic exitus Parmenionis fuit, militis domi, clauis, Mula sine Rege propter; Rex sine illo nihil magne reiefferat; This was the end of Parmenio* (saith *Curtius*) who had performed many notable things without the King, but the King, without him did neuer effect any thing worthy of praise.

## §. XV III.

How Alexander subdued the *Bactrians*, *Sogdians*, and other people. How *Bessus* was deliuered into his hands. How he fought with the *Scythians*.

When these things had end, *Alexander* went on with his Armie, and brought vnder his obedience the *Arasprians* or *Emergitans*; he made *Amenides* (sometime *Darius* his Secretarie) their Gouvernour, then he subdued the *Atacisians*, & left *Menon* to command ouer them. Here the Armie, sometimes led by *Parmenio*, findes him, consisting of twelue thousand *Macedons* & *Greeks*, with whom he past through some cold Regions with difficultie enough. At length he came to the foote of the Mountain *Taurus* towards the East, where he built a Citie, which he honoured with his own name, and peopled it with seuen thousand of his old *Macedons*, worne with age and with traualles of the warre. The *Arians*, who since he left them were reuolted, he subdued againe by the industry and valour of *Caranus* and *Erigins*. And now he resolu'd to finde out the new king *Bessus* in *Bactria*. *Bessus*, hearing of his coming, prepares to passe ouer the great Riuer of *Oxus* which diuides *Bactria* from *Sogdiana*; *Atabazus* is made Gouvernour of *Bactria* abandoned by *Bessus*; The *Macedonian* Armie suffereth for want of Water, inso much as when they came to the Riuer of *Oxus*, there died more of them by drinking inordinately, than *Alexander* had lost in any one battaile against the *Persians*. And it may well be; For (as *Clytus* did after obiect vnto him) he fought against women, not against men, and not against their persons, but their shadowes. Hee found on the bankes of this great Riuer no manner of Timber or other materials, to make either boates, bridges, or raffe, but was forc't to few together the Hides that couered his carriages, and stuffe them with straw, and on them in fixe daies to passe ouer his Armie, which *Bessus* might easily haue distrust, if he had dared but to behold the *Macedonian* Army afar off. He had formerly complained against *Darius* for neglecting to defend the banks of *Tigris*, and other passages, and yet now, when this traiterous slaue had tyed himselfe King, he durst not performe any thing worthy of a slaue. And therefore those that were nearest vnto him, and whom hee most trusted, to wit, *Spitamenes*, *Dataphernes*, *Catanes*, and others the Commanders of his Army, moued both by the care of their own safety, and by the memory of *Bessus* his Treason and cruelty against *Darius*, bound him in the like manner that he had done his Master, but with this difference, that he had the chain closed about his necke like a mastiffe Dog, and so was dragged along to be presented to his enemie.

In the meane while *Alexander* was arrived at a certaine Town inhabited with *Greeks* of *Miletum*, brought thither by *Xerxes*, when long before hee returned out of *Greece*; whose issues had well-neere forgotten their Country-language. These most cruelly alter they had receiued him with great ioy, he put to the sword, and destroyed their City. At this place he receiued *Bessus*, and hauing rewarded *Spitamenes* with the rest that deliuered him, he gaue the Traitor into the hands of *Oxatres*, *Darius* his brother, to be tormented.

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But while he now thought himselfe secure, some twenty thousand Mountainers assailed his Campe, in repelling whom he received a shot in the legge, the arrow head sticking in the flesh, so as he was carried in a Horse-Litter, sometime by the horsemen, sometime by the foote.

Soone after he came vnto *Maracanda*, which *Petrus Peropodinus* takes to be *Samarchand*, the regall Citie of the great *Tamerlaine*. It had in compasse threecore and ten furlongs (*Curtius* saith.) Here he receiued the Embassadors of the *Scythians* (called *Amians*) vvho offered to serue him.

The *Bactrians* are shortly again with the *Sogdians* stirred to Rebellion, by the same *Spitamenes* and *Catanes*, who had lately deliuered into his hands the Traitor *Bessus*. Many Cities were resolutely defended against him, all which, after victory, he defaced & rased, killing all therein. At one of these he receiued a blow on the necke, which strucke him to the ground, and much disabled him for many dayes after. In the meane while *Spitamenes* had recovered *Maracanda*, against whom he employed *Menedemus* with three thousand foote and eight hundred horse.

In the heate of these tumults *Alexander* marched on (if we may beleue *Curtius* and others) till he came to the Riuer of *Tanais* vpon whose banke he built another *Alexandria*, threecore furlongs in compasse, which he beautified with houses within seuenteen daies after the wals built. The building of this Citie is said to haue bin occasion of a war betwene him and the *Scythians*; the *Scythian* King perswading himselfe, that this new Towne was fortified for purpose to keepe him vnder. I doe not well vnderstand, why the *Scythians*, offering war in such terrible manner, that *Alexander* was iudged by his owne Souldiers to counterfeit sicknesse for very feare, should neuertheless make such a peace: neither finde I the reason why *Alexander* (not intending the conquest of those Northerne deserts, but only the defence of his owne banke) should refuse to let them alone, with vvhom he could nor meddle further than they should agree to suffer him. Yet herof is made a great matter; and a victory described, in pursuit of which the *Macedons* ran beyond the bounds and monuments of *Bacchus* his expedition.

The truth is, That *Curtius* and *Trogus* haue greatly mistaken this Riuer, which they call *Tanais*. For it was the Riuer of *Iaxartes*, that runs betwene *Sogdiana* and *Scythia*, which *Alexander* past ouer, while *Menedemus* was employed in the recovery of *Samarchand*. But *Tanais* which diuides *Asia* from *Europe*, is nere two thousand miles distant from any part of *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*, and the way desart and ynknowne. So that *Alexander* had (before *Iaxartes*) the great Riuer of *Volga* and many others to swim ouer, ere he could recover *Tanais*; vvhich (from the place where he was) he could hardly haue discovered with the Armie that followed him, if he had imploied all the time that he liued in *Asia* in that traualle.

Wherefore it is enough to beleue, that the *Asiatique Scythians*, making some offer, to disturbe the erection of this new Citie, vvith vvhat was like to giue some hinderance to their excursions, were driuen away by the *Macedonians*; and being naked of defenceless Armes, easily chased some ten or twelue miles, which is the substance of *Curtius* his report. As for the limits of *Bacchus* his iourne, like enough it is that *Bacchus* (if in his life time hee were as sober a man, as after his death he was held a drunken god) went not very far into that wast Country, where he could finde nothing but trees and stones, nor other businesse than to set vp a monument.

Threecore of the *Macedons* are said to haue bin slaine; and one thousand one hundred hurt in this fight; which might easily be in passing a great Riuer, defended against them by good Archers. Of *Scythian* horses one thousand eight hundred were brought into the Campe, and many prisoners. It is forbidden by some Historians, and indeede it is hardly possible, to set down the numbers of such as perish in battell; yet *Cesar* commonly did it. And where the diligence of the victors hath bene to inquisitive into the greatnesse of their own successe, that writers haue bene able to deliuer such particulars by credible report, I hold it not vnlawfull to set downe vvhat vve finde, especially when it serues to giue light to the businesse in hand. The small number vvich the *Macedonians* lost; the omission of the number vvich they flew (a thing not vvithstanding in *Curtius*, who forbears nothing that may set out the greatnesse of *Alexander*) & the little bootie that was gotten, doe make it probable, that this war was no better than the reputation of a few rousing *Tartars* (the like being yearly performed by the *Scythians*), without

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any boast) and therefore better omitted by some Historians, than so highly extolled as a great exploit, by others.

While Alexander was assuring himselfe of those *Seythians* bordering vpon *Tanther*, he receiued the ill newes that *Menedemus* was slaine by *Spitamenes*, the Armie (by him led) broken, and the greatest numbers slaine; to wit, two thousand foot, and three hundred horse. He therefore, to appease the rebellion, and to take reuenge of *Spitamenes*, makes all the haste he can; but *Spitamenes* flies into *Bactria*; *Alexander* kills, burns, & wastes all before him; not sparing the innocent children, and so departs, leaving a new *Gouernour* in that Prouince.

To repaire this losse he receiued a great supply of nineteene thousand Souldiers out of *Greece*, *Lycia*, and *Syria*; with all which, & the old Armie, he returns towards the South, and passeth the River of *Oxus*; on the South-side whereof he built fixe Townes neere each other for mutual succour, But he findes a new start-vp-Rebell; called *Arimazes*, (a *Sogdian*) followed with thirty thousand Souldiers, that defended against him a strong peece of ground on the top of a high Hill; whom when *Alexander* had fought in vaine to win by faire words, he made choice of three hundred young men, & promised them valents to the first, nine to the second, and so in proportion to the rest, that could finde a way to creepe vp to the top thereof. This they performed with the losse of some two and thirty of their men, and then made a signe to *Alexander*, that they had performed his commandment; Hircupon he sent one *Cophes* to perswade *Arimazes* to yeeld the place, who being shewed by *Cophes* that the Armie of *Macedon* was already mounted vpon the hill simply to *Alexanders* mercy, and was (with all his kindred) scourg'd and enured to death, which punishment they well deserved for neglecting to keepe good watch in so dangerous a time. For the place, as seemes by the description, might easily haue bene defended against all the Armies of the World. But, what strength cannot doe, Mans wit, being the most forcible engine; hath often effected; Of which I will giue you an example in a place of our owne.

The Iland of *Sarke*, ioyning to *Garnsey* and of that gouernement, was in Queen *Maries* time surpris'd by the *French*, and could neuer haue bene recouered againe by strong hand, hauing castell and corne enough vpon the place to feed so many men as will stand to defend it, and being eury way so inaccessible, that it might be held against the Great *Turke*; Yet by the industry of a Gentleman of the *Netherlands*, it was in this great neede Hoanchored in the roade with one Ship of small burden, and preceeding the death of his Merchant, besought the *French*, being some thirty in number, that they might burie this Merchant in hallowed Ground, and in the Chappell of that Isle, offering a present to the *French* of such Commodities as they had aboard; whereto (with condition that they should not come ashore with any vweapon, no not so much as with a Knife) the *French* men yeeked. Then did the *Flemings* para Coffin into their Boat, not fill'd with a dead carkeffe, but with Swords, Targets, and Harquebusses; The *French* receiued them at their landing, and searching eury of them so narrowly as they could not hide a Pen-knife, gaue them leaue to draw their Coffin vnto the Rocks with great difficulty; some part of the *French*ooke the *Flemish* Boat & row'd aboard their Ship, to fetch the commodities promised, & what else they pleased; but being entred, they were taken and bound. The *Flemings* on the Land, when they had carried their Coffin into the Chappell, shut the doore to them, and taking their weapons out of the Coffin, set vpon the *French*; they ran to the Cliff and cry to their Company aboard, the *Fleming* to come to their succour; but finding the Boat charged with *Flemings*, yeeked themselves and the place. Thus a Fox-tail doth sometimes helpe wel to peece out the Lions skin, that else would be too short.

S. X. IX.

How Alexander slew his owne friends.

After these *Sogdian* and *Seythian* Waives, we read of *Alexanders* killing of a Lion, and other frivulous matters, and that he committed the Government of *Macedonia*, and the Country about it, to *Clytus*, and how he slew him soon after, for valuing the vertue of *Philip* the father before that of *Alexander* the son, or rather because he oblied to the King the death of *Permeus*, and detided the Oracle of *Hannun* for

for therein he toucht him to the quicke, the same being deliuered in publike, and at a drunken Banquet. *Clytus*, indeed, had deferred as much at the Kings hands, as any man liuing had done, and had in particular saued his life, which the King well remembred when he came to himselfe, and when it was too late. Yet to say the truth, *Clytus* his insolencie was intolerable. As he in his Cups forgot whom he offended, so the King in his (for neyther of them were themselves) forgot whom he went about to slay, for the griefe whereof he tare his own face and sorrowed so inordinately, as, but for the perfections of *Calisthenes*, it is thought he would haue slaine himselfe.

Wine begat Furie, Furie matter of Repentance: but preceding mischieses are not attended by succeeding bewailing: *Omne vitium ebrietas & incedit, & deserit; obliuio remouet canas; verecundiam remouet; ubi posset animi nimia vis, ubi quicquid mali latebat, pergit: non facit ebrietas vitia, sed protrahit: Drunkennesse both kindles and layes open euery vice, it remoues out of the way that shame which giues impediment vnto badde attempts; where wine gets the mastery, all the ill that before lay hidden breakes out: drunkennesse indeed rather discouers vices, than makes them.*

Soone after this, *Spitamenes*, who slew *Bessus*, and had lately revolted from *Alexander*, was murdered by his Wife, and his head presented to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* being taken away, the *Dabani* also seized vpon his fellow-conspirator *Dataphernes*, and deliuered him vp. So *Alexander* being now freed from all these pettie Rebels, disposed of the Prouinces which he past ouer, and went on with his Armie into *Gabaza*, where it suffered so much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and Storme, as he lost in one Tempest a thousand of his Traine. From hence he inuaded the *Sacani*, and destroyed their Country. Then came he into the Territorie of *Coboriamus*, who submitted himselfe vnto him, feared him greatly, & presented him with thirtie beautifull Virgins, among whom *Roxane*, afterward his Wife, was one: which although all the *Macedonians* disdained, yet none of them durst vse any freedom of speech after *Clytus* his death. From hence he directed his course towards *Babylonia*, hauing so increased his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand armed men.

In the meane while he would needs be honoured as a God: whereto that he might allure the *Macedonians*, he employed two pernicious Parasites, *Hecis* and *Cleo*, whom *Calisthenes* opposed; For, among many other honest arguments vsed to the assembly, he told *Cleo*, That he thought, that *Alexander* would disdain the gift of God-head from his Vassals; That the opinion of Sanctity, though it did sometime follow the death of those who in their life-time had done the greatest things, yet it neuer accompanied any one yet liuing in the world: He further told him, That neither *Hercules* nor *Bacchus* were Deified at a Banquet, and vpon drinke, (for this matter was propounded by *Cleo* at a crowning feast) but that, for the more than many acts by them performed while they liued, they were in future and succeeding Ages numbred among the gods. *Alexander* stood behinde a partition and heard all that was spoken, waiting but an opportunitie, to be reuenged on *Calisthenes*, who being a man of free speech, honest, learned, and a louer of the Kings honour, was yet soone after tormented to death, not for that he had betrayed the King to others; but because he neuer would condescend to betray the king to himselfe, as all his detestable flatterers did. For in a conspiracie against the king made by *Antisthenes* and others (which they contest) he caused *Calisthenes* without confession, accusation, or trial, to be tormented afunder vpon the racke: This deed vnworthy of a king, *Seneca* thus censureth. *Hic est Alexandri crimen aeternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellica fortitudo redimet. Nam quoties quis dixerit, Occidit Persarum multa milia: opprimam Calisthenem: Quoties dicimur, Occidit Darius: opprimam, & Calisthenem.* *Quis enim vitium erit, Omnia Oceanotenus vitia, ipsum quoque rehaussit non elapsibus, & immodice angulo Thracie, & ad Orientis terminos protulit: dicitur, sed Calisthenem occidit. Omnia licet antiqua Dabim Regumque exempla transierit, ex his quae fecit nihil tam magni estis quam fecit Calisthenes: This is the eternall crime of Alexander, which no vertue nor fortitude of his Warre shall euer be able to redeme. For as often as any man shall say, He slew many thousand Persians; it shall be replied, He did so, and he slew Calisthenes: when it shall be said, He slew Darius, it shall be replied, and Calisthenes; when it shall be said, He wasne able to passe as the very Ocean, thereon also he aduentured with vnusall Numbers, and extended his Empire from a corner of Thrace, to the utmost bounds of the Orient: it shall be said, He did so; But he killed Calisthenes. Let him haue out-gone all the ancient examples*

examples of Captaines and Kings; none of all his acts make so much to his glory, as Callisthenes to his reproach.

S. X X.

Of Alexanders journey into India. The battaile betwene him and Porus.

**W**ith the Armie before remembred, of one hundred & twenty thousand foot and horse, Alexander did enter the borders of India, where such of the Princes, as submitted themselves vnto him, he entertained lovingly, the rest he constrained, killing Man, Woman, and Child, where they resisted. He then came before *Nisa* built by *Bacchus*, which after a few daies was rendred vnto him. From thence he removed to a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens, filled with delicate fruits & Vines, dedicated to *Bacchus*, to whom he made feasts for ten daies together. Now when he had drunke his fill, he went on towards *Dadula*, and from thence to *Acadera*, Countries spoiled and abandoned by the Inhabitants; by reason whereof, victualls failing, he diuides his Armie: *Ptolomie* led one part, *Cenon*, another, and himselfe the rest. They take many Townes, whereof that of greatest fame was *Mazaga*, which had in it 3. hundred thousand men; but after some resistance, it was yeelded vnto him by *Clepe* the Queene, to whom againe he restored it; at the siege of this Citie he receiued a wound in the legge. After this, *Nora* was taken by *Polyperchon*, and a Rocke of great strength by himselfe: he wanne also a passage vpon one *Eryx*, who was slaine by his companie, and his head presented to *Alexander*. This is the summe of *Alexanders* doings in those parts, before such time as he arrived at the Riuer of *Indus*. Comming to *Indus*, he found there *Ephesione*, who (being sent before) had prepared boates for the transportation of his Army, and ere *Alexanders* arrival, had perswaded *Omphis* King of that part of the Country, to submit himselfe to this great Conquerour. Therefore, looke vpon *Alexanders* comming, *Omphis* presented himselfe with all the strength of his Country, and five and fiftie Elephants, vnto him; offering him his seruice and assistance. He made *Alexander* know, that he was an Enemy to the next two great Kings of that part of India, named *Abisares* and *Porus*; wherewith *Alexander* was not a little pleased, hoping by this diuision to make his owne victorie by farre the more easie. He presented *Alexander* with a Crowne of gold, so did he the rest of his Commanders, and withall fourescore talents of siluer coyne; which *Alexander* not onely refused, but to shew that he was courteous of glory, not of gold, he gaue *Omphis* a thousand talents of his owne treasure, besides other *Persian* rarities. *Abisares*, hauing heard that *Alexander* had receiued his enemy *Omphis* into his protection, resolved to make his owne peace also: For, knowing that his own strength did but equall that of *Omphis*, and that there was no other difference betwene them, than that which the chance of Warre gaue, he thought it an ill match vhen *Alexander*, who had already beaten vnder foote all the greatest Princes of *Asia*, should make himselfe a Party and Head of the quarrell. So had *Alexander* none now to stand in his way but *Porus*, to whom he sent a commandement, that he should attend him at the border of his kingdom, there to doe him homage. But from *Porus* he receiued this manly answer; That he would satisfie him in his first demand, which was to attend him on his borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other acknowledgement he was resolved to take counsell of his Sword. To be short, *Alexander* resolves to passe ouer the Riuer *Hydaspes*, and to finde *Porus* at his owne home. *Porus* attends him on the farther bank with thirtie thousand foot, fourescore & ten Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariots, and a great troop of Horse. If *Darius* had done like on *Tigris*, *Alexander* had surely stayed somewhat longer ere he had scene *India*. The Riuer was foure furlongs broad, which makes halfe a mile, and withall deepe and swift. It had in it many Ilands, among which there was one well shadowed with wood, and of good capacity. *Alexander* sent *Ptolomie* vp the Riuer with a great part of the Army, shrowding the rest from the view of *Porus*: who by this deuice being drawne from his first incamping, lets himselfe downe opposit to *Ptolomie*, supposing that the whole Armie of *Macedon* meant to force their passage there. In the meane while *Alexander* recouers the farther shore without resistance. He orders his troopes and aduanceth towards *Porus*, who at first rather beleues, that *Abisares* his Confederate (but now the Confederate of fortune) had bin come ouer *Hydaspes* to his aide, than that *Alexander* had sent it. But

But he findes it otherwise, and sends his Brother *Hagis* with foure thousand horse, and a hundred armed waggons to entertaine him. Each waggon had in it foure to fight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of little vse: for there had fallen so much raine, and thereby the fields were so moistned, as the horses could hardly trot. The *Seythians* and *Dahans* had the Vanguard, who so galled these *Indians*, as they brake their reines, & other furniture, ouerturning the waggons, and those in them. *Perdiccas* also gaue vp the *Indian* horse-men, and the one and the other were forc't to recoile. *Ptolomie* moves forward with horse of his Armie, that those of his Vanguard scattered might recouer his Reare: *Alexander* being followed with *Ephesione*, *Ptolomie*, and *Perdiccas*, tooke on him to charge the *Indian* horse-men on the left wing, commanding *Cenon* or *Cenon* to inuade the right; *Antigenus* and *Eyonatus*, he directed to breake vpon *Porus* his battaile of foot, strengthened with Elephants, *Porus* himself being carried vpon one of them, of the greatest stature. By these beafts the *Macedonian* foote were most offended, but the Archers and Darters being well guarded with the long & strong Pikes of the *Macedonians*, so galled them as being enraged, they turned head, and ranne ouer the foot that followed them: In the end, and after along and doubtfull fight, by the aduantage of weapon, and by the courage and skilfulnesse of the *Macedonian* Capitaines, the victory fell to *Alexander*, who also farre exceeded *Porus* in number: for besides the *Macedonians* and other *Easterne* and *Northerne* Nations, *Porus* was assailed by his owne Confederate and Countie people. Yet for his owne person he neuer gaue ground otherwise than with his sword towards his enemies, till being weakened with many wounds, and abandoned by his Armie, he became a prisoner to the Conqueror, from whom againe he receiued his estate with a great enlargement.

S. X X I.

How Alexander finished his expedition, and returned out of India.

**I** Forbear to trouble my selfe and others with a fruitlesse discourse of Serpents, Apes and Peacocks, which the *Macedonians* found in these their trauielles: or of those pettie Warres which *Alexander* made betwene the ouerthrow of *Porus*, and his falling downe the Riuer of *Indus*. The descriptions of places about the head and branches thereof are better knowne vnto vs in this Age, by means of our late Navigations into those parts, than they were in any former times. The magnificence and riches of those Kings we could in no sort be perswaded to beleue, till our own experience had taught vs, that there were many stranger things in the World, than are to be scene betwene *London* and *Staves*.

Our great traveller *Mandevile*, who died in the yeare 1372. and had scene so much of the World, and of the East *India*, we accepted the greatest fabler of the World; yet had he another reputation among other Nations, as well able to iudge as we. Witnesse the Monument made of him in the Couent of the Friers *Guillemus* in *Liege*, where the religious of that place keep some things of his, *Comme pour honorable memoire de son Excellence*, *Guiclin* Disc. of the Low Countries. For an honorable memoire of his Excellencie, saith *Guichardine*.

The Countries towards the Springs of *Indus*, and where those many Riuers of *Hydaspes*, *Zaradrus*, *Acesines*, and the rest, fall into the maine streame, are now posselt by the great *Mogor*, the ninth from *Tamberlaine*, who commands all that tract betwene *Persia* and *Indus* towards the West, as also a great extent of Countrie towards *Ganges*. In the mouth of *Indus*, the *Ascension*, a shippe of *London*, suffered shipwracke, in the yeare 1609. and some of the company travelled ouer Land till they came to *Agra*, the same great Citie (as I take it) which our later Cosmographers call *Nagra*, being named of old *Dionysopolis*.

*Philostratus* in the life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, speaking of the expedition of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* into the East *India*, tells vs, that those two great Capitaines (whom *Alexander* sought by all means to out-fame) when they intended to subiect to them the *Oxydrace*, a people inhabiting betwene the Riuers of *Hyphus* and *Ganges*, they were beaten from the assault of their Cities with thunder and lightnings. This may well be vnderstood by the great Ordinance that those people had then in vse. For it is now certainly knowne, that the great Kings of the vttermost East, haue had the vse of the Canon many hundreds of yeares since, and euen since their first ciuill and greatest, which was long before *Alexander*.

Alexanders time. But Alexander pierc'd not so farre into the East. It sufficed, that hauing already ouer-wearied his Armie, he discouered the rest of *India* by fame. The *Indian* Kings whom he had subdued, informed him, that a Prince called *Aggramenes*, who commanded many Nations beyond the *Riuer Ganges*, was the powerfullst king of all those Regions: and that he was able to bring into the field two hundred thousand Foot, three thousand Elephants, twenty thousand Horse, and two thousand armed Chariots. With this report, though Alexander were more inflamed than euer to proceed in this discouery and conquest, yet all the art he had, could not perswade the Souldiers to wander ouer those great Deserts beyond *Indus* and *Ganges*, more terrible vnto them than the greatest Armie that the East could gather. Yet at the last contented they were, after many periswaine Orations, to follow him towards the South, to discouer such part of the Ocean Sea, as was neerer at hand, whereunto the Riuer of *Indus* was their infallible guide. Alexander seeing that it would be no otherwise deuised a prettie trick, wherewith he hoped to beguile posteritie, and make himselfe seeme greater than he was. He enlarged his Campe, made greater trenches, greater cabbines for Souldiers, greater Horse-stalles, and higher mangers than Horses could feede in. He caused all furniture of Men and Horses to be made larger than would serue for vse; and scattered these Armourers & Brides about his Campe, to be kept as reliques, and wondred at by the Sauiages. Proportionable to these he raised vp twelue great Altars to be the monument of his iourneys end. This was a readie way to encrease the fame of his bignesse; to his greatnesse it could add nothing (saue a suspition, that it was lesse than is thought, seeing he stroue so earnestly to make it thought more than it was).

This done, he returned againe to the banke of *Acetes*, and there determined to set vp his fleet, where *Acetes* and *Hydaspes* incounter; where to testifie by a surer monument, how far he had past towards the East, he built by those riuers two Cities: the one he called *Nicea*, & the other *Bucephalon*, after the name of his beloued Horse *Bucephalus*. Here againe he received a fourth supply of fixe thousand *Thracian* Horse-men, seuen thousand Foot, and from his Lieutenant at *Babylon* fixe and twenty thousand Armourers, garnished with siluer and gold, which he distributed among his Souldiers. About these Riuers he wane many Townes, and committed great slaughter on those that resisted; it is then written of him, that assailing a Citie of the *Oxidracans*, he leapt from the top of the wall into it, and fought, I know not how long, against all the Inhabitants; tales like those of *Benis of Southampton*, friuolous and incredible. Finally, he past downe the Riuer with his fleet, at which time also the newes came vnto him of a rebellion in *Bactria*, and then of the arriual of an hundred Embassadors from a King of *India*, who submitted himselfe vnto him. He feasted these Embassadors vpon a hundred beds of gold, with all the sumptuousity that could be deuised, who soone after their dispatch, returned againe with a present of three hundred Horse, one hundred and thirty Waggones, and to each of them foure Horses, a thousand Targets, with many other things rare and rich.

Their entertainments ended, he sailed towards the South, passed through many obscure Nations, which did all yeeld vnto him either quietly, or compelled by force: among these he builded another *Alexandria*. Of many places which he tooke in this passage, *Samus* was one, the Inhabitants wherof fought against him with poysoned Swords, with one of which *Ptolomie* (afterward king of *Egypt*) was wounded, and cured by an heaill which Alexander dreamt he had seene in the mouth of a Serpent.

When he came neere the out-let of *Indus* (being ignorant of the rides of the Sea) his Gallies as they were on a sudden, shuffled one vpon another by the Floud, so on the ebbe they were left on the drie ground, and on the sandie bankes of the Riuer, wherewith the *Macedonians* were much amazed, but after he had a few daies obserued well the course of the Sea, he past out of the riuers mouth some few miles, and after Sacrifices offered to *Neptune*, returned: and the better to informe himselfe, he sent *Nearchus* and *Onesicritus*, to discouer the coast towards the mouth of *Emphrates*. *Arrianus* in the beginning of his sixt Booke hath written this passage downe the Riuer of *Indus* at length, with the manner of the Vessels, in which he transported his Army, the Commanders that were vsed therein, and other the maruellous prouisions made.

Neere the out-lets of this riuer, he spent some part of the Winter, and in eightene daies march from thence recovered *Cedrosia*, in which passage his Armie suffered much

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miseric for want of foode, that of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twelue thousand horse, which he carried into *India*, not the fourth part returned alive.

### §. XXII.

Of Alexanders King, Crueltie, and death.

FROM *Cedrosia*, Alexander led his Armie into *Carnania*, and so drawing neere to *Persia*, he gaue himselfe wholly to feasting and drinking, imitating the triumphs of *Bacchus*. And though this Swinish vice be hatefull enough in it selfe, yet it alwaies inflamed this King to Crueltie, For (saith *Curtius*) *the Hang-man followed the selfe, for Alpastes one of his Princiall Generalls he commanded go: be slaine, so as neither did the excess of voluptuousnesse qualifie his crueltie, nor his crueltie binder in ought his voluptuousnesse.*

While he refreshed his Army in these parts, a new supply of fixe thousand foot and a thousand horse, was brought him by *Cleander*, and his fellows, that had bin employed in the killing of *Parmanio*. Against these Murderers great complaint was made by the Deputies of the Prouinces, in which they had commanded; and their offences were so outrageous, as Alexander was perswaded, that, had they not altogether despaired of his returne out of *India*, they durst not haue committed them. All men were glad of the occasion, remembering the vertue of him, whom they had slaughtered. The end was, That *Cleander*, and the other chiefe, with fixe hundred Souldiers by them employed, were deliuered ouer to the Hang-man: euery one reioycing that the Ire of the King was at last executed on the ministers of his Ire.

*Nearchus* and *Onesicritus* were now returned from the coast, and made report of an landrich in gold, and of other strange things; whereupon they were commanded to make some farther discouerie: which done, that they should enter the mouth of *Emphrates*, and finde the King at *Babylon*.

As he drew neere to *Babylon*, he visited the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in *Pasargada*, now called *Chalquira*: where he was presented with many rich gifts by *Orsines*, one of the Princes of *Persia*, of the race of *Cyrus*. But because *Bagon*, an *Emuch* in especiall fauour with the King, was neglected, he not only practised certaine look-fellows to witnesse against *Orsines*, that he had robbed *Cyrus* tombe, for which he was condemned to die; but he assisted the Hang-man with his own hands in tormenting him. At which time also Alexander caused *Phradates* to be slaine, suspecting his greatnesse. *Caperas* (saith *Curtius*) esse praecipua representanda supplicia, item ad deteriora credenda; He began head-longly to be slaine, and to beleeue false reports. It is true, that he tooke a way to make all men weary of his gouernement, seeing crueltie is more fearefull, than all aduentures that can be made against it.

At this time it is said, that *Calanus* the Philosopher burnt himselfe, when he had liued threecore and thirteene yeares. Whether herein he followed the custome of his Countrey, being an *Indian*, or sought to preuent the griefe and incommode of elder age, it is vncertaine: but in this the Historians agree, that fore-seeing and fore-shewing Alexanders death, he promised to meet him shortly after at *Babylon*.

From *Pasargada* he came to *Susa*, where he married *Statira*, *Darius* his eldest Daughters younger sister to his beloued *Epheslion*, and fourescore other *Persian* Ladies to his Captaines. There were fixe thousand guests invited to the feast, to each of which he gaue a cup of gold. Here there came vnto him three thousand young souldiers, out of his conquered Prouinces, whereat the *Macedonians* greatly murmured. *Harpalus*, his Treasurer in *Babylon*, hauing lawfully consumed the monies in his keeping, got him going with fixe thousand Talents, and fixe thousand hired Souldiers; but he was reiected in *Greece*, and there slaine. Alexander greatly reioyced at the fidelity of the *Greeks*, whom *Harpalus* with these forces and treasures could not stirre: yet he sent commandement, that they should againe receiue their banished men, wherunto (fearefull of his indignation) all submitted themselves (except the *Athenians*) though they reloued, that it was a manifest preparation towards their bondage. After this there followed a manuellous discontentment in his Army, because he had refused to send into *Macedonia* all those old Souldiers which could no longer endure the trauell of War, and to keepe the rest in *Asia*. He vsed many Orations to pacifie them, but it was in vaine during the tempest



against *Alexander* in the beginning of his reigne. Wherefore *Eurydice*, the sole issue of this marriage, ought in reason to haue bene acknowledged Queen after *Alexander*; hauing better Title thereto, than either He or *Philip* had, when they liued, vntill (peradventure) some Law of that Nation forbad the reigne of Women. But the excellent vertue of these two Princes had vtterly defaced the right of all Pretenders, not chusing from their owne bodies: and so great were their conquests, that *Macedon* it selfe was in regard of them) a very small Appendix, and no way deferring to be laid in balanc against the demand of their posterity, had they left any able to make challenge of the Royall seate.

*Alexander* hauing taken many wiues, had issue by none of the principall of them: besides the Daughter of *Artabazus* a Persian had borne vnto him a young Son; and *Heaven* the Daughter of *Oxyartes* (whom he had more solemnly married) was left by him great with childe. But the baseness of the Mothers, and contempt of the conquered Nations, was generally alleged in Barre of Plea made for them, by some that would (perhaps) haue wrought out their owne ends, vnder the name of *Alexanders* children.

*Cleopatra* a sister of *Alexander*, widow to the King of Epirus, & *Aridaus* his last brother (son to *Philip* by a Concubine of no account) who had married the Lady *Barystis* before mentioned, were next in course. Of *Cleopatra* there was no speech, which may giue suspicion, that either Law or Custome had made that sexe vncapable of the Souerainty: *Aridaus* (besides his bastardy) was neither for person nor quality fit to rule a King; yet vpon him the election fell, but slowly, and (as happeneth often) for lacke of a better: when the Counsaillors hauing ouer-laboured their disagreeing wits in deciding what was best, were content for very wearinesse to take what came next to hand.

*Ptolomy* (soon after King of Egypt) concurring with them who reiectd all mention of the halfe-Persian brood, King *Alexanders* children, was of opinion, that the rule of all should be giuen to the Captaines, that going for law which by the greater part of them should be decreed: so farr was he from acknowledging any one as true Heire to the Crowne.

This *Ptolomy* was called the sonne of *Lagus*, but reputed of *Philip*: who hauing tied the company of *Arifinus* *Ptolomy's* mother, deliuered her in marriage to *Lagus* being great with childe. Therefore, whether it were so, that he hoped well to worke his own fortune out of those dissensions, which are incident vnto the consultations of many ambitious men, equall in place, forcing them at length to redeeme their quiet with submission to one, deferring regard by his blood, and trust for his euen carriage; or whether he desired onely to get a share to himselfe, which could not haue come to passe, had all been giuen to one: plaine enough it is, that he thought not on preferring *Aridaus* before himselfe; and therefore gaue such counsaile as fitted his owne and other mens purposes. Yea, this deuiſe of his tooke place indeed, though not in fortune as he had propounded it: For, it was in effect all one, to haue assembled at *Alexanders* empty chaire, as *Ptolomy* had conceiued the forme of their consultations, or to set in the chaire such King as *Aridaus*, no wiser than the chaire it selfe. Also the controuersies arising were determined by the greater part of the Captaines; by the greater part if not in number, yet in puissance.

But as these counterfeit shewes of dissembling aspirers, doe often take cheere by the plain dealing of them, who dare to go more directly to worke: so was it like to be handled with *Ptolomy* & the rest, when *Arifinus*, another of the Captaines, after prodding many words of *Alexander*, saying, That he left his Kingdom to the worthiest, as *Perdiccas*, to whom (lying at the point of death) he deliuered his ring. It seemed good in reason, that *Alexander* should be disposer of his owne purchases: and those tokens of *Alexanders* purpose appeared plain enough, so long as no man would interpose another construction: every one being vncertain how the secret affections of the rest might be inclined. Many therefore, either out of their loue, or because they would not be of the last, urged *Perdiccas* to take vpon him the estate Royall. He was no stranger to the Royall blood; yet his birth gaue him not such reputation, as the great fauour of his dead King, with whom he had bin very inward, & that especially since the death of *Epiphanes* a powerful Minion) into whose place he was chosen. For his own worth he might well be commended, as a good man of Warre, and one that had giuen much poofe of his pious valour. But very surely he was: which quality (ioyned with good fortune) carried a shew of

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Maieſty: being checkt with misadventure, it was called by a true name Pride; and rewarded with death.

In the present businesse a foolish ouer weaning did him as great harme, as it had been great happinesse to haue succeeded *Alexander*. For not content to haue the acclamation of the Souldiers, approving the sentence of *Arifinus*, he would needs counterfeit modesty, thinking that euery one of the Princes would haue intreated him to take the weighty burden of an Empire, which would be the leſs enuious, the more solemnity he vsed in the acceptance. It is truly said, He that faineth himselfe a Sheep, may chance to be eaten by a Wolfe. *Meleager* a man by nature enuious, and bearing a particular hatred to *Perdiccas* (who) tooke aduantage of his irresolute behaiour, and very bitterly enuighed against him. In conclusion, he pronounced, That whosoever was Heire to the Crowne, the Souldiers ought to be Heires to the treasure; and therefore he intited them, who were nothing slow, to share it. This disturbed all the Consultation. The Captaines were left alone, farr enough from agreeing, and not able to haue brought any conclusion to good effect without consent of the Souldiers, who greedy of spoile thronged about *Meleager*.

## S. II.

The Election of *Aridaus*, with the troubles there about arising; the first diuision of the Empire.

During this vp-roare, mention was made of *Aridaus* by some one, and entertained with good liking of many, vntill at last it grew to the voice of the Army. *Meleager* hauing withdrawne himselfe tumultuously from the company of the Lords, was glad of so faire an occasion to make himselfe great: therefore he produced *Aridaus*, commended him to the Souldiers, who called him by his Fathers name *Philip*, and brought him into the Palace, inuesting him in *Alexanders* Robes, and proclaiming him King. Many of the Nobles withstood this election, but in vaine: for they could not resolue what course to follow, reiecting this. Only *Pythion* a hot-headed man, tooke vpon him to proclaime the Sonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, according to the counsaile which *Perdiccas* at first had giuen, appointing *Perdiccas* and *Leonnatus* his Protectors. But this childe was not yet borne, which made that attempt of *Pythion* vaine. Finally, *Perdiccas* with sixe hundred men, and *Ptolomy* with the Kings Pages tooke vpon them to defend the place where *Alexanders* body lay: but the Army conducted by *Meleager*, who carried the new King about whither he listed, easily brake in vpon them, and enforced them to accept *Aridaus* for their Soueraigne Lord. Then by the intercession of the ancient Captaines, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither side faithfully meant.

*Leonnatus*, who was of Royall blood, a goodly Gentleman and valiant, issued out of *Babylon*, being followed by all the horse, which consisted (for the most part) of the Nobility. *Perdiccas* abode in the City (but standing vpon his guard) that he might be ready to take the opportunity of any commotion, that should happen among the infantry. The King (who was gouerned by *Meleager*) commanded or gaue leaue to haue *Perdiccas* made away; which attempt succeeded ill, being neither secretly carried, nor committed to sure executioners. Their coming was not vnexpected: and they were by *Perdiccas* rebuked with such grauity, that they departed honeste than they came; being sorry for their bad enterprise. Vpon the newes of this attempt the Campe was in an vp-roare; which the King seeking to pacifie, wanted authority, as hauing newly got the Crowne by them, and holding it by their courtesie. The matter it selfe afforded no good excuses, and his indiscretion made them worse. He said, that no harme was done, for *Perdiccas* was aliue: but their exclamations were against the tyrannous enterprise, which he imputed to *Meleager*; abandoning the surest of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appeased, vntill the King by offering to resigne his estate vnto them, renewed out of their pity that fauourable affection, which had moued them to set him vp at the first.

*Perdiccas* hauing now ioyned himselfe with *Leonnatus*, kept the fields, intending to cut off all prouision of victuals from the City. But after sundry Embassies passing betwene

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the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to haue the Authors of sedition giuen vp into their hands; the King, that *Meleager* might be ioyned with *Leonatus* and *Perdiccus*, as a Third in gouernment of the Army) things were compounded according to the Kings desire. *Meleager* should haue done well to consider; That such men as had one day demanded his head, were not like the day following to giue him a principall place among them without any new occasion offered, had not some purpose of treachery looked vnder their great facility. Generall peace was renewed, and much loue protested where little was intended. The face of the Court was the same which it had bene in *Alexanders* time; but no longer now did the same heart giue it life, and windy spirits they were which moued in the arteries. False reports were giuen out by appointment of *Perdiccus*, tending to his owne disgrace, but in such termes as might seeme to haue proceeded from *Meleager*, who finding part of the drift, but not all, tooke it as aduinity done to himselfe; and (as desirous of a true friendship) desired of *Perdiccus*, that such authors of discord might be punished. *Perdiccus* (as a louer of peace) did well approve the motion; and therefore agreed that a generall Muster should be made, at which time the disturbers of the common quiet should receiue their punishment (as was the manner for Souldiers offending) in presence of the Army. The plot was mischieuously laid. Had *Meleager* giuen way to seditious rumours, he must needs haue incurred the generall hatred of all, as a fower of dissension, & thereby with a publike approbation might haue bin cut off, as hauing often offended in that kind: his Prince being too weak a Patron. Now seeking redresse of these disorders, he hastened his owne ruine, by a lesse formally, but more speedy way. This kinde of Muster was very solemne, and practised with many ceremonies, as for cleansing of the Army. The Horse-men, the Elephants, the Macedonian foot, the Mercenaries, were each according to their quality set in array, apart from others; as if they had bene of sundry sorts, met at aduerture: which done, the manner was to skirmish as by way of exercise according to the direction of their severall Captaines. But at that time the great battaile of Macedonian Pikes, which they traile the *Phalanx*, led by *Meleager*, was of purpose bestowed in a ground of disadvantage, and the countenance of the Horse and Elephants beginning to giue charge vpon them, was such, as discovered no lesing pastime nor good intent. Kings were alwaies wont to fight among the horse-men: of which custome *Perdiccus* made great vse that day, to the viter confusion of his enemies. For *Arvidus* was alwaies gouerned by him, which for the present had him in possession. Two or three daies before, he sought the death of *Perdiccus* at the mitigation of *Meleager*: now hee rides with *Perdiccus* vp and downe about the foot-men, commanding them to deliuer vnto the death all such as *Perdiccus* required. Three hundred they were who were cast vnto the Elephants, and by them slaine, in the presence of the King, who should haue defended them, and of their affrighted companions. But these three hundred were not the men whose punishment *Meleager* had expected: they were such as had followed him, when he disturbed the first consultation that was held about the election of a new King, and some of them his especiall friends. Having therefore kept himself quiet a while, as vnwilling to giue offence to them which had the aduantage; when he saw their proceedings tend very manifestly to his destruction, he fled away into a Temple, which he found no Sanctuary: for thither they sent and slew him.

The Army being thus corrected was led into the City, where a new Councell of the Princes was held, who finding what maner of man their King was, diuided all the Provinces of the Empire among themselves; leauing to *Arvidus* the office of a Visitor, and yet making *Perdiccus* his Protector, and Commander of the forces remaining with him. Then were the funerals of *Alexander* thought upon; whose body hauing bin seven daies neglected, was opened, and embalmed by the Egyptians: no signe of poison appearing, how great soeuer the suspicion might be. The charge of his buriall was committed to *Arvidus*: one of the Captains, who was two yeares preparing of a great and costly shew, making a stately Chariot in which the corps was laid; many coarces of his friends being layed in the ground before that of *Alexander* was bestowed in Alexandria; a City of his owne building, in Egypt.

## §. III.

§. III.  
The beginning of the Lamian Warre.

While these things were in doing, or presently after, *Antipater* & *Craterus*, two principall Noble-men, and inferior to none of *Alexanders* followers, if not greater than any of the rest, were buised in Greece with a war, which the Athenians more brauely than wisely had begun in *Alexanders* life, but now did prosecute more boldly than before, vpon the courage which they had taken by his death. *Alexander* not long before he died, had commanded that all the banished Greekes (few excepted) should be restored vnto their former places. He knew the factious quality of the Grecian Estates, & therefore thought so to provide, that in euery City he would haue a sure party. But it fell out otherwise: For he lost the hearts of many more than he wan by this proud iniunction. His pleasure indeede was fulfilled; yet not without great murmuring of the whole Nation, as being against all order of Law, and a beginning of open ranny. The Athenians greatly decayed in estate, but retaining more than was needfull of their ancient spirits, forbad the execution of this decree in their Dominions; so did also the *Ætolians*, who were valiant men, and inhabited a Region well fortified by nature: yet neither of them tooke Armes, but seemed to beate themselves, as men that had done no more than they might well iustifie by reason: neuertheless to prevent the worst, the Athenians gaue secret instructions to *Leophanes* a Captaine of theirs, willing him to leuie an Army, but in his owne name, and to keepe it in a readinesse for their vse. This was no hard thing for *Leophanes* to doe: great numbers of Greek Souldiers being lately returned from the Asian Warre in poore estate, as defrauded of their pay by the Captaines. Of these he had gathered vp eight thousand, when the certain newes were brought of *Alexanders* death; at which the City of Athens declared it selfe, and more honourably than wisely, proclaimed open War against the Macedonians for the liberty of Greece. Hereupon *Leophanes* drew in the *Ætolians*, and some other Estates, gaue battaile to the Boeotians, who sided with *Antipater*, and ouerthrew them growing so fast in reputation, and so strong in Adherents; That *Antipater* (arming in all haste, yet suspecting his owne strength) was faine to send into Asia to *Craterus* for succour.

Nothing is more vaine than the feares and hopes of men, slunning or pursuing their desires at a rate off, which deceiue all mortall wisdome, euen when they seeme neere at hand. One month was scarcely past, since nothing so heauily burthened the thoughts of *Antipater* as the return of *Craterus* into Macedon; which hee then feared as death, but now desired as the most likely assurance of his life. *Craterus*, whom *Alexander* held as of all men the most assured vnto him, was sent into Macedon to conueigh home the old Souldiers (that was the pretence), & to succeed *Antipater* in the gouernment of Macedon and Greece. The suspitions were strong that he had a priuy charge to put *Antipater* to death: neither did that which was commonly published sound much better, which was, That *Antipater* should be sent vnto the King, as Captaine of the young Souldiers, newly to be leuied in Europe. For *Alexander* was much incensed against him by his Mother *Olympia*: and would sometimes giue out speeches, testifying his owne ialousie and hatred of him; but yet he stroue to smother it, which in a cruell Prince betokeneth little good. Few of *Alexanders* Lieutenants had escaped with life: most of them indeed were meane persons in regard of those who followed him in his Indian expedition, and were therefore (perhaps) removed to make place for their betters. But if the Kings rigour was such, as could finde rebellious purposes (for so he interpreted euen lewd gouernment) in base persons; little might *Antipater* hope for, who hauing sitten Vice-roy ten yoyers in the strongest part of the Empire, was called away to the presence of so fell a Master, and the enuy of a Court, wherein they had bene his inferiours, which would now repine to see him their equall. Therefore whether his feare drew him to preuention, working first the Kings death by poison, giuen by his sonne *Isolus*, *Alexanders* Cup-bearer; or whether it brake not forth vnill opportunity had changed it into the passion of reuenge, which was cruelly performed by his son *Cassander*: great cause of much feare he had; which I note in this place, as the ground of effects to be produced in very few yeares.

At the present *Craterus* was sent for, and all the Captaines of companies lying neere, solicited

solicited to make haste. Not without cause: For in Macedon there could not at that time be raised more than thirteene thousand foot, and sixe hundred horse; which Myster was of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Country being emptied into Asia. The Theſſians indeed who had long stood firme for *Philip & Alexander*, who also were the best Souldiers of Greece, furnished him with very braue troupes, that might haue done great seruice, had their faith held out, which they changed for the liberty of Greece. With these forces did *Antipater* in Theſſaly trie the fortune of a battaile with *Leosthenes*; rather (as may seem) fearing the increase of his enemies power and rebellion of the Greeks, (were they not checked at the first) than presuming on his strength. For *Leosthenes* had of Athenians, Aetolians, and Mercenaries, and twenty thousand foot, besides the assistance of many petty Signories, and of some Illyrians, and Thracians; of horse he brought into the field about two thousand and five hundred; but over-strong he was that way also, when once the Theſſalians had resolted vnto him. So *Antipater* lost the day: and his losse was such, that he neither was able to keep the field, nor to make a safe retreat into his owne Country: therefore he fled into the Towne of Lania; which was well fortified, and well provided of all things necessary to beare out a siege. Thither did *Leosthenes* follow him, present him battaile againe, and vpon refusal close vp the Towne with earth-workes, and a wall. There will we leaue him for a while, traualing in the last honourable enterprife that euer was vnderaken by the great City of Athens.

## S. IV.

How *Perdiccas* employed his Army.

**K**ing *Aridaus* living vnder the rule of *Perdiccas*, when all the Princes were gone each to his owne Prouince, kept a naked Court: all his greatnesse consisting in a bare title, supported by the strength of his Protector, who cared not for him otherwise than to make vse of him. *Perdiccas* had no Prouince of his owne peculiar, neither was he like to be welcom to any whom he should visit in his gouernment. A stronger Army than any of the rest he had, which he might easily hope in that vntested condition of things to make better worth to him, than many Prouinces could haue bin. The better to accomplish his desires, he closely sought the marriage of *Cleopatra*, the sister of *Alexander*; yet about the same time he either married *Nicea* the Daughter of *Antipater*, or made such loue to her as blinded their eyes, who did not some what narrowly search into his doings.

*Ariarathes* the Cappadocian, the second of that name, & tenth King of that Country, had continued faithful to the Persian Empire as long as it stood: following the example of his forefathers, euen from *Pharnaces* the first that reigned in Cappadocia, who married *Atossa* sister to the great *Cyrus*. Some of his Ancestors had (indeed) bene oppressed by the Persians: but what Fortune tooke from them at one time, Vertue restored at another, and their faithfull Princes had much increased all. But now in the fatal Period of so great an Empire, with much wisdom, and (*Darius* being slain) with sufficient honour, he might haue acknowledged the Macedonian in the Persians roome. This he did not; neither did *Alexander* call him to account, being occupied with great cares. But *Perdiccas*, who had no greater businesse wherin to entertain his Army, found it expedient both for the honour of the Empire, to take that in-land Kingdome, surrounded with Prouinces of the Macedonian conquest, & for his owne particular to haue one opportune place of sure retreat, vnder the gouernment of a stedfast friend. Therefore he entred Cappadocia, fought with *Ariarathes*, who drew into the field thirty thousand foot, and fiftene thousand horse (a strong Army, had it not encountered a stronger, and better trained) won the victory, and therby the whole kingdome. But with much cruelty did he vse the victory: for hauing taken *Ariarathes* prisoner with many others, he crucified him, and as many of his Kindred as he could light vpon; and so deliuered that Prouince to *Eumenes*, whom of all men living he trusted most.

Another part of his forces he had comitted to *Python*, rather as to the most honourable of such as remained about him, than as to the most assured. *Python* was to subdue the Greeks, rebelling in the high Countries of Asia. About twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse they were, (all old Souldiers) who, planted in Colonies by *Alexander*, to bridle the barbarous nations, were soon weary of their vnplesant habitations, & thered people

people, among whom they liued: and therefore tooke aduantage of the present troubles to seek vnto themselves a better fortune. Against these *Python* went, more desirous to make them his owne, than to destroy them: which intent of his, *Perdiccas* discouering, did both giue him in charge to put all those Rebels to the sword, giuing the spoyles of them to his Souldiers, and further enioyned it vnto *Python* Captaines (his owne creatures) that they should see this commandement executed. These directions for vse of the victory might haue proued needlesse, so vncertaine was the victory it selfe. A Captaine of the Rebels commanding ouer three thousand, corrupted by *Python*, did in the heate of the fight (which was very doubtfull) retire without necessity to a hill not farre off. This dismayed the rest, and gaue the day to *Python*: who being farre enough from *Perdiccas*, offered composition to the vanquished, granting vnto them their liues and liberty, vnder condition of laying downe their armes; and hereupon he gaue them his faith. Being master of these Companies, he might well haue a good opinion of his own power: all power being then valued by strength in followers, when as none could vaunt himselfe as free Lord of any Territory. He had thirtene thousand foot, and eight thousand eight hundred horse, besides these new Companions, whom needlesse feare without great losse had caused to leaue the field: but in true estimation all the greatnesse wherof *Python* might thinke himselfe assured, was (and soon appeared to be) inherent in *Perdiccas*. For by his command were ten thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, of those which followed *Python*, leuiued; the Rulers of the Prouinces carefully obeying the letters of *Perdiccas*, by which they were enioyned to giue assistance to that businesse: and by vertue of the precept giuen vnto them by *Perdiccas*, did the Macedonians cut in pieces all those poore men who had yeelded themselves; leauing *Python* as naked as he came forth to returne vnto his great Master.

Now was *Perdiccas* mighty above the mighty, and had faire leasure to pursue his hopes of marriage with *Cleopatra*, and thereby to make himselfe Lord of all: but this must be secretly carried for feare of opposition. How it succeeded, will appeare when the Laman warre taketh ending.

## S. V.

The proceſſe of the Laman warre.

**W**E left *Antipater* hardly besieged, wanting means to free himselfe without succours from his friends in Asia. Those helps not appearing so soon as he expected, he came to parley with *Leosthenes*, and would haue yeelded vnto any termes of reason, wherewith men possessed with hope of victory, do seldom limit their desires. *Leosthenes* willed him without further circumstance to submit himselfe to discretion. This was too much for him, that had once commanded ouer them, who now required of him such a dishonourable composition. Wherefore knowing that the extremities, from which as yet he was farre enough, could bring no worse with it, *Antipater* prepared for the defence; and the other for winning the Towne, which felt great want of victuals.

In this lingering warre, the Aetolians (whether weary of sitting still at a siege, or hauing businesse which they pretended at home) tooke their leaue, and returned into their own Country. Their departure left the trenches so thinly manned, that *Antipater* found means to fallly out vpon his enemies to their great losse: for many were slaine, and *Leosthenes* himselfe among them, ere he could be repulsd into the Towne. Yet hereby the Macedonians were nothing relieved, their victuals wasted, and they were not strong enough to deale with the Greeks in open fight. *Craterus* was long in coming. *Lysimachus*, who was neere at hand in Thrace, had worke too much of his owne, leading no more than foure thousand foot, and two thousand horse, against *Seuthas* the Thracian King, who brought into the field about foure times that number; and though *Lysimachus*, not without losse, had gotten one victory, yet the enemy abounding in multitude, felt not the blow so much as might abate his courage. Therefore *Leontus* was earnestly solicited by *Antipaters* friends, to make all haste to the rescue. He had the gouernment of Phrygia the lesse, and was able to raise an Army of more than twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, whether leuiued out of his Prouince, or appointed vnto him out of the maine Army, it is vncertaine. Certaine it is, that he was more willing

ling to take in hand the iohrny into Greece, than *Antipater* was to haue him come. For *Cleopatra* had written vnto him, desiring his preſence at Pella, the chiefe City of Macedonia, and very kindly offering her ſelfe to be his wife, which letters he kept not ſo cloſe as had bin requiſite, and therfore brought himſelfe into great ſuſpition, that ſoon ended with his life. *Antipater*, choſen Generall by the Athenians in place of *Leofthenes*, hearing of his approach forooke the ſiege of Lame, and took the ready way to theſe great Conquerors of Aſia, with purpoſe to giue them an euill welcome home, before *Antipater* and they ſhould ioine in one. He had (notwithſtanding the departure of the *Etolians*) the aduantage of *Leonatus* in horſe, by the pds of 2000. Theſſalians; in other things he was equall with him; in cauſe he thought himſelfe Superior; in the fortune of that day he proued ſo: for he was a great victory (chiefly by vertue of the Theſſalians) which appeared the greater by the end of *Leonatus* himſelfe; who fighting valiantly was driuen into a marſh piece of ground, where he found his death, which he deſperately had ſought among the Indians, but it waited for him at home, not far from the place of his natiuitie. He was the firſt of *Alexanders* Captaines which died in battell, but all, or moſt of the reſt, ſhall follow him the ſame way. After this day, the Athenians did neuer any thing ſutable to their ancient glory.

The vanquiſhed Macedonians were too weake to renew the fight, and too proud to flie. They betooke themſelues to high grounds, vnfit for ſeruice on horſe backe, and ſo abode in the fight of the enemy that day; the day following *Antipater* with his men came into their Campe, and took the charge of all. The Athenians perceiving their ſtrength to be at the greateſt, and fearing leſt that of the enemy ſhould increaſe, did earnestly ſeek to determine the matter quickly by another battaile. But ſtill *Antipater* kept himſelfe on ground of aduantage; which gaue more than reaſonable confidence to the Greeks, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the Enemy to be vanquiſhed. This wretchedneſſe (incorrigible in an Army of voluntaries) was very inexcuſable, ſeeing that the victories by Land were very much defaced by loſſes at Sea, where the Athenians labouring to haue made themſelues once againe Maſters, were put to the worſt.

But now the fatal captiuitie of Greece came on, of which ſhe neuer could be deliuered, vnto this day. *Craterus* with a ſtrong Army hauing made great marches from Cilicia, paſſed ouer into Europe, and coming into Theſſaly, ioined himſelfe with *Antipater*. The forces of *Leonatus*, *Antipater*, and *Craterus*, being ioined in one, contained ſony thouſand weightily armed, three thouſand light-armed men, and ſiue thouſand horſe; of which numbers the Greeks wanted a thouſand and ſiue hundred in horſe, in foote eighteen thouſand. Carefully therefore did *Antipater* labour to auoid the neceſſity of a battaile, vntill ſuch time as the Towns confederate, ſhould returne vnto the Camp thoſe bands which had ſtraggled from it. But thoſe companies were ſo ſlow in coming, and *Antipater* ſo vrgent vpon the Greeks, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazzard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more help they had carried away the victory: for the Theſſalians had the vpper hand, and held it, vntill ſuch time as they perceiving their battailes (ouer-laid with multitude) retire vnto the higher ground, which cauſed them alſo to fall back. So the Macedonians became Lords of the field, hauing little eſte to boaſt of, conſidering that with the loſſe of an hundred & thirty men, they had only purchaſed the death of ſome ſiue hundred enemies. Yet hereof was great vſe made: For the Greeks, as not ſubiect vnto the full command of one Generall, and being euer one deſirous to preſerue his owne eſtate, and City; concluded to make a treaty of peace with *Antipater*; who being a ſubtile Artificer, and well vnderſtanding their aptneſſe to diuiſion, reſuſed to harken to any generall compoſition, but willed euerie City to deale apart for it ſelfe. The intent of his deuice was ſo apparant, that it was reiected; the Greeks chooſing rather to abide the coming of their Aſſiſtants, whoſe vnreaſonable careleſſneſſe betraied the cauſe. *Antipater* and *Craterus* beſieging and winning ſome Townes in Theſſaly, which the Army of the Confederates wanted means and courage to relieue, wearied that Nation from attending any longer vpon other mens vnlikely hopes, with their owne aſſured and preſent calamity.

§ VI.

§. VI.  
Of the peace granted to Athens by Antipater. Of Demosthenes his death.

The Theſſalians falling off, all the reſt ſoone followed ſeuereſly, and ſied for peace; the gentle conditions giuen to the moſt forward, imitating ſuch as were the ſlackes. Only the Athenians and Aſtolians held out. Little fauour could they hope for, hauing bene Authors of this tumult: and their feare was not great; the ſeat of the warre being farre from them. But the celerity of *Antipater* confounded all their imaginations; who ſate ſtill at Athens, deuſing vpon courſes of proſecuting the Warre to come, which came to their doors, before their conſultation could finde illue. He was ready to enter vpon their Frontiers; they had no ability to reſiſt, and were as heartleſſe as ſtrawleſſe. All that remained was to ſend Embaſſadours, deſiring peace vpon ſome good termes: neceſſity enforcing them to haue accepted euen the very worſt. *Isocrates*, with *Demades* the Orator, and *Xenocrates* the Philoſopher, were chiefe of this Embaſſage; *Phocion* as the moſt Honorable; *Demades* a ſtrong Perſwader; (both of them well reſpected by *Antipater*) and *Xenocrates*, as one admired for wiſedome, grauity of manners, and vertue; but all theſe ornaments conſiſting in ſpeculation, and therefore of little regard, when their admiration was to coſt them much in reall effects.

*Antipater* calling to mind the pride of *Leofthenes*, required of the Athenians, that they ſhould wholly ſubmit themſelues to his pleaſure; which being (perforce) granted, he commanded them to deſtroy the charges of the warre paſt, to pay a fine, and entertaine a Garriſon. Further, he abrogated the popular eſtate, committing the gouernment of the City to thoſe of moſt wealth, depriving of the right of ſuffrage all ſuch as wanted a conuenient proportion of riches.

About nine thouſand they were, all men of good ſubſtance, to whom the adminiſtration of the Common-wealth was giuen; a number great enough to retaine the name and forme of a Democratic. But the rascal multitude of beggarly perſons, accuſtomed to get their liuing out of the common troubles, being now debarred from bearing offices and giuing their voices, cried out, that this was a more Oligarchie, the violent ſurpation of a few increaching vpon the publick right. Theſe turbulent fellows (of whom King *Philip* had bene wont to ſay, That warre to them was peace, and peace warre) *Antipater* planted in Thrace, and gaue them lands to manure; leauing as few of them as he could to moleſt the quiet of Athens.

To the ſame end (yet withall for ſatiſfying his owne ſuſpitions and hatred) he cauſed *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides*, famous Orators, with ſome others, to be ſlaine. Had the death of theſe two, eſpecially of *Demosthenes*, bene forborne, the reſt of his proceedings in this action might well haue paſſed for very milde: whereas now all ſuch, as ciuill men are delighted with the Orations of *Demosthenes*, or haue ſurrendered their iudgements to Authors juſtly admiring him, as the moſt eloquent of all that euer did ſpeake and write, condeſcend him vtterly, calling him a bloudy tyrant. Such grace and reputation doe the learned arts finde in all ciuill Nations, that the euill done to a man, famous in one of theſe, is able to blemiſh any action; how good ſoeuer otherwiſe it be, or honourably carried.

*Demosthenes* had taken Sanctuary in the Temple of *Neptune*, in the Ile of Calauria; there did *Archias* (ſent with Souldiers by *Antipater* for the purpoſe) finde him, and gently perſwaded him to leaue the place; but not ſo preuailling, he threatened violence. Then *Demosthenes* entreating a little reſpite as it had bene to write ſomewhat, ſecretly tooke poiſon, which he had kept for ſuch a neceſſity, and ſo died; rather chooſing to do the laſt execution vpon himſelfe, than to fall into the hands of ſuch as hated him. Only this act of his (commendable, perhaps in a Heathen man) argued ſome valour in him; who was otherwiſe too much a coward in battaile, how ſoeuer valiant in perſwading to enterprises, wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through paſſages exceeding dangerous. He loued money well, and had great ſummes giuen him by the Perſians, to encourage him, in finding worke for the Macedonians at home. Neither did he (ſome thinke) in taking from the Perſians which loued not his Country, great reward; for ſpeaking ſuch things as tended to his Countries good; which he did not

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cease to procure, when the Persians were no longer able to giue him recompence. Such as in tender contemplation of his death can endure no honourable, though true, mention of *Antipater*, may (if they can) beleuee *Lucian*, who tells vs, That it was *Antipaters* purpose to haue done him great honour. Sure it is, that he was a stedfast enemy to the Macedonians; therefore discretion required that he should be cut off.

The matters of Athens being thus ordered, the chiefe command was left in the hands of *Phocion*, a vertuous man, and louer of his Country, yet applying himselfe to the necessity of the times; by which commendations he had both at other times done the City much good, and now procured this peace, which (though grievous to free-men, yet so fauourable to the vanquished) he endeouored carefully to preserve.

## §. VII.

*How Craterus and Antipater were drawn from their Ætolian warres into Asia.  
The grounds of the first Civil Warre betwene the Macedonian Lords.*

**S**O *Antipater* with *Craterus* returned into Macedonia, where they strengthened their friendship with a new alliance; *Craterus* taking *Phila*, the Daughter of *Antipater*, to Wife.

Shortly after they went against the *Ætoli*ans, whose poverty was not so easily daunted, as the luxurious wealth of the more powerfull State of Athens had beene. Their Country was rough and mountainous, hauing many places of great fastnesse, into which they conueied such of their goods as they most esteemed, and of their people, as were least fit for warre: with the rest they fortified the strongest of their Cities, and forbode the coming of the Macedonians, whom they manfully resisted. With great obstinacy did the Macedonians contend against the difficulties of the places, which the *Ætoli*ans made good as long as their victuals held out. But when *Craterus* had shut vp all passages, and utterly debarred them of reliefe, then were they put to a miserable choice, either to descend from their strong holds, and fight vpon equall ground, with vnequall numbers, or to endure the miseries of hunger & cold, against which they could make no long resistance, or to yeeld themselves to the Macedonians: who incensed by the losse of many good Souldiers, were not like to leave so stubborne enemies in places, which might giue confidence to rebellion. In cases of extremity, much finenesse of wit apprehending all circumstances of danger, commonly doth more hunt than a blunt consideration of that only, which at the present is in hand. These *Ætoli*ans did not as yet want meat: but their enemies daily molested them: wherefore as yet they thought vpon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gracious to their courage. For such newes came out of Asia into the Macedonian campe, as made *Antipater* & *Craterus* thinke euery houre a month, till they had rid their hands of these *Ætoli*ans, giuing them whatsoeuer conditions they would aske: yet with purpose to call them to seuerer account; yea, to roote them out of Greece by death, or by captiuitie, when once they should haue settled the affaires of Asia; as they hoped and desired. But of mens purposes God is disposer: in whose high counsell it was ordained, that this poore Nation should continue a troublesome barre to the proceedings of Macedon and Greece, and when time had ripened the next Monarchie an open gate to let the Roman Conquerors into those and other Prouinces. Likewise concerning the matters of Asia, the reformation intended by *Antipater* and *Craterus*, was so far from taking effect, that it serued merely as an introduction to all the ciuill wars ensuing.

The grounds of the Asiaticke expedition, which did set the world in an vp-roare, were these. *Antipater* and *Craterus* were of *Alexanders* Captaines the mightiest in reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient precedency, and the present rule which he bare in the parts of Europe. The other, as of all men the best beloued, and most respected, both of *Alexander* and of the whole Army. Next vnto these had *Perdiccas* been, whom the advantage of his presence at the Kings death did make equall, or superiour, to either of these, if not to both together. The first intents of *Perdiccas* were, to haue comforted with these two, and to haue beene with them a third partner in the government of all; to which purpose he entertained the discourse of marriage with one of *Antipaters* Daughters. But feeling in short space the strength of that gale of winde which bore him vp, he began to take wing and soare quite another way. *Aridamus* was a very simple man,

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yet serued well enough to weare the title of that Majesty, whereof *Perdiccas* being Administrator, and hoping to become proprietary, the practice was more seuerer than had beene in the dayes of *Alexander*: the desire to seeme terrible, being very familiar with weakie Princes, and their ambitious Officers, who know no other meanes of preserving themselves from contempt, and of giuing such a fiery lustre to their actions, as may dazzle the eyes of the beholders. How cruelly the poor Greeks in the higher Asia were all put to the sword; and how tyrannously the King and Princes of *Capadoecia* were crucified, hath already been shewed. The *Pisidians* were the next who felt the wrath of these counterfeits *Alexanders*. One City of theirs was utterly razed, the children sold for slaues, and all the rest massacred. The *Isaurians* by this example growne desperate, when after two or three dayes triall they found themselves vnable to continue the defence, lockt themselves into their houses, & set the Town on fire into the flame whereof the young men did throw themselves, after that they had a while repelled the Macedonians from the walls.

These exploits being performed, the Army had no other worke than to sift the ashes of the burnt City for gold and siluer; but *Perdiccas* had businesse of greater importance troubling his braines. Nothing was more contrary to his ends, than to sit still without imploiment: letting his Souldiers grow idle about him, whilst others grew great, and tooke deepe roote in their seuerall Prouinces. He purposed therefore to transport his forces into Europe, vnder pretence of bringing the King into Macedonia, the seat of his Ancestors, and head of the Empire. The Kings presence would make the Offices of his Vice-royes (during the time) actually void; *Antipater* with *Craterus* being once in case of private men, and onely *Perdiccas* holding authority, the match with *Cleopatra* might easily be made. So should greatnesse meet with a good title, and what more could be wished? Some impediment the power of *Ptolemy* might giue, who held Egypt well fortified with men, but much better with loue of the people; yet if the businesse prospered in Macedonia, like enough it was that either *Ptolemy* would follow of himselfe, or be drawn to come to reason. *Antigonus* likewise then governing in Phrygia, a base-headed man, and ill affected to the side, was to be looked into, and made away, for feare of further trouble. So thought *Perdiccas*, and was deceived in so thinking. *Antigonus* was as good a man of warre, of as deepe a iudgement, as high a spirit, and as great vnderstanding as any of *Alexanders* Captaines. His imploiments had beene lesse than some of them, which made him also the less respected. But his thoughts were as proud as theirs: for, he valued himselfe by his owne worth, not by the opinions of other men; with careful attention had he watched *Perdiccas*, and founded the depth of his purposes, which it was now high time to discouer. For *Perdiccas* hauing with a ieaalous eye pried into the demeanour of *Antigonus*, and finding him no way fit for his turne, caused him to be charged with such accusations, as might suffice to take away his life, especially by a Iudge that sought his death. This deuice *Antigonus* would not seeme to perceiue, but prepared himselfe in shew to make answer, in deede, to make escape, which easily he did, putting himselfe and his sonne *Demetrius* aboard of some Athenian Gallies, that carried him to *Antipater*, laden with such tidings, as finished the *Ætolian* warre before mentioned.

As the coming of *Antigonus* made *Craterus* and *Antipater* manifestly perceiue their owne danger: so his flight gaue *Perdiccas* to vnderstand that his intentions were laied open, and must now be iustified by the sword. Therefore he prepared as fast as he could, not onely for defence, but (as hauing on his side the Kings name) to meet with them at home, who were nothing slacke in prouiding to encounter him. *Ptolemy* being aduertised of these proceedings, and considering how neerely they concerned him, sided with *Antigonus*. To his government of Egypt he had annexed the Dominion of Cyrene, not without consent of the chiefe Citizens; and now in the midst of these garboiles he celebrated the funerall of *Alexander* with great solemnity, purchasing thereby to himselfe much good will and many partakers, notwithstanding the terrible report of the Kings Army coming against him.



they would all forth with reuolt vnto him. Earnestly therefore he desired them to giue him aide against *Eumenes*; and especially requested that *Craterus* might leaue the leading of the Army to be sent. Their vntowardness did easily lead them to condescend to his motion; and good hope there was, that the reputation of *Craterus* might prevaile much as the force which he bore along. For he had in the midst of *Asians* privities, when others (imitating their King) bebooke themselves to the Persian fashions of garbages and customs, retained the ancient Macedonian form of behaviour, and a speciall way whereby he became very gracious with the common Souldiers, who beheld the new robes of Asia, with discommodities, as reproachfull and derogatory to the manners of their native Country. *Antipater* took the way toward Cilicia, to hold the defence at bay, and to ioyne with *Phelomy*. *Craterus* used great celerity, to haue taken *Eumenes* recuelling (as he hoped) according to the common fashion of Captaines; after a great victory. But he had a wary and well advised enemy to encounter, who kept good espiall vpon him, and with much wisdom fore-saw all that was to be feared, and the means of prevention, which his courage did not faile to execute. *Eumenes* was no ignorant, that *Craterus* was able to defeat him without battell, yea without stroke, him therefore he feared more than the Army following him: yet the Army following him was such, as much exceeded his own in footmen, but was inferior in horse-men; & thought it more vncasie to keep the Macedonians from revolting to him, than from knowing him. Hereupon he took in hand a strange peece of work, which desperation of all courtesie caught him, & wise managing, prosperously accomplished. He gaue out reports, that *Neoptolemus* was returned with such company as he could gather together, & had gotten *Pharagres* (a Captain of no great estimation, who lay not far off) to ioyne with him. Having animarod his men against *Neoptolemus*, whom he knew to be despised & hated among the *Asians*, (as having bin vanquished by some of them, & forsaken others in plain field, while they valiantly fought in his quarrell) he took great care to keep them from receiving any intelligence of the enemies matters. Peremptorily he commanded, that no messenger nor trumpet should be admitted; and not here with satisfied, he placed against *Craterus* no one Macedonian, nor any other that much would haue regarded him had he bin known; but Thracians, Cappadocians, & Persians, vnder the leading of such, as thought more highly of none, than of *Perdicus* & himselfe. To these also he gaue in charge, that without speaking or hearkning to any word, they should run vpon the enemy, & glue him no leisure to say or do any thing, but fight. The directions which he gaue to others, he did not faile to execute in his own person; but placing himself in the right wing of his battell, opposite to *Neoptolemus*, who (as he vnderstood) conducted the left wing on the contrary side, he held the Macedonians arranged in good order, & ready to charge the enemy as soon as the distance would giue leaue. A rising peece of ground lay between them, which hauing ascended, the Armes discovered each other; but that of *Eumenes* euery way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long iournies, which over-hastily they had made, seeking the deceitfull issue of fruitlesse hopes. Then was it high time for *Craterus* (having failed in surpising them as enemies) to discover himselfe to his old friends & fellow-souldiers, of whom he could see none. *Phanix* a Tenidian, & *Artabazus* a Persian, had the leading of that side, who mindefull of their instructions, began to giue vpon him, with such countenance as told him his error; which to redem, he had his men fight & redem the day, & take the spoyle to themselves. But the Bear whose skin he fels is not yet caught. The ground whereon the battell was fought gaue most advantage to the horse; who encountered very roughly on all parts: especially about *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus*; who as soon as they had discovered one another, could not containe themselves, but with great rage met body to body, & letting loose their bridles, grappled so violently together, that their horses ran from vnder them, leauing both of them tumbling on the ground. *Neoptolemus* rose first vp, but *Eumenes* had his sword first drawn, wherewith he houghed the other, causing him to fall down & fight vpon one knee. In this conflict they received many wounds, but *Neoptolemus* giuing slight ones tooke such as were deadly, by which he died in the place, and was there (being halfe-dead halfe-alive) stripped by his mortall enemy, whose reuillings hee required, lying euen at the last gaspe, with one wound in the groine, dangerous had it not wanted force. The death of *Neoptolemus* caused his followers to runne away vpon the spur, and seeke shelter behinde the battailes of their force. They were nothing hotly pursued. For *Eumenes* pained himselfe to carrie

succour

succour to his left wing, which he suspected much to be distressed, but found accompanie with the same fortune; that had assisted him when he fought in person. *Eumenes* had gallantly borne himselfe a while, and sustained the impression of *Asians* and *Phenix*, with more courage than force; holding in nothing agreeable with his honour to retire and moue to the right, when he was charged by men of little estimation or note. Other wills not unlikely that he might haue either carried the day, or preserved himselfe to a better adventure by giuing ground, as the rest (when hee and *Neoptolemus* were slaine) did. *Phanix* killed he sought to prole his reputation, hee lost his life by the fall of his horse or his falling from his horse, through force of a wound received, vpon which accident he was trampled vnder foote by many that knew him not; and so perished vnto such it was too late to know it. *Eumenes* coming to the place where he lay, made great lamentation, as having alwaies loued and honoured *Craterus*, of whose death hee was now become the instrument. The vanquished Armie entertained a treatie of peace with *Eumenes*, making shew of willingness to become his followers; but their intent was only to refresh themselves, which (by his permission) hauing done, they stole away by night, and fled toward *Antipater*.

The battell fought within ten daies of the former, wanne to *Eumenes* more reputation than good will: for his own Souldiers tooke the death of *Craterus* heauily, and the Army being further off were iraged with the newes. But other matters there were which incited men against him, besides the death of *Craterus*, wherof it manifestly appeared that he was as sorry as any that pretended greater heauinesse. His Armie wanted pay: this was a great fault; which he wisely amended by giuing to them the spoyle of such Townes as were ill affected to him. So he redemed the loue of his own men, who of their meere motion appointed vnto him a guard for defence of his person. Others were not so easie to be reconciled. They who had been Traitors to *Perdicus*, hated him for his faithlesse, as greatly, as they thought he would hate them for their faithhood; neither found they any fairer way of excusing their late reuolt, than by accusing & condemning the side which they had forsaken. Wherfore they proclaimed *Eumenes* a Traitor, and condemned him to die: but it was an easier matter to giue that sentence, than to put it in execution.

## S. X.

Quarrell between Eurydice the Queene, and Python the Protector. Python resignes his office into which Antipater is chosen.

*Python* and *Aridaus* being chosen Protectors of King *Aridaus* and the children of *Alexander*, tooke the way to Asia the lesse, conducting the Armie through Syria. Of these two, *Python* was the greater in reputation, yet farre too weak to sustain so important a charge. For *Eurydice*, wife to King *Aridaus*, was come to her husband, a Ladie of a masculine spirit, yvell vnderstanding what she was or should be; and thinking her selfe able to support the weight which Fortune layed vpon her foolish husband, being due to her owne title. Her Mother *Cyna*, sister to *Alexander*; by her Father King *Philip*, was married (as hath beene shewed) to *Amyntus*, who was the right Heire to the Kingdome of Macedon, being the onely sonne of King *Perdicus*, *Philips* elder brother.

This *Cyna* was a warlike woman; she had led Armies, and (as a true sister of *Alexander*) fighting hand to hand with *Ceria* Queene of the Phrygians, a Virago like vnto her selfe, had slaine her. Shee brought vp this *Eurydice* in the same vnmannerly Art of Warre, who now among the Souldiers beganne to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the small contentment of *Python*, that could not brooke her too curious meddling in his charge. Whether it were so, that *Python* had some purpose to aduance the sonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, to the Kingdome; (as once he had sought to do) or whether the Queene did suspect him of some such intent; or whether only desir of rule caused her to quarrell with him; quarrell shee did, which disturbed the proceeding against *Eumenes*. The Armie hauing shaken off such a ranke-rider as *Perdicus*, would not afterward bee reined with a twined thred. *Python* bearing himselfe vpon his office, tooke vpon him to giue directions in the Kings name, which the Queene did oftentimes contradict, vnder the same name, with more authority, and better liking of the Souldiers.

Dddd a

Python,



*Pythias*, seeing this, would needs resigne his office, whether vpon wearinesse of the con-  
 ceptions daily growing, or on purpose to bring the *Queene* into spie, it is vncertaine.  
 Perhaps hee thought, that now being the far warriest man in the Campe, hee should  
 be intreated to retaine the place, and haue his authoritie confirmed, for (as might be in-  
 creased, were it but for want of a fit Successor. *Emmenes* was nothing forrie at this coun-  
 sel, for now he thought to manage the affaires of the Empire at her owne will, being freed  
 from the troublesome assistance of a Protector. But the Souldiers disappointed both her  
 and *Pythias*, of their contrary expectations: choosing *Antipater*, the only powerfull  
 man of *Alexanders* Captaines, then iuning into the roome of *Pythias*. Hereat the *Queene*  
 fretted exceedingly, & began to deale earnestly with the Macedonians, that they should  
 acknowledge no Lord save only the King their Spueraigne. Yet shee failed of her pur-  
 pose, being hindred (as may seeme) by three things: the apparant weaknesse of her hus-  
 band: the growth of *Alexanders* children, who (though borne of ourlandish women)  
 were bred in the Macedonian Campe; and the mightinesse of *Antipater*, who com-  
 manded a great Armie neere at hand, arrived in few daies at the Campe, and enforced *Eu-  
 rydice* to hold her selfe content. *Antipater* was of such power, that he needed not to work  
 by any close deuices, as *Perdiccas* had done: he had no concurrents, all the Gouernours  
 of Prouinces that remained alie, acknowledged him their better: yea, many of them he  
 displaced out of hand, putting others in their roomes. This done, he tooke the King,  
*Queene*, and Princes along with him into Macedonia, leaving *Antigonus* General of the  
 Royall Armie: to whom for his good seruices done, and to be done against *Emmenes*, he  
 gaue the rule of *Susiana*, besides his former Prouinces, and committed into his hands the  
 government of Asia during that warre.

## S. XI.

*Antigonus* Lieutenant of Asia, winnes a battell of *Emmenes*, and begetteth him in Nora: He  
 vanquisheth other followers of *Perdiccas*.

**H**ere begins the greatnesse of *Antigonus*, whose power in few yeares over-grow-  
 ing the rest, wanted little of spreading it selfe ouer the whole Monarchie. Hee  
 was to make warre vpon *Emmenes*, *Alcetus* the brother, and *Attalus* the brother  
 in-law to *Perdiccas*: worke enough to keep his Armie employed in the publike seruice,  
 till such time as he might finde occasion to make vse of it in his own businesse. The first  
 of these which hee vnderooke was *Emmenes*, with whom *Alcetus* and *Attalus* refused to  
 ioyne, hauing vnreasonably contended with him in time of common danger about the  
 chiefe place. *Emmenes* had an Army strong in number, courage, and all needfull propo-  
 sitions; but obedient only at discretion. Therefore *Antigonus* tried all waies of corrupting  
 his Souldiers; tempting first the whole Army with letters: which practice failing by  
 the cunning of *Emmenes* (who made shew as if hee himselfe had scattered abroad those  
 letters, to trie the faith of his men) he dealt apart with such Captaines, as he thought most  
 easie to be wonne. Of these Captaines one rebelled, breaking out too hastily before any  
 helpe was neere him, yet looking so carelesly to himselfe, that hee and his were surpris-  
 ed, when he thought his enemies farre off. Another follower of *Emmenes* (or rather of  
 good fortune, which he thought now to be in company with *Antigonus*) kept his trea-  
 chery secret, reseruing it for the time of execution. Vpon confidence of the treason  
 which this false man *Apollonides* had vnderaken, *Antigonus* presented battell to *Emmenes*;  
 in the heat whereof *Apollonides*, General of the Horse to *Emmenes*, fled out to the contrary  
 side, with such as he could get to follow him: but was closely followed by some, whose  
 company he desired not. *Emmenes*, perceiving the irrecoverable mischief which this trai-  
 terous practice had brought vpon him, pursued the villain, & cut him off before he could  
 thrust himselfe into the troups of *Antigonus*, and boast of his treachery. This was some  
 comfort to *Emmenes* in the losse of that battell, which disabled him vtterly to keepe the  
 field, & left it very hard for him to make a safe retreat. Yet one thing he did which much  
 amazed his enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused *Antigonus* him-  
 selfe to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the victory to get pos-  
 session of the dead bodies. *Emmenes*, whilst *Antigonus* held him in chase, turned out  
 of the way, and fetching a compasse, returned to the place where the battaille had bene  
 fought; there he burned (according to the manner of the time) the bodies of his owne  
 men,

men, and ingerted the bones and ashes of the Captaines, and common Souldiers, apart,  
 raising vp heapes of earth as mountaines ouer them, and so went his way. As this bold  
 adventure, bred in the Macedonians, (returned to their campe) great admiration of his  
 braue spirit: so the newes wch *Menander* (who was set to look vnto their carriages) brought  
 and published among them, enticed them to loue him as their honourable friend. Hee  
 had found *Menander* in an open Plaine, carelesse, as after an assured victory, and loaden  
 with the spoiles of many Nations, the rewards of their long seruice; all which he might  
 haue taken: but fearing lest such a purchase should proue a heauie burden to him, whose  
 chiefe hope consisted in swift expedition, he gaue secret warning to *Menander* to flie to  
 the mountains, whilst he detained his men (whom authority could not haue restrained)  
 by this sleight, letting them to bait their horses. The Macedonians extolled him for this  
 courtesie, as a noble Gentleman, that had forborne when it lay in his power to strip them  
 out of all their wealth, and make their children slaves, and to rauish their wives: but *Ant-  
 igonus* told them, that he had not forborne to doe this out of any good wil to them; but  
 out of mere subtiltie had auoyded those precious fetters, which would haue hindred  
 his speedy flight. He told them true. For *Emmenes* did not only thinke all cariages to be  
 ouer-burdensome, but the number of his men to be more troublesome than available in  
 his intended course. Wherefore he sent them from him as fast as he could, wishing them  
 to shift for themselves; and retaining only five hundred horse, and two hundred foot.  
 When hee had wearied *Antigonus* a while in following him vp and downe, he came to  
 Nora: where againe, keeping no more about him, than necessity required to make good  
 the place, he louingly dismissed all the rest. Nora was a little Fortresse in the borders of  
 Lyconia and Cappadocia, so strongly situated, that it seemed impregnable, & so well vi-  
 tualed and stored with all necessaries, that it might hold out for many yeares. Thither  
 did *Antigonus* follow him, with more desire to make him his friend, than to vanquish him  
 in warre. To this purpose hee entertained parlee with him, but in vaine. For, whereas  
*Antigonus* offered him pardon, and his loue; *Emmenes* required restitution of his Prouin-  
 ces, which could not be granted without *Antipaters* consent. Then was Nora closed vp;  
 where *Antigonus* leauing sufficient strength for continuance of the siege, tooke his iour-  
 neie into Pisidia against *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, with whom he made short worke. He came  
 vpon them vnexpected, and seized on passages, which wanted not men, but such a Cap-  
 taine as *Emmenes*, to haue defended them. *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, as they had been too se-  
 cure before his coming, so were they too aduenturous, in fighting at the first sight, vp-  
 on all diaduantages: and their folly was attended with furable euent. *Attalus* with ma-  
 ny principall Captains was taken; *Alcetus* fled to the City of Termeus, where the loue  
 of the yonger sort toward him was so vehement, that stopping their eares against all per-  
 suasions of the ancient men, they needs would hazzard their liues and their Country  
 in his defence. Yet this auailed him nothing: For the Gouernors of the Town hauing  
 secretly compounded with *Antigonus*, caused the yong men to fall out; and vsing the  
 time of aduantage, they with their seruants did set vpon *Alcetus*, who vnable to resist slew  
 himselfe. His dead body was conueyed to *Antigonus*, and by him barbarously torn, was  
 cast forth without buriall. When *Antigonus* was gone, the yong men interred the car-  
 case with solemne funerals, hauing once been minded to set on fire their owne town in  
 reuenge of his death. Such fauour had he purchased with courteous liberalitie: but to  
 make an able Generall, one vertue, how great soeuer, is insufficient.

## S. XII.

*Ptolomic* winnes Syria and Phamicia. The death of *Antipater*.

**W**hilst these things were in doing, the rest of the Princes lay idle, rather  
 seeking to enioy their Gouernments for the present, than to confirme or  
 enlarge them. Only *Ptolomic* looking abroad, wan all Syria and Phenicia:  
 an adion of great importance, but not remarkable for any circumstance in the mana-  
 ging. He sent a Lieutenant with an Armie, who quickly tooke *Laomedon* prisoner, that  
 ruled there by appointment of *Antipater*, and formerly of *Perdiccas*; but (as may seeme)  
 without any great strength of Souldiers, far from assistants, and vainly relying vpon the  
 authoritie which had giuen him that Prouince, & was now occupied with greater cares,  
 than with seeking to maintaine him in his Office.

*Antipater* was old and sickly, desirous of rest, and therefore contented to let *Antigonum* pursue the dispatch of those businesses in Asia. He had with him *Polyperchon*, one of the most ancient of *Alexanders* Captaines, that had lately suppressed a dangerous insurrection of the *Atolians*, which Nation had stirred in the quarrel of *Perdicus*, prevailing far at the first, but soon losing all that they had gained, whilst *Antipater* was abroad in his Cilician expedition. In this *Polyperchon*, *Antipater* did repose great confidence; so far forth, that (suspecting the youth of his own Sonne *Cassander* of insufficiency in so great a charge) he bequeathed vnto him on his death-bed the Government of Macedonia and Greece, together with his office of Protectorship. So *Antipater* died, being foure-score yeeres old, hauing alwaies trauelled in the great affaires of mighty Princes, with such reputation, that *Alexander* in all his greatness was iealous of him, and the successours of *Alexander* did either quietly giue place vnto him, or were vnfortunate in making oppositions. In his priuate qualities he was a subtle man, temperate, frugal, and of a Philosophicall behaviour, not vnlearned, as hauing been Scholler to *Aristotle*, and written some Histories. Hee had bene much molested by *Olympias*, *Alexanders* mother, whom after the death of her Son, he compelled to abstaine from coming into Macedonia, or meddling in matters of Estate: yea, at his own death he gaue especiall direction, that no woman should bee permitted to deale in the administration of the Empire. But this precept was soone forgotten; and yet ere long, by sorrowfull experience approved to haue been found and good.

## §. XIII.

Of *Polyperchon*, who succeeded vnto *Antipater* in the Protectorship. The insurrection of *Cassander* against him.

*Polyperchon* was very skilfull in the Art of Warre, hauing long time bene Apprentice in that occupation; other qualities, requisite in so high an Office as hee vnder-went, either Nature had not giuen to him, or Time had robbed him of them. He managed his business more formally than wisely, as a man of a second wit, fitter to assist, than command in chiefe. At the first entrance vpon the stage, he called to counsaile all his friends, wherein, for weighty considerations (as they who weighed not the contrary reasons held them) the Queene *Olympias* was reuoked out of *Epyrus* into Macedonia, that the presence of *Alexanders* mother might countenance and strengthen their proceedings. For, the condition of the times requiring, that the Governours of Provinces abroad should keepe greater Armies, than were needfull or easie to be retained about the person of the King in Macedonia; it seemed expedient, that the face of the Court should be filled with all Maiestie, that might giue authority to the Iniunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awfull regard containe within the limited bounds of dutie such as could not by force haue bene kept in order, being strong, and lying too farre off.

Such care was taken for preuention of imaginarie dangers and out of sight, whilst present mischiefe lay vnregarded in their bosomes. *Cassander*, the Sonne of *Antipater*, was not able to discouer that great sufficiency in *Polyperchon*, for which his father had reposed in him so much confidence: neither could he discern such oddes in the quality of himselfe and *Polyperchon*, as was in their fortune. He was left Capitaine of one thousand; which Office by practice of those times was of more importance, than the title now seemes to imply. Hee should thereby haue bene as Campe-master, or Lieutenant generall to the other: a place no way satisfying his ambition, that thought himselfe the better man. Therefore he began to examine his own power, and compare with the forces likely to oppose him. All that had relied on his father, were his owne assured, especially such as commanded the Garrisons beset in the principall Cities of Greece. The like hope was of the Magistrates, and others of principall authority, in those Common-weales, whose formes had bene corrected by *Antipater*, that they would follow the side, and draw in many partakers: it concerned these men in their owne particular to adhere vnto the Captaines, by-whom their faction was vp-held; and by whom the rascall multitude, couetous of re-gaining the tyrannous power which they had formerly exercised ouer the principall Citizens, were kept in order, obeying their betters perforce. Besides all these helps, *Cassander* had the secret loue of Queene

*Eurydice*,

*Eurydice* who had in priuate fondled him such durstle, as was due only to her husband. But neither the Queenes fauour, nor all his sinister possibilities, gaue him confidence to breake out into open rebellion; because hee saw *Polyperchon* much reuerenced among the Macedonians, & strong enough to suppress him, before he could haue made head. Therefore he made shew of following his pleasures in the Couriquy, and calling many of his friends about him, vnder pretence of hunting, aduised with them vpon the safest course, and most free from all suspicion: The necessitie was apparant of raising an Armie, before the business was set on foot; and to doe this, opportunitie presented him with faire meanes. *Ptolomie* had by fine force, without any commission, annexed Syria to his government of Egypt and Cyrene: this was too much either for the King to trust him with, or for him to part with. *Antigonum* vpon the first newes of *Antipaters* death, began to lay hold vpon all that he could get, in such fort, that he manifestly discovered his intent of making himselfe Lord of all Asia. These two therefore stood in need of a ciuill Warre; which *Cassander* well noted, and presumed withall, That the friendship which had passed betwene his father and them, would auail him somewhat. Whereupon he secretly dispatched messengers to them both, & within a little while conueyed himselfe on a sudden ouer the Hellespont, that he might in person aduance the business with greater speede. Much perswasion is needlesse in winning a man to what hee desireth. *Antigonum* coueteth nothing more, than to find *Polyperchon* work, by raising some commotion in Greece. Yet (as formalities must not be neglected) *Cassander* did very earnestly presse him, by the memory of his Father, and all requisite coniuurations, to assist him in this enterprize; telling him, that *Ptolomie* was ready to declare for them, and vrging him to a speedy dispatch. *Antigonum* on the other side repaid him with the same coine; saying, That for his own sake, and his dead Fathers, whom he had very dearly loued, he would not faile to giue him all manner of succour. Hauing thus sealed one another with words, they were nothing slacke in preparing the common meanes, leading to their severall ends.

## §. XIII.

The vnworthy courses held by *Polyperchon*, for the keeping down of *Cassander*.

Great necessity there was of timely prouision. For, *Polyperchon* needed no other instructions to informe him of *Cassanders* drift; than the newes of his departure. Hee was not ignorant of the ready disposition, which might be found in *Antigonum* and *Ptolomie*, to the strengthening of rebellion; and well he knew that one principall hope of *Cassander* was reposed in the confidence of such as ruled in the Græcian Estate. Therefore (louing to worke circumspectly) he called another Councell, wherein it was concluded, That the Popular forme of Government should be erected in all the Cities of Greece; the Garrisons withdrawing; and that all Magistrates & principal Men, into whose hands *Antipater* had committed the supreme authority, should forthwith be either slaine or banished. This was a sure way to diminish the number of *Cassanders* friends; and to raise vp many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was disclosed both an vnthankfull nature in *Polyperchon*, and a factious malice in his adherents. For, how could he be excused of extreme ingratitude, that for hatred of the son went about to dishonour the Fathers actions, whose onely bounty had enabled him to doe it? Or what could be said in their defence, who sought to destroy many worthy men, friends to the State, by whom the Greekes were held restrained from stirring against the Macedonians; and in opposition to their priuate Enemy, gaue the rule of things to base Companions, and such as naturally maligned the Empire? But as in mans body, through sinewes newly issuing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflammation of his next Neighbour, than by any distemper in the contrary hand: so in bodie politique, the humours of men, subdiuided in faction, are more intraged by the disagreeable qualities of such as curb them in their neere purposes, than they are exasperated by the general opposition of such as are diuided from them in the maine trunk. Hereby it comes to passe, that contrary religions are invited to helpe against Neighbour Princes; bordering enemies drawn-in, to the part in ciuill warres; and ancient hatred called to counsaile against inurious friends. Of this fault Nature is not guiltie; she hath taught the art to offer it selfe vnto manifest losse in defence of the head: They are deprauid affections,

affections, which render men sensible of their own particular, and forgetful of the more generall good, for which they were created.

The decree, whereby the Greekes were presented with a vaine shew of libertie, ran vnder the Kings name; but so as one might easily discern, that *Polyperchon* had guided his pen. For the maine point was, That they should follow such directions, as *Polyperchon* gaue, and treat with him about all difficulties. In the rest it contained such a deal of kindnesse, as proceeding on a sudden from those who had kept them in hard subjection, might well appeare to haue come from other root than the pretended good will; and was of it selfe too base and vnfit for a King to vse toward his conquered Subjects, and often subdued Rebels.

## §. XV.

Of the great commotions raised in Athens by Polyperchons decree. The death of Phocion.

NEuertheless the Athenians with immoderate ioy entertained this happy-seeming Proclamation, & fought how to put it in execution without further delay. But *Nicanor*, Capitaine of the Garrison, which kept one of their Hauens, called *Munychia*, in the lower part of the Town, would needs take longer time of deliberation, than was pleasing to their haughty desires.

*Nicanor*, as a trusty follower of *Cassander*, was by him shifted into the place, and *Me-nillus* (that was Capitaine there before) discharged, when *Antipater* was newly dead. His coming to Athens was no way grateful to the Citizens, who soone after hearing the newes of *Antipaters* death, cried out vpon *Phocion*, saying, That he had sufficient intelligence of that accident, and might by aduertising them in due time, haue put into their hands a faire opportunity of thrusting out the Macedonians. But these exclamations argued no more than a desire to shake off the Macedonian yoke. Farre more grievously would they haue beene offended, had they known the instructions which *Cassander* had giuen to *Nicanor*, & his resolution to follow them. It was concluded, That he should not onely retaine *Munychia*, any inunction to the contrary notwithstanding; but that he should finde means to thrust some companies into *Piræus*, and fortifie that also, which was the principall haue, against the high-town. How to accomplish this, he rather wanted some reasonable pretence, than good ability. But the Athenians were not long in giuing him sufficient cause to do that, which he would haue done without any cause. They desired him to come vnto their councell, assembled in the *Piræus*, there to consider of the Kings Proclamation: whither vpon *Phociens* word and safe conduct he came, and earnestly pressed them to hold with *Cassander* in the war which was ready to break forth. Contrariwise they vrged him first of all, to make them masters of their own, which flow to vse, they might consult afterwards. Each of them refusing to condescend vnto the others demand; the Athenians (who did alwaies measure iustice by profit, yet selfe-dome thrust by that course) practised with *Dercillus*, a Captain following *Polyperchon*, and then lying neere at hand, that he should enter into the Town, and take *Nicanor* prisoner. But *Phocion*, who then gouerned in Athens, a man very vnlike to the rest of the Citizens, being nothing pleased with such a trick of politike dishonesty, did quietly suffer him to depart and saue himselfe.

*Nicanor* hereupon began to deuise vpon taking *Piræus*; not as following now the precept of *Cassander*, but prosecuting his own ill reuenge. He leuied as many Souldiers as he could, and drew them closely into *Munychia*; which done, he issued into *Piræus*, took it, and intrenched himselfe therein, to the exceeding discomfort of the Athenians, who lately impatient of his keeping the one Haue, saw him now Master of both. *Alexander*, the son of *Polyperchon*, came thither shortly after with an Army. Then were the Citizens in great hope of recouering all, and addressed themselves vnto him, who made faire shewes, intending meere mischiefe, which they perceived not, being blinded with the vaine flatteries of his Father, and of *Olympias* the old Queene. *Olympias* taking vpon her to command, before the first well aduenture to returne into Macedonia, had peremptorily charged *Nicanor* to restore to the Athenians the places which hee held: but hee would first consider more of the matter. *Polyperchon* had further ordained, that the Isle of *Samos* should be rendred vnto them: a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power and

and meaning. He was (indeed) so farr from purposing to let them haue *Samos*, that as yet he did not thoroughly intend to let them haue *Beneticus*. The commoditie of their Hauens was such, as hee would rather see in his owne hands, than leave in theirs; yet rather wished in theirs than in *Cassanders*. His Son *Alexander*, not ignorant of this, made faire shew to the Athenians, and then much labour in coniuring with *Nicanor*, but suffered not them, for whom he seemed to labour, to meddle with the businesse. Hereupon the Citizens grew iudicious, and the displeasure they conceived against him, they poured forth vpon *Phocion*, deposing him of his office. This was done with much tumult, shouted men and strangers, thrusting themselves into the assembly of the Citizens, who to dislatched with sundry passions, growing out of their present misfortunes, thought euery one that best could inueigh against things past, a most likely man to finde some remedie for the euill threatening them. In this hurly-burly was *Alexander* deuising how he might come to some good point of composition with *Nicanor*, & held much priuie conference with him, which he could not so secretly carry, but that his negotiation was discovered, whereby the uproare in the Town was so far increased, that *Phocion* with many of his friends were accused, and driuen to seek safeguard of their liues by flight. So they came to *Alexander*, who entertained them gently, and gaue them his letters of commendation to his Father, desiring him to take them into his protection.

*Polyperchon* was in the Country of *Phocis*, ready to enter with an Army into Attica. Thither came *Phocion* with his companions, hoping well that the letters which they brought, and their own deserts, (hauing alwaies been friends to the Macedonians, as far as the good of their Countrey gaue leave) should be enough to get patronage to their innocencie. Besides all this, *Dinarchus* a Corinthian, *Polyperchons* familiar friend, went along with them (in an euill houre) who promised to himselfe and them great fauour, by means of his acquaintance. But *Polyperchon* was an vnstable man, very earnest in what he took in hand, yet either for want of judgement in following them, or of honesty in holding the best of them, easily changing his intended courses, and doing things by the bailes, which made him commonly saide of good lucke. For fear of *Cassander*, hee had offered wonderfull kindnesse to the Athenians, this had caused them to loue him: out of their loue he gathered hope of deceiuing them, which made him to change his minde, and seeke how to get into his owne hands those keyes, with which *Cassander* held them fast. So finding himself disappointed of this purpose, and suspected as a false dishonourable man, hee stood waivering betweene the contrary allurements of profit and reputation. To keepe the Athenians perforce at his deuotion, would indeed haue done well: but the effecting of this began to grow desperate, and many Towns of importance in Greece began to cast their eyes vpon his proceeding in that action. Wherefore hee thought it the wisest way to redeeme their good opinion, by giuing all contentment vnto the popular faction, which was then growne to bee Master of that City. And in good time for this purpose were the Athenian Embassadors come, treading (as one may say) vpon *Phociens* heels, whom they were sent to accuse. These had solemne audience giuen to them in the Kings presence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for ostentations sake was gloried with all exteriour shewes of Maiestie; yet all too little to change *Aridaui* into *Alexander*; for hee did nothing there, but either laugh or chafe, as he saw others doe. For beginning of the businesse *Polyperchon* commanded that *Dinarchus* should bee tortured and slaine. This was enough to testifie his hearty affection to the Commonaltie of Athens, in that hee spared not his old acquaintance for their sake; whose Embassadors hee then bad to speake. When their errand was done, and answer to it made by the accused, who had no indifferent hearing, *Phocion* and the rest were pronounced guilty of treason; but to giue sentence, and doe the execution vpon them, was (for Honours sake) referred vnto the Citie of Athens, because they were Burgessees. Then were they sent away to Athens, where the rascall multitude, not suffering them to speake for themselves, condemned them to dye. So they perished being innocent. But the death of *Phocion* being very conspicuous, made the fortune of the rest to bee of the lesse regard. Five and fortie times had hee beene chosen Gouernour of the Citie, neuer suing for the place, but sent for when hee was absent; so well was his integrity knowne, and so highly valued, even of such as were no pretenders to the same vertue. He was a good Commander in War, whose though his actions were not very great, yet were they of good importance, and

and neuer vnfortunate. Neuer did the Calcebrene of hauing followed his own will, nor any priuate man of hauing trusted his word. *Philip* of Macedon highly commended him; so, and much more did *Alexander*, who by his other Generals of his Army, sent him two hundred talents of silver, & offered to bestow vpon him of foure Cities in Asiam, one which he would chooseth. But *Philip* refused these & other gifts, howsoever importunately thrust vpon him; resting well contented with his honest poudry: wherein he liued about fourescore yeares; and then was compelled by the vnjust iudgement of wicked men to drinke that poison, which by iust iudgements of the Righteous God, was inflicted the City of Athens, as from that day forward as it neuer brought forth any worthy man resembling the vertue of their Ancestors.

## §. XVI.

Of *Polyperchon* his vaine expedition against *Cassander*.

**N**ot long after these things were done, *Cassander* with such forces as *Antigon* lent him, entred into *Pitheus*; which newes drew *Polyperchon* head-long into Attica, with a great Army, but so ill victualled, that he was faine to depart without any thing done. Only he had giuen some impediment to the enemy, who, not contented with defending what hee held, began to looke out, and make new purchases abroad. Finding therefore himselfe vnable to driue *Cassander* out of Athens, hee left his Son *Alexander*, with such number of men, as exceeded not the proportion of victuals, to withstand his further inroaching. The greatest part of his Armie hee carried into Peloponnesus, to make the Country sure to himselfe, wherein *Cassander* had many Friends.

His doings in Peloponnesus were such, as they had been in other parts of Greece. First, he began to fight with *Edicts*, restoring the Democratic, or Popular forme of government. He commanded that the principall Citizens, that had by *Antipater* been made Rulers, should be either slaine, or driuen into exile. This decreetooke immediate effect in most places: The vulgar sort being very ready to seale the Charter of their freedom and authority, with the blood of those who had kept them in subiection. Yet many Cities there were, which delighted in the rule of the chiefe Citizens; and many which wished well to *Cassander*, especially they of *Megalopolis*, on whom *Polyperchon* meant to inflict an exemplarie punishment of disobedience to him, which hee reamed Rebellion. *Megalopolis* had in it fiftie thousand seruicable men, well furnished of necessities, & resolved to endure the worst. And neede there was of such resolution. For *Polyperchon* comming thither with all his power, did so much, that hee ouerthrew, by a Mine, three of their Bulwarks, and all the space of wall between them. But the Defendants manfully repelled the Macedonians which came vp to the breach; and at the same time with great labour they raised vp an inner wall, to beare out the next assault. The Assailants hauing failed to carry the Town at the first attempt, took much paine to cleare the griddind; and to make fair way for their Elephants, whose violence was likely to ouerthrow all that came in their way. But the Town-men perceiuing their drift, prepared boords driuen through with long nails, which they vsed as gal-throps, bestowing them sleightly, couered with the points vpwards, in the way by which the beasts were to passe. Neither did they let any to encounter them in front, but appointed certaine light-armed men to beate vpon their sides with Arrows and Darts, as they were instructed by some that had learned the manner of that fight in the Asian Wars. Of these prouisions they made happy vse in the next assault. For, by them were the Elephants (wherin the enemy chiefly trusted) either forely hurt, or driuen back vpon the Macedonians, whom they trampled vnder feet. *Polyperchon* came as ill furnished for long abode to *Megalopolis* as before to Athens. Ther-fore being neither able to dispatch the businesse quickly, nor to take such leisure as was requisite, hee forsook the siege, with some losse, and much dishonour, leaving some part of his Armie to lye before the Town for his credit.

After this hee sent *Clitus*, his Admirall, to Sea, to ioyn with *Arideus* that was come out of *Phrygia*, and to cut off all succour which might come to the enemy out of Asia. *Cassander* also sent his whole fleet vnder *Nicanor*, who taking along with him some ships of *Antigonum*, came to the Propontis, where hee fought with *Clitus*, and was beaten. But *Antigonum* hearing of the ouerthrow, gathered together the ships that were escaped, and

and manning them very well, sent out *Nicanor* againe, assuring him of the victory, as well the might: For hee sent out sufficient numbers of light-armed men, whom hee caused to be masked ouer the streights in small Vessels by night; these before day-light setting vpon *Antigonum* drawe his men, that lay securely on the land; head-long into their ships; in which tumult *Nicanor* arriuing did assaile them so lustily, that few or none escaped him.

This losse at Sea, together with his bad successe by Land, brought *Polyperchon* into great contempt. Hee had a good facillie in penning bloody decrees, but when the execution was referred to his own sword, hee could make the matter more difficult. Wherefore the Athenians, perceiuing that hee had left them to shift for themselves, and was not able to giue them protection against the enemy, which lay in their bosomes, came to a greene with *Cassander*; accepting a *Gouernour* of his appointment; and restoring all things to the same state wherein *Antipater* had left them. The like inclination to the party of *Cassander*, was found in very many Cities of Greece, which daily and willingly reuered vpon him, as to an industrious man, and likely to preuaile in the end. Thus was the whole Country set in a combustion, vnease to be quenched; which presented vnto *Antigonum* an opportunitie, that hee neglected not, of making himselfe Lord of Asia.

## §. XVII.

*Antigonum* seeks to make himselfe an absolute Lord; and thereupon treats with *Eumenes*, who disappoints him: *Phrygia* and *Lydia* won by *Antigonum*.

**A**ntigonum had in *Antipaters* life time a firm resolution, to make vnto himselfe the most benefit that he might of the Army committed to his charge. And in fauour for aduancement of his purposes came the newes of *Antipaters* death; wherein, when all the businesse in *Psidia* was dispatched, and no more employment for the Armie remaining, saue onely the continuance of the siege of *Nora*, a small time of it selfe, but as hard as a greater matter; and requiring few men, but much time; wheate time of all things was most precious. *Eumenes* lay in that Port of *Nora*, able to make the place good, and hoping that the mutabilitie, to which the present estate was manifestly subiect, would in continuance of some years (which hee might abide) worke more for him, than his enemies in that space could worke against him. His most feare was, that for want of exercise in that narrow Castle, his men & horses might grow sickly and vnseruicable: which made him to practise many deuises of keeping them in health and lustie. But when hee had continued thus vp in this manner about a yeare, his hopes came to good passe, and hee was eased of his cares by *Antigonum* himselfe, whose forces hee had besieged.

*Antigonum* knowing the great sufficiencie of *Eumenes*, and considering his fidelitie shewed vnto *Perdiccas*, thought that hee could not finde in all the world a fitter man than him, to employ in managing those high designs, wherein hee doubted not that hee should be withstood by the mightiest Princes of the Empire. Hee sent therefore to *Eumenes* by one that was friend to them both, acquainting him with some part of his intent, and promising to make him a better Lord than euer hee had bene, and the next man to himselfe, if things fell out as hee desired: in regard whereof hee required onely his friendship, and thereupon sent him an oath to take, which done, hee might at his good pleasure issue safely out of *Nora*, and enioy his perfect libertie. *Eumenes* perusing the forme of the oath, did perceiue the meaning of *Antigonum*; which was, rather to make him his follower than his fellow. For whereas, in a few words, it mentioned the King and Princes of the blood, rather to keepe the *Decorum*, than vpon any loyall intent; the binding words & summe of all were such, as tied him fast only to *Antigonum*, omitting all reservation of dutie to the King or any other. This hee liked not, holding it vnseemly to become a sworne man to him, with whom hee had fought for the masterie; and being assured that his voluntary assistance, which way soeuer hee gave, would be more acceptable, and farre more honourable, than the course propounded. Yet would hee not therefore breake off for the negotiation, and waite for some better occasion of enlargement, which might perhaps be long in coming; but seeming to be well agreed with *Antigonum*, hee prepared to giue vp his hold and depart. As for the oath it selfe, when hee came to take it, hee made shew of dislike, in that it was not solemne enough

enough for these proceedings as they were who would not be too ordering themselves  
saying their Allegiance to the Macedonians which lay in compass of both Kingdoms  
his words and good will to the people in *Thrace* and in *Thrace* and in *Thrace*  
binding himself to the people and that other things as well as to *Thrace* and in *Thrace*  
parted from him.

*Antigonus* had taken upon him, as soone as he came downe to the Sea-side, to remove  
some of the Governours of the *Provinces*, believing himselfe according to his  
authority which he had received of *Alexander* to be able to do as he pleased. Nothing  
did he want to see in presence wholely his intention his proceedings. For in *Polyperchon*  
might lawfully hold the *Protectorship* which the old man doing on his death bed  
bequeathed vnto him, as a legacy to him, in commend of the *Provinces* of *Thrace* and in  
might not be himselfe as well as to the *Lieutenants* of *Asia*, that was granted vnto  
him for the generall good of the State, in presence of the whole Army by the King,  
and by *Antigonus* who had power to ordaine what should seeme convenient while he liued,  
not to dispose of things that should happen after his death, but to give a faire  
colour to his ambition, this was enough: if any were not herewith satisfied, hee had  
three score thousand footmen, ten thousand horse, and thirtie elephants in a readinesse  
to answer them.

The first that perceived his drift, and provided to resist him, was *Ardenus* Governour  
of *Phrygia* who fortified the Townes of his own Province, and sought to haue won *Cy-  
zicus*, a faire Haven Town, and seated very conveniently for him, but was taken away  
without it. Hereupon *Antigonus* tooke occasion to command him out of the Coun-  
trie. *Ardenus* was so far from obeying him, that he sent for to relieve himselfe. Neer-  
the lesse finding that he was vnable of himselfe to make long resistance, hee tooke  
companies as he could draw along with him, & so passed ouer into Europe to compleat  
at the Coast. The like fortune had *Qinnus*, who ruled in *Lydia*, & sought the like remedy  
of his fortune with some hope at the first (for both of them were entertained with very  
good words) which quickly vanished, & grew desperate, when they were beate at Sea,  
as hath already been declared.

## S. XVII.

*Antigonus pursues Eumenes. Eumenes having authority from the Court, raiseth great war  
against Antigonus in defence of the Royall house.*

*Antigonus* having thus gotten into his hands all, or most of all Asia the lesse, was  
able to haue entered *Macedon*, and seized vpon the Court; which that hee for-  
bare to doe, it proceeded (as may seeme) for some of these reasons. It would  
haue bred much leaues in *Cassander*, as feare in *Polyperchon*, which might haue  
brought them to termes of reconciliation; It would aske more time than he could spare,  
and the enlie which followed the *Protectorship* was such, as he that had power enough  
without the Office, sought rather to shun than to pursue. Besides all this, it was manifest  
that *Eumenes* would not only refuse to take his part, but would make war vpon him in  
defence of the Royall house, to which it was found that *Antigonus* did not stand wel af-  
fected. Against him therefore he bent his course, and with an Army of twenty thousand  
foot, & four thousand horse, made great haste toward *Cilicia*, hoping to surprise him  
before hee should be able to make head.

*Eumenes* was one of those few that continued faithfull to their dead master, which be-  
ing well known in the Court, he had commission sent vnto him from thence to raise an  
Army, and make war vpon *Antigonus*, taking of the Kings treasure as much as he should  
need. Other letters also to him were directed to all the Governours of Provinces, requi-  
ring them to giue assistance to *Eumenes*, and be obedient to his direction: especially to  
the Captaines of the old Soldiers, called the *Argyraspides*, of slier-shielded bands,  
commanded there was giuen to be at his appointment. Hee had of his old followers ga-  
thered together two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, before this authority was  
giuen him: but now hee purposed with all the strength which hee could make, to fight  
with *Antigonus* in defence of the Royall blood. *Olympias* had written to him, desiring  
him to bring helpe to her and to her Nephew the Son of *Alexander*, and she had mean  
time to giue her advice in that which *Polyperchon* required of her: for hee was  
desirous

desirous to returne into *Macedon*, but suspected his ambition, and therefore continued within  
his own bounds. *Eumenes* therefore continued there to remaine in *Spain*, till such time as  
hee should bring the matter to a good issue, which alone he promised that his faith and care  
should not be wanting to the seede of *Alexander*. To this end hee was bound to  
Strangers it is to consider, that in all the Empire, scarce any one could be found among  
the Noble men, in whom *Alexander* mother, waies, and children might repose some  
confidence, saving onely this *Eumenes*, a stranger to the *Macedonian* blood, borne at  
Cassius a Citie of *Thrace*. His reputation was no more than his owne vertue had made  
it; his followers obeyed at their owne discretion; and compelled he was to trauaile as  
to *Spain*, to gather together an Army sufficient to resist the enemies that pursued  
his betters.

And thus hee was bound to continue in *Spain*, till such time as hee should  
be able to returne into *Macedon*.

§. XIX.  
How the Princes of *Macedon* stood affected mutually. *Olympias* takes  
*Ardenus* and *Eurydice*, whom she cruelly  
puts to death.

OW, forasmuch as in this present Warre all the Rulers of  
the Provinces did intermeddle; and great alterations hap-  
pened; not only in the parts of *Asia*, but *Macedon* it selfe,  
which brought a new face vnto the State; by the extirpa-  
tion of the royall house of *Philip* and *Alexander*: I hold it con-  
uenient in this place, before we enter into the particulars of  
the Warre it selfe, to shew briefly how the great ones did  
mutually stand affected; and by what passions they were  
driven into those courses, which ouerthrow most of them and out of their  
hands built the great spelle of a few: as likewise to what extremities the faction brake  
out in *Macedon* it selfe about the maine controversie of the ridd to the Crowne, where-  
upon all other quarrels were or should haue bene depending.

*Antigonus* the King, being simple and carefull, did onely what hee was  
bidden.  
*Polyperchon*, desirous to continue long in Office, had a purpose to aduance the sonne  
of *Alexander* by *Roxane* to the kingdom, and become Governour to a King of his own  
making.

*Eurydice* the Queene discouering plainly this intent, and meaning nothing lesse than  
to let her husband serue as a Stale, keeping the throne warme till another were growne  
old enough to sit in it, grew acquainted with *Cassander*, who hated the memory of *Alex-  
ander*, and was therefore the fitter for her turne.

*Cassander* held fresh in minde the danger wherein his family had bene through *Alex-  
ander* malice, together with the indignities offered to himselfe by *Alexander*, vvhoo  
knocked his head against a wall for deriding one that adored him after the *Persian* man-  
ner. The displeasure hereof, and the pleasure which he tooke in the amorous Queene,  
made him to resolve, both to suppress the linage which he hated, and to maintaine his  
beloued interest, either by supporting her weak husband, or by taking her to be his  
unlawfull wife.

The rest of the Lords held it a thing indifferent who reigned ouer all, so as they might  
reign in their severall Countries, & establish their authority in such wise, that it might  
not be taken from them.

Among these, *Ptolome* and *Antigonus* were well enough already, if their ambition  
had bene suffered them to see it.

*Philip* and *Selenus* lying farre off, and being strong, had some good hope to encroach  
vpon their neighbours. Against these, *Pancestas*, and some others, with much adoe hardly  
maintained, vntill such time as *Eumenes* came to them, who propounded to him  
the same matters, which he liued not to accomplish.

Eccc

Olympias

*Olympia* the old Queene (as it is common with Rep-dames) hated the children of her husband by his other wives. It was thought that she had given poyson to *Atidius*, which failing to take away his life, had much impaired both his body and wits. Now considering, that *Eumenes* was too full of businesse to come home so soone as she wished that he should; and that *Cassander* daily prevailed in *Greece*: thought it the best way to joyne with *Polysperchon*, and set vp, as King, her Nephew *Alexander*, the son of *Roxane*, removing *Aridaus* before *Cassander* were able to defend him. To this intent she procured men among her kindred in *Epirus*, and so took her way towards *Polysperchon*, who ioyning with her, entred into *Macedon*.

*Eurydice* hearing these newes, wrote very earnestly to *Cassander*, praying him to set aside all other businesse, and come to succour her. She her selfe by entreatie, gifts and promises, drew to her partie as many of the *Macedonians* as she could, vntill she thought her owne side strong enough; and then taking her husband with her, went boldly forth against *Olympia*, and the Traitor *Polysperchon*.

These two Queens met armed, as if the matter should haue beene determined by their own hands, which ended without any stroke stricken, by the reuolt of those who followed *Eurydice*. For as soone as the *Macedonians* beheld *Olympia*; calling to minde her former Estate, and the victorious reignes of her husband and sonne, they refused to lift any weapon against her. *Eurydice* finding her selfe thus forsaken, fled towards *Amphipolis*, but was intercepted and made prisoner with her husband.

*Olympia* hauing obtained this victory without blood, thought that all things would succeed as easily, and vpon the same considerations for which they had refused to beare Armes against her, the *Macedonians* would not stick to maintaine her, who for her proceedings were. Hauing therefore shut vp *Aridaus* and his wife in a close roome, where they could scarce turne round, she fed them through a little hole, till after a while it came in her head, (for feare left the people should haue commiseration of him, that had reigned almost sixe yeares and a halfe) to put them to death. So she deliuered *Aridaus* to some barbarous *Thracians*, who tooke away his life by cruell torments: to *Eurydice* she sent a sword, a halter, & a cup of poyson, willing her to choose the instrument of her owne death, who praying that the like presents might one day be sent to *Olympia*, yeeled her necke to the halter, hauing spent her last curses not in vaine. *Nicanor* the brother of *Cassander*, and a hundred the chiefe of his friends, did *Olympia* then choose out, all whom he commanded to be slaine. His brother *Idamus* that was already dead & buried, she accused of poyson giuen to *Alexander*, & thereupon caused his Tombe to be thrown downe, and his bones to be scattered abroad. The *Macedonians* wondering at this furie, began to condemne themselves, and the folly of *Polysperchon*, who had, quite contrarie to *Antipaters* charge giuen on his death-bed, called this outrageous woman to the gouernment of the Empire.

## §. XX.

How *Cassander* was reuenged vpon *Olympia*.

## †. I.

The great expedition of *Cassander*. *Olympia* shuts her selfe into *Pydna*, where *Cassander* besieged her. *Acides* King of *Epirus*, coming to succour *Olympia*, is forsaken, and banished by his owne Subjects.

*Cassander* at that time lay before *Tegea*, in *Peloponnesus*, vvhither when all these ill tidings were brought to him, he neuer failed to take the Citie, nor to giue order for the State of things in that Countrie, (though *Alexander* the sonne of *Polysperchon* were there with an Armie) but compounding with them of *Tegea*, he willed his associates to looke to themselves as well as they could, till his returne; and so in all haste he tooke his journey toward *Macedon*, carried headlong with the greedie desire, of iust reuenge. The *Atolians* had taken the Streets of *Thermopyla*, in fauour of the Queene and *Polysperchon*, so hinder his passage; but he, not willing to mispend any time

in dealing with them, got together as many shippes as he could, great and small, vvhith which he transported his Army into *Thessaly*. There he diuided his companies, appointing some vnder *Callias*, a subtile *Cypreane*, to hold *Polysperchon* busied, who then lay incamped neere to *Perbabis*; with the rest he marched directly against *Olympia*. She, hauing once prevailed by the respect giuen to her dignitie, took more care how to appeare Majestically, than to make her selfe strong. To this end she made a solemne progresse to *Pydna*, a Seetowne, and well fenced, hauing in her companie all the flowre of the Court, especially the great Ladies, among whom was *Roxane*, & her young son *Alexander*, heire to the great *Alexander*, by his grandmothers designation: who, during his minority kept the soveraigne power in her own hands. But all this pompe serued to little vyle, against the violence of the enemy, that soone presented himself before the wals, onely it fed the besieged with a vaine hope of succour, that would from all parts arrive, to rescue persons of their quality. And hereof there soone appeared faire likelihood, which as soone vanished, and went away in smoake.

*Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*, made great haste to bring succour to *Olympia*, his cousen, with whom *Deidamia* his daughter was also shut vp. Neuerthelesse, his Subjects were nothing forward in this expedition; but finding certaine passages taken in the way by *Cassander*'s men, they called vpon him to retire, & quit the enterprise. The Kings importunitie vying them to proceede, and the obstinate refusal of the Armie, brake out at length into such termes, that when he had raged in vaine against the multitude, his authority, vvhich he thought to haue prevailed vpon them, was by them taken from him, and he compelled to forsake his Kingdome, and to wander vp and down in forraine Countreies a banished man, his people ioyning with the enemy, against whom he had led them forth to war.

*Pydna* in the meane time was closed vp streightly, both by Sea and Land, so that neither any could issue out of the Citie, nor any reliefe by conuey into it, but it held out as long as any food was left, no memorable seruice being done there, whilst great actions were managed abroad.

## †. II.

Annihilation of *Olympia* her storie. *Polysperchon* defeated. Extream famine in *Pydna*. *Olympia* yeeldes to *Cassander*.

Now, though order of time require it, that we should rehearse the doings of *Eumenes* & *Antigonus* in this place, leauing *Olympia* yet a while to the houre of her destiny; which growes the faster vpon her, because she may discerne it coming; yet that we may not be compelled to interrupt the course of our narration, by inserting her Tragedie in the midst of things, not manifestly coherent with it; we will here (as elsewhere we haue done, and elsewhere must continue to an end one History, that we may not be therewith distracted, when we shall come to the relation of another. All the hope of the besieged, remaining in *Polysperchon*, was in like manner disappointed, as their former trust had bin, which was reposed in the succours of the *Epirus*. For *Callias*, who was sent against him, found the means to corrupt the greatest part of his Armie with money, leauing him within a little while so slenderly accompanied, that he was fit for no other businesse of warre, than a swift reitrait. When famine had so farre prevailed in the Citie, that the horses were killed as a precious food, many men feeding on the dead carcasses of their fellows, and saw-dust being giuen to the Elephants for prouender; some of the Souldiers obtaining the Queenes leaue, (who could not denie it) others, without asking leaue, yeelded themselves to the enemy, and were by him gently relieued, and sent abroad into the Countrey. The newes of the Queenes affaires, dispersed by these men, did so affright her well-willers, that such as had referred themselves to the euent, came in apace, and submitted them to *Cassander*. At length, when the mortalitie was so great in the Towne, that the liuing were euen poysoned with the noysome sent of the dead; *Olympia* be thought her selfe of stealing away by Sea in a Galley that she had: wherewith her successe was as bad as in the rest. For God had appointed this Towne, by her chosen as a place of refuge, to be vnto her as a house of torment, and a Gaile, out of which she should not be deliuered, but vnto an end death. Being therefore vtterly broken with miseries, which daily afflicted

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her & the other Ladies, vnaccustomed to so wretched a kind of life, she offered compensation & with much labour hardly obtained of *Cassander* (who having seene her Gally out of the Haue, accounted himselfe as good as master of her body) a grant of her owne life. Immediately vpon her apprehension, *Pella*, the chiefe Citie of the kingdom, was yielded to *Cassander*. *Amphilochus* did stand out for *Aresion* (to whom *Olympias* had given charge of such forces as were left abroad in the Countrey, taking courage from the successe of some petty seruices wherein he had preuailed) began to prouoke himselfe great vnlikelihoods. But *Olympias*, to win *Cassanders* fauour, very earnestly required him vpon his faith to her, that he should giue it vp. He did so, and presently after was killed by his priuate enemies, that were set on by *Cassander*, vvhich partly hated him vpon old respects, partly doubted him, as a man likely to seeke inuourment.

Book I.  
The death of *Olympias*, and her conditions.

**W**hen *Olympias* had now heard sorrowfull tidings of all her friends, she herselfe was called into question, & accused in an assembly of the *Macedonians*, for the murders (they were so stiled in her affliction, which in times of prosperitie she called iustice) by her committed. There was she (being not heard, nor called to speake) condemned to die. The suite was commenced and prosecuted against her, by the kindred of those whom she had slaine. But it was at *Cassanders* instigation, who to hasten the execution sent her word, that he would furnish her with ship, & other necessities, to saue her selfe by flight: which when she refused, saying, that she would plead for her selfe, & tel her own tale, she dissembled no longer, but sent vnto her such men as hated her most, who tooke away her miserable life. She was daughter, and sister vnto two kings of *Epirus*, vvhich, & mother, vnto two of the mightiest kings, of that, or many other ages; a stout Lady, and of vnreprocheable chastitie; but her ambition vvas boundlesse, her hatred vnappeasable, and her furie in reuenge, most vnwomanly. Her peruerse conditions made her husband seeke other vviues and Concubines, vvhich caused her to hate both him, and them. She vvas thought priueto her husbands death; after vvhich, very cruelly she slew his late wife *Cleopatra*, having first murdered one of her two children in her armes, and with a beastly fury broiled the other alic in fire, in a copper bason. For these things, her sonne *Alexander* (otherwise louing her vvell) forbade herto meddle in the gouernment of *Macedon*. But God more seuerely vnto cruell Tyrants, than only to hinder them of their vviils, permitted her to liue and fulfill therest of her wickednesse, (vvhich vvas his iustice vpon the adulteries of *Philip*, and the oppression done by him and others;) after all vvhich, He rewarded her malice, by returning it vpon her owne head.

Book II.  
The death of *Olympias*, and her conditions.

*Cassander* celebrates the funerall of *Aridæus* and *Eurydice*; and seekes to make himselfe King of *Macedon*.

**A**fter her death, *Cassander* gaue honourable buriall to *Aridæus* and *Eurydice*, among their Progenitors, Kings of *Macedon*. And looking further into his own possibilities of greatnesse, he married the Lady *Thessalonica*, whom he had taken at *Pella*, being the daughter of King *Philip*, by another of his viues; that by her he might haue some title to the Crowne. For the same end he committed *Roxane*, and her young son to a close prison, removing thereby some part of his impediment. And, the better to encrease his fame, and purchase loue, built a Citie, called by his own name *Cassandria*, that soone grew to be very great and powerfull. He re-edified likewise *Thebes* in *Greece*, and restored it vnto the old inhabitants, after it had laine twenty yeares waste, being utterly razed by *Alexander*. By these meanes, especially by the restauration of *Thebes*, wherunto all *Greeks* voluntarily contributed, he grew so strong, that few remained enemies vnto him; and they, with much labour, hardly could resist him. Leaving him therefore daily preuailling in *Greece*, we will returne to them, who contended in *Asia*, for lesse titles, but larger Prouinces, with greater forces.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.  
Of the great Lordship which *Antigonus* got in *Asia*.

Book I.  
The death of *Olympias*, and her conditions.

*Eumenes* of *Caria* into *Persea*; His wife dealing with those that ioynd with him.

*Eumenes*, having ioynd vnto his company the *Argyraspidæ*, made haste into the Easterne parts, to take possession of those Countreies, according to his commissions, and strengthen himselfe against *Antigonus*. He tooke his journey, through *Calasyria* and *Phoenicia*, hoping to reclaim those Prouinces, vsurped with the rest of *Syria* (as hath bene shewed) by *Ptolomie*, to the Kings obedience. But to effect this, his haste of his passing forward was too great, his Armie too little, and the readinesse of the people, to returne to their due obedience, none at all. Besides all which impediments, one inconuenience troubled him in all his proceedings, making them the lesse effectuall. The Captaines of the *Argyraspidæ* were so froward, that they scorned to repaire to him, and take the oaths; and their fidelity was so vnsteady, that he might more easily haue dealt with open traitors. It was not expedient, that he, being Generall, should weaken his authority by courting them; neither lay it in his power to keepe them in order by punishment. Therefore he faulced, that *Alexander* had appointed vnto him a dream, a place for their meeting, namely, in a rich paulion, wherein an emptie throne vvas placed, as if *Alexander* himselfe had bene present at their consultations. Thus he humbled himselfe from their vaine pride; but of their faith he could haue no assurance. Yet when *Ptolomie* requested them, and *Antigonus* bribed them to forsake him, they departed (though not without considering of the matter) to take his part. So he continued, sending before him the Kings vvarrant; vvhich *Pylbo* and *Seleucus* refused to obey; not as reiecting the kings authority, but excepting the person of *Eumenes*, as being condemned to die by the *Macedonian* Armie, for the death of *Craterus*. *Eumenes* knowing well that he was not to rely vpon their assistance, vvhich stood otherwise affected than his affaires required, and vvere not to bee dealt vwith by persuasion, sought passage by strong hand, through the Countrey of *Babylon*, in such wise that *Seleucus*, having in vaine assailed to hinder him, by opening the flues of *Euphrates*, vvas glad at length to grant him friendly way, as desirous to be rid of him. Thus he came to *Pencester* and the rest of the Easterne Lords, vvhich were glad of his coming, because of the differences betwene *Pylbo*, *Seleucus*, and themselves. Yet the contention about superiority, grew very hot among them, euery one finding matter enough to feede his owne humour of selfe-worthinesse. But the former deuice of assembling in one paulion, made all quiet; the conclusion euer being sure to follow that vvhich *Eumenes* propounded, vvhich vvas both vvisest in giuing aduice, and best able to reward, by meanes of the authoritie giuen him, to take what he pleased of the Kings treasures. By these meanes he won to himselfe many of those, who had most power to doe good or harme.

Book II.  
The death of *Olympias*, and her conditions.

*Antigonus*, comming to set vpon *Eumenes*, was driuen off with lesse.

*Antigonus*, hearing that *Eumenes* lay in the Prouince of *Susa*, had an earnest desire to follow him, and driue him further from the Kings treasures, which were kept there. To vvhich end, as soone as he had made himselfe strong enough, he marched out of *Mesopotamia*, where he had wintered, and taking to him *Pylbo* and *Seleucus*, with their men, he marched directly against the enemies, with intent to take *Bartell*. *Eumenes* had fortified the Citie of *Susa*, & was retired back toward *Persea*, keeping

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keeping the River of *Tygrus* between him and his pursuers. The passages of the River were well guarded, and good espial kept vpon *Antigonus*, to obserue which way he took. Before he came to *Tygrus* it selfe, he was to passe ouer *Coprates*, a great River, and not foordable, which he sought to doe by small vessels, whereof he had no great store. A great part of his Armie had gotten ouer, when *Eumenes*, who kept a bridge vpon *Tygrus*, came with a thousand horse, and foure thousand foot, to see their demeanour: and finding them out of order, charged them, brake them, and draue them headlong backe into *Coprates*, wherein most of them were drowned; very few escaping with life, except foure thousand that yielded themselves prisoners, in sight of *Antigonus*, to that was notable to relieue them. This losse made *Antigonus* glad to fall off, and the hate of that Countrey in the dog dayes, breeding diseases in his Armie, by which many perished, caused him to remoue as farre as into *Media*. So he tooke *Pythion* with him, (leaving *Seleucus* to besiege the Castle of *Susa*) and seeking to goe the neerer way, passed through savage Nations, that continually vexing him with skirmishes, slew great numbers of his men, before he could arrive in *Media*, vvith his troups that were quite heart-broken.

## S. III.

Of *Eumenes* his cunning. A battaile betwene him and *Antigonus*.

**A**fter his departure, *Eumenes* with his associates fell into consultation, about the remainder of their businesse. Faine he would haue had them to enter vpon those Prouinces, which *Antigonus* had left behinde him, to which all the Capitaines of the *Argyraspides* or *Siluer-shields* were very inclinable, as desiring to draw neerer to *Greece*. But *Pencestes*, and the rest, whose dominions lay in the high Countreys, had more care of their owne particular Estates, and would needs march Eastvvard. These carried it, for the Armie was not strong enough to diuide it selfe into parts.

When they came into *Persia*, *Pencestes*, ruling there, feasted them royally, and sought by all meanes to win the Souldiers loue to himselfe. *Eumenes* perceiuing wherunto those doings tended, suited him a while to keep good cheare, till the time of war drew neere. Then did he faine an Epistle, directed, as from *Orontes* Gouvernor of *Armenia*, to *Pencestes* himselfe: The purport whereof was, that *Olympius*, had vanquished *Cassander*, & sent ouer a great Armie vnder *Polyperchon*, to ioyne with *Eumenes*. These newes, as they filled the Campe with vaine ioy, so they wrought in all mens mindes a great willingness to obey *Eumenes*, by vvhom was the likeliest apparence of their preferment; wherein they dealt wisely, he being farre the most sufficient Commander, as they found soone after. For when *Antigonus*, coming out of *Media*, drew neere vnto them, *Eumenes* by some mischance was fallen sicke, and faine to be carried in a Litter; the Armie marched in vvry bad array, and was likely to haue bene forced to take battaile in that disorder. But *Eumenes*, when the rest of the Capitaines were amazed, was carried about the Armie in his Litter, and vpon the sodaine did cast his men into so good forme, that *Antigonus*, perceiuing him a far off, could not refrain from giuing him deserued commendations. Yet he did not cease to promise great rewards to the Capitaines, and all sorts of men, if they would forsake *Eumenes*; which hopes deceiuing him, he came to the triall of a battaile. *Eumenes* had more Elephants than *Antigonus*; otherwise, he was inferiour in number both of horse and foote by a third part. The battaile vvvas fought vvith variable success, and great losse on both sides, continuing a great part of the day, and of the night following. Yet the victory was vncertaine. For *Eumenes* could not force his men to lye farre from their carriages: by which meanes *Antigonus* (who had a more absolute command ouer his incamping on the ground wheron they fought, had in his power the dead bodies; vvvhich was accounted the signe of victorie; for he buried his owne, and gaue leale to his enemies craving it, to doe the like. But a greater signe of victory had *Eumenes*. For he abode still in the same place, and not onely buried his men very honourably, at great leisure, but held the Countrey round about; whereas *Antigonus* vvvas glad (having carried but one day) to steal away by night, and returne into *Media*, from whence he came.

## S. IV.

Of diuers stratagems practised by *Antigonus*, and *Eumenes*, one against the other.

**T**hus did the Warre continue doubtfull, and was protracted to a greater length, each part hauing stout Souldiers, and skilfull Generals; but the side which had hitherto preuailed, being hindered by the equall authoritie of many, from pursuing all aduantages to the best. *Antigonus* grew daily weaker, in men and reputation, so that to repaire himselfe he could finde no way safer, than to put all to aduenture. He knew that his enemies lay in their wintering places, quartered far asunder, so that if hee could suddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great distresse. Between him & them, the way was not long, being only nine daies iourney, but very bad, through a rough drie wilderness, hardly passable. Another way, fairer, and leading through a Countrey well peopled, but requiring 35 daies iourney, he forooke, partly for the length, partly, and chiefly, because he would come vndiscovered. So therfore taking his iourney to the dead of winter, he forbade vnto his men the vse of fire by night, because he would not haue them descried a farre off. This commandement had been well obserued foure or five daies, when continuance of time (as commonly breeding negligence, & the cold weather pinching them, they were bold to cherish themselves, being neere to their waics) and the light of these fires gaue notice of their coming, which being reported to *Pencestes*, and other Capitaines, they were so astonished with the sudden danger, that in all haste they betooke themselves to flight. But *Eumenes*, meeting with the newes, began to hearken his affrighted companions, promising to make *Antigonus* march leisuely, and willing them to abide, and draw vp their men together. They could scarce beleue him; yet they were content to be ruled, and did as he appointed, who failed not in making his word good. He tooke with him some companies of the readiest men, wherewith he occupied certaine tops of mountaines, looking toward the Campe of *Antigonus*: there hee chose a conuenient ground to incampe vpon, and made great store of fires in sundry places, as if the whole Armie had bene present. This was a forrowfull spectacle to *Antigonus*, who thought himselfe preuented of his purpose, and began to feare lest he should be compelled to fight, whilst his men were tyred with a long and painful iourney. Therfore he resolved to turne aside, and take the way to such places, as might better serue to refresh his Armie. This he did with great care and circumspection, at the first, as knowing how ready *Eumenes* would be vpon all aduantages. But after a while, considering that no enemy stirred about him, he began to pause, and think in himselfe, that somewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the matter, he caused some inhabitants of that desert to bee taken, and brought before him; of whom he learned, that they had seene no other Armie than his thereabout, but onely a few men that kept fires on the hill-tops. It vexed him exceedingly to finde that hee had been so deluded. Therefore hee went against these troups with great fury, meaning to take sharpe vengeance on them, for hauing so deceiued him. But by this time, sufficient strength was arrived there, which could not be forced without much businesse, and long stay. All the Armie was come, saue onely *Endamur*, Capitaine of the Elephants, whose beasts those beasts, had no more than foure hundred horsemen in his company. *Antigonus* hearing of this supply coming to his enemies, sent about two thousand horse, and all his light-armed footmen, to cut it off by the way. *Endamur* being fallen into this danger, was faine to place his Elephants round about his carriages, & so to defend himself as well as he could; for his horsemen, ouerlaid with multitudes, were quickly broken, and driuen to run away vpon the spur. Neither knew they, vvho fate vpon the Elephants, which vvay to turne them; for on all sides they receiued vvwounds, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremitie there appeared braue troups of horse and foot, that came v unexpected to the rescue; and charging the assailants vpon the backe, draue them to seeke their owne safety by speedy flight. These were sent by *Eumenes*, who though he knew not what his aduersarie meant to doe, yet he knew very well what was fittest for him to doe: and therefore, playing both games himselfe, prouided the remedie.

S. V.

*The conspiracie of Peucestes and others, against Eumenes his life.*

**B**Y these meanes *Eumenes* wanne great honour, and was by the whole Armie acknowledged a most expert Generall, and well worthy of the chiefe command. But *Peucestes*, and the other Capitaines, guilty of their owne much insufficiency, were so transported with enuie, that they could no longer containe their vile thoughts, but held communication, as vpon a necessary point, how they might finde meanes to murder him.

Surely, it is great iniustice to impute the mischiefe contriued against worthy men, to their own proud carriage, or some other ill deservings: For, though it often happen, that small vices do serue to counterpoise great vertues; (the sense of euill being more quick and lasting than of good) yet he shall betray a very foolish malice, that, wanting other testimonie, will thinke it a part of wisdom, to finde good reason of the euills, done to vertuous men, which oftentimes haue no other cause than vertue it selfe. *Eumenes*, among many excellent qualities, was noted to be of singular courtesie, of a very sweet conversation amongst his friends, and careful by all gentle meanes to winne their loue, that seemed to beare him any secret ill affection. It was his mettie vertue that ouerthrew him, which euen they that sought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that he should not be slaine, before the battaile were fought with *Antigonus*, wherein they confessed that it stood best with their safety, to be gouerned by his direction. Of this treason he was quickly aduertised by *Eudamus*, to whom he had done many pleasures, and by some others of whom he vsed to borrow money when he needed not, to the end that they should be carefull of his good, for feare of losing their owne. Considering therefore, and discoursing with himselfe of the villany intended against him, he made his last Will, and burnt all his Writings that contained any matter of secret: which done, he reuolued many things in his minde, being doubtfull what course he were best to follow. All the Nobles of the Empire stood ill affected to the Royall bloud, excepting those which were with him, that were more in number than in worth. How things at that time stood in *Macedon* and *Greece*, either he knew not, or, knowing the truth, knew nothing that might encourage him to seeke their helpe, that needed his. To make his owne peace with *Antigonus*, had bene against his faith to *Olympias*, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cause also it may be thought, that he forbore either to lose the battaile willingly, or to flee into *Cappadocia*, and make shift for himselfe among his old friends. At length he resolved to do his best against the common enemy, and afterwards to looke to himselfe as well as he might.

§. V. I.

*The last battaile betweene Antigonus and Eumenes.*

**T**HE Souldiers, especially those old bands of the *Siluer-shields*, finding *Eumenes* perplexed, and not knowing the cause, entreated him not to doubt of the victory, but onely to bring them into the field, and set them in array; for the rest, they alone would take sufficient order. The like alacrity was generally found in the common Souldiers faces; but the chiefe Commanders were so mischieuouly bent against him, that they could not endure to thinke of beeing beholding to him for the victory. Yet he ordered the battaile so well, that, without their owne great fault, they could hardly faile of getting the vpper hand.

Before the Armies came to ioyning, a horse-man from the side of *Eumenes*, proclaimed with a loud voice vnto the followers of *Antigonus*, That their wickednes in fighting against their own Fathers, would now be punished, as it well deserved. This was not spoken in vaine. For the *Siluer-shields* were men of threescore or seventy yeeres old, and strengthened more by continuall exercise than decayed by age, and excelling in courage, as hauing passed through greater dangers, than any like to be presented in that fight. Therefore *Antigonus* his men (who had often bene beaten by them, and were now to trie their last hope with these resolute warriors, the most Ancient and best regarded of all *Alexanders* Souldiers) grew very peniue, and advanced

heavily, suspecting their owne cause; and fearing that the threatening uttered would prove true.

*Antigonus* was now againe farre the stronger in horse, which gaue him cause of great hope, the ground, on which they were to fight, being a plaine levelled field. Placing therefore himselfe and his son *Demetrius* in the right wing, and committing the left wing to *Philip*, he did set forward courageously against the Enemies, that were ready to meet him in that point.

*Eumenes* took vnto him *Peucestes*, with the rest of the Lords, and stood in the left wing of his battaile, in the face of *Antigonus*, meaning both to prevent the Traitors, his Companions, of all meanes to make head against him on the sudden; and (withall) to giue proofe of his owne valour, which perhaps he should no more doe, in the face of all his Enemies. In the right wing, opposite vnto *Philip*, he bestowed the weakest of his Horse and Elephants, vnder one *Philip*, an honest man, and (which was enough at such a time) obedient; commanding him to protract the fight, and make a reasonable retreat, exposing the euent of the other side.

So they ioyned very fiercely, *Antigonus*, labouring to make himselfe master of all; *Eumenes*, to dye an honourable death, or to win such a victory vpon his open enemies, as might giue him leisure and opportunity to deal with his false friends.

The followers of *Antigonus*, being euen in their owne opinions, far inferior to those whom they must encounter, were at the first brunt presently defeated by the *Siluer-shields*, who slew aboue five thousand of them, losing of their owne not one man. But in Horse, *Eumenes* was so ouer-matched, that he could not repell *Antigonus*, who pressed him very hard, but was faine to stand wholly vpon defence. Yet his courage wrought so well by example, among his followers, that the Enemy could not win one foot of ground vpon him, vntill such time as *Peucestes*, with one thousand five hundred Horse, withdrew himselfe out of the battell, leaving his companions fighting to defend his backe.

Then did *Eumenes* desperately rush amongst his Enemies, labouring to break open the way vnto *Antigonus* himselfe. And though he failed of his purpose, yet with great slaughter he did beat vpon them which came in his way, that the victory hung a long time in suspence, vncertaine which way to incline.

The ground whereon they fought, being of a slight sandie mould, through the trampling of horses, men, and Elephants, did cast vp such a cloud of dust, as hindred the prospect, so that no man could see what was done a little from him. *Antigonus* finding this advantage, dispatched away some companies of horse, that passed vndiscovered beyond *Eumenes* his battailes, and came to his carriages, which lay about halfe a mile from the place of fight, slenderly guarded, (for that the whole body of the Army lay betweene them and danger) and therefore easily taken. Had *Peucestes* retired himselfe no further than vnto the carriages, he might not only haue defended them, but peradventure haue surprised those which came to surpise them, and so haue done as good a piece of seruice as a better man. But he vvas gotten somewhat further, to a place, where out of danger he might expect the euent: and *Eumenes* was so ouer-laboured both in body and minde that he could not possibly giue an eye to euery place, being not well able to continue where he vvas.

It happened so, that the Elephants meeting together, those of *Antigonus* had the better hand, whereupon *Eumenes*, finding himselfe euery way ouer-charged, beganne to giue backe, and withdrew himselfe and his companies in good order, to the other side of the battaile, where *Philip* (as he was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from losse. The *Antigonians* had felt so much of *Eumenes* that day, that they were well content to let him depart quietly, and wished not to see him come againe, as faine he would haue done.

The losse of the carriages was reported vnto him, as soon as he had any leisure to heare how things went: whereupon he presently ordered his men for a fresh charge, and sent for *Peucestes* that vvas not far off, requesting him to bring in his men, and renew the fight, whereby he trusted, not only to recouer their owne goods, but to enrich themselves with the spoiles of the enemies. *Peucestes* not onely refused to ioine with him, but immediately withdrew himselfe into a safer place, vvhether he might be further from such dangerous temptations.

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By this, the night grew on; and both Armies, wearied with fighting, were desirous to returne into their Campes. Yet *Antigonus* conceiued hope of doing somewhat more; & therefore taking halfe his horsemen, he waited vpon *Eumenes* a part of his way home-wards, but found no opportunity to offend him; the other halfe he committed to *Pytho*, willing him to set vpon the *Siluer-shields* in their reit, which yet he forbore to do, because it appeared too full of danger. So the battaile ended, wherein *Antigonus* had not so much the better in horse, as the worse in foot: but the spoyle which he got, by surprizing his enemies carriages, made amends for all his other losses.

## §. V I I.

*How Eumenes was betrayed to Antigonus, and slaine.*

*Eumenes*, comming into his Campe, and finding the *Siluer-shields* extremely discontented with their misfortune, began to cheere them vp, and put them in hope of recouering all with aduantage. For their braue demeanour that day had so cruell'd the enemy, that he had no power left, wherewith to abide them in open field, and was much lesse able to draw their Carts after him, through that great wilderness, ouer the high mountains.

But these persuasions auailed nothing. *Peucestes* was gone; the other Captaines would needes returne into the high Countries; and the Souldiers had no desire either to flee or to fight, but onely to recouer their goods. Wherefore *Tenatimus*, one of the two Captaines of the *Siluer-shields*, (who had in former times readily consented vnto traitorous motions, in hope of gaine, but was letted by his partner *Antigenes*) finding, as hee thought, a fit occasion of making himselfe great, and winning the loue of those bands, dealt secretly with *Antigonus*, requesting him to restore vnto those old Souldiers their goods, which hee had taken, being the onely reward of their seruices, in the warre of *Philip* and *Alexander*.

*Antigonus*, as a subtle man, knew very well, that they which requested more than they had reason to expect, would also with little entreatie, performe a great deale more than they promised; and therefore he louingly entertained the messengers, filling them with hopes of farre greater matter than they desired, if they would put *Eumenes* into his hands, by whom they were seduced to make warre against him. This answer pleased them so well, that they forthwith deuised how to deliuer him aliué. Wherefore comming about him, as at other times, to doe their dutie, and pretending more ioy of their victorie, than sorrow of their losse, which they said they would redeeme by another fight; in the midst of this goodly talke, they leapt vpon him, caught hold of his sword, & bound him fast. So they haled him away; and stopping their eares against all persuasions, would not yeeld so far, as to loosen one of his hands and let him kill himselfe, but brought him aliué (that was their own Generall, vnder whom they had obtained many victories) as it had been in triumph, into the Campe of their enemies.

The presse of men, running out of the Campe to see him, was so great, that *Antigonus* was faine to send a guard of horsemen and Elephants, to keep him from being smothered; whom he could not suddenly resolute, either to kill or saue. Very few they were that sued for his life; but of these, *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus* was one; the rest were desirous to be rid of him quickly; thinking belike, that if he were saued, he would soone be the chiefe in reputation, for his great abilitie. So after long deliberation, *Antigonus* concluded, that it was the safest way, to put him to death; which intending to haue done by famine (perhaps because he would keepe it a while in his owne power, to reuerse the sentence, as desiring, if it might be, to haue him liue his friend) haste of other businesse made him do it by the sword.

To this end came all the traualles of that worthy Generall *Eumenes*; who had with great wisdom, fidelity, & patience laboured in vaine, to vphold the family which God had purposed to cast down. Hee is reckoned among the notable examples of Fortunes mutabilitie; but more notable was his government of himselfe, in all her changes. Aduersitie neuer lessened his courage, nor Prosperitie his circumspection. But all his vertues, industrie, and wit, were cast away, in leading an Army, without full power, to keepe it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill answered, by *Caspar de Colignie*, Admirall of France in our daies, to one that foretold his death, which ensued soon after in the mis-

factre of Paris; That rather than to leade againe an Armie of Voluntaries, he would die at thousand times.

*Antigonus* himselfe gave to the body of *Eumenes* honourable Funerall; and rewarded the Treason, wrought against him, with deserved vengeance. One chiefe Captaine of the *Siluer-shields* he burnt aliué; many of the other Captaines he slew; and to the whole multitude of the *Siluer-shields*, that had betrayed so worthy a Commander, he appointed a Leader that should carry them into farre Countries; vnder pretence of vvarres; but with a priuie charge, to consume them all, as periured wretches, letting none of them returne aliué into his friends and kindred, or to much as once behold the Seas that beate vpon the shoies of Greece and Macedonia.

## §. V I I I.

*How Antigonus slew Python, and occupied Media. How he remoued Governours of Prouinces, and made himselfe Lord of Persia, carrying away Peucestes.*

The two Armies being ioyned thus in one, were carried into Media, where they spent the rest of the Winter; the common Souldier idly; the principall men intently bent vnto the businesse ensuing. *Python* began to consider his owne desertings; for that the whole warre had beene chiefly maintained by the strength and riches of his Prouince. Besides, he thought himselfe as good a man as *Antigonus*, vnlesse it were in the Souldiers opinion, which he iudged easie to be purchased with gifts, and therefore spared not to assay them with great liberality. But in following this course, he was driuen by necessitie to trust many, of whom he stumbled vpon some, that were vnsecret; and others, bearing him no sincere affection. Thus was his purpose discouraged by *Antigonus*, who (nothing like to *Python*) dissembled his indignation, and rebuked the informers, as breeders of dissension betwene him and his honourable friend, vnto whom he meant to commit the Government of all those Countries: his owne businesse calling him into the lower Asia. These reports, comming daily to his eares, did finely delude *Python*. By his greatnesse with *Alexander*; his authority in that Prouince where they lay, whereof he was Governour; and the loue of the Souldiers which he had bought with money; he was strong enough to maintaine, even an offensive warre. But what need had he to vse the sword, when he was likely without contention, to obtaine more than his owne asking? Therefore he came as soone as he was sent for, to take his farewell of *Antigonus*, and to diuide the Prouinces with him, that meant nothing lesse than to yeeld to any such diuision. As soone as he came, he was taken, and accused, condemned to die, and slaine out of hand. For *Antigonus*, hauing begun with *Eumenes* his ancient friend, was not afterward restrained by any consideration of old acquaintance, from cutting downe indifferently all that stood in his way; but swamme carelessly through the blood, wherein at the first he doubtfully waded.

When this businesse was ended, he appointed a new Governour in Media, to order the Prouince, and a Captaine, to suppress all commotions; thinking belike, that the power and authoritie, so diuided, would hardly agree in one against him, from whom both were deriued.

After this he marched into Persia, where he was entertained, as absolute Lord of Asia. There began he to shew how well he vnderstood his owne mightinesse. For he placed and displaced at his owne pleasure, Governours in all Prouinces, leauing none in Office, that were not his own creatures, exception such as lay too farre off to be dislodged easily.

*Peucestes*, who ruled in Persia, thought with good cheere to redeeme old offences, but was deceived, hauing to doe with one that could not be taken with such baits: he was carried away, and feasted with goodly words of promise, that neuer after tooke effect. Thus he, that enuid the vertue of his friend, was driuen to flatter (in vaine) the fortune of his enemy, after which he led a most contemptible life, till he died obscurely and forgotten.

## S. IX.

*How Seleucus was chased out of Babylon by Antigonus. The great riches of Antigonus.*

**S**eleucus was the next in this visitation; one that had from time to time continued in the same tenor of good will to *Antigonus*, and now gave proofe of his hearty affection toward him, by making the Captaine of the Castle of *Susa* to meete him on the way, rendering vnto him that strong Peace, and all the treasures therein beflowed. This offer was so great, that *Antigonus* (though hauing in his hands the Keeper of the place) could hardly beleue it; but vied him with excellent kindnesse, for feare so good a mood should change. In that Castle he found all the treasures of *Alexander*, with the Jewels of the *Persian* Kings, which added to his former store of money, made vp 25 thousand talents. Hauing all this, he might well account himselfe a happy man; if riches were sufficient to happinesse. But large dominion was the marke at which he aimed; therefore he proceeded, with intent to leaue no Countrey behinde his backe; that should not acknowledge him for Soueraigne Lord. Comming to *Babylon*, he was entertained by *Seleucus* with all possible demonstration of loue, and honoured with presents, becomming the Maistie of a king. All this he accepted with great grauitie, as being due to him; and began to require an account of the revenues of that Prouince. This demand *Seleucus* held vnreasonable, saying, That it was not needfull for him to render vnto any man an account of that Prouince, which was giuen vnto him, in respect of his many good seruices to the State. But whether he spake reason or no, it sufficed, that *Antigonus* was powerful, who vrged him daily to come to a reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither want of money, nor any other necessity, moued *Antigonus* to presse him thus, but only the desire to picke matter of quarrell against him, whereof it was likely that he should finde such issue, as *Pytho* and *Peucestes* had done. Therefore, taking with him onely fifty horse, he conueied himselfe away, and fled into *Ptolomies* Dominions; desiring him to protect him from such a man as went about to oppress all, that in former times had bene his betters, or at least his equals. *Antigonus* was glad of his flight, for now all those Countreies were yeelded vnto him without battaile, whereas to fight with *Seleucus* for them, he so wanted all pretence; and to kill him it was not his desire, hauing receiued many benefits of him, and those not intermixed, as commonly it happens, with any iniuries. Yet it is reported, that the *Chaldeans* brought a strange Prophecie to *Antigonus*, bidding him look well to himselfe, and know, that if *Seleucus* did escape his hands, he should recouer *Babylon*, yea, winne all *Asia*, and kill *Antigonus* in battaile. Easie beleeuers may giue credit to this tale. Had it bene true, me thinkes, *Antigonus* rather should haue hinged those *Chaldeans*, for giuing him no warning till it was too late, than sent pursuers; as they say that he did after him, whom the destinies preferred for so great purposes. When he had settled things at *Babylon*, he tooke his iourne into *Cilicia*, where he wintered. There he took vp ten thousand talents more of the kings treasures, and casting his accounts, found 40 his yearly income to amount vnto eleuen thousand Talents.

## CHAP. V.

*Of the great Warre betweene ALEXANDERS Captaines:  
and how they assumed the name and state of Kings.*

## S. I.

*The combination of Ptolomie, Cassander, and others against Antigonus. Their demands and his answer.*

**H**is great riches, and the rest of his power, made *Antigonus* dreaded, equied, and suspected, whereby he quickly was embarked in a new Warre. *Ptolomie*, *Cassander*, and *Lysimachus*, had priuily combined themselves together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reason than of his owne accord he seemed like to yeeld vnto. Of their practices he had some notice; the

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good government not giuen vnto *Seleucus*, giuing him sufficient cause of mistrust. Therefore he sent Embassadors to them severally, exhorting them to continue firme in their loue toward him, that would be ready to requite them with the like. If he cold answers which they made, occasioned his hasty preparation against the host forward of them; which was *Ptolomie*, it being likely that a good army should preuaile more than a faire shalpage. Therefore, as soone as the season of the yeare would permit, he tooke the way toward *Syria*; and was encountered by *Elutabasse* from them all. There he told him, that their hands did much reioyce at his victory, obtained against *Eumenes* their common enemy, and the honour that he had thereby gotten. In which warre, forasmuch as they being his Confederates; must haue endured great losse, with hazzard of their whole Estates, if the contrary faction had preuailed; they held it very iust, that all should be partakers in the fruits of that Voyage, wherein they had bene all adducturers. Wherefore they desired him, that making between them all an equall diuision of the treasures that were in his hands, a thing easie to be done, he would also take some conuenient order for enlarging their Dominions, according to the rate of his new purchases. This might best be to eueryones liking, if he would make ouer *Cappadocia*, with *Lycia*, to *Cassander*; & *Phrygia*, bordering vpon the *Hellepont*, to *Lysimachus*; for whereas his own Dominions were so much extended Eastward by his late victory, he might well spare some of those western Prouinces, to those that were seated in the West. As for *Ptolomie*, he would not craue any new addition, but rest contented within his own Territories. Provided alwaies, that soeuer their common friend, and partner in the late warre, might be restored to his owne, out of which he had bene diuised (unintriouly); that all of them were forced to take it deeply to heart; requiring amends, with his friendly consent vnto their demands, which otherwise they must labour to obtaine with armed hands.

*Antigonus* knew, that after many losses receiued, he should yet be able to redeeme peace whensoever he listed, with these, or perhaps with easier conditions. Neither was he so weak, to giue away quietly any part of his strength into the hands of such bad friends, for feare only, lest it should be taken from him perforce. Rather he hoped that he should be able to finde them worse, more than enough to defend their owne. Therefore he routinely answered the Embassadors, that it was no part of his meaning to communicate with other men the profit of that victory, which he alone without other mens helpe had obtained. Though indeed they had already sufficiently gained by him, if they could see it, hauing by his means kept their governments, whereof they were like to be dispossessed by *Polyperchon*; and the coucell of estate in *Macedon*. But what maruell was it, if they considered not how he had saued them, seeing one of them had forgotten the time when comming to him as a fugitive, and begging succour, he was by his meere bounty relieved, and enabled to get all that he now held? *Cassander* did not (said he) in those daies command me to surrender Prouinces, and giue him his equall share of my treasures; but (for his Fathers sake) desired me to pity him, and helpe him against his enemies; which I did; by lending him an Army, and Fleet, on confidence whereof he now presumes to threaten me. As for *Seleucus*, how can he complain of wrong, that durst not stay to plead his right? I did vse him well, but his conscience told him that he had deserved ill: else he would not haue fled. Let them that so curiously search into my doings, consider well their owne, which some of them can hardly iustifie. I am now in the way to *Syria*, meaning to examine *Ptolomies* proceedings, and after him to deale with others, if they continue to prouoke me.

## S. II.

*The preparation and beginnings of the warres.*

**W**hen the Embassadors were dismissed with this answer, nothing was thought vpon but Warre. *Antigonus* perceiving that he should be invaded from Europe, as soone as hee was entred into *Syria*, left his Nephew *Ptolomie* to guard the *Sea-coasts*, & hinder *Cassander* from landing in *Asia*; giuing him also in charge, to driue out of *Cappadocia* some that were already sent out to molest him. Likewise he dispatched Messengers into *Greece* & *Cyprus*; not vnprovided of money; to draw friends to his side, & raise vp troubles to his enemies. Especially he laboured to make himselfe the strongest

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strongest by Sea, to which purpose he rather *hated*, than *forebore* his journey into Syria, that he might get possession of Mount Libanus, which afforded many excellent commodities for building of a Naue. Therefore, having erected Beacons, and laid post-horses throughout all Asia, to give swift advertisement of all occurrences, he invaded Syria, that was not held against him by any power sufficient to maintain the field.

*Ptolomy* lay in Egypt, the strength and heart of his Dominion; where he was belov'd and honoured of the people as their naturall Lord; his other Prouinces he kept with a few Garrisons, better serving to containe the people within obedience, than to confront a forraigne enemy. So *Antigonus* took many Cities, and Places, of that Country, and began to set great numbers of Artificers on worke in making ships, which was one of his most earnest cares. In these businesses he consumed a year and three months, not idly. For he took Ioppe, and Gaza, which were yeelded vnto his discretion, and well ved. The strong city of Tyrus held out long, but was compell'd in the end by famine, to render it selfe vpon composition, that *Ptolomies* Souldiers might depart with their Armes, which was permitted.

*Ptolomy* was not asleepe, whilest these things were in doing, though he kept himselfe within the bounds of Egypt, as indeed it behoued him to do. His forces were notable to stand against *Antigonus* in plaine field, but likely they were to increase, which made him willing to protract the time. Neuertheless by Sea (where his enemy was as yet ready) he sent his Fleet into all quarters, whereof *Seleucus* had the chiefe command.

*Seleucus* passed with an hundred saile along the coast of Syria, in the full view of *Antigonus*, and his Army, to their no little discomfort. He landed in Cyprus, which was then gouerned by many petty Lords; of whom the greatest adhered to *Ptolomy*; the rest were by the Factors of *Antigonus*, bought for him with gold, but now redeemed by the Egyptian with sharp Steele.

The same commodity of aide by Sea encouraged the President of Caria (called also *Cassander*, but not the son of *Antipater*, howsoeuer by the painfull and learned writer *Reimerus Reineccius*, he is by some oversight, counted for the same) to declare for *Ptolomy* and his Confederates, and busily imploy in their quarrell all his forces, which he had hitherto kept in good neutrality, and thereby enjoyed rest; but now he threw himselfe into dangerous warre, choosing rather to vndergoe trouble at hand, than to fall vnder certaine ruine, though somewhat further distant, which would haue ouerwhelmed him, if *Antigonus* had beaten all the rest.

## S. III.

How each party fought to winne the assistance of Greece. *Antigonus* his declaration against *Cassander*, *Alexander* the sonne of *Polyperchon* reculeth from *Antigonus* which set him vp.

IN the meane season all care possible was taken on both sides, to assure vnto them the people of Greece, whose aide, which way soeuer it inclined, was of great importance. Herein at the first, *Antigonus* sped so well by large effusion of his treasure, that he drew to him the Lacedaemonians, and other Peloponnesians, of whom hee waged eight thousand, & caused *Polyperchon* (who had a good while made hard shifts) to rowle himselfe again, and taking vpon him the title of Captain of Peloponnesus, to make head against *Cassander*.

These hopeful beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the same kinde. Wherefore to make *Cassander* the more odious, he called together both his owne Souldiers, and all the Greeks & Macedonians that were to be found thereabouts. To these he declared, that *Cassander* had very cruelly slaine *Olympias*, mother to the great *Alexander*, and not herewith contented, had shut vp in close prison the poore Lady *Roxane*, *Alexander*'s wife, and his sonne begotten on her body. That all this proceeded from a desire to make himselfe King ouer the Macedonians; which well appeared by his enforcing the Lady *Thessalonica*, Daughter to King *Philip*, a match vsnt for a man of no greater parentage than he, to ioyne with him in marriage. That in meere despight of those dead Princes, *Philip* and *Alexander*, he had planted the Olynthians, rooted out by *Philip*, in a new City by him built, and called by his own name *Cassandria*; and had re-edified the City of Thebes, which for the great treason of the inhabitants, was leuelled with the ground by

by the victorious hand of *Alexander*. For these reasons he required them to make a decree, that *Cassander* should restore to absolute libertie the Lady *Roxane*, and her son; and should yeeld obedience to the Lord *Demetrius*, General of the Empire, (by which name *Antigonus* himselfe was vnderstood) or else should be reputed a traitor, and open enemy to the State. Furthermore he propounded, that all the Cities of Greece should be restored into freedom; this hee did, not because he was careful of their good, but for the need which he had of their assistance.

These things being decreed, *Antigonus* was perswaded, that not onely the Greeks would adhere vnto him, as to their Ioung Patron, and fall off from *Cassander*; but that the rulers of Prouinces, who had hitherto suspected him as a man regardfull of nothing but his owne benefit, would correct their opinion, and think him the most faithfull of all others to the Royall blood. But concerning his loyalty to the yong Prince, the world was too wise to be decieued with vaine shewes. His vndertaking for the libertie of the Greeks was more effectual, and got easie belief; in regard of his present hatred to *Cassander*. Yet herein also *Ptolomy* strove to be as earnest as he, making the like decree, in hope to win to himselfe that valiant Nation, which afforded him farre more fertileable in war, than were to be found in any Prouince of the Empire.

And this indeed was the point, at which both sides aimed. Wherein *Antigonus* thinking to take all sure, decieued himselfe, nor without great cost. For hee gaue to *Alexander* the sonne of *Polyperchon* five hundred talents, willing him to set the war on foot in Peloponnesus, whereby it might appeare, that on his side was meant nothing else, than what was openly pretended.

In Peloponnesus, *Cassander*'s men had with much blood shed, glenously afflicted the contrary faction; and he himselfe perceiving, that they were more easily spoyled as enemies, than retained as friends, thought it the best way to make what hee could of them, that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiving that *Alexander* came furnished with plenty of gold, wherewith he was able, not onely to win the donour, but to outdoe such as might seeme best assured; he thought it a part of wisdom, to surrender on faire conditions, that which he could not defend himselfe to hold any long time by force. Therefore he sent one to deale with *Antigonus*, about the matters in controversy, telling him, that *Antigonus* was very skillfull in setting men together by the eares, not caring who prebaild, but onely desiring to haue them worthy themselves, whilst he was busied else where; that so at length he might find opportunity to set vpon the stronger; therefore *Alexander* were so wise, as to keep in his quill the five hundred talents which he had, and without stroke stricken, to receive the whole Lordship of Peloponnesus, which should be freely put into his hands by *Cassander*. Provided, that he should from thenceforth renounce all confederacy made with *Antigonus*, & enter into a sure & faithfull league with *Ptolomy*, *Cassander*, & the rest of the Confederates. Otherwise he might well perswade himselfe, that the Country which his Father could not keepe, when he was indeed the Lieutenant of the Empire, should not in haste be won by him, that was onely the Factor of a proud inuious man, to flatter himselfe, but not acknowledged by others.

*Alexander* had liued a while with *Antigonus* since the beginning of these wars; among whose followers it was not hard to discover the intent, which he did not carry very secret of making himselfe absolute Lord of all. Therefore he was tooone entreated to accept of good an offer, and did not sticke to enter into that league, whereby he was to become free Lord, and subject vnto no mans control.

Howbeit, this his honour continued not long, as hee lost both it and his life together, by reason of the Sicyonians, who thinking thereby to haue made themselves free, were soon after vanquished in battaile by *Cassander*, *Alexander*'s wife, a discreet and valiant Lady, who in reuenge of her husbands death, crucified thirty of the Citizens taken in fight, and having by severity taught them obedience, did afterwards continue her Army in good order, and gouerned those places that she liued, with the commendation of her Subjects and Neighbour.

After this, *Alexander* was taken in battaile by *Cassander*, and was put to death, and his head was sent to *Ptolomy*, who was then in Egypt. *Cassander* then became the sole Ruler of the Empire, and reigned over the Greeks for many years.



## §. IV.

The *Ætolians* rise against *Cassander* in favour of *Antigonus*, and are beaten. A fleet and land-army of *Antigonus*, victoriously defeated by *Protomies* Lieutenant. In what terms the warre stood at this time. *Antigonus* drawes nearer to Greece.

**A** *Antigonus*, when he found, that with so much money he had only bought an enemy, began to raise troubles to *Cassander* and his other adversaries in Greece, by stirring up the *Ætolians* against them: Likewise he laboured to winne to his party the Islands in the Greek Seas, by whose assistance he might be the better able to deale with *Isolomy*, that greatly prevailed by reason of his strong Fleet. But neither of these attempts had the success he expected. The *Ætolians*, a factious Nation, & alwayes enuying the greatness of their Neighbour, were often in commotion, but so, that commonly their gaines equalled not their losses. *Cassander* wan some of their owne Country, fortified the *Acaranians* against them, & compelled *Glaucius*, King of the *Illyrians*, whom hee vanquished in battaile, to forsake their side, and binde himselfe to beare no Armes against *Cassanders* friends.

On the other side, as many petty Islands were drawne to ioyne with *Antigonus*: so the Fleet of the *Rhodiens* vnder *Theodatus*, who was Admiral to *Antigonus*, passing along the coast of Asia towards Cyprus, with an Army vnder conduct of *Perillus* marching on the shore for mutuall assistance, was quite overthrowne by *Protomies* Nauike. *Polyperus*, who in *Protomies* behalfe had been sent into Peloponnesus against *Alexander*, finding pooned of his service in that Country, because *Alexander* was come ouer to their side, returned homewards, & by the way heard of the course which these *Antigonians* held, whom hee very cunningly pursued. Hee rode with his Fleet behind a Cape, which the enemies were to double; his Land-forces he placed in ambush, wherinto *Perillus* falling was taken prisoner, with many of his men, & many were slain, making little resistance. *Theodatus* the Admirall perceiving this, made all haste to help his fellows that were on Land, but whilest he with all his Fleet were intentiue onely to that business, *Polyperus* appeared at their backs; who as soon as he perceived their disorder, hastened about the Cape, and charging them behinde, suffered not one of them to escape him. These ill tidings caused *Antigonus* to deale with *Protomies* about some composition. First, he sent Ambassadors; afterwards they met in person. But *Antigonus* would not yeeld vnto the demands of *Protomies*: so the parley was vaine.

Hitherto each part seemed to haue indifferently sped in the warre, and thereby to haue equall cause of hope and feare. This late victory with the good success of his affaires in Cyprus, did seem to make amends to *Protomies* for his losses in Syria. Likewise the moelt of *Alexander* from *Antigonus* did equal the confederacy made between the *Ætolians* & him; as also those petty skirmishes, that had been in Asia the lesse, to *Antigonus*: his advantage were sufficiently recompensed by others of like regard, but aduerser to him; and by the troubles brought vpon his estates in those parts by the two *Cassanders*.

Contrariwise, *Antigonus* valued the losse of his men, mony, and ships, no otherwise than as the paying of his milles, that were left long enough, and would easily grow againe, but the enlargement of his Territory by addition of Syria, he prized at a higher rate, as if thereby he had fed vpon a limbe of *Protomies* his enemy; and lengthened the body of his owne Empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were better sufficient to counterpoize the bad, he was wont to proceed as occasion should demand, which commonly is not long wanting to them, that want no money.

That which most molested him, was the attempts of his enemies vpon Asia the lesse, wherinto though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cause to feare, lest the people being tied vnto him by no bond of allegiance, might vpon small occasions revolt from him, to men of as honourable reputation as he himselfe: to prevent this, and to be nearer to Greece, he held it expedient for him to be there in person, where his absence did seeme proper the worse, by reason of his absence. Therefore he left part of his Army in Syria vnder his son *Demetrius*, to whom, being then but two and twenty years old, he appointed many ancient Captaines or assistants, or rather as Directors: the rest he carried with him into Phrygia, where he meant to winter.

§. V.

## §. V.

How *Lysimachus* and *Cassander* vanquished *Somacromies*; raised against them by *Antigonus*. The good success of *Antigonus* in Asia and Greece: with the rebellion of many Cities against *Cassander*.

**T**he coming of *Antigonus* into those parts, wrought a great alteration in the course of his business thereabouts. For his enemies had short leisure to thinke vpon molesting him in Asia: they themselves were held over-hardly to their owne worke on Europe side. *Senthes* a King of the *Thracians*, ioyning with some Townes that rebelled against *Lysimachus*, brought also the bordering *Scythians* into the controule: All these relied vpon *Antigonus*, who was to help them with mony and other aide. The *Ætolians* likewise took courage, and rose against *Cassander*, hauing *Asiades* lately restored to the Kingdome of *Epirus*, their assistant. But *Lysimachus* gaue vnto his Rebels no time to confirme themselves. Hee suddainly presented himselfe before two of the Cities that had rebelled, and compelled them by feare to returne vnto their former duty. Hee fought a battaile with the *Scythians*, and wilde *Thracians*, and drave them out of the Country. Finally, hee ouercame *Senthes*; and following the heat of his victory, slew *Pausanias* in battaile, whom *Antigonus* had sent ouer with an Army; and all his men hee did either put to ranfome, or fill vp with them his owne Bander. The like success had *Philip*, *Cassanders* Lieutenant, against the *Ætolians*. For hee wasted their Country; fought with the *Epirotes*, that came to helpe them: and after the victory, fought againe with their forces ioynd in one, ouerthrowing them, and killing *Asiades* that vnfortunate King. Finally, he drave the *Ætolians* out of most of their Country, and forced them to seek their safety among the wilde Mountaines. Of the *Epirotes* he sent as prisoners to *Cassander*, the principall authors of the Kings restitution, and of the present War.

Yet these actions required sometime, and wearied *Antigonus* his adversaries with painful traualle; after which they remained only fauers. *Antigonus* himselfe at faire leighe wan all Caria the whilest, and sent Armies into Peloponnesus, and other parts of Greece; bestowing liberty vpon all the Cities hee tooke out of *Cassanders* hands. The whole Country of Peloponnesus (excepting *Sicyon* and *Corinth*) with the Isle of *Euboea*, and many places of the firme Land, were by those means won to be his in true and vehement affection; ready to doe or suffer anything for him that had made so euident a demonstration of his readinesse, to giue them the liberty in deed, which others had promised in idle words. Many States desirous of the same benefit, would faine haue shewed their good will, but they were kept in by *Cassanders* Garrisons, who was too wise to trust them loose. Therefore *Antigonus* made shew as if he would passe ouer into Macedonia: by which terrour hee forced *Cassander* to reparaire thither in all haste, with the best of his strength, leauing many good Towns of Greece so weakly guarded, that well they might take courage to help themselves, if any forraigne succour appeared. The aide which they desired was not long wanting. The Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, taking the aduantage of *Cassanders* departure, entred the Country; drave his Garrisons out of diuers Cities; forced the Governour of Athens to enter into league with their Lord; wanne the Citadell of *Thebes*, and set the people at liberty. This last action was somewhat remarkable. For *Thebes* had not long before bin raised out of her old ruines by the meere power of *Cassander*, of which act he was accused by *Antigonus*, as if it had been some blatant crime. Yet now the same *Antigonus* winneth the City, and the loue of the Inhabitants, only by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men readier to thanke the Increaser, than the Author of their good; and rather to looke forward vpon those hopes, which vainly they extend beyond all measure, than backward vpon their miserable nullity, that held them vncapable of being any thing.

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§. VI.

## §. VI.

*Victories of Ptolomy by Sea. A great battaile at Gaza, which Prolomy and Seleucus war, against Demetrius the son of Antigonus.*

**A**S the presence or neernesse of *Antigonus* gaue life to his affaires in the lower Asia and Greece; so the designs of his enemies, taking aduantage of his absence, ruined the very foundations of those great workes in the Easterne parts, where with in the yeare preceeding he had ouer-topped them. The Isle of Cyprus, whose Princes wauered betweene contrary affections, inclining one while to *Antigonus*, another while faintly regarding their couenant with *Ptolomy*, was visited by an Egyptian Fleet, wherewith *Ptolomy*, in his owne person easily reduced them to a more settled order, putting some to death, carrying others away prisoners, and leauing a Lieutenant of his own appointment, Governour of the whole Country. With the same Fleet hee ran along the Sea-coasts, wasting a great part of Caria & Cilicia, with the spoiles of which he enriched his followers, and returned laden to Cyprus. *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus*, hearing frequent reports of the miseries, wherewith his Fathers subiects were oppressed, made all haste out of Syria to the rescue, taking only his Horse and light-armed Foote with him, because the businesse required expedition. But in vaine did hee tire himselfe and his followers, in hasty seeking of one, that by lanching out into the deepe, could in a few minutes delude the labour of so many dayes, if need had so required. Answerable to the vanity of this expedition was the successe. For *Ptolomy* was gone, before *Demetrius* came into Cilicia. Neither was it certain, whether hauing lightened his ships of their burthen in Cyprus, he would return vpon those maritime Countries, or make towards Syria, where his comming was expected. He was indeed gone into Egypt; and there *Seleucus* was describing a Royall Army, which he leuied with all convenient speed, for the recouery of Syria. This was more than *Demetrius* knew. Therefore hee was faine to choose out of vncertainties the most likelihood, and returne the way that he came, with all his companies, which were fitter for seruice in the open field, than to be bestowed in Garrisons among the Cilicians. He had scarce refreshed his Men and Horses in Syria, when the newes arrived of *Ptolomies* comming with a puissant Army, to giue him battle. Hereupon he called to counsaile his principall friends, who aduised him to giue way to the time, and expect some better opportunity in the future: being a young man, and weakly furnished with meanes to resist such ancient and famous Generals, as *Ptolomy* & *Seleucus*. This counsaile seemed rather to proceed from the cold temper of those aged men that gaue it, than from any necessity growing out of the present businesse. For *Demetrius* considering himselfe to be the son of *Antigonus*, and now Generall of his Fathers Army, thought his own title weighty enough to be laid in ballance against the bare names of those two great Comanders. Neither found he much reason that should moue him to distrust his forces, as insufficient. His men were better exercised than the enemies, and promised as much as could be required. Therefore perswading himselfe, that such oddes of number, and of great fame, would rather serue to adorne his victory, than hinder him in obtaining it, he resolved to put the matter to triall, without expecting the aduantage of more helpe. So animating his Souldiers with hope of spoile and rewards, he abode the comming of the Enemies at Gaza, with purpose to encounter them, as soon as they had finished their wearisome iourney ouer the Deserts of Arabia.

*Ptolomy* and *Seleucus* issuing out of so rich a Prouince, as Egypt, came so well provided of all necessities, that their Army felt not any great grievance of the euil way, when battaile was presented them; which confidently they undertooke. In all things else they had the odds of *Demetrius*; of Elephants they were viterly vnprovided. But how to deale with those beasts they were not ignorant. They had prepared a kinde of Palisado, fastened strongly together with chains, and sharpened in such a manner, that the Elephants could not seeke to breake vpon it, without receiuing much hurt. The rest of their forces, (which besides that they had aduantage in multitude) were heartened with many fortunate seruices, by them performed that yeare, whilst the enemies had wearied themselves, either with vaine iournies, or long and dulling expectation; they disposed in such order, as best answered to the forme, wherein *Demetrius* was embattailed. The fight began, and was maintained with equall courage, for a long time, each part

striving

striving more to win honour, than to satisfie any other passion; as trauelling little cause of hatred, or reuenge. But after some continuance, the greater number holding better out, the error of *Demetrius*, who vpon no necessity would needes fight a battaile vvith disadvantage, began to appeare by his losses. Hee had committed himselfe to Fortune, hauing more to lose by her than he could get; but in this fight hee was idle, and left all to be decided by strong hands; vnlesse it may be said, that the terror brought vpon his men by the losse of his Elephants, was bad lucke. Those beasts were in that kinde of warre hardly to be resisted on plaine ground; and therefore at the first they made great spoile amongst *Ptolomies* men. Afterward seeking to breake through the Palisado, they were sorely hurt; and euery one of them taken. This disaster caused the Horse-men of *Demetrius* to faint. They had laboured hard, & preuailed little, till now perceiving that all vvith vpon their hands, who were ill able to make their owne places good, they began to shrink, and many of them to prouide for their safety by timely flight, vvich example the rest quickly followed. When *Demetrius* had strouen so long in vaine to make his men abide, that he himselfe was likely to be lost; he was faine to giue place to the stronger, making a violent reitrait as far as to Azotus, which was about thirty miles from the place of battaile. A great part of his carriages was in Gaza, whither some of his company turned aside, hoping to saue such goods, as in haste they could pack vp. This foolish couetousnesse was their destruction, and the losse of the Towne. For whilst they were full of the danger, had filled the streets with sumpter-Horses, and cloyed vp the way, thronging, some to get in and fetch; others, to carry out what they had already laden; *Ptolomies* Army brake in vvithout resistance, taking them with their goods and the City altogether.

This victory restored vnto *Ptolomy* the best part of Syria; a Prouince more easie in those times to get, than to keep, and opened the way vnto all the greatnesse of *Seleucus*. For betweene Gaza and Phoenicia no place offered resistance. In Cölosyria & Phoenicia, some Townes held out a while, but were soon taken in by *Ptolomy*. Amongst these were the great Cities of Tyrys and Sidon, of which Sidon was giuen vp by the Inhabitants: Tyrys by the Garrison, falling to mutiny against their Captaine, vvho trusting to the strength of it, had made great vaunts, but was pardoned by *Ptolomy*, and honourably entertained, in respect of his fidelity.

## §. VII.

*How Seleucus reconered Babylon, and made himselfe Lord of many Countries in the highest Asia. The Ara of the Kingdome of the Greekes, which began with the Dominion of Seleucus.*

**W**Hile *Ptolomy* followed this businesse with such prosperity, *Seleucus* tooke leaue of him, and went vp to Babylon, to try his owne fortune; which he found so fauourable, that recouering first his owne Prouince, he became at length master of the better part of *Alexanders* purchases.

This expedition of *Seleucus* was very strange, and full of vnlikelihoods. His train consisted of no more than eight hundred foot, and two hundred horse, a number too small to haue been placed as Garrison, in some one of those maine great Cities, against which he came into the higher Asia. But little force is needfull, to make way into strong places, for him that already stands possessed of their hearts which dwell within the wals. The name of *Seleucus* was enough; whom the Babylonians had found so good a Governour, that none of them would finde courage to resist him; but left that worke to *Antigonus*, his owne men, wishing them ill to speed. Some of the Macedonians that were in those Countries, had the like affection; others made a countenance of vvarte, vvich by easie compulsion they left off, and followed new Ensignes. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and submitted themselves ioyfully to *Seleucus*. In a descent on so generall, it was not a safe course for the Antigoniens, to thrust themselves into the Townes of most importance: for euery man of them should haue been troubled vvith daily enemies, in his owne lodging. It remained that they should issue forth into the field, and try the matter by fight. But the treason of one principall man, who reuolted to the enemy, with more than a thousand Souldiers following him, so dismaied the rest, that

that they did no more than seeke to make good one strong place, wherein were kept the Hostages and Prisoners, that *Antigonus* held, for his security in those quarters. This Castle, belike, they had not fortified in times of leisure, against dangers, that were not then apparent. *Seleucus* quickly took it; and so got the entire possession of Mesopotamia and Babylon.

*Antigonus* had bestowed in Media and Persia, forces convenient for defence of those Prouinces, that were the vtmost of his Dominion. In the Countries about Euphrates he had not done the like; for his owne great Army lay betwene them and all enemies. Therefore when the victory at Gaza had opened vnto *Seleucus* the way into those parts; hee found little impediment in the rest of his businesse. Having now gotten what he sought; it behooued him to seeke how he might keepe his gettings: for his owne forces were too small, and his friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his friends could not doe for him; his enemies did. *Nicanor*, to whom *Antigonus* had committed his Army in Media, ioyning vnto himselfe, out of Persia and other Countries, all needfull help, came, with ten thousand Foot, and seauen thousand Horse, either to saue all from being lost, or to driue *Seleucus* out of that which he had won.

Against this power, *Seleucus* had onely foure hundred Horse, and somewhat about three thousand Foote, wherewith to oppose himselfe: his large Conquest of vnruly Nations hauing yielded him many loyng Subjects, but few Souldiers. Therefore when his enemies were nere to the River of Tygris, hee withdrew himselfe from the place where his resistance was expected, into certaine marshes nor far off; where he lay secretly waiting for some aduantage. *Nicanor* thought that he had been fled, and was the lesse carefull in fortifying his Campe. In recompence of this vaine security, his Campe was taken by surprize, the first night of his arriual; the *Satrapes*, or Lieutenant of Persia, together with sundry of the Capitaines, were slaine; hee himselfe was driuen to flee for his life into the Deserts, and the whole Army yielded vnto *Seleucus*: whose gentle demeanour, after the victory, drew all Media, Susiana, and the Neighbour Prouinces, to acknowledge him their Lord without any further stroke stricken.

This victory of *Seleucus* gaue beginning vnto the new stile, of *The Kingdom of the Greeces*, an accompt much vsed by the Iewes, Chaldeans, Syrians, and other Nations in those parts. I will not make any long disputation about the first yeare of this *Era*. The authority of that great Astrologer *Ptolomy*, from which there is no appeal, makes it plaine, that the *four hundred and nineteenth yeare* of Nabonassar, was the *four score and two yeare* of this accompt. Other inference hereupon is needlesse, than that note of the learned *Gauricus*, That the first of these yeares was reckoned compleat, at Babylon, together with the end of *four hundred thirty and eight yeares* after Nabonassar. With the obseruation of the *Saturne*, recorded by *Ptolomy*, agrees (as it ought) the calculation of *Bunting*, finding the same Planet to haue been so placed in the signe of *Virgo*, as the Chaldeans had obserued it, in the same year; which was from Nabonassar the *four hundred and nineteenth*, from *Seleucus* the *four score and two yeare*; and the last of the hundred thirty and seuenth Olympiad. These obseruations of the Celestiall bodies, are the surest markes of time: from which he that wilfully varies, is inexcusable. As for such occurrences in History, and the yeares of succeeding Princes (that are not seldome ambiguous, by reason of vtremembred fractions) if they seem to bee here-against, it is not greatly materiall. Yet thus much is worthy of note; that these yeares of the Greeces were not reckoned in all Countries from one beginning; as plainly appears in the difference of one year, that is found between actions, related by the severall Authors of the two Books of the *Macchabees*, who follow diuers accompts. He that shall adhere to the time defined by *Ptolomy*, may apply the other supputations thereunto, as being no farther from it, than a few years distance.

Pl. l. Abing.  
l. 1. c. 7. §. 1.

L. Gauricus in  
annotat. ad lo-  
cum citatum.

## 6. VIII.

How *Ptolomy* lost all his warre in Syria. what the causes were of the quiet obedience, performed vnto the Macedonians, by those that had bene subiect vnto the Persian Empire. Of diuers petty enterprizes, taken in hand by *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, with ill success.

IN a happy houre did *Seleucus* adventure to goe vp to Babylon, with so few men as his friend could then well spare: for had he staid longer vpon hope of getting more Souldiers, *Ptolomy* could haue spared him none at all. *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus*, hauing lost the battaile at Gaza, receiued from *Ptolomy* all his owne goods, his Pages, and Seruants, in free gift, and therewithall a courteous message, to this effect: That no personall hatred was the ground of this War, which he and his Confederates held with *Antigonus*; but only termes of honour, wherein they would seek to right themselves after such manner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrell, should not be forgotten.

This Noble dealing of *Ptolomy*, did kindle in *Demetrius* an earnest desire of requiring him, with some as braue liberality. Which to effect, he gathered together the remainder of his broken troups; drew as many as could be spared, out of the Garrisons in Cilicia, or other Prouinces thereabouts, and aduertising his Father of his misfortune, besought him to send a new supply, wherewith he might redeme his honour lost. *Antigonus* vpon the first newes of this ouerthrow, had said, That the victory which *Ptolomy* won vpon a bearded Boy, should be taken from him by bearded men: yet vpon desire that his son, whom he tenderly loued, should amend his owne reputation, he was content to make a stand in Phrygia. *Ptolomy* hearing of *Demetrius* his preparations, did not he himselfe follow his owne businesse in Cœlysyria; thinking it enough to spend part of his Army vnder *Cilles* his Lieutenant, against the remnant of those, that had been already vanquished, when *Cilles* too much undervalued the power of such an Enemy. Hee thought that this young Gallant, hauing lately saued his life by flight, would now bee more carefull of hauing a faire way at his backe, than aduenturous in setting further forward, than vnto the sea. *Demetrius* hearing of this confidence, hee passed on without all fear; as one that were already Master of the field, and should meet with none, that would sticke out of their places of strength, to make resistance. When *Demetrius* was informed of this carelesse march; hee took the lightest of his Army, and made his iourney with such diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, he came vpon *Cilles* vnexpected, and was on the suddaine, without any battaile, Master of his Campe: taking him alive, with his Souldiers, and their carriages all at once.

This exploit serued not only to repaire the credit of *Demetrius*, which his losse at Gaza had almost ruined: but further it enabled him, to recompence the bounty of *Ptolomy*, with equall fauour, in restoring to him *Cilles*, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich presents. But neither was *Ptolomy* so weakened by this losse, nor *Demetrius* so emboldened by his victory, that any matter of consequence thereupon ensued. For *Demetrius* feared the coming of *Ptolomy*, and therefore he fortified himselfe in places of aduantage: *Ptolomy* on the other side was loth to engage himselfe in an enterprize, wherein he might perceiue, that if the coming of *Antigonus* found him entangled, hee should either be driuen to make a shamefull retreat, or a dangerous adventure of his whole estate: In hope of not much more than already he possessed.

*Antigonus*, in the meane, was nothing slow in his way towards Syria; whither hee made a haste, not so much to relieue his sonne, as to embrace him. For hee reioyced exceedingly, that the young man had so well acquitted himselfe, and being left to his owne aduice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to increase the reputation of this late victory, hee brought such forces, as might serue to reconquer all Syria: meaning, that the honour of all, should be referred vnto the good foundation laid by his son; whom from this time forwards, hee employed in matters of great importance. *Ptolomy* had now little reason to encounter with *Antigonus*, than before his coming to the Campe of *Antiochia*. For he made it a matter of consultation, as if

## 6. VIII.

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he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captaines aduised him to retire into Egypt, alleging many good arguments to that purpose: which they might well perceiue to be agreeable to his owne intent, by his propounding that course, not without remembrance of the good successe against *Perdiccas*, in the like defensive warre. So he departed out of Syria, preferring his honour, as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any suddaine passion of feare: and he departed at faire leisure, not only carrying his treasures along with him, but staying to dismember some principall Cities, that he thought most likely to trouble him in the future. All the Country that he left at his backe, fell presently to *Antigonius*, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces: so easie was it in those times, for the Captain of a strong Army, to make himself Lord of a great Province.

We may iustly wonder, that these Kingdomes of Syria, Media, Babylon, & many other Nations, (which the victory of *Alexander* had ouer-run, with so hasty a course, as gaue him not leisure to take any good view of them) were so easily held not onely by himselfe, but by the Captaines of his Army after him. The hot contentions for superiority betweene the King of Israel, and those of *Damascus*; betweene Egypt, and Babylon; Babylon and Nineue; the Persians, and many Countries; argue a more manly temper, to haue once bene in those people; which are now so patient of a forraigne yoke, that like Sheep or Oxen, they suffer themselves to be distributed, fought for, won, lost, and againe recovered by contentions Masters; as if they had no title to their owne heads, but were borne to follow the fortune of the Macedonians. This will appeare the more strange, if we shall consider, how the severall States of Greece (many of which had neuer possessed so large Dominion, as might cause their spirits to swell beyond their ability) did greedily embrace all occasions of liberty: and how these proud Conquerours were glad to offer it, desiring to haue them rather friends than seruants, for feare of further inconueniencie.

It must therefore be noted, that most of these Countries had alwayes bene subiect vnto the rule of Kings, or petty Lords, whom the Babylonians and Persians long since had rooted out, and held them in such bondage, that few of them knew any other Law, than the command of forraigne Masters. This had vtterly taken from them all remembrance of home borne Princes, & incorporated them into the great body of the Persian Empire: so that wanting within themselves all foueraigne power, or high authority, the life and spirit of euery Estate, they lay as dead, and were bereaued of motion, when that Kingdome fell, whereof they lately had ben members.

Why the Persian *Satrapas*, or Princes of that Empire, did not when *Darius* was taken from them, as the Macedonian Captains, after the death of *Alexander*, strue to lay hold vpon those Provinces, which had many ages bin subiect vnto them, & scarce foure years in quiet possession of their enemies; or why at least they contended not (when the terrible name of that great Conquerour did cease to affright them) to get their shares among his followers, if not wholly to dispossesse them of their new purchases: it is a question, wherein, who is not satisfied, may finde his lesse reason to suspect the History, than authority to confute it. For we seldome read, that any small Kingdome, preuailling against a farre greater, hath made so entire a conquest, in the compass of ten years, as left vnto the vanquished no hope of recovery, nor meanes to rebell; especially when such disorders, or rather vtter confusion hath ensued, by the fury of ciuill warre among the Victors.

The cause why the Macedonians held so quietly the Persian Empire, is well set down by *Atianus*; and concerns all other Kingdomes, that are subiect vnto the like forme of Government: the summe whereof is this, Wherefoeuer the Prince doth hold all his Subjects vnder the condition of Slaues, there is the conquest easie, and soone assured: Where ancient Nobility is had in due regard, there is it hard to winne all, and harder to keepe that which is won. Examples of this are the Turkish Empire, and the Kingdome of France. If any Inuader, should preuaile for fauour vpon Turkey, that the great Sultan and his Children (for Brethren he vses, not to suffer alies) were taken on hand; the whole Empire would quickly be wonne, and easily kept, without any danger of rebellion. For the Bassas, how great soeuer they may seeme, are meer *Slaves*; and there is there in all that large Dominion, any one man, whose person all might could get the people to follow him in such an attempt, whose hope of priuilege should not

counteruaile all apparant matter of feare. Contrariwise, in France, it were not enough for him that would make a conquest, to get into his hands the King and his Children; though he further got the better part of the Country, and were by fauour the strong; it in the field. For, besides the Princes of the Royall blood, there are in that Kingdome store of great men; who are mighty in their severall Countries, and haue certaine Royalties and Principalities of their owne, are able to raise Warre in all quarters of the Realme; whereunto the remembrance of their owne ancient Families, and long continued Nobility, will alwayes stirre vp and inflame them: so that vntill euery one piece were won, and euery one (an endlesse worke) of the chiefe Nobility, brought vnder or destroyed, the victory were not compleat, nor wel assured. It is true, that such power of the Nobility, doth often-times make way for an Inuader; to whom the discontentments of a few can easily make a faire entrance. But such assistants are not so easily kept, as they are gotten: for they looke to be satisfied at full, in all their demands; and hauing what they would, they soone returne to their old allegiance, vpon condition to keepe what they haue, vnlesse they be daily hired with new rewards: wherein it is hard to please one man, without offending another as good as himselfe. The Turke, on the other side, needs not to feare any peril, that might arise from the discontented spirits of his principall men. The greatest mischief that any of them could worke against him, were the betraying of some frontier Towne, or the wilfull losse of a battaile: vvhich done, the Traitor hath spent his King, and must either flye to the enemy, whereby he loseth all that he formerly did hold; or else, in hope of doing some further harme, he must aduention to excuse himselfe vnto his Master, who seldome forgives the Capitaine, that hath not strived by desperate valour against misfortune. As for making head, or arming their followers against the great Sultan, and so ioyning themselves vnto any Inuader; it is a matter not to be doubted: for none of them haue any followers or dependants at all, other than such, as are subiect vnto them, by vertue of their Offices, and Commissions. Now as this base condition of the principall men, doth leaue vnto them no meanes, whereby to oppose themselves against the flourishing estate of their Prince; so would it weaken both their power and their courage in giuing him assistance, if aduersity should make him stand in need of them. For there is scarce any one among the Turks Bassas, or Principall Gouernours, that knows either from whence he was brought, or from whom descended, nor any one among them, that by the losse & vtter ruine of the Turkish Empire, can lose any foote of his proper inheritance; and it is the proper inheritance of the Subject, which is also a Kingdome vnto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart against the Conquerer, who hath no other deuce painted on his Ensigne, than the picture of slavery.

As in the Turkish Empire, so was the Persian, void of liberty in the Subjects, and vtterly destitute of other Nobility, than such as depended vpon meere fauour of the Prince. Some in deede there were of the Royall blood, and others, descended from the Princes that ioyned with *Darius*, the Sonne of *Ishsaper*, in oppressing the *Mages*: these were men of reputation in Persia, but their reputation consisted only in their Pedigree, and their safety in not meddling with affaires of State, which made them little esteemed. In what small account these Persian Princes were held, it may appear by this, that the Kings Vncles, Cousin Germans, and Brethren, were called by the Kings, *Their Slaves*, and so did stile themselves, in speaking vnto these great Monarchs. That vpon euery light occasion of displeasure they were handled as Slaues; it is easie to be discerned, in that example of cruelty, practised by *Xerxes* vpon his owne brother *Mastis*, which hath bene formerly noted, in place more conuenient. As for the *Satrapas*, or Gouernours of the Provinces, it is needlesse to cite examples, prouing them to haue bene meer slaues: it may suffice, that their heads were taken from them at the Kings will; that is, at the will of those Women and Eunuchs, by whom the King was gouerned.

To this want of Nobility in Persia, may be added the generall want of liberty conuenient among the people: a matter no lesse auailable, in making easie and sure the conquest of a Nation, than is the cause assigned by *Machiauel*. For as *Aespe* his Assie did not care to run from the enemies, because it was not possible, that they should load him with heauier burthens, than his Master caused him daily to beare: so the Nations, that endure the worst vnder their owne Princes, are not greatly fearful of a forraigne yoke;

Nor

Nor will be hasty to make it off, if by experience they finde it more light, than was that whereunto they had been long accustomed. This was it that made the Gascoignes bear such faithfull affection to the Kings of England; for that they gouerned more mildly than the French; this enlarged the Venetian iurisdiction in Lombardy; for the Towns that they wan, they wan out of the hands of Tyrannous oppteflours; and this did cause the Macedonians, with other Nations, that had been subiect vnto the posterity of *Alexanders* followers, to serue the Romans patiently, if not willingly; for that by them they were eased of many burthens, which had been imposed vpon them by their owne Kings.

So that of this tameness, which we finde in those that had been subiects of the Persian Kings, the reasons are apparant. Yet some of these there were, that could not so easily be contained in good order by the Macedonians: for they had not indeed been absolutely conquered by the Persian. Such were the Sogdians, Bactrians, and other Nations about the Caspian Sea. Such also were the Arabians bordering vpon Syria: against whom *Antigonus* sent part of his Army; thinking therewith to bring them vnder, or rather to get a rich booty. The Captains that he sent, fell vpon the Nabathæans, at such time as they were busied in a great Mait; wherein they traded with the more remote Arabians, for Myrr, Frankincense, & other such commodities. All or most of these rich wares, together with five hundred talents of silver, and many prisoners, the Macedonians laid hold vpon: for their coming was sudden & vnexpected. But ere they could recover Syria, the Nabathæans ouertook them, & finding them weary with long marches, made such a slaughter, that of foure thousand foote, and sixe hundred horse, onely fifty horse escaped. To reuenge this losse, *Demetrius* was set out with a greater power: yet all in vaine; for he was not resisted by any Army, but by the naturall defence of a vaste Wildernes, lacke of water, and of all things necessary. Therefore he was glad to make peace with them; wherein he lost not much honour: for they crauid it, and gaue him presents. Returning from the Nabathæans, he viewed the Lake Asphaltites, whence he conceiued hope of great profit that might be raised, by gathering the Sulphure. With this good husbandry of his son, *Antigonus* was well pleased, and appointed men to the worke: but they were slaine by the Arabians, and so that hope vanished.

These petty enterprises, with the ill successe accompanying them, had much impaired the good aduantage against *Ptolomy*: when the newes of *Seleucus* his victories in the high Countries, marred all together. For neither was the losse of those great & wealthy Provinces, a matter to be neglected, neither was it safe to transport the warre into the parts beyond Euphrates, wher by Syria and the lower Asia should haue been exposed, to the danger of ill-affected Neighbours. A middle course was thought the best; and *Demetrius* with fiftene thousand foot and three thousand horse, was sent against *Seleucus*. These forces being sent away, *Antigonus* did nothing, and his son did lesse. For *Seleucus* was then in Media; his Lieutenants about Babylon withdrew themselves from necessity of fight; some places they fortified and kept; *Demetrius* could hold nothing that he got, without setting in Garrison more men than he could spare, neither did he get much; and therefore was faine to set out the brauery of his expedition, by burning and spoiling the Country, which he did thereby the more alienate, and as it were acknowledge to belong vnto his enemy, who thenceforth held it as his owne assured.

*Antigonus* had laid vpon his son a peremptory commandement, to returne vnto him at a time prefixed: reasonably thinking (as may seeme) that in such an vnsettled state of things, either the Warre might be ended, by the fury of the first brunt; or else it would be vaine to strine against all difficulties likely to arise, where want of necessities should frustrate the valour, that by strength of time was like to become lesse terrible to the Enemy. *Demetrius* therefore leauing behinde him five thousand foot, and a thousand horse, rather to make shew of continuing the warre, than to effect much, where himselfe, with greater forces could doe little more than nothing, forsooke the enterprise, and went backe to his Father.

## 6. IX.

A generall peace made and broken. How all the house of *Alexander* was destroyed.

These ambitious heads, hauing thus wearied themselves with vneffectual traualle, in seeking to get more than any one of them could hold; were contented at length to come to an agreement: wherein it was concluded, that each of them should hold quietly, that which at the present he had in possession. As no priuate hatred, but mere desire of Empire had moued them to enter into the warre; so was it no friendly reconciliation, but onely a dulnesse growing vpon the slow aduancement of their feuerall hopes, that made them willing to breathe a while, till occasion might better serue to fight againe.

Besides that maine point, Of retaining the Provinces which every man held, there were two Articles of the peace, that gaue a faire, but a false colour, to the businesse; That the house of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, should be made King, when he came to full age; and, That all the Estates of Greece should be set at liberty. The aduancement of young *Alexander* to his Fathers kingdom, seemes to haue bin a matter, forceably extorted from *Antigonus*; in whom was discovered a purpose, to make himselfe Lord of all. But this, indeede, more neerely touched *Cassander*. For in his custody was the young Prince and his Mother: neither did he keepe them in fort answerable to their degree; but as close prisoners, taken in that warre, wherein they had seene the old Queene *Olympias* taken and murdered, that sought to put them in possession of the Empire. The mutuall hatred and feare betwene them rooted in these grounds, of iniuries done, and reuenge expected; vpon this conclusion of peace, grew vp faster than any time before, in the heart of *Cassander*: who saw the Macedonians turne their fauourable expectation, towards the sonne of their late renowned King.

All this, either little concerned *Antigonus*; or tended greatly to his good. The young Prince must first haue possession of Macedonia: whereby *Cassander* should be reduced to his poore office, of Captaine ouer a thousand men; if not left in worse case. As for them that so held Provinces abroad, they might either doe as they had done vnder *Avidans*; or better, as being better acquainted with their owne strength. He in the meane time, by his readiness to acknowledge the true Heire, had freed himselfe from that ill-fauoured imputation, of seeking to make himselfe Lord of all that *Alexander* had gotten.

The like aduantage had he in that Article, of restoring the Greeks to their liberty. This liberty had hitherto bene the subiect of much idle discourse: but it neuer tooke effect. *Antigonus* held scarce any Towne of theirs, *Cassander* occupied most of the Countrie: which if he should set free, he must be a poore Prince; if not, there was matter enough of quarrell against him, as against a Disturber of the common peace.

In the meane season, the Countreis lying between Euphrates and the Greeke seas, together with a great Armie, and mony enough to entertaine a greater, might serue to hold vpon the tread of *Antigonus*, and to raise his hopes, as high as euer they had bene.

With much disaduantage doe many men contend, against one that is equall to them all in guidance. *Cassander*'s friends had left him in an ill case; but he could not doe without: for where euery one mans helpe is necessary to the warre, there may any one make his owne peace; but no one can stand out alone, when all the rest are weary. The best was, that he knew all their affections: which tended to no such end as the becoming Subiect vnto any man; much lesse to the sonne of an Asiaticke woman, of whom they had long since refused to heare mention. Therefore he tooke a short course, and caused both the child and his Mother to be slaine: freeing thereby himselfe in a trice, from the dangerous necessity of yeelding vp his gouernment, which he must haue done when the child had come to age. *Roxane* was a Lady of singular beauty, vvhich was perhaps the cause why *Perdiccas* desired to haue her sonne, being as yet vnborne, proclaimed Heire to the great *Alexander*. Immediately vpon the death of *Alexander*, she had vscid the fauour (if we were not loath of *Perdiccas*) to the satisfying of her owne bloody malice, vpon *Stratonice* the Daughter of King *Darius*, whom *Alexander* had likewise married, according to the custome of those Countreis, wherein pluralitie of wives is held no crime. For, hauing by a counterfeit letter, in *Alexanders* name, gotten this poore Lady into her hands, he did, by assistance of *Perdiccas*, murder her and her Sister, and threw their



bodies into a Well, causing it be filled vp with earth. But now, by Gods iust vengeance, were she and her son made away, in the like secret fashion; euen at such time, as the neere approaching hope of a great Empire had made her life, after a wearisome imprisonment, grow dearer vnto her than it was before.

The fact of *Cassander* was not so much detested in outward shew, as inwardly was pleasing vnto all the rest of the Princes. For now they held themselves free Lords, of all that they had vnder them; fearing none other change of their estates, than such as might arise by chance of warre; wherein euery one perswaded himselfe of successe, rather better than worse. Hereupon all of them (except *Lysimachus* and *Seleucus*, that had worke enough at home) began to rowze themselves: as if now the time were come, for each to man to improve his owne stocke. *Antigonus* his Lieutenants were busie in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellepont*: while their Master was carefull in following other, and some greater matters that were more secretly to be handled. He pretended the liberty of *Greece*: yet did the same argument minister vnto *Ptolomy*, matter of quarrell, against both him and *Cassander*; *Ptolomy* complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to heart) that *Antigonus* had put Garrisons into some Townes, which ought, in faire dealing to be set at liberty. Vnder colour of redressing this enormity, he sent an Army into *Cilicia*, where he wan foure Townes, and soon after lost them, without much labour of his owne or his enemies.

After this, putting to Sea with a strong Fleet, he ran along the coast of *Asia*, winning many places: & in that voyage allured vnto him a nephew of *Antigonus* (a good Commander, but discontented with the ill requital of his seruices) whom finding shortly, as false to himselfe as he had been to his owne Vncle, he was faine to put to death. But in doing these things, his desire to set the *Greekes* at liberty, appeared not so plaine, as he wished that it should: for their case was no way bettered, by his molesting *Antigonus* in *Asia*. Therefore to get the loue of that valiant Nation, he made at the last an expedition into *Greece* it selfe: where hauing set free some little Ilands, and landed in *Peloponnesus*, he raised so great an expectation of finishing the long desired work, that *Cratesipolis*, the Widow of *Alexander*, *Polyperchon*'s son, gaue vp into his hands the Towns of *Sicyon* and *Corinth*.

*Ptolomy* had conceived a vaine belief that the *Greekes*, emboldened by his countenance and assistance, would all of them take heart, and rise vp in armes: whereby vntill little labour, their liberty might be gotten; & he be acknowledged as Author of this immortal benefit. But long seruitude had wel neere extinguished the ancient valour of that Nation: and their ill fortune, in many likely attempts to recouer freedome, had so tired their spirits, that they would no more stirre in pursuit therof; but sat idlely still, withing it to fall into their mouths.

The *Macedonians*, about these times, began to fortifie their Towne with wals, trusting no longer in their vertue (for both it, & the discipline that vpheld it were too much impaired that had been a wall to their Towne and Territory).

The *Athenians* were become as humble seruants, as they had been, in times past, insolent Masters: erecting as many statues in honour of *Demetrius Phalereus*, as there were daies in the year. This *Demetrius* was now their Gouverneur; & he gouerned them with much moderation: but in spite of their hearts, as being set ouer them by *Cassander*. By this base temper of the principall Cities, it is easie to gather, how the rest of the Countrey stood affected. *Ptolomy* could not get them to set their helping hands to their own good, and to furnish him with the promised supplies of money and victuals. Credible it is, that he had a true meaning to deliuer them from thralldome; as iudging the commodity that would arise by annexing them to his party, a matter of more weight, than the losse that *Cassander* should receiue thereby, who could hardly retaineth them, if once *Antigonus* took the worke in hand. But when he found such difficulty in the businesse, he changed his purpose: and renewing his former friendship with *Cassander*, he retained *Sicyon* and *Corinth* in his owne possession.

Before the coming of *Ptolomy* into *Greece*, *Cassander* had beene held occupied with very much worke. For (besides his paines taken in warres among barbarous Princes) hee found meanes to allure vnto himselfe, the Lieutenants of *Antigonus*, that were in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellepont*: making his owne advantage, of their discontentments. By the like skilfull practice, hee freed himselfe from a greater danger, than those

those murders which he had committed seemed lesse odious, by teaching his enemies to doe the like. Old *Polyperchon*, that had made so great a stirre in the reigne of *Alexander*, did after the death of *Roxane* and her Child, enter againe vpon the Stage, leading in his hand another sonne of the great *Alexander*, and meaning to place him in his Fathers Throne.

The name of this young Prince was *Hercules*: he was begotten on *Barbus* the Daughter of *Antiochus* a *Persian*; but had beene lesse esteemed than the sonne of *Roxane*, either for that his Mother was held no better than a Concubine, or else perhaps, in regard of the fauour which *Perdiccas*, and after him *Olympias*, did beare vnto *Roxane*. At this time to the death of his brother had moued such compassion, and regard of his being *Alexanders* onely liuing child, had procured vnto him such good will, that the demand which *Polyperchon* made in his behalfe, was deemed very iust and honourable. There were indeed more hearts than hands, that ioyned with this young Prince: yet wanted he not sufficient strength of hands, if the heart of him that least ought, had not beene most false. *Cassander* had raised an Armie, to withstand his entrie into *Macedon*: but little trust could he repose in that Armie, whose wishes he perceived to be with *Hercules*. Therefore he assailed *Polyperchon* himself, with gifts and promises, wherewith at length he preuailed so far, that the old Villaine was contented to murder his Pupill; choosing rather with many curses, and foule dislouour, to take the offered Lordship of *Peloponnesus*, and Commander of an Armie; than to purchase a Noble fame with dangerous trauaile, in maintaining his faith, vnto both his dead and liuing Soueraignes.

*Antigonus* had not all this while beene asleepe, though his losses were hitherto the chiefe windes, of his hauing bene a stirrer in these commotions. He thought it enough for him at the present, to retaine his owne: and therefore tooke order for the recouerie of those places, which *Ptolomy* had taken paines to winne. As for the rest, it no way grieved him to see *Cassander* incur the generall hatred of men by committing those murders of which the profit was like to redound vnto him that was the most powerful, or to see *Polyperchon* and *Ptolomy* sweat, in a busie warre against *Cassander*. If they would haue continued their quarrels, he could well haue afforded them leisure, and haue thought the time well spent, in beholding their contentions. For he was thoroughly perswaded that when the rest had wearied themselves in vaine with long strife, his armies and treasures, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all vnder. According to these haughtie conceits, he demeaned himselfe among his followers; looking big vpon them, and like a King before his time. This was it that caused so many of them to reuolt from him: but it was no great losse to be forsaken by those that looked with enuious eyes vpon that fortune whereon their owne should haue depended. Against this enuie of his men, and the malice of others, *Antigonus* busily sought a remedy, such as was like to giue him a goodly title to the whole Empire.

*Cleopatra*, Sister vnto the great *Alexander*, lay for the most part in *Sardes*: vvhom he had a great desire to take to wife. This his desire was not without good hope: for howsoever the discouraged much vnwillingnesse thereunto, yet was therein his power, and might therefore be entreated, were it only for feare of being enforced. But it was not his purpose, to get her by compulsiue meanes: either because his fancie, being on old man, was not ouer-violent; or rather because his ambition, wherunto all his affections had reference, could haue made small vse of her, by doing such apparant wrong. She had beene married vnto *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, after whose death she came to her brother in *Asia*, hoping belike, to finde a new husband in his Campe. But neither any of those brave Captaines, that were, in times following, so hot in loue with her, dust then as she came vnto her marriage: nor did her brother, full of other cares, trouble himselfe vwith providing her of an husband. She therefore, being a lustie vviidow, suffered her blood, so farre to preuaile against her honour, that she supplied the want of an husband by entertainment of Paramours. *Alexander* hearing of this, turned it to a iest: saying, That she was his sister, and must be allowed this libertie, as her portion of the Empire. When by her death, the Empire lay in a manner, voided, and the portion due to her therein, grew, in mens opinion, greater than it had beene: then did many seeke to obtaine her, while the her selfe desired onely a proper man, with whom the might leade a merry life. To this purpose did she inuite *Leontius* vnto her; who made great haile, but was cut off by death, ere he came to her presence. Now at the last, after long tarrying,



carrying, he had her choise of all the great Commanders: *Antigonus*, *Ptolomy*, *Ly-machus*, and *Cassander*, being all her earnest wooers. All these (*Antigonus*; who predicted wiues already, *Ptolomy* had many wiues, and many Concubines, whom he respected as much as his wiues, being noted of too much doage in that kind. This hindered not his suite: peradventure it advanced it, by giuing to *Cleopatra*, some hope of marriall toleration. To him therefore she bequeathed her self, and was taking her iourney from *Sardes* towards him; when *Antigonus* his Deputie in that Citie, made her to stay, until his Masters further pleasure should be known. *Antigonus* had now a Wolfe by the eares; he neither could well hold her, nor durst let her goe. She would not be his wiue; he had no honest pretence to force her; and to keepe her prisoner, had bin the way, by which to he might have incurred a generall hatred, lasting perhaps beyond her life; as the course taken by *Cassander* against *Roxane* (a Lady lesse respected than *Alexanders* own wife) did well testifie. Therefore he thought it the wisest way to procure her death: for to let any other enioy the commoditie of so faire a title to the kingdome, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpose he sent instructions to the Gouverneur of *Sardes*, willing him in any case to doe it secretly. So the fact was committed, and certaine women about her put in trust with the murder: which women afterwards were put to death, as mischieuous conspirers against the life of that good Lady. So was *Antigonus* freed from blame, at the least, in his owne opinion: but the world was lesse foolish, than to be so deluded. How the murder was detected, we need not aske: for seldome is that bloody crime vnto reuealed, and neuer so ill smothered, as when great persons are the Authors.

Thus was the whole race of *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great extinguished, and it was extinguished by the hands of such as thought vpon nothing lesse than the execution of Gods iustice, due vnto the cruelty of these powerfull, but mercilesse Princes. Wherefore the ambitious frames, erected by these Tyrants, vpon so wicked foundations of innocent blood, were soone after cast down, ouer-whelming themselves or their children, with the ruines, as the sequele will declare.

## 6. X.

How Demetrius, the sonne of Antigonus, gave libertie to Athens, expelling the Garrison of Cassander out of those parts. The immoderate honour decreed by the Athenians to Antigonus and Demetrius.

One being left alieue, that had any title to the Kingdome; it stood with good reason, that they which were Lords of the Prouinces, acknowledging no Superiour, should freely professe themselves Kings in name, as they were already in substance. Yet had this name ill becomed the weaker, while the strongest of all did forbear it: neither seemed it convenient in the iudgement of *Antigonus*, to crowne his last action with such a title, as if he had attained vnto greatness by that foule murder, the infamie whereof he was careful how to discharge from his owne head. He purposed therefore to vndertake a plausible enterprise, euen the liberty of *Greece*: whereby it was apparant, that he might get such honour as would not onely drowne all bad reports, but make him be thought equal to any name of royalty, vvhether in seeming modestie, he was not couetous. To this purpose, he deliuered a strong Armie, with a Nauie of two hundred and fiftie saile, and fise thousand talents of siluer, vnto *Demetrius* his sonne: willing him to begin at *Athens*, and thence to proceede, in setting all the Countrey free.

*Demetrius* came to *Athens* before he was expected: so that without resistance he entered the Hauen; it being thought that a fleet of *Ptolomy*, *Cassanders* good friend, had bin arriued. But when it was knowne, both who he was, and vvhay was the cause of his coming; the ioy of the Citizens brake out into loud acclamations; *Demetrius Phalerens* forsooke the Towne, and withdrew himselfe to *Thebes*, vnder safe conduct; only the Garrison in *Munychia* stroue to make good that piece, vvhich after a while was wonne vpon them by force. During the siege of *Munychia*, *Demetrius* went to *Megara*; whence he expelled the Garrison of *Cassander*, and so restored the Citie to libertie.

I thinke it not impertinent, sometimes to relate such accidents, as may seeme better than meere trifles: for euen by trifles, are the qualities of great Persons as well disclosed

disclosed, as by their great actions; because in matters of importance, they commonly straine themselves, to the obseruance of generally commended rules; in lesser things they follow the current of their owne Natures. The Lady *Cleopatra* lay in *Parrus*, and had a great desire to see *Demetrius*, having by this time, by his means, better her estate, and recover her Townes of *Sydon* and *Corinth*, detained by *Ptolomy*; to vvhose Lieutenant, in those places, *Demetrius* before his departure out of *Greece*, offered money for the surrender of them. Yet the onely business he intended was loue. He being aduised how to see him, left his sonne in the Countrey of *Megara*, and taking a company of his light-armed, for guard of his person, made a long iourney to meete with her. This troupe alway being so close as the business was carried, some of his enemies had gotten knowledge of it, whereby they conceived good hope, that the diligence of a very few men, might overthrow all the great preparations of *Antigonus*; and bring him to some tearmes of misery by taking his deare sonne prisoner. Their proiect fell but a little short of the mark. For they came so suddenly vpon him, that he had no better shift, than to misse himselfe in an old cloake, and creepe away disguised, leauing them to ransacke his Tent. There was in this Prince a strange medley of conditions, especially an extreame dissolute and wanton pleasures, and a painefull industry in matter of warre. He was of a most excellent countenance, a gentle nature; and a good wit; excellent in devising Engines of warre, and curious in working them with his owne hands. He knew better how to reuerence his bad fortune, than how to rule his good. For aduersitie made his valour more absolute, prosperity puffd him with ouerweening; wherein he thought, that he might do what he listed. His fortune was changeable, as were his qualities: turning often round, like the picture of her wheele, vntill she had wound vnto the third of his life, in such manner as hee witheth to be shewed.

Returning to his Campe, and finishing his business at *Megara*; he resolved no longer to attend the issue of this siege, to assaile *Munychia* by force, that so he might accomplish the liberty of *Athens*, which vntill it was fully wrought out, he refused to enter into the Citie. *Munychia* was strongly fortified: yet by continuance of the assault, the multitude without, through helpe of their Engines that beuiled the wals, prevailed vpon the resolution of those that lay within, and won the place in two dayes. The wals, and all the defences of that piece against the Citie, were breaked with the ground, & so was it freely put into the Citizens hands, to whom withall was giuen their liberty, with promise to continue in maintaining it.

The time of this action was blowder, than of any other victory, gotten by *Demetrius* with greater skill & industry. For the *Athenians*, having forgotten how to employ their hands, laboured to make vp that defect with their tongues: conuerting to base flattery, that eloquence of theirs, which the vertues of their Ancestors had fixed vnto more manly arguments.

They decreed, vnto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, the name of Kings; they consecrated the place in which *Demetrius* leaped from his Chariot, when he entered their Citie, and built there an Altar, calling it of *Demetrius the s-ligher*; they called them by the Names of the gods their *Sanctours*, ordaining that euery yeare their should be chosen a Priest of these gods; and further, that such as were employed by their State, in dealing with either of these two Princes, should not be called Embassadors, but *Theori*, or *Consulters* with the gods, as were they, whom they sent vnto the Oracle of *Iupiter* or *Apollo*.

It were a fruitfull diligence, to rehearse all their flatteries; these being so grosse. Hereby they not onely corrupted the young Prince; but made that acclamation, which best would haue pleased the old man, to be of no vse. For he could not handsomely take vpon him the name of King, as imposed by the *Athenians*; vnlesse he would seeme to appease their vanity, in loading him with more than humane honors. Yet was he so tickled with his fine handling him, that when their *Theori*, or *Consulters* came shortly after, desiring him to relieue them with Corne, & Timber to build ships, he gaue them almost a hundred thousand quarters of wheate, and matter sufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So suspicious was his first Oracle: or rather, so weak is great power in resisting the assaults of flattery.

Thus was the young Prince, by the flattery of the *Athenians*, brought to such a pass, that hee was forced to take the name of King, as imposed by the *Athenians*; vnlesse he would seeme to appease their vanity, in loading him with more than humane honors. Yet was he so tickled with his fine handling him, that when their *Theori*, or *Consulters* came shortly after, desiring him to relieue them with Corne, & Timber to build ships, he gaue them almost a hundred thousand quarters of wheate, and matter sufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So suspicious was his first Oracle: or rather, so weak is great power in resisting the assaults of flattery.

The great victory of Demetrius against Ptolemy in Cyprus. How Antigonus and Demetrius took upon them the title of King; wherein others followed their example.

FROM this glorious worke, *Antigonus* called away *Demetrius* vnto a businesse of greater difficulty; meaning to employ his seruice against *Ptolemy*, in Cyprus. Before his departure out of Greece, he was willed to establish a generall Counsaile, that should reade of matters concerning the common good of the Countrey. About the same time *Antigonus* withdrew his owne Garrison out of *Amphipolis*, committing their libertie entire, into the peoples hands; whereby it might appeare, that as he would not permit any other to oppress the Greeces, so would he be farre from doing it himselfe. This was enough, to holde his reputation high, among these new purchased Friends: it followed, that he should conuert his forces, to the winning of ground vpon his Enemies.

A pitifull Tragedy, had lately hapned in Cyprus, through the indifferetion of *Mentelaus*, *Ptolemies* brother, and his Lieutenant in that Isle. *Nicoles*, king of *Paphos*, was entred into some practice with *Antigonus*; yet not so farre, that he thought himselfe excused; by which confidence, he was perhaps the more easily detected. To cut off his negotiation, and the false-hearted King of *Paphos* at one blow, *Mentelaus* was sent thither: who surrounding *Nicoles* his house with Souldiers, required in *Ptolemies* name, to haue him yielded to the death. *Nicoles* offered to cleare himselfe; but *Mentelaus* told him, that dye he must, and bad him come forth quietly. This desperate necessity, caused the vnhappy King to rid himselfe of life: and his death strooke such an impression into his wife, that she not onely slew her selfe, but perfwaded the wiues of her husband to do the like. Also those Brethren of *Nicoles*, vnto whom *Ptolemy* had intended no ill, being amazed with the sodainnesse of this calamity, did shut vp the Palace, and setting it on fire, consumed it, with all that was in it, and then selues together.

Whatsoeuer the crime objected was, *Nicoles* perished as a man innocent, because he was not suffered to make his answer. Of this sad accident, though *Mentelaus* deferred the blame, for his rigorous proceeding: yet it is to be thought, that much dislike fell also vpon *Ptolemy*: as men that are grieued, cast an illlection, euen vpon those, that gave the farthest remoued occasion.

Not long after this, *Demetrius* came into Cyprus, with a power sufficient, against any opposition that *Ptolemy* was like to make. The Cyprians did little or nothing against him: either because they had final strength, or for that they held it a matter indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their Lord, being sure that they should not themselves lose the rule of their owne Countrey. *Mentelaus* therefore, out of his Garrisons, drew forth an Army, and fought with *Demetrius*. But he was beaten, and driuen to saue himselfe within the walls of *Salamis*, where he was so hardly besieged, that without strong succour, hee had no likelihood to make good the place, much lesse to retaine possession of the whole Island. His greatest helpe at the present was the fidelity of his Souldiers; whom no rewards could win from him, nor good vllage (when any of them were taken prisoners, and inrolled in the enemies bands) keepe from returning to him, with the first opportunitie. Most of them were Mercenaries: but all their goods were in Egypt, which was enough to keepe them faithfull. Yet could not this their resolution haue stood long, against the odds of number, which *Demetrius* had of men as resolute, and against his terrible Engines of battery, if *Ptolemy* had not hastened to the rescue.

*Ptolemy* brought with him, a hundred and forty Gallies, besides two hundred ships of burden, for transporting his Army and Carriages. This Fleet made a terrible show, when it was descried a farre, though more than halfe of it was vsfit for seruice, in fight at Sea. Wherefore to make the opinion of his forces the more dreadfull, *Ptolemy* sent vnto *Demetrius*, a threatening message: willing him to be gone, vnto lesse he would be overwhelmed with multitudes, and trampled to death in a throng. But this young Gallant repaid him with words of as much bravery, promising to let him escape, vpon condition, that he should withdraw his Garrisons out of *Sydon* and *Corinth*.

*Demetrius* had no more than one hundred and eigheteene Gallies; but they were, for the most part, greater than those of *Ptolemy*; better stored with weapons fit for that ser-

uice, and very well furnished with Engines in the prow, as bene vpon abhominable Noes. Helelle he stood in great doubt of three score Gallies that lay in the Harboure of *Salamis*, left *Mentelaus* with them should set vpon his backe, in which case, it was very likely that all should go very ill with him. Against this mischiefe, he bestowed some of his owne Gallies in the mouth of that Harboure, to keepe *Mentelaus* from issuing forth, and setting his horsemen on the shore, to give what assistance they could, he with the rest of his Fleet departed to Sea against *Ptolemy*.

The fight began early in the morning, and continued long, with downfall success. The Generals were not ranged opposite one to the other, but held each of them the left side of his own fleet. Each of them presumed against the squadron where with he was opposed; but the success of *Demetrius* was to better purpose. For his victory in one part was such, as caused others to fall out of order, and finally draue all to betake themselves vnto speedy flight. As for *Ptolemy*, hee was faine to leave his advantage vpon the enemy in one part of the fight, that he might be able to animate those of his own which needed him in another. Wherein he found his losse ouer-great to be repaired, by commanding any longer against the fortune of that day; and therefore he laboured only to save himselfe, in hope of better euent, that might follow some other time.

There fell out in this battell no vnusall accident; yet was the victorie greater than could haue been expected. The occasions whereof were, partly the great skill in Sea-fighting, which the *Greekes* and *Phenicians*, that were with *Demetrius*, had; and those which followed *Ptolemy*: partly the good furniture of the Ships, wherein consisted no less in the quality of those with whom they were managd. Further, we may readely iudge, that the two hundred ships of his, but then carrying the strength of *Ptolemies* Army, did not more encourage his own men, and terrifie his enemies the day before the fight, than breed in each part the contrary affections, when in the beginning of the fight they fell off, and stood aloofe. For though it were fitting, that they should so do; yet a multitude, prepossest with vaine conceits, wil commonly apprehend very slight occasions, to think themselves abandoned. Besides all this, the expectation, that *Mentelaus* issuing with his fleet out of *Salamis*, should charge the enemies in sterne, was vtterly frustrated. He was kept in perforce, by the ten ships appointed to bar vp the mouth of the Harboure: which they manfully performed, as great necessity required.

Such disappointment of expectation, doth much abate the courage of men in Fight; especially of the assailants: whereas on the contrary, they that finde some part of their fears vaine, do easily gather hopeful spirits, and conceiue an opinion of their own ability, to do more than they thought vpon, out of their not suffering the harme that they had imagined.

Whatsoeuer the causes of this victorie were, the fruit was very great. For *Ptolemy* had no more than eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flight: all the rest of his fleet was either taken or sunk. Neither did *Mentelaus* any longer strue against the violence of fortune, but yielded vp all that hee held in Cyprus, together with his Army, consisting of twelve thousand foote, and a thousand and two hundred horse, and those Gallies in the Harboure of *Salamis*. The same deiection of spirit was found in the common Souldiours, as well when taken at Sea, as that had serued the Egyptian by Land; none of them respoing any more confidence in *Ptolemy*, but willingly becoming followers of a new Lord, whose Army they now increased.

It was generally beleueed, that much more depended on the euent of this fight, than the life of Cyprus; for which they contended. Wherefore the common expectation was great, especially *Antigonus*, whom it most concerned, was deeply perplexed with cares, thinking every day a yeare, till he were aduertised of the issue. In this mood, *Antigonus* found him, a noble flatterer, whom *Demetrius* had honoured with the Messinge of these good newes. *Antigonus* had bethought himselfe of a trick, whereby to double the pleasure of his ioyfull errand: He caused his ships to ride at Anchor, a good distance from the shore; he himselfe landed in a Cock-boat, which he sent immediately back to the ship; and so all alone, he went forward looking very sadly that no part of his tidings might appeare in his countenance. Report of his arriuall (for it was not known where he had been) came presently to *Antigonus*, who sent Messenger after Messenger, to meete him on the way, and bring speedy word how all went. But neither any answer, nor so much as a look, as might intimate the purport of his errand, could bee won from this demure

deuise Gentleman. Thus marched he faire and softly forward with a great throng of  
humble men (as he had writ to fit out his Page) when he came in sight of *Antony*  
with could nor containe himselfe, but went downe to meete him at the Gate, and there  
the Crowes, yet then did *Antony*, upon those falling, with a high voyce saide thus.  
and by the hand of King, viewing the greatesse of the victorie (with as much pomp, as  
before he had done) in great silence, in the hearing of all the people, who with loude  
acclamations gaue that name of King, both to *Antigonus* and his sonne *Demetrius*. The  
then, in the midst of the long suspence, wherein *Antony* had helde him, sayd, That  
in should not so long ere he receiued his reward. But the Title of King  
gained with the Diadem, which his friends did set on his head, he could not thinke  
it necessary to aslurke, wherefore he readily accepted them, and sent the like to his  
sonne, and on the same day, he should be crowned.

When they were receyved abroad, that *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* called themselves Kings; it was not long ere their Followers were ready to follow the good example. *Pollux* his friends would by no means endure, that their Lord should be thought a man dejected for the losse of a Reere; therefore they saluted him also King. *Lysimachus* his Wife had boldnesse enough, to put the Diademe about his own head. *Selenus* had before this time, among the barbarous people, taken vpon him as King: but now he vied the title differently, as well among the *Greeke* and *Macedonians*; as in dealing with others. On-  
ly *Cassander* held himselfe contented with his own name; whereby howsoever he might 10  
show his pride, he no way lessened the fame of his cruelty against his Masters. But the name which he forbore, his sonnes after him were bold to vsurpe, though with ill conceits as will appeare, when they shall enter vpon the Stage; wheron the Rall-  
petitions, vnder new habits, as no longer now the same persons, begin to play their parts, 20  
with bigger looks, and more boisterous actions, not with greater grace and iudgement, than in the Scenes already past.

## СНАР. VI.

*Of the Warres betweene the kings of Egypt, Asia, Macedon,  
Thrace, and others: untill all Alexanders Princes.  
were consumed.*

§. I.

*The Expedition of Antigonus against Egypt, with ill success.*

**A**Ll the rest of these Kings had taken that name vpon them, in imitation of *Antigonus* himselfe, as becoming his greatnesse: which was such as gaue him hope to swallow them vp, together with their new titles. Being not ignorant of his owne strength, he resolved to single out *Ptolomee*, and make him an example to others: who should hardly be able to stand, vvhhen the greatest of them was fallen. To this purpose he prepared an Armie of eightene thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, vvith four score and three Elephants: likewise a fleet of a hundred and fifty Gallies, and a hundred ships of burthen. The Land forces he commanded in person: of the Nauy *Demetrias* was Admirall.

When all was ready for the journey, the Sea-men aduised him to stay yet eight dayes longer, and expect the setting of the *Pleades*. But his haſtie deſire to prevent all preparations for reſiſtance that *Proſperus* ſhould make, reiected this counſaile, imputing it rather to their feare than ſkill: wherefore he departed from *Antigonia* (a Towne which he had built in *Syria*, and called after his own name, that vvvas ſoone changed into *Sidon*), by his moſt ſecret ſneemie) and came to *Gaza*, where he met vvith his Fleet. The next day he drew to *Egypt*, the more haſte, he made: thinking by celeritie to preuaile moſt againſt his growne power. He cauſed his Souldiers to carrie vvith them dayes provision of Viſtall, and had many Camels loaden vvith all neceſſaries, for paſſing the Deſert.

**CHARLES R.**

once which he marched with no small toyle, though he met with no resistance. At Mouth  
Cafium, which is neere adioyning to *Nilus*, he saw his Fleet riding at Anchor, not farre  
from the shore; in ill case, and many shippes wanting: It had bene sorely beaten with  
foule weather, wherein some were lost, others driuen backe to *Gaza*, or scattered else-  
where into such creekes, as they could recover: *Demetrius* himselfe, with the best and  
strongest vessels, did so long beat it vp against the wind, that all his fresh water was spent;  
in which extremity, he and all his must haue perished, had not the tempest ceased when  
it did; and *Antigonus* appeared in fight, from whom these ouer-wearyed, thirsty and Sea-  
sickened Souldiers receiued reliefe. After these painfull trauailes, there followed a warre  
no lesse painfull than to little purpose: for *Ptolemy* had fortified all the passages vpon  
the River of *Nilus*, as he assured himselfe either to end the warre there, or if his guardes  
should happen to be foret, yet could it not be done, but so much to the weakening of the  
Assailers, as he should afterward, with a second Armie (which he held entire) enterfain  
the Inuader vpon aduantage enough. All that *Antigonus* fought, was to come to blowes  
speedily: *Ptolemy* on the contrary, to beat *Antigonus* by the belly. It is true that *Nilus*  
gave him water enough, but wood he had none to warme it, and while *Antigonus* assaul-  
led the Rampiers raised vpon the River in vaine, *Ptolemy* assailed the faith of his souldiers,  
with good successe, for with great gifts & greater promises, he ferried them ouer so fast,  
as had not *Antigonus* thrust some assured Regiments, vpon the passages next the enemy,  
and in the meane while taken a resolution to returne, *Ptolemy* had turned him out of  
their ill attended.

Some of them indeede he laid hands on, in the way of their escape, and those he put to death with extreme torments, but in all likelihood with the same ill successe that *Perdic- cas* had formerly done, when he invaded *Egypt*: had he not readily removed his armie further off, from the noise of their entertainment, that had already bin won from him. To prevent therefore as wel the present danger of his stay, as the shame following a forc't retreat, he secretly practised the aduice of his Councell, vpon whom the burthen must be laid of his entrance, and leauing *Egypt*.

It is indeede lesse preiudiciall in such like cases, that errors, dishonours, and losses, be  
 paid on Counsellors & Captaines, than on Kings, on the Directed, than on the Director:  
 for the honour and reputation of a Prince is farre more precious, than that of a Vassall.  
*Charles the fifth*, as many other Princes haue done, laid the losse and dishonour he recei-  
 ued in the inuasion of *France*, by the way of *Prouence*, to *Antonie de Leno*, whether iustly  
 or no, know not; but howsoeuer, all the Historians of that time agree, that the sorrow  
 thereof cost that braue Captaine his life. Certainly to giue any violent aduice in doub-  
 full enterprises is rather a testimony of loue, than of wisdom, in the giuer; for the ill suc-  
 cess is alwaies cast vpon the Councell, the good neuer wants a Father, though a false  
 one, to acknowledge it. Yet I haue sometime known it, that great Commanders, vho  
 are for the present in place of Kings, haue not onely beene dissuaded, but held, in a kind  
 by strong hand, from hazarding their own persons, and yet haue those kinde of Mutiners  
 neuer been called to a Marshalls Court.

## §. II.

*How the Citie of Rhodes was besieged by Demetrius.*

**T**His departure of *Antigonus*, left behind it many dead carcases, and a great deal of ioy in *Egypt*. *Ptolomy* held a solemne Feast, and sent Messengers abroad, laden with glad newes, to *Selenus Lyfimachus*, and *Cassander* his Confederates, strongly encouraging all that side, with the report of this his late felicity, though it appeared but in a defensiu Warre. *Antigonus* on the contrary, flattered himself with another interpretation, calling the ioyes of his enemies for witness of his owne greatness, seeing they arose but from so little things: his enemies being but bare sauers by the last bargain, and himselfe, as he supposed, hauing lost but a little time, and no part of his honour in the late retraite. Howsoever it were, yet he meant to follow his affaires headeforth in another fashion; for that which he could not cleaue a-sunder by great blowes, he purposed by little and little to pare off, by cutting off the branches first, to fell the Tree it selfe with the more facilitie. To effect which, he resolved (leaving the great ones to grow a while) to roote vp the Dependants of his Enemies: Dependants, vvhom

the forenamed Confederates should be forced either to relente, or to lose; and hereby he doubted not to draw them into the field, where the advantage of power, and of all other warlike provisions, promised him victorie.

At this time the Citie of *Rhodes* was very mightie; being well governed, and having long held it self in good Neutrality; drew the better part of all the trade of those parts, and therein a great deale of riches to it selfe; to maintaine which, and to increase it, it furnished and kept on the Seas a Fleet of well armed shippes, by which it not onely beate off all Pyrates and petty Theeves, but the reputation of their strength was thereby so much increased, as all the neighbour Princes sought their alliance and confederacie.

In this so dangerous a time (in which they must either refuse all that sought them, and so stand friendlesse and apart, or ioyne themselves to some one; and thereby forgoe the peace, by which their greatnesse had growne) their affections carried them to the *Egyptian*: both because the greatest part of their trade lay that way, as also for that *Antigonus* his disposition, greatnesse, and neighbourhood was fearefull vnto them. This affection of theirs, with some other passages, more apparent; gaue argument of quarrell to *Antigonus*, who began to declare himselfe against them by petty iniuries, of taking some of their shippes, with such other grievances, while he made a more weighty preparation, to pursue the warre against them, openly and strongly. All things soon after ordered according to the greatnesse of the enterprise, he employed his sonne *Demetrius* against them in their owne Island, who brought such terror vpon the Citizens, that laying aside all respect of friendship and honour, they offered him their assistance & seruice, against whomsoever *Demetrius*, who knew from whence this change came, and that the alteration was perswaded by feare, & not by loue; raised his demands to an intolerable height, requiring a hundred Hostages to be deliuered him, and liberty to lodge in their Port as many shippes of warre as himselfe pleased. These conditions more properly to bee imposed vpon a State already conquered, than on those who as yet had heard of nothing but a constrained assistance, restored vnto the *Rhodians* their lost courage, & made them resolute to defend their libertie to the last man: this taught them to infranchise all their able bondmen, and wisely rather to make them their fellow-Citizens, than to make themselves fellow-flaues with them.

*Demetrius* having refused the faire conditions offered, (as the *Rhodians* the fearefull ones propounded vnto them) makes preparation for a long siege, and finding no appearance to carrie the place in furie, he set in hand with his Engines of battterie; in the inuention and vse of which, he did neuer shew himselfe a greater *Artisan*, than in this warre. But in conclusion, after the Citizens had sustained all the assaults given them for a whole yeare, after many braue sallies out of the Towne, and the famine vvhich they endured within the Towne, which had proued farre more extreme, if *Ptolemy* had not with many hazards relieved them, *Demetrius* by mediation of the *Grecian* Embassadors, gaue out the siege; a hundred Hostages they gaue him for performance of the peace made, but with exception of all the Magistrates and Officers of the Citie.

Hereunto *Demetrius* was brought by the vsuall policie of warre, and state: for while with the flowre of all his fathers forces he lay before *Rhodes*, *Cassander* recovered many of those places in *Greece*, which *Demetrius* had formerly taken from him; neither did *Cassander* make the warre as in former times, by practice and surpris; but by a strong and well compounded armie, which he himselfe ledde as farre as into *Attica*, and therewith greatly distressed & endangered *Athens* it selfe. On the other side (though with lesse success) did *Polyperchon* invade *Peloponnesus*. These dangerous vndertakings vpon *Greece*, aduised the *Athenians* and *Etolians* to dispatch their Embassadors towards *Demetrius*, and aduised *Demetrius*, rather to abandon the enterprise of *Rhodes*, than to abandon the great honour which he had formerly gotten, by setting all *Greece* at libertie.

*Demetrius* was no sooner out of the Island, than that the *Rhodians* erected statues in honour of *Lysimachus* and *Cassander*; but for *Ptolemy*, whom they most affected, and from whom they receiued their most relief, they consulted with the Oracle of *Iupiter*, whether it were not lawfull to call him a god. The Priests which attended in the Temple of *Hammou*, gaue the same fair answer for *Ptolemy*, which they had formerly done for *Alexander* his

his Master; for as *Alexander* consulted the Oracle with an Army at his heeles, so was *William* at this time Lord of the soile: and yet was this a far more cleanly creation, than that done by the *Athenians*, who Deified *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, by decree of the people. A mad age it was, when so many of *Alexanders* Captaines could not content themselves with the stile of Kings, but that they would needs be called gods.

## §. III.

How *Demetrius* preuailed in *Greece*. *Cassander* desires peace of *Antigonus*, and cannot obtaine it. Great preparations of warre against *Antigonus*.

*Demetrius* comming with a strong Fleet and Army into *Greece*, quickly draue *Cassander* out of *Attica*; and pursuing his fortune, chased him beyond the straits of *Thermopyle*. Herein his reputation did much auail him, which was so great, that ten thousand of his enemies Souldiers revolted vnto him. So partly by the greatnesse of his name, partly by force, he recovered in short space all that *Cassander* held in those straits, and giuing liberty vnto the people, he bestowed vpon the *Athenians* those peeces, which had been fortified against them, to blocke them vp. Then went he into *Thracianus*, where he found the like, or more easie successe: for he suddenly tooke *Byzantium*, *Cavuth*, *Sicyon*, and the most of the Country, bestowing liberty vpon such as needed it. The Towne of *Sicyon* he translated by consent of the Citizens, from the old seat into another place, and called it after his owne name *Demetrius*. This done, he betooke himselfe to his pleasure. At the *Isthman* games, he caused himselfe to be proclaimed Capitaine Generall of *Greece*, as *Philip* and *Alexander* had bene in former times: wherevpon (as if he were now become as great as *Alexander*) hee despised all others, making it a matter of iest, that any, saue himselfe or his father, should vsurpe the name of King. But in his behaviour he was so farre vnlike to a King, that in all the time of his leisure, hee deferred none other name than of a drunken *Palliard*. Yet were the *Athenians* already as euer to deuise new honours for him: among which they made one Decree, that whatsoeuer King *Demetrius* should command, ought to be held sacred with the gods, and iust with men.

All *Greece* being now at the disposition of *Antigonus*, *Cassander* stood in great feare, lest the war should fall heauily vpon him in *Macedon*: which to auoid, he knew no better way than to make peace with his Enemies betimes. And to that purpose he sent *Emballadors*, but had no better answer from *Antigonus*, than that he should submit his whole estate to his discretion. This proud demand made him looke about him, and labour hard in solliciting his friends, both to assist him, and take heed to themselves; neither found he them slow in apprehending the common danger: for *Lysimachus* knew that if once *Cassander* had lost *Macedon*, *Demetrius* would soon be master of *Thrace*. Neither were *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* ignorant of that, which was like to befall them, if *Antigonus* were suffered to put himselfe in quiet possession of those Prouinces in *Europe*. Wherefore it was agreed, that with ioynt forces they should all together set vpon the common Enemy.

Hereof *Antigonus* had notice: but scorned all their preparations, saying, That he would as easily scatter them, as a flocke of birds are driuen away with a stone. With these conceits he pleased himselfe, & no way hindred the proceedings of his Enemies, till at that time in his Towne of *Antigonia* (a name that it must shortly lose) where he was carefully providing to set out some stately game and Pageants, in ostentation of his glory. But thither was brought vnto him the tumultuous newes of *Lysimachus* his victories about *Hellepont*. For *Cassander* had committed vnto *Lysimachus* part of his forces, wherewith to passe ouer into *Asia*, while he himselfe with the rest should besiege *Demetrius* on *Europe* side. So *Lysimachus* passing the *Hellepont*, began to make his warre vpon the subjects of *Antigonus*; getting some of the Cities in those parts, to ioyne with him by faire meanes: winning others by force, and wasting the Country round about.

To repress this unexpected boldnesse, *Antigonus* made hasty iourneys, and came some enough to recouer his losses, but not strong enough to driue *Lysimachus* home, or compell him to come to battaile. *Lysimachus* waited for the comming of *Seleucus*; keeping





friends. Yet was he faine to giue good words. For he had left many of his ships in their Hauens, of which he now stood in great need; & therefore was faine to speak them faire, that sometimes had grossly flattered him. But he shal liue to teach them their old language, & speake vnto them in another tune. When he had gotten his ships, he failed to the *Pharos*, where he found nothing but matter of discomfort. His Garrisons were euery where broken vp; the Souldiers hauing betaken themselves to his enemies pay. So that he was King only of a small Army and Fleet, without money or meanes wherewith to sustaine him & his follo were any long time. All the rest, or the greatest part of his Fathers large Dominion, was now in diuiding among the Conquerers, and those few places which as yet held for him (hauing not perchance heard the worst of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieue: for to put himselfe into the field on that side of the Sea, he had no power; and to inclose himselfe in any of them, how strong soeuer, were but to imprison his fortune, and his hopes, or therein indeede to bury himselfe and his estate: He therefore creeping thorow those bushes that had fewest briers, fell vpon a corner of *Lyfimachus* his Kingdome, whereof hee gaue all the spoyle that was gotten, to his Souldiers, his owne losses hauing beene too great to be repaid againe by small prizes.

In the meane while the Confederate Princes had wherewithall to busie themselves, in the partition of those Prouinces, of which their late victory had made them Lords; wherein *Seleucus* had a notable advantage by being present, and Master of the field, for neither *Ptolomy* nor *Cassander* were at the ouerthrow giuen, hauing onely few certaine troupes to re-inforce the Army which *Seleucus* led, who tooke hold of a part of Asia the lesse, and all Syria, being no otherwise diuided from his owne Territory, than by the Riuer of Euphrates. For there had not any order beene taken by the Confederates, for the diuision of all those Lands: because they did not expect so prosperous an issue of that warre, which they made onely in their owne common defence. It was therefore lawfull for *Seleucus*, to make the best benefit that hee could of the victory, at which, neuertheless others did repine; and though they neither could nor durst accuse him of ill dealing for the present, yet seeing the ouer-greatnesse of *Seleucus* brought no lesse danger to the rest of the new Kings, than that of *Antigonus* had done, they consulted vpon the same reason of State as before, how to oppose it in time. Neither was *Seleucus* ignorant of what they had determined, for he read in the Law vniuersall of Kingdomes and States, needing no other intelligence. Hereupon they forget friendships on all sides, and cure themselves of all vnprofitable passion, the hatred of each to other, and their loues being laid on the one side, against their profits on the other, were found so far too light, as *Seleucus*, who had to day slaine *Antigonus* the father, and driuen *Demetrius* the son out of Asia, sought to morrow how to match himselfe with *Stratonica*, *Demetrius* his daughter, and so by *Demetrius* to serue his turne against *Lyfimachus*.

The story of this *Stratonica*, with whom young *Antiochus*, the sonne of *Seleucus* fell so passionately in loue, and so distempered, as *Seleucus* his father, to saue his sonnes life, gaue her (though she were his wife) vnto him; and how his passion was discovered by his pulse, is generally noted by all Writers. But neither did this alliance betwene *Seleucus* and *Demetrius*; betwene *Ptolomy* and *Lyfimachus*; betwene *Demetrius* and *Cassander*; betwene *Demetrius* and *Ptolomy*; though for the present it brought him againe into the ranke of Kings, otherwise eye any of them to each other, than the marriages betwene Christian Kings haue done in later times, namely betwene the Austrians, the Aragonians, the French, & other Princes, neither haue the Leagues of those elder times beene found more faithfull, than those of the same later times haue beene, as in the stories of *Charles* the eighth of France, and of *Charles* the Emperour, of *France* the first, and of the Kings of Naples, Dukes of Millan and others, the Reader may obserue: betwene whom from the yeare of our Lord, One thousand, four hundred, ninety and five, when *Charles* the eighth vnderooke the Conquest of Naples, to the yeare One thousand five hundred fifty and eight, when *Henry* the second died; the Histories of those times tell vs, that all the bonds, either by the Bedde on by the Book, either by Weddings, or Sacramentall Oathes, had neither faithfull purpose nor performance. Yet did *Demetrius* reap this profit by giuing his daughter to his enemy *Seleucus*, that hee recovered Cilicia from *Phylarchus*, the brother of *Cassander*, who had gotten it

his share in the diuision of *Antigonus* his possessions: for the latter was not strong enough to hold it by his proper forces from him, that euenly vnder it was a lawfull Heire; neither would *Seleucus* lend him any helpe, as by the rule of Confederacy hee should haue done against the common enemy. So *Phylarchus* with very angry complaint, as well against *Seleucus* as *Demetrius*, went vnto *Cassander*; whither *Phila*, their sister, followed him shortly, to pacifie them both, and keepe all quiet; being sent for that purpose by *Demetrius* her husband, that was not strong enough to deal with *Cassander*; and therefore glad to make vse of that bond of alliance betwixt them, whereof in his owne prosperity, he neuer tooke notice to the others good. About the same time hee tooke to Wife a daughter of *Ptolomy* (plurality of Wiues being familiar with these Macedonians, that had learned it in their Easterne conquests) and so was hee by two marriages rather freed from two enemies, than strengthened with two friends, for neither of them with him any good, otherwise than might seeme to aduance their owne ambitious desires.

*Seleucus* and *Ptolomy* could both of them haue been contented better, that *Demetrius*, with helpe of their countenance, should seeke his fortune somewhat farther off, than settle his estate vnder their noses. Particularly, *Seleucus* thought that Cilicia lay very fitly for himselfe: and *Ptolomy* had a great appetite (which yet he concealed a while) to the Ile of Cyprus. Now whether it were so, that *Seleucus* would faine haue set his new father-in-law vpon the necke of *Lyfimachus*; or whether he were indeede greedy of the baggage, he offered to buy of *Demetrius* for ready money, his late purchase of Cilicia: Hereunto *Demetrius* would not harken, but meant to keep as much Land as he could, hauing already found in Cilicia twelue thousand talents of his fathers treasure, that would serue him to make sport a while. This refusall so displeased *Seleucus*, that in angry terms he demanded the Cities of Tyre and Sidon, to be surrendered vnto him; which were the onely places in Syria, that had not followed the fortune of the late great battaille. Instead of giuing them vp, *Demetrius* took present order to haue them better manned; and spake it stoutly, That were hee ouercome a thousand times, yet would hee not hire *Seleucus* to become his Son-in-law. In this quarrell *Seleucus* was generally reprehended, as one of a malignant disposition, that would breake friendship with his Father-in-law for two Townes, from whom hee had already taken more than well hee knew how to gouerne. But the fire consumed it selfe in words, which had it fastned vpon armes, like it is that the weaker should haue found friends out of enuie to the stronger.

## §. VI.

How *Demetrius* won the City of Athens, and preuailed in Greece, but lost in Asia. Of troubles in Macedon following the death of *Cassander*.

In the meane while, the Athenians not knowing how to vse the liberty, which *Demetrius* had bestowed on them, were fallen by sedition, vnder the tyranny of *Laches*. Through which alteration their disaffected City was so weakened, that it seemed ill able to keepe off the punishment due to their late ingratitude. This advantage halued him, whom they had once called their God and Saviour, to present himselfe vnto them, in the habit of a reuenging fury. He brought against them all the force that hee could well spare from other employments; which were at that time perhaps the more, because his doubtfull Easterne friends, were vnwilling to giue impediment to any business that might entangle him in Greece. His first enterprise in Athens had ill success; a great part of his fleet perishing in a tempest. But hee soone repaired the losse; and (after some victories in Peloponnesus, where hee wan diuers Townes that had fallen from him) returning to the enterprise, wasted the Country of Attica, and cut off all reliefe from the City, both by Land and Sea.

Athens was not able to feed the great multitude within it any long time: for it stood in barren soile, and wanted now the countenance of those Islands, and places abroad, from whence it was wont to be stored with victuals, being also destitute of meane to keepe such a Name, as might bring in supply, or dare to do any thing at Sea, against that of *Demetrius*. Yet was there some hope of succour from *Ptolomy*, who (trusting thereby to win the Ile of Greece) had loaden a hundred and fifty ships with corne, and sent them to relieue



the hungry City: But this hundred and fifty were vnable to deale with three hundred good fighting ships, which *Demetrius* had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, and therefore hastened away betimes, as hauing done enough, in aduenturing to come to neere that they might be desiered. This brake the heart of the people, among whom the famine was so extreame, that a Father and his Son did fight for a dead Moule, which dropped downe between them from the house top. Wherefore they sent Embassadors to yeeld vp the Towne, and craue pardon, hauing so farre offended, that out of desperation, they made it a capitall offence, to propose any motion of peace. Yet were they faine to abolish this decree: rather because they knew not what else to do, than because they hoped to be forgiven.

*Demetrius*, contented with the honour of the victory, did not only forbear to take away the liues of these vnthankfull men, which they had submitted vnto his mercy, but out of his liberality gaue them food, & placed in Office amongst them such as were most acceptable to the people. Neuerthelſſe he was growne wiser than to trust them so far as he had done in times past. And therefore, when (among other flattering acclamations) they bade him take their Hauens, and dispose of them at his pleasure, hee was ready to lay hold vpon the word, & leaue a sure Garrison within their walls, to keep them honest perforce. After this he went into Peloponnesus, vanquished the Lacedæmonians in two battailes, and was in very faile possibility to take their City: when the dangerous newes called him in all haste, of *Lysimachus* and *Ptolemy*; that preuailed faster vpon him elsewhere, than himselfe did vpon his enemies in Greece. *Lysimachus* had won many Towns in Asia; *Ptolemy* had gotten all the Isle of Cyprus, except the City of Salamis, wherein *Demetrius* had left his Children & Mother, that were straightly besieged. Whilst he was bethinking himselfe which way to turne his face, a notable piece of businesse offered it selfe, which thrust all other cares out of his head.

*Cassander* was lately dead in Macedon, and soon after him, *Philip* his eldest son, whose two younger brethren, *Antipater* & *Alexander*, fought for the Kingdome. In this quarrell *Theolonia* the Daughter of King *Philip*, whom *Cassander* had married, seemed benefitted to *Alexander*, than to her elder son: who thereupon grew so enraged, that most barbarously he slew his owne Mother. The odiousnesse of this fact gaue a faire lustre to *Alexander's* cause; drawing the generality of the Macedons to take his part, as in reuenge of the Queens death, vpon that wicked parricide *Antipater*. But *Antipater* was so strongly backed by *Lysimachus*, whose daughter he had married; that *Alexander* could not hope to make his party good without some forraigne aide. For which cause he called in both *Pyrhus* and *Demetrius*; who how they dealt with him, it will soon appeare in the following Tragedy, of him and his brother. Their Father *Cassander* had been one that shifed well for himselfe, at such time as euerie man sought how to get somewhat, in the ill ordered diuision of the Empire. He was cunning in practice, & a good Souldier: one of more open dealing than were his Companions, but withall more impudent, rudely killing those, whom others would more wisely haue made away. He deeply hated the memory of *Alexander*, first had knocked his head against a wall, vpon some opinion of contempt. With *Olympia* he had an hereditary quarrell, deriued from his Father, whom she could not abide. Her feminine malice did so exasperate him, by cruelty, that she vsed against his friends, both alie and dead; as it made him aduenture vpon shedding the Royall blood: wherewith, when once he had stained his hands, he did not care bow farre he proceeded in that course of murder. His carelesnesse to destroy those women and children, whose liues hindered his purpose, argues him to haue been rather skillfull in matters of Armes, than a valiant man: such cruelty being a true marke of cowardize, which feares a part of the dangers, that may quietly passe away; and seeks to auoide them by base and wicked meanes, as neuer thinking it selfe safe enough, vntill there be nothing left, that carries likelihood of danger. Of *Olympia* and *Roxane* it may be said, that they had well deserved the bloody end which ouer-tooke them; yet ill befecomed it *Cassander* to doe the office of a Hang-man. But *Alexander's* children had by no law of men, deserved to die for the tyranny of their Father. Wherefore, though *Cassander* died in his Bed, yet the diuine Iustice brought swords vpon his wife and children, that well reuenged the impiety of this bloody man, by destroying his whole house, as he had done his Masters.

§. VII.

Of *Pyrhus* and his doings in Macedon. The death of *Cassander's* children. *Demetrius* gets the Kingdome of Macedon, preuailes in warre against the Greeks; Lefteth reparation in his warre against *Pyrhus*; and in his ciuill Government; and prepares to win Asia. How all confpire against *Demetrius*. *Pyrhus* and *Lysimachus* invade him, his Army yeelds to *Pyrhus*, who shares the Kingdome of Macedon with *Lysimachus*.

*Pyrhus*, the Sonne of that vnfortunate Prince *Æacides*, which perished in warre against *Cassander*, was hardly preferred, being a suckling Infant, from the fury of his Fathers enemies. When his Fosterers had conueighed him to *Glaucias* King of *Illyria*; the deadly hatred of *Cassander* would haue bought his life with the price of two hundred Talents. But no man can kill him that shall be his Heire. *Glaucias* was so faine from betraying *Pyrhus*, that he restored him by force to his Fathers Kingdome, when he was but twelue yeares of age. Within the compasse of fixe years; either the indiscretions of his youth, or the rebellious temper of his Subjects; draue him out of his Kingdome, and left him to trie the work anew. Then went he to *Demetrius* (who married his sister) became his Page, followed him as while in his warres, was with him in the great battell of *Ipsus*, whence he fled with him to *Ephesus*, & was content to be hostage for him, in his reconciliation with *Ptolemy*. In *Egypt* he so behaued himselfe, that he got the fauour of *Berenice*, *Ptolemies* principall wife; so that he married her Daughter, & was vpon sent home, with money & men, into *Epirus*; more beholding now to *Ptolemy*, than to *Demetrius*. When he had fully recovered the Kingdome of *Epirus*, and was settled in it, then fell this businesse between the children of *Cassander*, which drew both him and *Demetrius* into Macedon.

*Antipater*, the eldest of *Cassander's* sons, was so farre too weak for *Pyrhus*, that hee had no desire to attend the committing of *Demetrius*; but made a hasty agreement, and quitted the Kingdome to his younger brother *Alexander*, who likewise let the aide of *Pyrhus* to trouble some, that he was more willing to send him away, than to call in such another helper. For *Pyrhus* had the audacity to request, or rather as granted, by strong words, *Ambacia*, *Acarnania*, and much more of the Countrey, as the reward of his pains; being the two brethren to agree as well as they could about the rest. Necessity enforced the brethren to composition: but their composition would not satisfie *Demetrius*, who to this matter haicquely, that he was sent for, and made a fool, to come so farre with an Army, and find no worke for it. This was a fruitlesse complaining, whereby it appeared, that *Demetrius* had a purpose to doe as *Pyrhus* had done; and so much more, by how much he was stronger. Here vpon it seemed to *Alexander* a wise course; to reuenge this ouer-diligent friend, by murthering him vpon some advantage. This *Demetrius* reported the story, and it might be true; though the greatest part, and perhaps the wisest, beleue it not. But hee knew, that *Alexander* himselfe was feasted and lured by *Demetrius*, who took his part of the Kingdome, as a reward of the murder; and hee saw, that all the Macedonians grew glad enough to acknowledge him their King. It fell out happily, that about the same time *Lysimachus* was blisied in warre with some of the wilde Thracians; forthwith he was compelled to seek peace of *Demetrius*, which to obtaine he caused the remainder of Macedon to beguile vpon *Pyrhus*, the son belonging to *Antipater*, his Son-in-law. At this ill bargain *Antipater* gileously consented, though he knew, not how to amend it; yet still he sturmed, vntill his Father-in-law to lue the labour of making many excuses, took away his troublesome life. Thus *Antipater*, with a kinde of neglect, and as it were to liquid molestation, yvere slaine the children of *Cassander*: of *Cassander* that had slaine his owne Masters children, in a wise sort of policy, with carefull meditation to much the more wicked as the more long they were how to erect his owne house; that fell downe vpon his grieuance the earth on it throughly fasted.

It might be thought, that such an access of Dominion, added much to the greatness of *Demetrius*. But indeed it shewed his infirmity, and thereby made him neglected by many; and at length hated by all. For he had no Art of ciuill Government: but thought he followed by his actions this be thought the vice and fruit of a Kingdome, to be none other,

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other, than to doe what a King listeth. He gaue himselfe ouer to Women and Wine, laughing openly at those which offered to trouble him with supplications, & the tedious discourse of doing iustice. He had more skill in getting a Kingdome, than in ruling it: war being his recreation, and luxurie his nature. By long rest (as fixe years reigne is long to him, that knowes not how to reigne one yeare) he discovered to much of his worst conditions, as made the people both weary of his idleness; and the Souldiers, of his vanity. He was freed from care of matters in Asia, by hearing that all was lost: though more especially, by hearing that *Ptolomy* had with great honour, entertained and dismissed his mother and children. This afforded him the better leisure, of making war in Greece: where he vanquished the Thebans; and won their City twice in short space, but vsed his victory with mercy. Against *Lysimachus* hee would faine haue done somewhat (the peace betwene them notwithstanding) at such time as hee was taken by the Thracians; but *Lysimachus* was freely dismissed, and in good case to make resistance ere *Demetrius* came; so as this iourney purchaseth nothing but enmity. Another expedition he tooke in hand against *Pyrhus*, with no better, or rather with worse cunct. *Pyrhus* held somewhat belonging to Macedon, which he had indeed as honestly gotten, as *Demetrius* the whole Kingdome, he had also made excursions into Thessaly. But there needed not any hand some pretence of quarrell, seeing *Demetrius* thought himselfe strong enough, to ouer-run his enemies Countrey, with two great Armies. It is a common fault in men, to despise the vertue of those, whom they haue knowne raw Nouices in that faculty, wherein themselves are noted as extraordinary. *Pyrhus* was a Captaine, whom later ages, and particularly the great *Hannibal*, placed higher in the rank of Generals, than either *Demetrius*, or any of *Alexanders* followers. At this time, hee mist that part of the Army, which *Demetrius* led, and fell vpon the other halfe: which hee ouerthrew, not vvith more commendations of his good conduct, than of his private valour, shewed in single combat against *Pantanchus*, *Demetrius* his Lieutenant, vvho being a strong man of body, challenged this young Prince to fight hand to hand, and was vterly beaten. The losse of this battaile did not so much offend the Macedonians, as the gallant behaviour of *Pyrhus* delighted them. For in him they seemed to behold the lively figure of *Alexander* in his best quality. Other Kings did imitate, in a counterfeit manner, some of *Alexanders* graces, and had good skill in wearing Princely vestures: but (said they) none, saue *Pyrhus*, is like him in deed, in performing the office of a Captaine.

These rumours vvere not more nourished by the vertue of the Epirot, than by dislike of their owne King, whom they began to disesteeme, not so much in regard of his vnprofitable iourney into Epirus (for he had wasted much of the Countrey, and brought home his Army in good cases) as of his insolence, that grew daily more and more intolerable. His apparrell deemed, in the eyes of the Macedons, not only too sumptuous and new-fangled, but very vnmanly; and seruing chiefly to be a daily wittnesse, how much hee contemned them and their good opinions. Of his Souldiers liues hee was retchlesse: & sufficed vniuersally this vn-princely sentence to escape out of his mouth. That the more of them died, the fewer hee was to pay. He made a mockery of iustice; and that it were to publish vnto all his Subjects, how little hee esteemed in of them) hauing by a show of popularity invited Petitioners, and with a gracious countenance entertained their supplications, he led the poore suiters after him in great hope, till hee had brought them to a bridge, he threw all their writings into a Riuer; pleasing himselfe, in that hee would so easily and so boldly delude the cares of other men. By these courses hee grew so bold, that *Pyrhus* gathered audacity, and invading Macedon, had almost wonne it all vvith little resistance. *Demetrius* lay then sicke in his bed: who recouering health, and taking the field, had such great odds of strength, as made *Pyrhus* glad to forsake his winning way, and be gone.

At length he began to haue some feeling of the generall hate; vvich he redressed, he did not (for he could not) alter his owne conditions; but purposed to alter their vvith discourses of him, by setting them on worke in such an action, wherein his best qualities might appeare; that is, in a great War. His intent was to invade Asia, with a vvhole Army: wherein the fortune of one battaile might giue him as much, as the fortune of another had taken from him. To this end, hee first made peace vvith *Pyrhus*; that so hee might leaue all safe and quiet at home. Then did hee compose a mighty Army,

of almost a hundred thousand foot, and twelue thousand horses with a Nauie of five hundred saile, wherein were many ships, farre exceeding the greatnesse of any that had bin seen before; yet so swift and vsfull vvithall, that the greatnesse was least part of their commendation.

The terrible fame of these preparations, made *Seleucus* and *Ptolomy* suspect their owne forces, and labour hard with *Lysimachus* and *Pyrhus*, to ioyne against this ambitious son of *Antigonus*; that was like to proue more dangerous to them all, than cuer was his father. It was easily discerned, that if *Demetrius* once prevailed in Asia, there could be no security for his friends in Europe, what league sooner were of old concluded. Therefore they resolved to begin with him betimes, & each to invade that quarter of Macedon, that lay next his owne Kingdome. *Lysimachus* came first, and against him went *Demetrius* with a great part of his Army: but whilst he was yet on the way, newes were brought into his Camp, that *Pyrhus* had won Berrhaea. The matter was not ouer great: were it not, that minds prepared with long discontent, are ready to lay hold vpon small occasions of dislike. All the campe was in vvproare: some wept, others raged, few or none did forbear to utter seditious words, and many desired leaue of *Demetrius*, to go to their owne houses, meaning indeed to haue gone to *Lysimachus*.

When *Demetrius* perceiued the bad affection of his Army, he thought it the wisest way, to lead the Macedonians further off from *Lysimachus* their own counterman, against *Pyrhus* that was a stranger: hoping by victory against the Epirot, to recouer the loue of his followers, in such sort that he might afterwards at leisure deale vvith the other. But herein his wisdome beguiled him. For the Souldiers were as hasty as hee, to meet with *Pyrhus*; not intending to hurt him, but longing to see that noble Prince, of whom they daily heard the honourable fame. Some spake of his valour; some enquired, others angier, of his person, his armour, and other tokens vvherby, hee might be knowne; as particularly, by a pair of Goats hornes, that he wore on his crest. It was not likely, that such men should hurt him. Diuers of them stole away, and ran ouer into *Pyrhus* his campe, where the newes that they brought, were better welcome than their persons. For they said, and it was true, that if the Macedonians might once get sight of *Pyrhus*, they would all salute him King. To trie this, *Pyrhus* rode forth, and presented himselfe bareheaded in view of the campe, vvither some were sent before to prepare his welcome. The newes of his arriual found a generall applause, and euery one began to looke out, vvith desire to see eye on him. His face was so well knowne as his Helmet, therefore hee was admonished to put it on: which done, all came about him, and vvith red their seruice, neither were there any, that spake for *Demetrius*, onely some (and they the most moderate of tongue) bad him be gone betimes, and shift for himselfe. So *Demetrius* threw aside his maskers habit, and attiring himselfe poorly, did fearfully steale away out of his owne campe, deserveng well this calamity: whether it were so, that he would not harken to the good counsaile of his friends, or whether his behaviour deprived him of such friends, as would dare to let him heare the vnpleasant sound of necessity much.

Whilst *Pyrhus* was making this triumphant entry into the Kingdome of Macedon, *Lysimachus* came vpon him very vnseasonably, and vvould needs haue halfe: saying, that he had done as much as *Pyrhus* in the warre; and therefore had reason, to challenge his part of the gaine. The bargain was quickly made, and sice diuision agreed vpon each of them being rather desirous to take his part quietly, than to fight for the vvhole, as hoping each of them, to worke his fellow quite out of all vpon better opportunity.

The *Demetrius* gathering forces, entered vvith many ships, vvith the *Pyrhus* in Greece and Asia. Hee vvith his Arriue vvith *Seleucus*, and compelled vvith vvith his Arriue.

The Athenians, were as vnthankfull to *Demetrius* in this his aduerity, as they had beene in former times. For they presently forsooke his friendship, and called *Pyrhus* out of Macedon to be their Patron. *Demetrius*, when hee went against *Lysimachus*, had left a great part of his forces in Greece, vvnder his sonne *Antigonus*. Therefore it is like, that hee had soone gotten an Army, though *Phila* his wife (who

(who is highly commended for a wife and vertuous Lady) did poyson her selfe, vpon desperate griefe for his misfortune. The first vpon whom he attempted to shew his anger, were the Athenians that had well deserued it. He began to lay siege to their Towne; but was pacified by *Crates* the Philosopher, whom they had made their spoked man, & taking faire words in stead of satisfaction, passed ouer into Asia, with eleuen thousand Souldiers, meaning to trie his fortune against *Lyfimachus*, for the Prouinces of Lydia and Caria.

At his first comming into those parts, fortune seemed to smile vpon him. For many good Townes, willingly, or by compulsion, yielded to his obedience. There were also some Capitaines that fell from *Lyfimachus* to him, vvith their companies and treasures. But it was not long ere *Agathocles* the sonne of *Lyfimachus*, came vpon him with an Army so strong, that it was not for *Demetrius* his good, to hazard his last stocke against it. Wherefore, he resolved to passe through Phrygia and Armenia, into Media, and the Prouinces of the higher Asia; trusting to finde a Kingdome somewhere in those remote quarters. The execution of this counsaile was grieuouly impeached by *Agathocles*, who pursued him close; and cut off all his prouisions, driving him to take which waies he could, without following his intended course. In many skirmishes *Demetrius* vanquished this troublefome Enemy: neuertheless, he could not be shaken off, but continued afflicting the poore ritularly King, with extreame famine. At length, in passing the river Lycus, so many of *Demetrius* his men were lost, that the rest could no longer make resistance, but were driuen to trauaile with such speed as might well be called a plain flight. So that with famine, pestilence diseases following famine, and other accidents of warre, eight thousand of them were consumed: the rest, with their Capitaine, escaped into Cilicia. *Seleucus* had gotten possession of Cilicia, whilst *Demetrius* was occupied in Greece: yet was it no part of *Demetrius* his errand; to lay claime to the Country; but with vehemēt and humble letters he besought his son-in-law, to call to mind their alliance, and to pity him in his great misery. These letters, at the first wrought well with *Seleucus*, and he condescended to the request: yet considering further how *Demetrius* had carried himselfe, when he recovered strength after the battell at Ipsus, he changed his purpose, and went against him with an Army.

Many treaties were held between them; of which none took effect, though the insolence of *Seleucus*. Therefore, mere desperation enforced *Demetrius* to fight like a mad man, and his furies got him some victories, though of small importance. At length, necessity took and held him forty daies; in which time, a great number of his few men, ran to the enemy. This notwithstanding, he still held out, and once had like to haue taken *Seleucus* in his bed, had not his continuing be discouraged by fugitives, that gaue alarm. Finally, when all his Army had forsaken him, and left him with a few of his friends to shift for himselfe, he was compelled by the last of those adherents (for euery some of those few forsooke him to goe vnto *Seleucus*).

*Seleucus* hearing this, was exceedingly glad, and sent him very comfortable messages. But the approbation of his owne humanity, by his followers, was such, as renewed his iaculous thoughts, and hindered him from admitting *Demetrius* to his presence; though otherwise he vsed him with as much fauour, as any prisoner could with. He was kept vnder sure guard in a deny Island; wherein were goodly Walkes, Orchardes, and Parks for hunting. Hee had all that he asked royally; and friends allowed to visit him, at his; and their pleasure. Only his liberty was refused: vntill the comming of young *Antiochus* and *Stratonice*, one of the high Countesses. In this fort he spent three yeares, liuing merrily all the while (as one that now enioyed the happinesse, which with so much trauaile and blood-shed, hee had sought in vaine), and then dyed, leaving to his sonne, *Antiochus*, the same which his father had left vnto himselfe: that is, riches and hope. His ashes were honourably buried in Corinth; his countesse haue a great share in his actions, and the fortune of his Houle will shew it selfe hereafter, in times and places conuenient.

S. I. X.

The death of Ptolemy, of Lyfimachus, and of Seleucus, that was last of Alexanders Capitaines: with other occurrences.

About the same time that *Demetrius* died, died also *Ptolemy* King of Egypt, a vertuous Prince, warlike, gentle, bountifull, and (which in those times was a rare commendation) regardfull of his word. He had, by many Wiues and Concubines, many children, out of whom he selected *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and caused him to reigne together with himselfe, two or three yeares before he died, that so he might confirm him in the inheritance of the Kingdome. At this, *Ptolemy Ceraunus* (for all of that house assumed the name of *Ptolemy*) was grieuouly incensed. But no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to *Seleucus*, who gaue him louing entertainment. There were now only two of Alexanders Capitaines left, *Seleucus* and *Lyfimachus*. These two needs would fight for it, who should be the longest liuet of that braue Company. The true ground of their quarrell, was, their neere equality of strength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was the murders which *Lyfimachus* had committed vpon many of his Nobles, together with his poysoning *Agathocles* his eldest son: whose wife and children fled vnto *Seleucus* for aide.

The Macedons after seuen Moneths pause, hauing spent their first heat of admiration, began to harken so well to *Lyfimachus*, their naturall Country-man, that they forsooke *Pyrhus*, vpon none other ground than becaus: he was an Alien. This they had knowne well enough before: but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, that they lightly gaue him. *Lyfimachus* had reigned about five yeares alone, when the City of *Lyfimachia* (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earth-quake, appeared by euents, to haue foreshewed the fall of his house. His owne iualousie, and the indignation of a Mother-in-law, caused him to poyson his Son *Agathocles*; which drew vpon him that War, wherein (after the losse of all his fittcen children that were taken away by diuers accidents) he perished himselfe.

*Seleucus* was encountered by *Lyfimachus* on Asia side, where one battell concluded the warre, with *Lyfimachus* his death. It pleased *Seleucus* more than the victory, that he was the last of all the great Herodes that followed *Alexander*. For now he seemed to himselfe as Lord and Heire of all the conquered World. So he passed ouer into Macedon, to take possession of Europe, where there was none to withstand him. But there he ended his dayes, and within seauen Moneths followed *Lyfimachus*, and other of his fellows, by a bloody death, being treacherously slaine by *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, whose friend and Patron he had bin. Seuentie and seuen year old he was, when he fought with *Lyfimachus*, and *Lyfimachus* was seuentie and foure. With them ended the generation of old Capitaines, that had seen the daies as it were of another World vnder the Persian: yet was there left one so equal to any of them in the Art of Warre: euen *Pyrhus* the Epirot, of whom we spake before, that is now ready to enter into warre with the Romans, a more warlike people, than *Alexander* himselfe did euer encounter. Of which warre, and of which people, it is needfull that we here make mention, as of a story more important, than any likely to continue in Greece, or in the great Kingdomes that were held by Alexanders Successors, with lesse (and still decreasing) vertue, than was that, by which they were first purchased.

CHAP.

## CHAP. VII.

## The growth of Rome: and setting of the Easterne Kingdomes.

## S. I.

From the Romanes enlarged their Dominion in Italy, from the death of Tullus Hostilius, vnto such time as they were assailed by Phrythius.



OW Rome was founded by *Romulus*; settled in good order by *Numa Pompilius*; and by many, though small, victories, it gathered strength, vnto such time as it became the head of Latium, by the conquest of Alba, in the reigne of *Tullus Hostilius*: it hath bene already noted, in due order of time. But whereas now the Roman greatnesse beginneth to encounter the power of Greece; and extending it selfe out of Italy, to ouerwhelme the Dominions of other States and Princes: I hold it conuenient (as in like cases I haue done) briefly to set downe the growth of this mighty City, in a compendious relation, of those many actions, which could not haue been deliuered in the ages, wherein they were severally performed, without much interruption of the History, that was then occupied in matter more important.

After the death of *Tullus Hostilius* (who when he had reigned two & thirty years was burnt together with his house by lightning) *Ancus Martius*, Grandchilde to *Numa Pompilius* by his daughter, and not much vnlike him in disposition, succeeded in the Kingdome of Rome. He walled the City about; enlarged it with the hill Auentine, which he enclosed, built a bridge ouer Tybris, & the City of Ostia vpon the Sea, sixtene miles distant from Rome. Finally, hauing reigned foure and twenty yeares, he died, and by his last Will he left his children in charge with one *Lucretius*, the son of *Damaris*, a Corinthian, who auoyding *Cypselus* King of Corinth his tyranny, had fled into Hetruria, & dwelt in Tarquinii, by the name of vvhich Towne he was afterwards called *Tarquinii*. From that City in Hetruria comming to Rome, & encouraged by some ominous occurrences, together with his wife *Tanaquil* prophesy, he grew a favorite of *Ancus Martius*; by his Grecian wit humouring the factions of the Romane Court, in suchmanner that after his decease, he became not only Protector to the children, but Governour to the City. He doubled the number of Senators, and enlarged the Centurions of Horsemen: neither was he lesse eminent in warre, than in peace: for he preuailed often against the Tuscans, and from his victories, the chiefest ornaments of triumph tooke their originall. When this *Lucius Tarquinus* had reigned eight and thirty yeares, he was slaine by the sons of *Ancus Martius*, to whom he had been left Guardian. But *Tanaquil* his wife, perceiving who was done, and fearing the people, from out of an high Turret, that her Husband was wounded, and sicke; but not dangerously. And withall signified vnto them, that in the issue of his sickness, one *Seruius Tullius*, whom from his birth she alwaies prophesied to be borne to great hopes, (the sonne of *Corniculani* and *Cerius*, a well descended, but captiue woman) brought vp in her house, and husband vnto her daughter, should supply her husbands place, in governing the State, vntill his recovery: vvhich government, being thus at first obtained by cunning, he afterwards vsurped as his right. He first ordained Ratements, Subsidies, and valuations of the peoples wealth; among whom at that time, fourescore thousand were mustered, of which number consisted their whole corporation; and by distinction of Dignities, Ages, Trades, and Offices, hee managed the Kingdome in as good sort, as if it had been a priuate household. At length, hauing two daughters of different natures, the one milde and gentle, the other fierce and outrageous; and finding also that the two sonnes of *Tarquinus Priscus*, *Sextus* and *Arns*, which had bene committed vnto his tuition, were of different dispositions, proportionably answering to his daughters; hee (willing to adde water, not oyle, to fire) gaue the milde daughter to *Sextus* the hot-headed sonne; and the violent, to *Arns* the gentle in marriage. But whether by intended courses, or by accident, it hapned; the two milde ones being made away, the furious natures were readily ioyned in marriage: who

(soon

soone concurring, and calling the Senate together, began to lay claime to the Kingdome. Vpon this tumult, *Seruius Tullius* hastning to the Senate, (where hee thought by authority to haue bridled insolency) was throwne downe the staires, and going home sore bruised, was slain by the way, when he had reigned forty and foure years. Then *Tullia* his daughter, first proclaiming her husband *Tarquinus Superbus* king; returning home, enforced her Coach-man to driue his Chariot ouer her fathers corpes; whereupon the street had the denomination of wicked street. This *Tarquinius*, exercising cruelty without iustice, and tyranny without mercy, vpon the people and Senators; hauing tired himselfe and them at home, vied the same rage of treachery vpon his borders. He tooke *Orciculum*, *Suefla*, *Pometia*, and the *Gabii*. The issue of besieging *Ardea*, a towne eightene miles distant from Rome, was of bad successe. In the heat of which warre, his sonne *Sextus Tarquinus* violently rauished that chaste Lady *Lucretia*, his kinsman *Collatines* wife: who in way of expiation for so vnchaste a deed, thought good to wash out those spots of infamy with her owne blood; so (hauing first bequeathed the reuenge vnto her father *Sp. Lucretius* *Triptolimus* her husband *Collatine*, & *Imolus Brutus*) she kild her self: whereupon (chiefly by *Imolus Brutus* his resolution) *Tarquinus Superbus*, with his wife and children, was deposed and banished; and fled to *Perseus* king of Hetruria for succour, in the five and twentieth year of his reigne, and the two hundred forty and fourth from the building of their City: in which space Rome had scarce gotten possession of fiftene miles round about her.

*Imolus Brutus* by the helpe of *Collatine*, hauing expelled *Tarquinius*, and freed his Country from that heauie yoke of bondage, enforced the people by Soleme oath, neuer to admit any government by Kings amongst them: whereupon they ransacked their Kings goods, consecrated their fields to *Mars*, and conferred the government of the State vpon *Imolus* and *Collatine*. But because the name of King was odious in their eares, they changed the manner of their government; from perpetuall to annuall, and from a single gouernour to a double; lest perpetuall or sole dominion might bee some motive to vsurpation; & in stead of Kings they called them Consuls, signifying, as it may be interpreted, Providers: that their titles might remember them of their place, which was to bee alwayes mindefull of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it so hard feeling of troubled warre, that the people, after this innouation of State, scarce daring to assure themselves of their owne security, enforced *Tarquinus Collatine* to resigne vp his authority, fearing that tyranny would bee hereditary, and supposing that the very name and affinity with the house of *Tarquinius*, shouled already of their condition. In his room was substituted *Valerius Publicola*, who that hee might (as his name importeth) be gracious in the peoples eyes, gaue liberty, in matters of controersie, to appeale from the Consuls to the people: and that hee might as well in goods as in person, auoide occasion of suspicion, caused his owne house to bee pulled downe, because it was built in a place defensible, as if it had bene a Cittadell. Neither was *Brutus* any wayes deficient in matter of greater moment; which concerned as well the peoples safety, as their honour: for hauing got intelligence, that some greener wits, and in the first ranke his owne sonnes, were itching after innouations, hoping to restore the banished kings; hee caused them, publicly in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to bee brought all vnpartially to the blocke.

After the Romans, hauing by the vnblemished integrity of *Brutus*, wel appeased all inward quarrels at home, now hereafter imploy their military designements against *Fortunio*, first, for their liberty; secondly, for enlarging of their possessions; and lastly, for defending their confederate Prouinces, and extending their Empire. For Rome, situated as it were in the mid-way betwene Latium and the Tuscans, hauing as yet but narrow bounds, being in her minority, could not but giue occasion of offence to her neighbours; vvhich by maine opposition, hauing preuailed against her borderers, theeuled them as in-  
struments, whereby to obtaine the rest.

Their first warre, in the first yeere of Consuls, was against *Perseus* king of Hetruria: who being ouer-perfused by *Tarquinus* lamentation, came to Rome, together with the banished king, and with great forces, to scare him againe in his Kingdome.

In the first conflict, *Horatius Coder*, hauing long time borne the maine brunt of his enemies on the bridge ouer *Tybris*; at length, feeling himselfe too faint to stand against so many, caused the bridge behind him to be broken downe, and with his armour, leaping into

into the River, like a hunted Stagge, refreshed his hop spirits, and returned safe to his followers, with the like resolution to sustain a ninth day. *Porcenna*, although by this he had well-nigh won the hill, languished in the very entrance into the City, and found the victory, in a manner, assured by his power, yet admitting their valour, and terrified by the constant resolution of *Marius*, *Scipio*, *Gracchus*, having by error slain *Porcenna* his Secretary, instead of the King himself, they began to receive threats, borne out by his private hand, but thought it not any whit judicial, whether to his safety or credit, to engage with them at the worst hand, and yet the edge of *Tarquinius* his spleen, was not quite abated, though *Appius* his sonney, and *Brutus* his enemy, in single combat, had slain each other. And here the Romans, although they lost *Brutus*, got the field, and their Ladies, whose Champion he was, for their chastity, not for beauty, mourned the loss of him one whole year, until his place for the residue of his years, was subrogated *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, father to *Lucia* (and in his room) (deceasing naturally before the year expired) *Horatius Pulvillus*, a young man of a noble family.

*Tarquinius* upon his overthrow, finding the faces dangerous, thought it no more to fight against the freemen, but spent the residue of his time which was but four years, in privacy at Tusculum. Yet his sons in law, *Manlius Tullius*, (somewhat a testard of his own passions, because *Porcenna* had made peace with the Romans, and desired but that the court might be *Tarquinius* multiplied up his injuries, & gave himself to the Romans at the Lake Regillum, where the conflict was fiercer, and the issue uncertain, until *Manlius Tullius* the Roman Dictator, (for they had created this Magistracy greater than Consuls, purposely for this Warre, when first it was expected) to exasperate his Soldiers courage, threw their owne Ensignes amidst the enemies; and *Cassius* or *Spurius Cassius* (master of the Horse-men, an assistant Officer to the Dictator) commanded to take of their bylles, that they might run with free violence, to recover againe their Ensignes. This fight was so well performed, that a report went of *Cassius* and *Volusus*, two gods, who came on milke-white Steeds, to be eye-witnesses of their valour, and fellow-labourers of their victory, for the Generall consecrated a Temple to them, as a stipend for their pannes. After this the Romans fierce spirits, having no object of valour abroad, directed upon themselves at home; and the sixteenth year after the Kings expulsion, upon suggestion of some desperate backbiters, shewing themselves wrongfully oppressed by the Senate and Consuls, they made an uproare in the holy Mount, urged by *Menenius Agrippa*, his discrete allusion, of the inconvenience in the head and bellies discord, at that present occasion; they were reconciled to the Senate: with condition, that they might have some new Magistrates created, to whom they might appeal in cases of variance, and make them Solicitors in all their controversies, the Consuls authority notwithstanding. This was enacted, and they were called the Tribunes of the people. After this agreement among themselves, they held continually with the Tribunes, concerning their bounties and liberties, and with each other neighbouring States. Amongst these, the *Volscians* and *Equi* held them longest, who made many of themselves upon the Romans: whereby they looking best Citizens, and whole world dictation, *Coriolanus*.

In this agreement, *T. Manlius* got the surname of *Capitoline*, a name honourable, and derived from a great victory, although, by reason of the poverty of the Towne, a Roman Generall, in after times, would have bin ashamed of that title. But yet these grudges bin no occasion of disparagement, had he not afterwards in a great time of dearth, directed to sell come, which they procured from Sicily, at too high a rate to the people, added upon, *Meenius* their Tribune, in their behalfe, accused him, and after judgement had shewed him, *Coriolanus* flying to the *Volsci*, whom lately before he had vanquished, pressed them to ransome their forces againe; which being continued unto him, and to *Attius Tullius*, he persecuted in field, so far forth, that he was come within four or five miles of the City. Incamping there, he made so sharp war, and dyed at such distance with his Country, that he would not relent by any supplication of Embassadors, until his Mother *Veturia*, & *Valeria* his Wife, with a pitifull traine of deprecating, shewing them selves better Subjects to their Country, than friends to their Son, and thus, with many more able to Rome, than was any force of Armes. Hence upon *Coriolanus* (being thus shamed) was after put to death among the *Volscians*, a Traitor for a people, in which he had many (as others have) living with them until this day, but dead and buried, and his bones, yet Not

Not long after this, the Veij in *Hetruria*, provoked the Romans, against whom the *Volsci* three hundred and sixe in number, all of one Family, increased and obtained, that they should might be employed as it had bin in a private quarrell. These *Fabii*, after some good services, being incamped at *Cremera*, were circumvented and all slaine; one only of the whole house, had bin left, by reason of infancie, at home, from whom afterwards sprang *Fabius Maximus*, who vanquished *Hannibal*.

In process of time, the Romans were also troubled with the *Volsci*, at the hill of *Algidum*, two miles from Rome, where *Lucius Minutius* their Consul, with his whole Army, had bene discomfited, had not *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* chosen Dictator, and taken from the plough to the highest honour in Rome, with successe answerable to his expedition, dispersed his enemies, & freed his Countrey in the space of sixteen daies. In the continuance of this Volscian warre it was, that *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten men, whom they had two years before chosen Governours of the State, and inactors of *Salus* lawes amongst them, procured from Athens (abrogating in the meane while the Consuls, & all other Magistracies) would have ravished *Virginia*, the daughter of *T. Virginii*, Captaine of a company, and lying then in Camp at *Algidum*. Hereupon the people, in an uproare, broke the Hill *Algidum*, and after much variance, enforced the ten men, to resigne their authority againe, to new Consuls.

After this, either new quarrels, or desire to revenge old losses, drew the Romans into a new war, against the *Vientes*, and their adherents, upon whom having tried their forces, with diversie of Captaines, and varietie of event, they vanquished the *Falisci*, and the *Volscians*, and utterly subdued the *Vientes*. In conquering the *Falisci*, *Furius Camillus* showed no lesse integrity than fortitude. For when a Schoolemaster, by training forth into the Roman camp, many children of the principall Citizens, thought to betray the Towne, yielding them all up as Hostages: *Camillus* delivred his Traitor bound unto his Schollers, willing them to whip him backe into the Citie, which forthwith yielded nothing in reuerence of his iustice. The siege of Veij was ten yeers, and so trouble some, that the Romans were there first enforced to winter abroad under beasts skins (to which they were the more easily induced, because then first they received pay) & to make vowes to return without victorie.

At length winning the City by a Mine, they got so large spoiles, that they consecrated their riches to *Apollo Pythius*: & the whole people in general, were called to the ransacking of the Citie. But yet they were no lesse vnthankfull to *Camillus* for his service, than before they had bene to *Coriolanus*; For they banished him the Citie, upon some occasion of inequality in dividing the spoiles: yet he requied their unkindnesse with a new piece of service, against the fury of the *Gauls*, who being a populous Countrey, and very healthfull, the fathers (as sometimes now) lived so long, that the sonnes, destitute of manes, were enforced to roave abroad, seeking some place, where to set up their rest: and withall being a Nation vaste in body, rude by nature, and barbarous in conditions, wandered as Rovers over many Countries. Some of them lighting on Italy, set upon *Clusium*, a Town in *Hetruria*: whereof Rome having information, (and being careful of her Confederate Townes) sent Embassadors, warning them to desist from such injurious enterprises. But the barbarous people, not regarding the message, upon some injury offered by the *Romane* Embassadors, converted their forces from *Clusium* towards Rome; and giving a great overthrow unto the Romans, by the River *Allia*, upon the sixteenth day before the Calends of August (which day was after branded for unlucky, and called *Alibensis* in the *Romane* Calendar) they hastened towards the Citie. Then was Rome the true map of miserie and desolation. For some leaving the Citie, some creeping into holes; Priests hiding their reliques; and every one flitting for himselfe, ere the enemy came; Rome was abandoned, as indefensible. The Vestall Virgins, in this tumult, were safely conveyed away; the Ancients of the Citie, gathering boldnesse out of desperate feare, did put on their Robes, and taking their leave of the world, did feat themselves in Thrones, in their feuerall houses, hourly expecting the messengers of death, & expecting to dye, as they had lived, in State. The younger sort, with *M. Manlius* their Captaine, tooke upon them to make good the Capitoll.

By this, the *Gauls* were entred the Citie, who seeing all quiet, at first suspected some ambush; afterward finding all secure, they fell to the spoyle, committing all to the fire and sword. As for the old Senatours, they fate in their Maiestic, with a grave resolution: having



Having first reuerenced them as gods, anon they tried whether they would dye like men. When the Citie was thoroughly distressed, they attempted the Capitoll: which held them worke for the space of seuen moneths. Once they were like to haue surprized it by night, but being desfered by the gaging of Geefe, *M. Manlius* did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a composition was agreed vpon: the Gaules being weary, and the Romans hungry. The bargain was, that the Gaules should take a thousand pound weight in gold, to desist from their siege. Whilest the gold was in weighing, the Gaules, with open insolencie, made their weights too heauie: *Brennus*, their Capitaine, casting his sword into the ballance, and, with a proud exprobration, saying, that the vanquished must be patient perforce. But in the midst of this cauilling came *Furius Camillus*, with to an Armie, from Ardea, (where he had liued in his banishment) and fell vpon the Gaules, with such violence, that hee dispersed their troupes, quenched the fire of the Citie with their blood, forcing them to restore the spoyles with aduantage, and forbore the gold, in accepting which, they had lately benee so nice. Further hauing rid the Citie of them, he so hotly pursued them, through a great part of Italie, that the remainder of their Armie, which escaped from him, was very small. Other Armies of the Gaules, which followed this first, had the like ill success. They were often beaten by the Romans; especially the victories of *M. Torquatus*, and of *M. Valerius Corvinus* (each of which in single fight slew a feuerall Champion of the Gaules) abated their presumption, and restored courage to the Romans. *Camillus*, for his notable seruice, was afterwards accompted a second *Romulus*.

The people, after this destruction of their Citie, were earnestly bent to goe to the Veij to inhabit; but *Camillus* dissuaded them.

About the same time, somewhat before the siege of Veij, they changed their government from Consuls to militarie Tribunes. The government of these also, after some yeares, was by ciuill dissension interrupted: so that one while Consuls ruled, another while there was an Anarchie: Then the Tribunes were restored and ruled againe, till after many yeares expired, the Consular authoritie was established, it being enacted, that one of the Consuls should alwaies be a Plebeian. This was after the building of the City 365. yeeres. And now Rome by suppression of her neighbour countries, creeping well forward out of her Minoritie, dares let forth against the warlike Samnites, who dwelt almost one hundred and thirtie miles off: situated between Campania and Apulia. These did so strongly invade the Campanians their Neighbours, that they forced them to yield themselves subiects to Rome, and vndergoe any conditions of Tribute, or whatsoever else to obtaine protection: which the Romans, although both Countries had benee their Confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like fish, should deuoure the lesse, easily allowed of; aiming themselves at the good situation of Campania, the abundance of Corne and Wine, pleasant Cities and Townes, but especially Capua it selfe, the fairest Citie then in all Italie.

The families of the *Papirii* and *Fabij* were most employed in the managing of this warre; which endured the space of fiftie yeeres. And in this season were the Romans oftentimes dangerously encountred by the Samnites, as when *T. Veturius* and *Sp. Posthumus* were Consuls, and discomfited by *Pontius* at Caudium, with no small ignominie: and when *Q. Fabius Garges* lost the field with three thousand men. But for those losses, many great victories made large amends: The greatest whereof were gotten by *L. Papyrius*, and by *Quintus Fabius Maximus*.

The Samnites drew the Hetrurians into their quarrell. But the force of the Samnites was well broken, ere the Hetrurians (the greater and richer, but lesse warlike Nation) began to stir. So the one and the other of these two Countiees, became at length, tributary to Rome. In the continuance of this long warre it was, (though in time of truce betweene the Romans and Samnites) that the Latines began to challenge equall freedom in the Corporation of Rome, and right in bearing office, so that they required to haue one of the Consuls yeerly chosen out of them.

This demand of the Latines, was not vnreasonable. For the Romans themselves were a Latine Colonie; besides all which, they made offer, to change their name, and to bee all called Romans. But the Romans were too proud, to admit any such capitulation. So a great battaile was fought betweene them: wherein the fortune of Rome preuailed, by the vertue of the Consuls.

Manlius

*Manlius Torquatus*, and the elder *Decius*, were then Consuls, whom the Soothsayers advertised, that the side should be victorious which lost the General in fight. Hereupon *Decius* the Consull, exposed his life to the Enemy, and purchased victorie (as was belieued) by his death. In which kinde of deuoting himselfe for his Armie, the sonne of this *Decius* being after Consull, did imitate his father, in the Hetrurian warre. But (as *Tullius* well notes) it was rather the desperate resolution of these *Decij*, that purchased victorie, by rushing into the midst of the enemies, wherein their Souldiers followed them, than any great commendation of such a religion, as required the liues of so worthy Citizens, to be sacrificed for their Countiee. The discipline of *Manlius* was no lesse resolute, than the valour of *Decius*. He forbade any one to forsake his place, and fight single with an enemy. For breach of which order he caused his owne sonne to be put to death, who had slaine a Capitaine of the Latines, being challenged in single fight.

When the Latines, the *Aequi*, *Volsci*, *Hernici*, *Campani*, *Samnites*, and *Hetrurians*, with some other people, were brought vnder obedience; it was a vaine labour for any people of Italie, to contend against the Romans.

Yet the *Sabines* adu ventured to trie their fortune; and found it bad. For *Curius Dentatus*, the Roman Consull, waisting all their Countiee with fire and sword, from the *Rhaer* Nar and *Velia*, to the *Adriatique* Sea, brought them into quiet subiection.

The last of the Italians, that made trial of the Roman Armes, were the *Tarentines*, and their adherents. These had interposed themselves as mediators, betweene the *Romans* and *Samnites*; with a peremptorie denunciation of Warre, vnto that partie, which should dare to refuse peace, by them tendered. These threats which discouered their bad affection vnto Rome, ended in words; but when the *Samnites* were utterly subdued, matter enough of quarrell was found, to examine their abilitie of performance.

The *Romans* complained that certaine ships of theirs were robbed, and sent Embassadors vnto *Tarentum*, to require amends. Vpon some wrong done to these Embassadors, was laid the foundation of that Warre; wherein the *Lucans*, *Messapians*, *Bruicians*, and *Apulians*, ioyning with the *Tarentines*, procured the *Samnites*, and other Subiects of Rome, to rebell, and take their part. But some experience of the Roman strength, taught all these people to know their owne weaknesse. Wherefore they agreed to send for *Pyrrhus* by whose aide (being a Grecian, as the *Tarentines* also were) great hope was conceiued, that the Dominion of Rome should be confined, vnto more narrow bounds, than all Italie, which already, in a manner it did ouer-spread.

## §. II.

How *Pyrrhus* warred vpon the Romans, and vanquished them in two battailes.

*Pyrrhus*, forsaken by the *Macedonians*, and vnable to deale with *Lysimachus*, was compelled a while to liue in rest: which hee abhorred no lesse than a wiser Prince would haue desired. Hee had a strong Armie, and a good Fleet, which in that vast desolate citate of things, was enough to purchase a Kingdome: but the fall of *Demetrius*, had so encreased the power of *Lysimachus*, that it was no point of wisdom, to make an offensive warre vpon him, without farre greater forces. *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Demetrius*, held *Corinth* at the same time, and some other Townes, with the remainder of his fathers Armie and treasures, left in his hand. Vpon him it is like that *Pyrrhus* might haue wonne; but it was better to let him alone, that he might serue to giue some hindrance to *Lysimachus*.

In this want of employment, and couetous desire of finding it, the *Tarentine* Embassadors came very fildy to *Pyrrhus*: and they came with braue offers, as needing no other aide than his good conduct, which to obtaine, they would cast themselves vnder his protection. They had in their company, some of the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, *Messapians*, and others, which promised, in behalfe of their feuerall Nations, as much as could be desired. This encouraged *Pyrrhus*, and filled him with hopes of goodly conquests; that hee might enlarge his Empire to the West, as farre as *Alexander* had gotten Eastward; and still by one victorie open the gate vnto another. To which effect it is said, that once, he answered *Cyneus* his chiefe Counsaillour, asking what hee meant to doe after euery one of the victories which he hoped to get: that hauing wonne Rome, hee would soone be Master of all Italie; that, after Italie hee would quickly get the Ile of *Sicily*; that,



out of Sicill, he would passe over into *AFRIK*, and winne *Carthage*, with all the rest of the Countrey, and being strengthened with the force of all these Prouinces, he would be too hard, for any of those, that were now so proud and troublesome. But *Cynus* enquired yet further, what they should doe, when they were Lords of all: Whereunto *Pyrrhus* (vnderstanding his drift) answered pleasantly, that they would stue merrily; a thing (as *Cynus* when told him) that they presently might doe, without any trouble, if hee could be contented with his owne.

Neuerthelesse, this Italian expedition seemed vnto *Pyrrhus*, a matter of such consequence, as was not to be omitted, in regard of any scholasticall disputation. Wherefore he prepared his Armie, of almost thirty thousand men, well fortified, and well trained to Souldiers: part of which he sent ouer before him vnder *Cynus*, with the rest he followed in person. At his comming, he found the Tarentines very prompt of tongue, but in matter of execution, vnterly carelesse to prouide for the War, Wherefore he was faine to shut vp their Theater, and other places of pleasure and resort; enforcing them to take Armes, and making such a strict muster, as was to them very vnpleasing, though greatly behoouing to their estate.

Whilest hee was occupied with these cares, *Leuius* the Romane Consull drew neere, and began to waste *Lucania*, a Prouince confederate with the Tarentines in this Warre.

The Lucanians were not ready to defend their own Countrey; the Samnites were carelesse of the harme, that fell not (as yet) vpon themselves; the Tarentines were better prepared than they would haue beene, but their valour was little: all of these had bene accustomed to shrinke, for feare of the Roman fortitude: and therefore it fell out happily, that *Pyrrhus* relied more vpon his owne forces, than the issue of their vaunting promises. Hee was now driuen, either to set forward, with those that himselfe had brought into *Itallie*, and the assistance of the Tarentines, wherein little was to be reposed; or else to weaken the reputation of his owne sufficiency, which by all meanes hee was carefull to vphold. In good time a great part of his forces, that had bene scattered by foule weather at Sea, were safely come to him: with which hee resolved to assay the valour of the Romans, against whom he proudly marched.

*Leuius* the Consull was not affrighted, with the terrible name of a great King; but came on confidently to meet him, and gaue him battaile, ere all his adherents should bee ready to ioyne with him. This boldnesse of the Roman, and the slacknesse of the Messapians, Lucanians, Samnites, and others, whom the danger most concerned, caused *Pyrrhus* to offer a treatie of peace: requiring to haue the quarrell betwene the Romans and his Italian friends, referred to his arbitrement. Whether he did this to winne time, that the Samnites and their fellowes might arrive at his Campe; or whether, considering better at neere distance, the weight of the businesse, which he had taken in hand, hee were desirous to quit it with his honour; the short answer that was returned to his proposition, gaue him no meanes of either the one or the other: for the Romans sent him this word, that they had neither chosen him their Iudge, nor feared him their enemy.

Hercupon, both Armies hastened their march vnto the Riuer of *Siris*: *Leuius* intending to fight before the arrival of the Samnites; *Pyrrhus*, to hinder him from passing that Riuer, vntill his owne Armie were full. Vpon the first view of the Roman Campe, it was readily conceiued by *Pyrrhus*, that hee had not now to doe with barbarous people, but with men well trained in a braue discipline of warre: which caused him to set a strong Corps de garde, vpon the passage of the riuer; that hee might not bee compelled to fight, vntill hee saw his best aduantage. But hee quickly found, that this new enemy was not onely skilfull in the Art of war, but couragious in execution. For the Roman Armie entered the Poord, in face of his Corps de garde; and their horse, at the same time, began to passe the Riuer, in sundrie places: which caused the Greekes to forsake the defence of their banke, and speedily retire vnto their Campe.

This audacitie forced *Pyrrhus* to battaile; wherewith hee thought it best to present them, ere the whole Armie had recovered firme footing, and were in order. So directing his Capitaines how to marshall his battailes; himselfe with the horse, charged vpon the Romans: who stoutly receiued him, as men well exercised in sustaining furious impressions. In this fight, neither did his courage transport him beyond the dutie of a carefull Generall; nor his prouidence in directing others, hinder the manifestation of his personall valour. It behooued him indeed to do his best; for he neuer met with better

opposers.

opposers. Once, and shortly after the fight began, his horse was slaine vnder him: afterwards, he changed armour with a friend; but that friend paid his life for the vse of his Kings armour, which was torne from his backe. This accident had almost lost him the battaile: but hee perceiuing it, discovered his face, and thereby restored courage to his men, and took from the Romans their vaine ioy. The fight was obstinate, and with the greater losse (at least of more eminent men) on *Pyrrhus* his side, as long as onely speare and sword were vsed. But when the Elephants were brought into the wings, whose vnuall forme & terrible aspect, the horses of the Romans (vnaccustomed to the like) were not able to sustaine; then was the victorie quickly gotten. For the Roman battailes, perceiuing their horse put to rout, and driuen out of the field; finding also themselves both charged in flank, and ouer-borne, by the force and huge bulke of those strange beasts; gaue way to necessity, and saued themselves, as well as they could, by hastic flight: in which consternation, they were so forgetfull of their discipline, that they tarried not to defend their Campe, but ran quite beyond it, leauing both it, and the honour of the day, entirely to *Pyrrhus*.

The fame of this victorie was soon spread ouer *Italie*; and the reputation was no lesse than the fame. For it was a matter very rare to be heard, that a Roman Consull, with a select Armie, should lose in plaine battaile, not onely the Field, but the Campe it selfe, being so notably fortified, as they alwaies were. And this honour was the more brauely won by *Pyrrhus*, for that he had with him none of his Italian friends, saue the vnwarlike Tarentines. Neither could he well dissemble his content that he took, in hauing the glory of this action peculiarly his own, at such time as he blamed the Lucans & Samnites, for comming (as we say) a day after the faire. Neuerthelesse, hee wisely considered the strength of the Romans, which was such, as would better endure many such losses, than he could many such victories. Therefore he thought it good to compound with them, whilest with his honour he might; and to that purpose he sent vnto them *Cynus* his Embassadour, demanding only to haue the Tarentines permitted to lue at rest, and himselfe accepted as their especiall friend. This did *Cynus*, with all his cunning, and with liberal gifts labour to effect: but neither man nor woman could bee found in Rome, that would take any bribe of him; neither did their desire of recouering their captiues, or their danger, by the rising of many States in *Italy* against them, so incline them to peace, as the vehement exhortation of *Appius Claudius*, an old and blind Senatour, did stirre them vp to make good their honour by war. So they returned answer, that whilest *Pyrrhus* abode in *Italy*, they would come to no agreement with him.

Such was the report, that *Cynus* made at his return, of the Roman puissance and vertue, as kindled in *Pyrrhus*, a great desire of confederacie, with that gallant Citie. Hereupon many kinde Offices passed between them: but still when he vied his motion of peace, the answer was, *He must first depart out of Italy, and then treat of peace.*

In the meane season, each part made prouision for war; the Romanes leuying a more mighty army than the former; & *Pyrrhus* being strengthened with accessse vnto his forces, of all the East parts of *Italy*. So they came to triall of a second battaile, wherein (though after long and cruel fight) the boisterous violence of the Elephants gaue to *Pyrrhus* a second victorie. But this was not altogether so ioyful as the former had been: rather it gaue him cause to say, that such another victorie would be his vtter vndoing. For he had lost the flower of his Armie in this battaile: and though he draue the Romanes into their Campe, yet he could not force them out of it, nor saw any likelihood of preuailling against them, that were like to be relieved with daily supplies, whilest he should be driuen to spend vpon his old stock. Neither could he expect, that his Elephants should alwaies stand him in stead. A little knowledge of their maner in fight, would soon teach the Romanes, that were apt Schollers in such learning, how to make them vnfruiteable. Wherefore hee desired nothing more, than how to carry his honour safe out of *Italy*: which to doe (seeing the Romanes would not helpe him, by offering or accepting any faire conditions of peace, or of truce) he tooke a slight occasion, presented by fortune, that followeth to be related.

## §. III.

*The great troubles in Macedon and Sicill. How Pyrrhus, being invited into Sicill, forsake Italie; was the most of the Ile; and lost it in short space. Pyrrhus returns into Italy, where he is beaten by the Romanes, and so goes backe to his own Kingdome.*

**W**hen *Ptolomie Cerannus* had traitorously murdered his Benefactor & Patron *Seleucus*, he presently seized vpon all the Dominions of *Lysimachus* in Europe, as if they had bin the due reward vnto him, that had slaine the Conquerour. The houses of *Cassander* and *Lysimachus* were then fallen to the ground: neither was there in Macedon any man of strength and reputation enough, to aduance himself against *Cerannus*. The friends of *Lysimachus* were rather pleased to haue him their King, that had (as hee professed) reuenged their Lords death; than any way offended with the odiousness of his fact, by which they were freed from subiection, to one, against whom they had stood in opposition. Many there were, that vpon remembrance of his Fathers great vertue, gathered hope of finding the like in *Cerannus*: perswading themselves that his reigne might proue good, though his entrance had been wicked. These affections of the Macedonians did serue to defeat *Antigonus* the sonne of *Demetrius*, that made an attempt vpon the kingdome. As for *Antigonus* the sonne of *Seleucus*, he was farre off, and might be questioned about some part of Asia, ere he should be able to bring an Armie neere vnto Europe. Yet he made great shew of meaning to reuenge his Fathers death: but being stronger in money than in armes, he was content, after a while, to take faire words, and make peace with the murtherer. While these three stroue about the kingdome, *Pyrrhus*, who thought his claime as good as any of theirs, made vse of their dissention: threatening warre, or promising his assistance, to euery one of them. By these meanes he strengthened himselfe, and greatly aduantaged his Italian voyage, which he had then in hand: requesting many of *Antiochus*, ships of *Antigonus*, and souldiers of *Ptolomie*, who gaue him his daughter in marriage, and lent him a strong power of Macedonian Souldiers, and of Elephants (covenanting to haue them restored at two yeares end) more for feare than for loue: that so he might free himselfe from trouble, and quietly enioy his kingdome.

Thus *Ptolomy* grew mighty on the suddaine; and the power that by wicked meanes he had gotten, by meanes as wicked he encreased.

All Macedon and Thrace being his, the strong Citie of Cassandria was held by *Asinus* his sister, the widow of *Lysimachus*, who lay therein with her yong children. Her heinuousness by making loue to her, and (according to the fashion of those times, wherein Princes regarded no degree of consanguinitie) taking her to wife, with promise to adoept her children: a promise that he meant not to performe; for it was not long, ere hee slew them, and draue her into exile.

In the pride of this good successe, which his villanie found; vengeance came vpon him, from a farre, by the furie of a Nation, that he neuer heard of. *Belgius* a Captaine of the Gaules, hauing forced his passage through many Countries, vnto the confines of Macedon, sent a proud message to *Cerannus*, commanding him to buy peace with money, or otherwise, to look for all the miseries of warre. These Gaules were the race of those, that issued out of their Countrey, to seeke new feares in that great expedition, wherein *Brennus* tooke and burnt the Citie of Rome. They had diuided themselves, at their setting forth, into two Companies; of which the one fell vpon Italie; the other passing through the Countries that lye on the Northerne side of the Adriatick Sea, made long abode in Pannonia, and the Regions adioyning, where they forced all the neighbour Princes to redeme peace with tribute, as now they would haue compelled *Cerannus* to doe; vnto whose borders they came about an hundred and eight yeares after such time as their fellows had taken Rome.

When their Embassadors came to *Ptolomie*, asking what he would giue: His answer was, That he would be contented to giue them peace, but it must bee with condition, that they should put into his hands their Princes as hostages, and yeelde vp their armes; for otherwise, he would neither pardon their boldnesse, nor giue any credit to their words. At this answer, when it was returned, the Gaules did laugh; saying, That they would soone confute with deeds, the vanitie of such proude words. It may seeme strange,

that he, who had giuen away part of his Army vnto *Pyrrhus*, for very feare; should bee so confident in vndertaking more mighty enemies. The king of the Dardanians offered to lend him twentie thousand men against the Gaules: but he scorned the offer; saying, That he had the children of those, which vnder the conduct of *Alexander*, had subdued all the East. Thus hee issued forth against all the barbarous people, with his famous Macedonians, as if the victorie must needs haue followed the reputation of a great name. But hee soon found his great error, when it was too late. For the enemies were not onely equall in strength of body, and fiercenesse of courage, but so farre superiour to the Macedonians in number, that few or none escaped their furie. *Ptolomie* himselfe grieuously wounded, fell into their hands, whilst the battell continued; and they presently strooke off his head, which they shewed to his men, on the top of a Lance, to their vter astonishment.

Thereport of this great ouerthrow filled all Macedon with such desperation, that the people fled into walled Townes, and abandoned the whole Countrey as lost. Onely *Siphetes*, a valiant Captaine, animating as many as he could, gathered a small Armie, with which he many times got the vpper hand, and hindered *Belgius* from vsing the victorie at his whole pleasure. In regard of this his vertue, the Souldiers would haue made him King, which title he refused, and was contented with the name of a General. But (as mischiefs doe seldome come alone) the good successe of *Belgius*, drew into Macedon, *Brennus*, another Captain of the Gaules, with an hundred and fifty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse; against which mightie Army, when *Siphetes* with his weaker troupes made opposition, hee was easily beaten, and the Macedonians againe compelled to hide themselves within their wals, leauing all their Countrey to the spoyle of the Barbarians.

Thus were the Macedonians destitute of a king, & troden down by a Nation, that they had not heard of; in lesse than fiftie yeares after the death of *Alexander*, who sought to discover and subdue vnkown Countries, as if all Greece, and the Empire of Persia, had been too little for a king of Macedon.

Very seasonably had these newes been carried to *Pyrrhus* in Italy, who sought a faire pretext of relinquishing his warre with the Romanes; had not other tydings out of Sicill distracted him, and carried him away in pursuit of heerer hopes. For after the death of *Agathocles*, who reigned ouer the whole Island, the Carthaginians sent an Armie to conquer Sicill, out of which, by him, they had bene expelled. This Armie did so fast preuaile, that the Sicilians had no other hope to auoyde slavery, than in submitting themselves to the rule of *Pyrrhus*; whom, beeing a Grecian, and a noble Prince, they thought it more for their good to obey, than to lye vnder the well knowne heauie yoke of Carthage. To him therefore, the Syracusans, Leontines, and Agragentines, principall Estates of the Isle, sent Embassadors, earnestly desiring him to take them into his protection.

It grieved *Pyrrhus* exceedingly, that two such notable occasions, of enlarging his Dominions, should fall out so vnluckily, both at one time. Yet whether hee thought the business of Sicill more important, or more full of likelihood; or whether perhaps hee beleemed (as came after to passe) that his aduantage vpon Macedon would not so hastily passe away, but that he might finde some occasion to lay hold on it, at better leisure, ouer into Sicill transported his Armie, leauing the Tarentines to shift for themselves, yet not leauing them free as he found them, but with a Garrison in their Town, to hold them in subiection.

As his departure out of Italy, was rather grounded on head-long passion, than mature aduice; so were his actions following, vntill his returne vnto Epirus, rather many and tumultuous, than well ordered, or note-worthy. The Armie which he carried into that Isle, consisted of thirty thousand foote, and two thousand five hundred horse: with which, soon after his descent into Sicill, he forc't the Carthaginians, out of all, in effect, that they held therein. He also won the strong Citie of Eryx, and hauing beaten the Mamertines in battell; he began to change condition, and turne Tyrant. For he draue *Sofra* (to whom his cruelty was suspected) out of the Island, & put *Theron* of Syracuse to death, being iealous of his greatnesse; which two persons had faithfully serued him, and deliuered the great and rich Citie of Syracuse into his hands. After this, his fortunes declined so fast, as he serued himselfe, and salued the disreputation of his leauing Sicill, by an Embassage sent him from the Tarentines, and Samnites, imploring his present helpe against

against the Romans, who since his leaving Italy, had well-neere dispossessed them of all that they had.

Taking this faire occasion, he embarked for Italy; but was first beaten by the Carthaginian Gallies, in his passage, and secondly assailed in Italy it selfe, by eightene hundred Mamertines, that attended him in the straits of the Countrie. Lastly, after he had recovered Tarentum, he fought a third battaile with the Romans, led by *M. Curius*, who was victorious ouer him, and forc't him out of Italy, into his owne Epirus.

A Prince he was far more valiant than constant, and had hee beene but a Generall of an Armie, for some other great King or State, and had beene directed to haue conquered any one countrey or kingdome, it is to be thought, that hee would haue purchased no lesse honour than any man of warre, either preceding or succeeding him; for a greater Captaine, or a valiantier man, hath beene nowhere found. But hee neuer staid vpon any enterprise; which was, indeede, the disease hee had, whereof not long after hee died in Argos.

## S. IIII.

*How Antigonus, the sonne of Demetrius, deliuered Macedon from the Gaules. How Pyrrhus wonne the Kingdome of Macedon from Antigonus.*

**T**He vertue of *Solthenes* being too weake to defend the kingdome of Macedon, and the fortune which had accompanied him against *Belgius*, failing him in his attempt against *Brennus*: the Macedonians were no lesse glad to submit themselves vnto the gouernment of *Antigonus*, than they had been formerly desirous to free themselves from the impotent rule of his Father *Demetrius*. His comming into the Countrie, with an Armie, Nauie, and Treasure becoming a king, did rather breed good hope in the people, than fill them with much confidence: for he was driuen to vse against the Barbarians, onely those forces, which he brought with him, hauing none other than good wishes of the Macedons, to take his part. *Brennus*, with the maine strength of his Armie, was gone to spoyle the Temple of *Apollo* at Delphos, hauing left no more behind him, than he thought necessary to guard the borders of Macedon, and Pannonia; which were about fiftene thousand foot, and three thousand horse. These could not bide, but thought to get somewhat for themselves, in the absence of their fellowes: and therefore sent vnto *Antigonus*, offering to sell him peace, if he would pay well for it; which by the example of *Cerannus*, hee had learnt (as they thought) not to refuse. *Antigonus* was unwilling to weaken his reputation, by condescending to their proud demands: yet hee iudged it vsuit to exasperate their furious choler, by vncourteous words or vllage, as *Cerannus* had ouer-fondly done. Wherefore hee entertained their Embassadors in very louing and sumptuous manner, with a royall feast: wherein he exposed to their view, such abundance of massie gold and siluer, that they were not so much delighted with the meat, as with sight of the vessels, wherein it was serued. He thought hereby, to make them vnderstand, how great a Prince hee was, and how able, if need required, to wage a mightie Armie.

To which end, he likewise did shew vnto them his Campe and Nauie, but especially his Elephants. But all this brauery serued onely to kiadle their greedy appetites; who seeing his ships heauie laden, his Campe full of wealth, and ill fortified, him selfe (as it seemed) secure, and his men, both in strength and courage inferior vnto the Gaules, thought all time lost, wherein they suffered the present possesseurs, to spend their riches which they accomplished assuredly their owne. They returned therefore to their Companions, with none other newes in their mouthes, than of spoyle and purchase: which tale, carried the Gaules head-long, to *Antigonus* his campe, where they expected a greater booty, than the victory ouer *Cerannus* had giuen to *Belgius*. Their comming was terrible and suddaine; yet not so suddaine, but that *Antigonus* had notice of it, who, distrusting the courage of his owne men, dislodged somewhat before their arriual, and conueighed him selfe, with his whole armie and carriage, into certaine woods adioyning, where hee lay close.

The Gaules, finding his Campe forsaken, were not hasty to pursue him, but fell to ranfacking the empiric Cabines of the Souldiers; in hope of finding all that was either lost or hidden. At length, when they had searched euery place in vaine, angry at their

lost labour, they marched with all speed towards the Sea-side; that they might fall vpon him, whilest he was busie in getting his men and carriages a ship-board. But the successe was no way answerable to their expectation: For being proud of the terrour which they had brought vpon *Antigonus*, they were so carelesse of the Sea-men, that without all order, they fell to the spoyle of what they found on the shore, and in such ships as lay on ground.

Part of the Armie had left *Antigonus*, where he lay in couert; and had saved it selfe by getting aboard the fleet: in which number were some well experienced men of war: who discovering the much aduantage offered vnto them, by the desperate presumption of their enemies, tooke courage, and encouraged others, to lay manly hold vpon the opportunity. So the whole number, both of Souldiers and Mariners, landing together, with great resolution, gaue so braue a charge vpon the disordered Gaules, that their contemptuous boldnesse was thereby changed into suddaine feare, and they, after a great slaughter, driuen to cast themselves into the seruice of *Antigonus*.

The fame of this victorie, caused all the barbarous Nations in those quarters, to re-entertaine their ancient belief of the Macedonian valour: by which, the terrible and resistlesse oppressors of so many Countreies, were ouerthrowne.

To speake more of the Gaules in this place, and to shew how, about these times, three Tribes of them passed ouer into Asia the lesse, with their warres and conquests there; I hold it needlesse: the victorious armies of the Romans, raming them hereafter, in the Countreies which now they wanne, shall giue better occasion, to rehearse these matters briefly.

Howeuer the good successe of *Antigonus* got him reputation, among the barbarous people, yet his owne Souldiers, that without his leading, had wonne this victory, could not thereupon be perswaded to thinke him a good man of warre: knowing that he had no interest in the honour of the seruice, wherein his conduct was no better, than creeping into a wood.

This (as presently will appeare) was greatly helpfull vnto *Pyrrhus*: though as yet he knew not so much. For *Pyrrhus*, when his affaires in Italie stood vpon hard rearmes, had sent vnto *Antigonus* for helpe: not without threats, in case it were denied. So was hee forced to get, either a supply, wherewith to continue his warre against the Romans, or some seeming honourable pretence, to forsake Italie, vnder colour of making his word good, in seeking reuenge. The threats which he had vsed in brauery, meer necessity forced him, at his returne into *Epirus*, to put in practise.

Hee brought home with him, eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse: an armie too little to be employed, by his restless nature, in any action of importance; yet greater than he had means to keepe in pay. Therefore he fell vpon Macedon; intending to take what spoyle he could get, and make *Antigonus* compound with him, to be freed from trouble. At his first entrance into this businesse, two thousand of *Antigonus* his Souldiers revolted vnto *Pyrrhus*; and many Cities, either willingly or perforce, receiued him. Such faire beginnings, easily perswaded the courage of this daring Prince, to set vpon *Antigonus* him selfe, and to hazard his fortune, in triall of a battaile, for the whole kingdome of Macedon.

It appeares, that *Antigonus* had no desire to fight with this hot warrior; but thought in the wisest way, by protracting of time, to wearie him out of the Countrey. For *Pyrrhus* overtooke him in a streight passage, and charged him in the reare; wherein were the Gaules, and the Elephants, which were thought the best of his strength: a manifest prooffe that he was in retreat. The Gaules very brauely sustained *Pyrrhus* his impression; yet were broken at length (when most of them were slaine) after a sharpe fight: wherein it seems that *Antigonus* keeping his Macedonian Phalanx within the streight, and not aduancing to their succour, tooke away their courage by deceiuing their expectation. The Captaines of the Elephants were taken soone after; who finding themselves exposed to the same violence that had consumed so many of the Gaules, yeelded themselves and the beasts. All this was done in full view of *Antigonus*, and his Macedonians, to their great discomfort; which emboldened *Pyrrhus*, to charge them where they lay in their strength. Where the Phalanx could be charged onely in a front, it was a matter of extreme difficulty (if not impossible) to force it. But the Macedonians had scene so much, that they had no desire to fight against *Pyrrhus*; who discovered so well their affections, that hee aducentured

adventured to draw neere in person, and exhort them to yeelde. Neither the common Souldier, nor any Leader, refused to become his follower. All forsooke *Antigonus*, a few horse-men excepted, that fled along with him to Thessalonica; where he had some small forces left, and money enough to entertaine a greater power, had he known where to leuie it. But whilst he was thinking how to allure a sufficient number of the *Gauls* into his seruice; whereby he might repaire his losse: *Ptolomie*, the sonne of *Pyrhus*, came vpon him, and easily defeating his weak forces, draue him to fflye from the parts about Macedon, to those Townes a farre off in Peloponnesus, in which hee had formerly lurked, before such time as he looked abroad into the world, and made himselfe a King.

This good successe reuiued the spiritus of the Epiror, and caused him to forget all sorrow of his late misfortunes in the Roman warre: so that he sent for his sonne *Helenus* (whom he had left with a Garrison in the Castle of Tarentum) willing him to come ouer into Greece, where was more matter of conquest, and let the Italians shift for themselves.

## S. V.

*How Pyrrhus assailed Sparta without successe. His enterprize vpon Argos, and his death.*

*Pyrrhus* had now conceiued a great hope, that nothing should be able to withstand him; seeing, that in open fight, he had vanquished the *Gauls*, beaten *Antigonus*, and wonne the Kingdome of Macedon; There was not in all Greece, nor, indeed, in all the Lands that *Alexander* had wonne, any Leader of such name and worth, as deserved to bee set vp against him: which filled him with the opinion that he might doe what hee pleased. He raised therefore an Armie, consisting of five and twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and foure and twentie Elephants; pretending warre against *Antigonus*, and the giuing libertie to those Townes in Peloponnesus, which the same *Antigonus* held in subiection; though it was easily discouered, that such great preparations were made, for accomplishment of some designe more important, than warre against a Prince already vanquished, and almost vtterly dejected. Especially the Lacedaemonians feared this expedition, as made against their State. For *Cleonymus*, one of their Kings, being expelled out of his Countrie, had betaken himselfe to *Pyrrhus*: who readily entertained him, and promised to restore him to his kingdome. This promise was made in secret; neither would *Pyrrhus* make shew of any displeasure that hee bare vnto Sparta; but contrariwise professed, that it was his intent, to haue two of his owne younger sonnes trained vp in that Citie, as in a place of noble discipline. With such colours he deluded men, euen till he entred vpon Laconia; where presently he demeaned himselfe as an open enemy: excusing himselfe and his former dissembling words, with a iest; That hee followed herein the Lacedaemonian custome, of concealing what was truly purposed. It had been, indeed, the manner of the Lacedaemonians, to deale in like sort with others, whom, in the time of their greatnesse, they sought to oppress: but now they complained of that, as falshood, in *Pyrrhus*, which they alwaies practised in wilddome, till it made them distrustful, forsaken, and almost contemptible. Nevertheless, they were not wanting to themselves in this dangerous extremitie. For the old men and women laboured in fortifying the Towne; causing such as could beare armes, to rescue themselves fresh against the assault: which *Pyrrhus* had vnwisely deferred, vpon assurance of preuailing.

Sparta was neuer fortified, before this time, otherwise than with armed Citizens: soon after this, (it being built vpon vneuen ground, and for the most part, hard to approach) the lower & more acceffible places, were fenced with wals; at the present, only trenches were cast, & barricadoes made with Carts, where the entrance seemed most easie. Three daies together it was assailed by *Pyrrhus*, exceeding fiercely; and no lesse stoutly defended. The desperate courage of the Citizens preferred the Town the first dayes, vntill the violence of *Pyrrhus* had forced entrance the second day, but that his wounded horse threw him to the ground, which made his Souldiers more mindefull of saving the person of their King, than of breaking into the Citie, though already they had come

come in sander the Barricadoes. Presently after this, one of *Antigonus* his Captaines got into Sparta with a good strength of men; and *Arcus* the king returned out of Crete (where hee had bene helping his friends in warre) with two thousand men, little knowing the danger, in which his own Countrie stood, vntill hee was almost at home. These succours did not more animate the Spartans, than kinde in *Pyrrhus* a desire to preuaile against all impediments. But the third daies worke shewed, how great his error had bene, in forbearing to assault the Towne at his first comming. For he was so manfully repelled, that hee saw no likelihood of getting the place, otherwise than by a long siege: in which tedious course hee had no desire to spend his time.

*Antigonus* had now raised an Armie, though not strong enough to meete the enemy in plaine field, yet able to hinder all his purposes. This made *Pyrrhus* doubtful what way to take; being diuersly affected, by the difficultie of his enterprize in hand, and the shame of taking a repulse in his first attempt. Whilst hee was thus perplexed, letters came from Argos, inuiting him thither; with promise to deliuer that Citie into his hands.

Ciuill dissention raging then hotly in Argos, caused the heads of seuerall factions to call in *Pyrrhus* & *Antigonus*; but the coming of these two Princes, taught the Citizens wit, and made them desirous to rid their hand of such powerful Assistants, as each of the two kings pretended himselfe to bee. *Antigonus* told the Argiues, that he came to saue them from the tyranny of *Pyrrhus*: and that hee would bee gone if they needed not his helpe. On the other side, *Pyrrhus* would needes perswade them, that hee had none other errand, than to make them safe from *Antigonus*; offering in like manner, to depart, if they so desired.

The Argiues tooke small pleasure, in hearing the Foxe and Kite at strife, which of them should keepe the Chickens from his enemy: and therefore prayed them both, to diuert their powers some other way. Hercunto *Antigonus* readily condescended, and gaue Hostages to assure his word: for hee was the weaker, and stood in neede of good will. But *Pyrrhus* thought it enough to promise: Hostages hee would giue none, to his inferiours: especially, meaning deceit. This made them suspect his purpose to bee such, as, indeed, it was. Yet hee lesse regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthy of assurance, by giuing such a bond, as he intended to breake ere the next morning.

It was concluded, that a Gate of the Citie should bee opened by night vnto *Pyrrhus*, by his Complices within Argos: which was accordingly performed. So his Armie without any tumult, entred the Citie: till the Elephants, with Towers on their backs, cloyed the way, being too high to passe the Gate. The taking off, and setting on againe, of those towers, with the trouble thereto belonging; did both giue alarme to the Citie, and some leasure to take order for defence, before so many were entred, as could fully master it. Argos was full of ditches, which greatly hindred the *Gauls* (that had the Vanguard) being ignorant of the wayes, in the darke night. The Citizens, on the other side, had much aduantage, by their knowledge of euery by-passage: and setting vpon the enemies on all sides, did put them to great losse, and more trouble.

*Pyrrhus* therefore, vnderstanding by the confused noyse, and vnequall shoutings of his owne men, that they were in distresse, entred the Citie in person, to take order for their reliefe, and assurance of the place. But the darknesse, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, vntill breake of day. Then began he to make his passage by force, and so farre preuailed, that he got into the Market place. It is said, that seeing in that place, the Image of a Wolfe and a Bull, in such posture as if they had been combatant, hee called to minde an Oracle, which threatned him with death, when he should behold a Bull fighting with a Wolfe: and that hereupon he made retreat.

Indeede, the coming of *Antigonus* to the rescue, the disorder and confusion of his owne men; with diuers ill accidents, gaue him reasonable cause to haue retired out of the Citie, though the Wolfe and Bull had bene away. The tumult was such; that no directions could be heard; but as some gaue backe, so did others thrust forward, and the Argiues pressing hard vpon him, forced *Pyrrhus* to make good his retreat, with his owne sword:

(sword. The tops of the houses were covered with women, that stood looking on the fight. Among these was one, that saw her owne son in dangrous cal; fighting with *Pyrrhus*. Wherefore, she took a tile-stone, or slate, and threw it so violently down on the head of *Pyrrhus*, that he fell to ground astonished with the blow, and lying in that case, had his head cut off.

Thus ended the restless ambition of *Pyrrhus*, together with his life: and thus returned the Kingdome of Macedon to *Antigonus*; who forthwith possessed the armie, the body, and the children of his enemy. The body of *Pyrrhus* had honourable buriall, and was given by *Antigonus* vnto *Helenus* his son; which yong Prince he graciously sent home, into his fathers Kingdome of Epirus. From this time forwards, the race of *Antigonus* held the Kingdome of Macedon; the posterity of *Seleucus* reigned ouer Asia and Syria; and the house of *Ptolome* had

quiet possession of Egypt: vntill such tyme, as the Citie of Rome, swallowing all vp, digested these, among other Countries, into the body of her owne Empire.

*Finis Libri quarti.*



## THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM  
the setled rule of ALEXANDERS Successers in the  
East, vntill the ROMANS, preuailing ouer all,  
made Conquest of ASIA and  
MACEDON.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the first Punicke Warre.

§. I.

*Abiusion of that probleme of Liuius; Whether the Romans could haue resisted the great Alexander. That neither the Macedonian nor the Roman Souldier, was of equall valour to the English.*



**T**HAT question handled by *Liuius*, whether the great Alexander could haue preuailed against the Romans, if after his Eastern conquest, he had bent all his forces against them, hath bin, & is, the subiect of much dispute; which (as it seemes to me) the arguments on both sides doe not so well expaine, as doth the experience that *Pyrrhus* hath giuen of the Roman power, in his dayes. For, if he, a Commander (in *Hannibals* iudgement) inferior to Alexander, thought to none else, could with small strength of men, & little store of money, or of other needfull helpes in warre, vanquish them in two battailes, and endanger their Estate, when it was well setled, & held the best part of *Italie*, vnder a confirmed obedience: what would Alexander haue done, that was abundantly prouided of all which is needfull to a Conquerour, wanting onely matter of employment, comming vpon them before their Dominion was halfe so well setled? It is easie to say, that Alexander had no more, than thirty thousand foot, & foure thousand horse (as indeede, at his first passage into *Asia*, he carried ouer, not many more,) and that the rest of his followers were no better than base effeminate *Asiaticques*. But he that considers the Armies of *Perdiccas*, *Antipater*, *Craterus*, *Eumenes* *Ptolome*, *Antigonus*, and *Lysimachus*, with the actions by them performed, euery one of which (to omit others) commanded onely some fragment of this dead Emperours power, shall easily finde, that such a reckoning is farre short of the truth.

It were needlesse to speake of Treasure, Horses, Elephants, Engines of batterie, and  
Kkkk the

the like: of all which, the *Macedonian* had abundance; the *Roman* having nought, save men and armes. As for Sea-forces; he that shall consider after what sort the *Romans*, in their first *Punicke* warre, were trained, in the rudiments of Navigation; sitting vpon the shoare, and beating the sand with poles, to practise the stroke of the Oare, as not daring to launch their ill-built vessels into the Sea; will easily conceiue, how faire too weak they would haue proved in such seruices.

Now for helpers in warre; I doe not see, why all *Greece* and *Macedon*, being absolutely commanded by *Alexander*, might not wel deserue to be layd in ballance, against those parts of *Italy*, which the *Romans* held in ill-assured subiection. To omit therefore all benefit, that the Easterne world, more wealthy, indeede, than valiant, could haue afforded vnto the *Macedonian*: let vs onely conjecture, how the States of *Sicill* and *Carthage*, neere neighbours to such a quarrell (had it happened) would haue flood affected. The *Sicilians* were, for the most part, *Grecians*, neither is it to be doubted, that they would readily haue submitted themselves vnto him, that ruled all *Greece* besides them. In what termes they commonly stood, and how ill they were able to defend themselves, it shall appeare anon. Sure it is that *Alexanders* comming into those parts, would haue brought excessive ioy, to them that were faine to get the helpe of *Pyrrhus*, by offering to become his subiects. As for the *Carthaginians*; if *Agathocles*, the Tyrant of *Syracuse*, hated of his people, and ill able to defend his owne besieged Citie, could, by aduenturing to saile into *Africke*, put their Dominion, yea and *Carthage* it selfe, in extreme hazard; shall we thinke that they would haue bene able to withstand *Alexander*? But, why doe I question their abilitie, seeing that they sent Embassadors, with their submission, as farre as *Babylon*, ere the warre drew neere them? Wherefore it is manifest, that the *Romans* must, without other succour, than perhaps of some other few *Italian* friends (of which yet there were none, that forooke them not, at some time, both before and after this) haue opposed their valour, and good militarie discipline, against the power of all Countries, to them knowne, if they would haue made resistance. How they could haue sped well, in vndertaking such a match; it is vncasie to finde in discourse of humane reason. It is true, that vertue and fortune worke wonders: but it is against cowardly fooles, and the vnfortunate: for whosoever contends with one too mightie for him; either must excell in these, as much as his enemy goes beyond him in power; or else must looke, both to be ouercome, and to be cast downe so much the lower, by how much the opinion of his fortune and vertue renders him suspected, as likely to make head another time against the vanquisher. Whether the *Roman*, or the *Macedonian*, were in those dayes the better Souldier, I will not take vpon me to determine: though I might, without partialitie, deliuer mine owne opinion, and preferre that Armie, which followed not onely *Philip* and *Alexander*, but also *Alexanders* Princes after him, in the greatest dangers of all sorts of warre; before any, that *Rome* either had, or in long time after did send forth. Concerning fortune; who can giue a rule that shall alwayes hold? *Alexander* was victorious in euery battaile that he fought: and the *Romans* in the issue of euery warre. But forasmuch as *Liuius* hath iudged this a matter worthy of consideration; I thinke it a great part of *Romes* good fortune, that *Alexander* came not into *Italy*: where in three yeares after his death, the two *Roman* Consuls, together with all the power of that State, were surprized by the *Samnites*, and enforced to yeeld vp their armes. We may therefore permit *Liuius* to admire his own *Romans*, and to compare with *Alexander* those Captaines of theirs, which were honoured sufficiently, in being thought equall to his followers: that the same conceit should blind our iudgement, we cannot permit without much vanitie.

Now in deciding such a controuersie, me thinks it were not amisse, for an *Englishman*, to giue such a sentence between the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, as the *Romans* once did (being chosen Arbitrators) between the *Ardeates* and *Aricini*, that stroue about a piece of land, saying, That it belonged vnto neither of them, but vnto the *Romans* themselves.

If therefore it be demanded, whether the *Macedonian*, or the *Roman*, were the best Warriour? I will answer: The *Englishmen*. For it will soone appeare, to any that shall examine the noble acts of our Nation in warre, that they were performed by no advantage of weapon, against no savage or vmanly people; the enemy being farre superiour vnto vs in number, and all needfull provisions, yea as well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exercise of warre.

In

In what sort *Philip* wan his Dominion in *Greece*; what manner of men the *Parthians* and *Indians* were, whom *Alexander* vanquished; as likewise of what sort the *Macedonian* *Phalanx* was, and how well appointed, against such armes as commonly encountered: any man, that hath taken paines to reade the foregoing storie of them, doth sufficiently vnderstand. Yet was this *Phalanx* neuer, or very seldom, able to stand, against the *Roman* Armies: which were embattailed in so excellent a forme, as I know not, whether any Nation besides them haue vsed, either before or since. The *Roman* weapons likewise, both offensive and defensive, were of greater vice, than those with which any other Nation hath serued, before the fiery instruments of Gun-powder were knowne. As for the enemies, with which *Rome* had to doe: we finde, that they, which did ouer-match her in numbers, were as farre ouer-matched by her, in weapons, and that they, of whom she had little advantage in armes, had as little advantage of her in multitude. This also (as *Plutarch* well obserueth) was a part of her happinesse; that she was neuer ouer-laid with too great warres at once.

Herby it came to passe, that hauing at first increased her strength, by accession of the *Sabines*, hauing won the State of *Alba*, against which the aduentured her owne selfe, as it were in wager, vpon the heads of three Champions: and hauing thereby made her selfe Princesse of *Latium*: she did afterwards, by long warre, in many ages, extend her Dominion ouer all *Italy*. The *Carthaginians* had well-neare oppressed her: but her Souldiers were Mercenarie; so that for want of proper strength, they were easily beaten at their own doores. The *Ætolians*, and with them all, or the most of *Greece*, assisted her against *Philip* the *Macedonian*: he being beaten, did lend her his helpe, to beat the same *Ætolians*. The warres against *Antiochus*, and other *Asiaticques*, were such as gaue to *Rome* small cause of boast, though much of ioy: for those opposites were as base of courage, as the lands which they held were abundant of riches. *Sicill*, *Spaine*, and all *Greece*, fell into her hands, by vsing her aide, to protect them against the *Carthaginians* and *Macedonians*.

I shall not neede to speake of her other conquests: it was easie to get more when she had gotten all this. It is not my purpose to disgrace the *Roman* valour (which was very noble) or to blemish the reputation of so many famous victories: I am not so idle. This I say: That among all their wars, I finde not any, wherein their valour hath appeared, comparable to the *English*. If my iudgement seeme ouer-partiall; our warres in *France* may helpe to make it good.

First, therefore it is well knowne, that *Rome* (or perhaps all the world besides) had neuer any so braue a Commander in warre, as *Julius Cesar*: and that no *Roman* armie was comparable vnto that, which serued vnder the same *Cesar*. Likewise, it is apparant, that this gallant Armie, which had giuen faire proofe of the *Roman* courage, in good performance of the *Helvetian* warre, when it first entred into *Gaul*; was neuertheless vtterly disheartned, when *Cesar* led it against the *Germans*. So that we may iustly impute, all that was extraordinary in the valour of *Cesars* men, to their long exercise, vnder so good a Leader, in so great a war. Now let vs in generall, compare with the decdes done by these best of *Roman* Souldiers, in their principall seruice; the things performed in the same Countrey, by our common *English* Souldiers, leui'd in haste, from following the Carr, or sitting on the shop-stall: so shall we see the difference. Herein will we deale fairly, and belecue *Cesar*, in relating the acts of the *Romans*: but will call the *French* Historians to witnesse, what actions were performed by the *English*. In *Cesars* time, *France* was inhabited by the *Gauls*, a stout people, but inferior to the *French*, by whom they were subdued; euen when the *Romans* gaue them assistance. The Countrey of *Gaul* was rent in sunder (as *Cesar* witnesseth) into many Lordships: some of which were gouerned by petty Kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in such sort as might make it applicable to the nearest Neighbour. The factions were many, and violent: not onely in generall through the whole Countrey, but betweene the pettie States, yea in euery Citie, and almost in euery house. What greater advantage could a Conquerour desire? Yet there was a greater. *Ariovistus*, with his *Germans*, had ouer-run the Countrey, and held much part of it in subiection, little different from meere slavery: yea, so often had the *Germans* preuailed in warre vpon the *Gauls*, that the *Gauls* (who had sometimes bene the better Souldiers) did hold themselves no way equall to those daily Inuaders. Had *France* bene so prepared vnto our *English* Kings, *Rome* it selfe, by this time, and long ere this

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a The Dol-  
phin of Vien-  
nois.  
b The King  
of Maiorca.

this time, would haue bin ours. But when King Edward the third began his warre upon France, he found the whole Countrey setled in obedience to one mightie King; a King whose reputation abroad, was no lesse than his puissance at home; vnder whose Ensigne, the King of Bohemia did serue in person; at whose call, the Genewayes, and other Neighbour States, were ready to take armes: finally, a King, vnto whom one Prince gaue away his Dominion, for loue; another sold away a goodly Citie and Territorie for money. The Countrey lying so open to the Roman, and being so well fenced against the English; it is note-worthy, not who preuailed most therein (for it were meere vanitie, to match the English purchases, with the Roman conquest) but whether of the two gaue the greater proofe of military vertue. Caesar himselfe doth witness, that the Gauls complained of their owne ignorance in the Art of warre, and that their own hardinesse was ouer-mastered, by the skill of their enemies. Poore men, they admired the Roman Towers, and Engines of batterie, raised and planted against their wals, as more than humane vvorkes. What greater wonder is it, that such a people was beaten by the Roman; than that the Caribes, a naked people, but valiant, as any vnder the skie, are commonly put to the worse, by small numbers of Spaniards? Besides all this, we are to haue regard, of the great difficultie that was found, in drawing all the Gauls, or any great part of them, to one head, that with ioynt forces they might oppose their assailants: as also the much more difficultie, of holding them long together. For hereby it came to passe, that they were neuer able to make vse of opportunitie: but sometimes compelled to stay for their fellows; and sometimes driuen, to giue or take battaile, vpon extreame disadvantages, for faue, lest their Companies should fall asunder: as indeede, vpon any little disaster, they were ready to breake, and returne euery one to the defence of his owne. All this, and (vvhich was little lesse than all this) great oddes in vweapon, gaue to the Romans, the honour of many gallant victories. What such helpe? or vvhat other vvordly helpe, than the golden metall of their Souldiers, had our English Kings against the French? Were not the French as well experienced in feats of Warre? Yea, did they not thinke themselves therein our superiours? Were they not in armes, in horse, and in all prouision, exceedingly beyond vs? Let vs heare, what a French writer faith, of the inequality that was betweene the French and English, when their King Iohn was ready to giue the on-set, vpon the Duke Prince, at the battaile of Poitiers. Iohn had all advantages ouer Edward, both of number, force, shew, Countrey, and conceit, (the which is commonly a consideration of no small importance in vvorldly affaires) and withall, the choice of all his horse-men (esteemed then the best in Europe) with the greatest and wisest Captaines of his whole Realme. And what could he more?

Iohn de Seuer.

IEAN avoit  
tant d'avantage  
par sa force,  
DOVAIR,  
munir ses for-  
ces de la plus  
paye de France  
qui n'est pas  
communément  
une considé-  
ration pour le  
pouvoir aux  
affaires du suc-  
cès de la cause  
politique de la  
victoire ou de  
la défaite de la  
bataille de Poitiers.

I thinke, it would trouble a Roman antiquarie, to finde the like example in their Histories; the example, I say, of a King, brought prisoner to Rome, by an Armie of eight thousand, which he had furnished with fortie thousand, better appointed, and no lesse expert warriors. This I am sure of; that neither Syphax the Numidian, followed by a rabble of halfe Scythians, as Lintie rightly tearmes them, nor those cowardly Kings Perses and Gentius, are worthy patternes. All that have read of Cresus and Agincourt, will beare me witness, that I doe not alludge the battaile of Poitiers, for lacke of other, as good examples of the English vertue: the proofe whereof hath left many a hundred better markes, in all quarters of France, than euer did the valour of the Romans. If any man impute these victories of ours to the long Bow, as carrying farther, piercing more strongly, and quicker of discharge than the French Crosse-bow: my answer is ready; That in all these respects, it is also (being drawne with a strong arme) superiour to the Musket; yet is the Musket a weapon of more vse. The Gunne, and the Crosse-bow, are of like force, when discharged by a Boy or Woman, as when by a strong Man: weaknesse or sicknesse, or a sore finger, makes the Long-Bow vsuericeable. More particularly, I say, that it was the custome of our Ancestors, to shoot, for the most part, point blank: and so shall he perceiue, that will note the circumstances of almost any one battaile. This takes away all obiection: for vvhen two Armies are vvithin the distance of a Butts length, one flight of arrowes, or two at the most can be delivered before they close. Neither is it in general true, that the long Bow reacheth farther, or that it pierceeth more strongly than the Crosse-bow: But this is the rare effect of an extraordinary arme, whereupon can be grounded no common rule. If any man shall aske, How then

dieu came it to passe, that the English was so many great battailes, having no advantage to helpe him? I may, with best commendation of modestie, referre him to the French Historians: who relating the victory of our men at Cressant, where they passed a bridge, in face of the enemy, vith these words: *The English comes with a conquering braverie, as he, that was accustomed to gaine euery where, without any slay: he forceth our garde, placed upon the bridge, to keepe the passage.* Or I may cite another place of the same Authour, where he tells, how the Britons, being inuaded by Charles the eighth, King of France, thought it good policie, to apparell a thousand and five hundred of their owne men in English Callocks; hoping that the vety sight of the English red Crosse, would be enough to terrifie the French. But I will not stand to borrow of the French Historians (all which, excepting de Seuer, and Paulus Amylin, report wonders of our Nation: the proposition which he I vnderooke to maintaine; That the military vertue of the English, preuailling against all manner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of the Romans, which was disquid with all advantages that could be desired. If it be demanded; why then did not our Kings finish the conquest, as Caesar had done? my answer may be (I hope without offence) that our Kings were like to the race of the Assassins, of whom the old Poet Ennius gaue this note; *Indiputantes sunt magis quam sapienti potentes; They were more warlike than politique.* Who so notes their proceedings, may finde that none of them went to worke like a Conquerour: fine onely King Henrie the fifth, the course of whose victories it pleased God to interrupt by his death. But this question is the more easily answered, if another be first made. Why did not the Romans attempt the conquest of Gauls, before the time of Caesar? why not after the Macedonian war? why not after the third Punic, or after the Numidian? At all these times they had good leisure: and then especially had they both leisure, and fit opportunitie, when vnder the conduct of Marius, they had newly vanquished the Cimbri, and Teutones, by whom the Countrey of Gauls had bin piously wasted. Surely the words of Tullie were true; that with other Nations, the Romans fought for Dominion, with the Gauls, for preservation of their owne safetie.

Therefore they attempted not the conquest of Gauls, vntill they were Lords of all other Countreies, to them knowne. We on the other side, held onely the one halfe of our owne land; the other halfe being inhabited by a Nation (vvellse perhaps in wealth and numbers of men somewhat inferiour) euery way equal to our selues; a Nation anciently and trogly allied to our enemies the French, and in that regard, enemy to vs. So that our danger lay both before and behinde vs: and the greater danger at our backes, where commonly we felt, alwayes we feared, a stronger inuasion by land, than we could make vpon France, transporting our forces ouer Sea.

It is small, vvith men, that haue pleased themselves, in admiring the matters which they finde in ancient Histories; to hold it a great iniurie done to their iudgement, if any they vpon him, by way of comparison, to extoll the things of later ages. But I am well persuaded, that as the diuided vertue of this our land, hath giuen more noble proofe of our strength, than vnder to vvorthy a Leader, that Roman Armie could do, which afterwards could win Rome, and all her Empire, making Caesar a Monarch; so hereafter, by Gods blessing, who hath conuerted our greatest hindrance, into our greatest helpe, the enemy that shall dare to trie our forces, will finde cause to wish, that auoiding vs, he had rather encountered a great puissance, as was that of the Roman Empire. But it is now high time, thus laying aside comparisons, we returne to the rehearsal of deeds done: wherein we shall see, how Rome began, after Pyrrhus had left Italie, to strue with Carthage for Dominion, in the first Punicke warre.

## §. II.

The state of Carthage, before it entred into warre with Rome.

THE City of Carthage had stood about fixe hundred yeares, vvhen first it began to contend with Rome, for the mastic of Sicill. It forewent Rome one hundred and fiftie yeares in antiquity of foundation: but in the honour of great achievements, it excelled farre beyond this aduantage of time. For Carthage had extended her Dominion Africa it selfe, from the west part of Cyrene, to the strights of Hercules, about one thousand and five hundred miles in length, wherein stood three hundred Cities: and had subiected all Spaine, euen to the Pyrenean Mountaines, together with all

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the *Ilands* in the *Mediterranean Sea*, to the west of *Sicill*; and of *Sicill*, the better part. It flourished about seven hundred and thirty yeares, before the destruction thereof by *Scipio*: who besides other *Spoyles*, and all that the *Souldiers* referred, carried thence foure hundred and seuentie thousand weight of siluer, which make of our mony (if our pounds differ not) fourteen hundred and ten thousand pound sterling. So as this glorious Citie ran the same fortune, vvhich many other great ones haue done, both before and since. The ruine of the goodliest pieces of the world, fore-shewes the dissolution of the vvhole.

About one hundred yeares after suchtime as it was cast downe, the Senate of *Rome* caused it to be rebuilt: and by *Gracchus* it was called *Iunonia*: it was againe abandoned and re-peopled, taken and retaken; by *Gensericus* the *Vandal*, by *Belisarius* vnder *Iustinian*, by the *Persians*, by the *Egyptians*, and by the *Arabians*. It is now nothing. The seat thereof was exceeding strong: and while the *Carthaginians* commanded the Sea, inuincible. For the Sea compassed it about, sauing that it was tied to the maine by a necke of land; which passage had two mile and more of breadth (*Appian* saith, three mile, and one furlong) by which we may be induced, to beleue the common report, that the Citie it selfe was about twenty miles in compass; if not that of *Strabo*, affirming the circuit to haue been twice as great.

It had three wals, without the wall of the Citie; and betwene each of those, three or foure streets, with vaults vnder ground, of thirty foot deepe, in which they had place for three hundred Elephants, and all their food: ouer these they had stables for foure thousand horse, & Granaries for their prouender. They had also lodgings in these streets, betwene these out-walles for foure thousand horse-men, and twentie thousand foot-men, which (according to the discipline vsed now by those of *China*) neuer pelted the Citie. It had towards the South part, the Castle of *Byrsa*, to which *Serapion* giues two and twentie furlongs in compass, that make two mile and a halfe. This was the same piece of ground, which *Dido* obtained of the *Libyans*, when she got leaue to buy only so much Land of them, as she could compass with an Ox-hide. On the west side it had also the salt Sea, but in the nature of a standing poole; for a certaine arme of Land, fastned to the ground, on which the Citie stood, stretched it selfe towards the west continent, and left but seuentie foot open for the Sea to enter. Over this standing Sea was built a most sumptuous *Arsenall*, hauing their ships and gallies riding vnder it.

The forme of their Common-weale resembled that of *Sparta*; for they had titularie Kings, and the *Aristocraticall* power of Senators. But (as *Regius* well obserueth) the people in later times vsurped too great authoritie in their Councils. This confusion in gouernement, together with the trust that they reposed in hired Souldiers, were helping causes of their destruction in the end. Two other more forcible causes of their ruine, were their auarice and their cruelty. Their auarice was shewed both in exacting from their Vassals (besides ordinary tributes) the one halfe of the fruits of the earth; and in conferring of great Offices, not vpon gentle & mercifull persons, but vpon those who could best tyrannize ouer the people, to augment their treasures. Their cruelty appeared, in putting them to death without mercy, that had offended through ignorance: the one of these rendred them odious to their vassals, whom it made ready vpon all occasions to revolt from them: the other did breake the spirits of their Generals, by presenting in the heat of their actions abroad, the feare of a cruell death at home. Hereby it came to passe, that many good Commanders of the *Carthaginian* forces, after some great losse recovered, haue desperately cast themselves with all that remained vnder their charge, into the throat of destruction, holding it necessary, either to repaire their losses quickly, or to ruine all together: and few of them haue dared to manage their owne best projects, after that good form; wherein they first conceived them, for feare lest the manner of their proceeding should be misinterpreted: It being the *Carthaginian* rule, to crucifie, not onely the vniuersity Captaine, but euery him, whose bad counsaile had prospered euent. The faults, wherewith, in generall, they of *Carthage* are taxed, by *Roman* Historians, I finde to be these; lust, cruelty, auarice, craft, vnfaithfulness, and periuice. Whether the *Romans* taught them to raise their Rents, since by Inclosures, and dismembering of Mannours, the Court Baron, and the Court Leet, the Principles of the Gentrie of *England*, haue bene disclosed, the Tenants, hauing payed vnto their Lords their racke Rent, owe them no seruice at all, and (perchaunce) a little loue,

themselves

themselves were free from the same crimes, let the triall be referred vnto their actions. The first league between *Carthage* and *Rome*, was very ancient: hauing bin made, the yeare following the expulsion of *Tarquinius*. In that league, the *Carthaginians* had the superiority, as imposing vpon the *Romans*, the more strict conditions. For it was agreed, that the *Romans* should not so much as haue trade, in some part of *Affricke*, nor suffer any ship of theirs to passe beyond the headland, or cape, then called the *saire Promontorie*, vnlesse it were by force of tempest: whereas on the other side, no Hauen in *Italie* was forbidden to the *Carthaginians*. A second league was made long after, which (howsoever it hath pleased *Linus* to say, that the *Romans* granted it, at the *Carthaginians* intreatie) was more strict than the former: prohibiting the *Romans* to haue trade in any part of *Affricke*, or in the Iland of *Sardinia*.

By these two treaties, it may appeare that the *Carthaginians* had an intent not only to keepe the *Romans* (as perhaps they did other people) from getting any knowledge of the state of *Affricke*; but to countenance & vphold them, in their troubling all *Italie*, whereby they themselves might haue the better means to occupie all *Sicill*, vvhilst that Iland should be destitute of *Italian* succours. Hereupon we find good cause, of the ioy that was in *Carthage*, and of the Crowne of gold, weighing twenty and five pound, sent from thence to *Rome*, vvhhen the *Sannites* were ouerthrowne. But the little state of *Rome* preuailed faster in *Italie*, than the great power of *Carthage* did in *Sicill*. For that mighty Army of three hundred thousand men, which *Hannibal* conducted out of *Affricke* into *Sicill*, was only two Cities therein: many great fleets were decoured by tempests; and howsoever the *Carthaginians* preuailed at one time, the *Sicilians*, either by their owne valour, or by the assistance of their good friends out of *Greece*, did at some other time repaire their owne losses, & take reuenge vpon those Inuaders. But neuer were the people of *Carthage* in better hope of getting all *Sicill*, than when the death of *Agabocles* the Tyrant, had left the whole Iland in combustion; the estate of *Greece* being such, at the same time, that it seemed impossible, for any succour to be sent from thence. But whilst the *Carthaginians* were busie, in making their advantage, of this good opportunity, *Pyrrhus* (invited by the *Tarentines*, and their fellowes, came into *Italie*, where he made sharp warre vpon the *Romans*. These newes were vnpleasing to the *Carthaginians*, who, being a subtle Nation, easily foresaw, that the same busie disposition, vvhich had brought this Prince out of *Greece* into *Italie*, would as easily transport him ouer into *Sicill*, as soone as he could finish his *Roman* warre. To prevent this danger, they sent *Mago* Embassador to *Rome*, vvhho declared in their name, that they were sorry to heare, vvhhat misadventure had befallen the *Romans*, their good friends, in this war with *Pyrrhus*; and that the people of *Carthage* were very willing to assist the state of *Rome*, by sending an Army into *Italie*, if their helpe were thought needfull, against the *Epirites*.

It was indeed, the maine desire of the *Carthaginians*, to hold *Pyrrhus* so hardly to his worke in *Italie*, that they might at good leisure, pursue their businesse in *Sicill*: vvhich caused them to make such a goodly offer. But the *Romans* were too high-minded: and refused to accept any such aide of their friends, lest it should blemish their reputation, and make them seeme vnable to stand by their owne strength. Yet the message was taken loosingly, as it ought; and the former league betwene *Rome* and *Carthage* renewed, with counaunts added, concerning the present businesse; That if either of the two Cities made peace with *Pyrrhus*, it should be with reseruatiou of liberty, to assist the other, in case that *Pyrrhus* should inuade either of their Dominions. All this notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the same *Mago* went and treated with *Pyrrhus*, vsing all means to sound his intentions (a matter very difficult, where one vpon euery new occasion changes his owne purposes) yet *Pyrrhus* found leisure to make a steppe into *Sicill*: wher, though in fine he was neither getter nor sauer, yet he cleane defeated the policies of *Carthage*, leauing them at his departure from thence, as farre from any end, as when they first began.

So many disasters, in an enterprife, that from the first vndertaking had bin so strongly pursued, through the length of many generations, might well haue induced the *Carthaginians* to beleue, that an higher providence resisted their intendment. But their desire, of winning that fruitful Iland, was so inueterate, that with vnwearied patience, they still continued in hope, of so much the greater an harvest, by how much their cost and paines therein buried had bin the more. Wherfore they re-continued their former courses; and

and by force of practice, recovered in few yeares, all their old possitions: making peace with *Syracuse*, the chiefe Citie of the Iland, that so they might the better enable themselves to deale with the rest.

Somewhat before this time, a troupe of *Campanian* Souldiers, that had serued vnder *Asatholes*, being entertained within *Messana* as friends, & finding themselves too strong for the Citizens, tooke aduantage of the power that they had to doe wrong, and with perfidious crueltie, slew those that had trusted them; which done, they occupied the Citie, Lands, Goods, and Wiues, of those, whom they had murdered. These Mercenaries called themselves *Mamertines*. Good Souldiers they were: and like enough it is, that mere desperation, of finding any that would approue their barbarous treachery, added rage vnto their stoutnesse. Having therefore not any other colour of their proceedings, than *the law of the stronger*, they ouer-ran the Countrey round about them.

In this course, at first, they sped so well, that they did not only defend *Messana* against the Cities of *Sicill* Confederates; to wit, against the *Syracusians*, and others, but they rather wan vpon them, yea, and vpon the *Carthaginians*, exacting tribute from many Neighbor places. But it was not long, ere fortune turning her backe to these *Mamertines*, the *Syracusians* wan fast vpon them, & finally, confining them within the walls of *Messana*, they also with a powerfull Armie besieged the Citie. It hapned ill, that about the same time, a contention began, betweene the *Syracusian* Souldiers, then lying at *Megara*, and the Citizens of *Syracuse*, and Gouernors of the Common-wealth; which proceeded so far, that the Armie elected two Gouernours among themselves, to wit, *Arenidorus* and *Hieron*, that was afterward King. *Hieron*, being for his yeares excellently adorned with many vertues, although it was contrary to the policie of that State, to approue any election made by the Souldiers, yet for the great clemencie he vsed, at his first entrance, vvas by generall consent established and made Gouernour. This Officē, he rather vsed as a Scale, thereby to climbe to some higher degree, than rested content with his present preferment.

In briefe, there was somewhat wanting, whereby to strengthen himselfe within the Citie; and somewhat with out it, that gaue impediment, to his obtaining, and safe keeping of the place he sought; to wit, a powerfull partie within the Towne, and certaine mutinous troupes of Souldiers without, often and easily mooued to sedition & tumult. For the first, whereby to strengthen himselfe, he tooke to wife the daughter of *Leptines*, a man of the greatest estimation and authoritie among the *Syracusians*. For the second, leading out the Armie to besiege *Messana*, he quartered all those Companies, which he held suspected, on the one side of the Citie; and leading the rest of his horse and foot vnto the other side, as if he would haue assailed it in two severall parts, he marched away vnder the couert of the Towne walls, and left the Mutiners to be cur in pieces by the assieged: So returning home, and leauing an Armie of his owne Citizens, well trayned and obedient, he halted againe towards *Messana*, & was by the *Mamertines* (grown proud by their former victorie over the Mutiners) encountered in the plaines of *Asylum*, where he obtained a most glorious victorie, and leading with him their Commander Captiue into *Syracuse*, himselfe by common consent, was elected and saluted King. Here vpon the *Mamertines*, finding themselves vtterly inieebled, some of them resolved to giue themselves to the *Carthaginians*, others to craue assistance of the *Romans*: to each of whom, the severall factious dispatched Embassadors for the very same purpose.

The *Carthaginians* were soone ready to lay hold vpon the good offer: so that a Captaine of theirs got into the Castle of *Messana*, whereof they that had sent for him gaue him possession. But within a litle while, they that were more inclinable to the *Romans*, had brought their Companions to so good agreement, that this Captaine, either by force, or by cunning, was turned out of doores, and the Towne referred for other Matters.

These newes did much offend the people of *Carthage*; who criticised their Captaine, as both a Traitor and Coward; and sent a Fleet and Armie to besiege *Messana*, as a Towne that rebelled, hauing once bin theirs. *Hieron*, the new-made King of *Syracuse* (to gratifie his people, incensed with the smart of injuries lately received) added his forces to the *Carthaginians*, with whom he entred into a league, for exterminating the

*Mamertines*

*Mamertines* out of *Sicill*. So the *Mamertines* on all sides were closed vp within *Messana*: the *Carthaginians* lying with a Nauie at Sea, and with an Armie on the one side of the Towne, whilst *Hieron* with his *Syracusians*, lay before it on the other side.

In this their great danger, came *Appius Claudius* the *Roman* Consul, with an Armie to the streights of *Sicill*: which passing by night with notable audacitie; he put himselfe into the Towne, and sending Messengers to the *Carthaginians*, and to *Hieron*, required them to depart; signifying vnto them, that the *Mamertines* were now become confederate with the people of *Rome*, and that therefore he was come to giue them protection, even by force of warre, if reason would not preuaile.

This message was vtterly neglected; And so beganne the vvarre betweene *Rome* and *Carthage*; wherein, it will then be time to shew, on which part was the iustice of the quarrell, when some actions of the *Romans* lately foregoing this, haue beene first considered.

### §. III.

The beginning of the first Punick Warre. That it was vnjustly undertaken by the *Romans*.

When *Pyrrhus* began his wars in *Italie*, the Citie of *Rhegium*, being well affected to *Rome*, and not only fearing to be taken by the *Epirots*, but much more distrusting the *Carthaginians*, as likely to seize vpon it in that busie time, sought aide from the *Romans*, & obtained from them a Legion, consisting of 4. thousand Souldiers, vnder the conduct of *Decius Campanus*, a *Roman* Prefect; by whom they were defended & assured for the present. But after a while, this *Roman* Garrison, considering at good leisure, the fact of the *Mamertines*, committed in *Messana*, a Citie in *Sicill*, situate almost opposit to *Rhegium*, and no otherwise diuided than by a narrow Sea, which seuereth it from *Italie* and rather weighing the greatnesse of the bootie, than the odiousnesse of the villanie, by which it was gotten; resolved finally, to make the like purchase, by taking the like wicked course. Confederating therefore themselves with the *Mamertines*, they entertained in their Hosts of *Rhegium*, after the same manner; diuiding the spoile, and all which that State had, among themselves.

When complaint was made to the Senate and people of *Rome*, of this outrage; they finding their honour thereby greatly stained (for no Nation in the world made a more seuerer profession of iustice; than they did, during all the time of their growing greatnesse) resolved, after a while, to take reuenge vpon the offenders. And thus they performed shortly after, when they had quenched the fires, kindled in *Italie* by *Pyrrhus*. For, notwithstanding that those *Romans* in *Rhegium* (as men for the foulness of their fact, hopelesse of pardon) defended themselves with an obstinate resolution: yet in the end, the assailants forced them; and those which escaped the present furie, were brought bound to *Rome*, where, after the vsuall torments by whipping inflicted, according to the custome of the Countrey, they had their heads stricken from their shoulders; and the people of *Rhegium* were againe restored to their former libertie and estates.

This execution of Iustice being newly performed, and the fame thereof sounding honourably through all quarters of *Italie*: messengers came to *Rome*, from *Messana*, desiring helpe against the *Carthaginians*, and *Syracusians*, that were in a readinesse to inflict the like punishment vpon the *Mamertines*, for the like offence. A very impudent request it vvas, which they made: who hauing both giuen example of that villanie to the *Roman* Souldiers, and holpen them with ioint forces to make it good, doe intreat the Iudges to giue them that assistance, which they were wont to receiue from their fellow-theeues.

The *Romans* could not suddenly resolve, whether the vway of honestie or of profit, were to be followed; they euermore pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They considered, how contrary the course of succouring the *Mamertines* was to their former counsells and actions: seeing for the same offences they had lately put to torment, and to the sword, their owne Souldiers, and restored the oppressed to their libertie. Yet when they beheld the description of the *Carthaginian* Dominion, and that they were already Lords of the best part of *Africa*, of the Mediterran Ilands, of a great part of *Spaine*; and some part of *Sicill* itselfe, whilst also they feared, that *Syracuse* therein

therein seated (a Citie in beauty and riches, little, at that time, inferiour to *Carthage*, and farre superiour to *Rome* it selfe) might become theirs; the safetie of their owne estate spake for these *Mamertines*: who, if they (driven to despair by the *Romans*) should deliver vp *Messana*, with those other holds that they had, into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, then would nothing stand betwene *Carthage*, and the Lordship of *Sicily*: for *Syracuse* it selfe could not, for want of succour, any long time subsist, if once the *Carthaginians*, that were Masters of the Sea, did fasten vpon that passage from the maine Land. It was further considered; that the opportunity of *Messana* was such, as would not onely debarre all succours out of the continent, from annuall in *Sicily*; but would serue as a bridge, whereby the *Carthaginians* might haue entrance into *Italie*, at their owne pleasure.

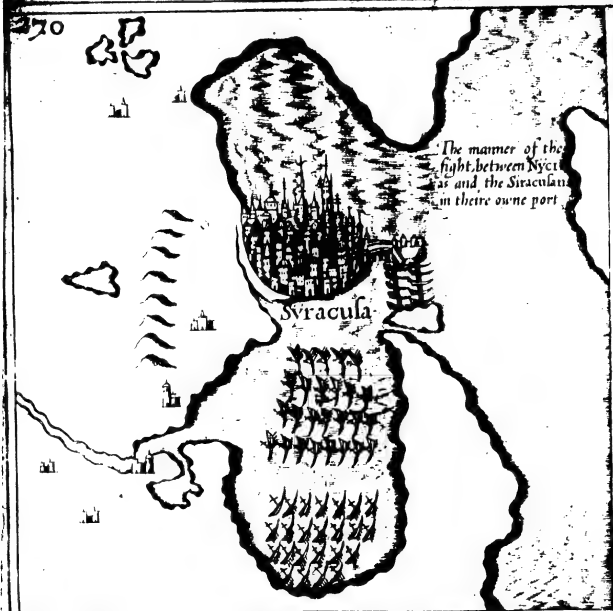
These considerations, of profit at hand, and of preventing dangers, that threatened from a farre, did so preuaile, about all regard of honestie, that the *Mamertines* were admitted into Confederacie with the *Romans*, and *Ap. Claudius* the Consull, presently dispatched away from *Messana*: into which he entred, and vnder-tooke the protection of it, as is shewed before. The besiegers were little troubled with his annuall; and lesse moved, with his requiring them to desist from their attempt. For they did farre exceede him in number of men; The whole Island was ready to relieue them in their wants; and they were strong enough at Sea, to hinder any supply from getting into the Towne. All this *Appius* himselfe well vnderstood: and against all this he thought the stiffementall of his *Roman* Souldier, a sufficient remedie. Therefore, he resolved to issue out into the field, and to let the enemies know, that his coming vvvas to send them away from the Towne; not to be besieged by them within it.

In executing this determination, it was very beneficiall to him, that the enemy lay encamped in such sort, as one quarter was not well able to relieue another in distresse. *Hieron* was now exposed to the same danger, wherein to he had wilfully cast his owne mutinous followers, not long before: onely he was strong enough (or thought so) to make good his owne quarter, without helpe of others. Against him *Ap. Claudius* issued forth, and (not attempting, by vnexpected sallie, to surprize his trenches) arranged his men in order of battaile, wherewith he presented him. The *Syracusians* wanted not courage to fight; but surely, he wanted good aduice: else would he not haue hazarded all his power against an enemy, of whom he had made not triall, when it had bene easie, and as much as was requisite, to defend his owne Campe. It may be, that he thought to get honor, wherewith to adorn the beginning of his reigne. But he was well beaten, and driven to saue himselfe within his Trenches: by which losse, he learned a point of wisdom, that stood him and his Kingdom in good stead, all the daies of his life. It was a foolish desire of reuenge, that had made the *Syracusians* so busie, in helping those of *Carthage*, against the *Mamertines*.

Had *Messana* bin taken by the *Carthaginians*, *Syracuse* it selfe must haue sought helpe from *Rome*, against those friends which it now so diligently assisted. *Hieron* had (in respect of those two mightie Citie) but a small stocke, which it behooued him to gouerne well: such another losse would haue made him almost bankrupt. Therefore he quietly brake vp his Campe, and retired home: intending to let them stand to their aduentures, that had hope to be gainers by the bargain. The next day, *Claudius* perceiuing the *Sicilian* Armie gone, did with great courage, and with much alacritie of his souldiers, giue charge vpon the *Carthaginians*: wherein he sped so well, that the enemy forooke both field and campe, leauing all the Countrey open to the *Romans*; who hauing spoyled all round, without resistance, intended to lay siege vnto the great Citie of *Syracuse*.

These prosperous beginnings, howsoeuer they animated the *Romans*, and filled them with hopes, of attaining to greater matters, than at the first they had expected: Yet did they not imprint any forme of terrour in the Citie of *Carthage*, that had well enough repaired greater losses than this; in which no more was lost, than what had bin prepared against the *Mamertines* alone, vvithout any suspicion of Warre from *Rome*.

Now in this place I hold it reasonable, to consider of those grounds, whereupon the *Romans* entred into this warre; not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honesty (for questionlesse the enterprize was much to their benefit, though as much to their shame) but how allowable in strict termes of lawfulness; whereupon they built



all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the *Mamertines* did yeeld themselves, and all that they had, into the *Romans* hands (as the *Campanes*, distressed by the *Samnites*, had done) I cannot finde: neither can I finde, how the messengers of those folke, whereof one part had already admitted the *Carthaginians*, could be enabled to make any such surrendrie, in the publike name of all.

If therefore the *Mamertines*, by no lawfull surrendrie of themselves and their possessions, were become subiect vnto *Rome*, by what better title could the *Romans* assist the *Mamertines*, against their most ancient friends the *Carthaginians*, than they might haue aided the *Campanes*, against the *Samnites*, without the same condition? which was (as they themselves confessed) by none at all. But let it be supposed, that some point seruing to cleare this doubt, is lost in all Histories. Doubtlesse it is, that no company of Pyrates, Theeves, Out-lawes, Murderers, or such other malefactors, can by any good successe of their villanie, obtaine the priuiledge of ciuill societies, to make league or truce, yea or to require faire warre: but are by all meanes, as most pernicious vermine, to be rooted out of the world. I will not take vpon me, to maintaine that opinion of some *Ciuilians*, that a Prince is not bound to hold his faith with one of these; it were a Position of ill consequence: This I hold; that no one Prince, or State, can giue protection to such as these, as long as any other is vsing the sword of vengeance against them, without becoming accessory to their crimes. Wherefore, we may esteeme this action of the *Romans*, so farre from being iustificable, by any pretence of Confederacie made with them; as that contrariwise, by admitting this nest of Murderers and Theeves, into their protection, they iustly deserved to be waied vpon themselves, by the people of *Sicil*; yea, although *Messana* had bin taken, and the *Mamertines* all slaine, ere any newes of the Confederacie had beene brought vnto the besiegers. The great *Alexander* was so farre persuaded heerein; that he did put to sword all the *Branchiades* (a people in *Sogdiana*) and razed their Citie, notwithstanding that they ioyfully entertained him as their Lord and King, because they were defended from a Companie of *Milicians*, who to gratifie king *Ionas*, had robbed a Temple, and were by him rewarded with the Towne and Countie, which these of their posteritie enioyed. Neuerthelesse, in course of humane iustice, long and peaceable possession giues *ius acquisitum*, a kind of right by prescription, vnto that which was first obtained by wicked meanes: and doth free the descendants, from the crime of their Ancestors, whose villanies they doe not exercise. But that the same generation of Theeves, which by a detestable fact hath purchased a rich Towne, should be acknowledged a lawfull companie of Citizens, there is no shew of right. For euen the Conquerour, that by open warre obtaineth a Kingdome, doth not confirme his title, by those victories which gaue him first possession: but length of time is requisite, to establish him, vnlesse by some alliance with the ancient inheritors, he can better the violence of his claime; as did our King *Henrie* the first, by his marriage with *Maude*, that was daughter of *Malcolme*, King of the *Scots*, by *Margaret*, the Neece of *Edmond Iron-side*. Wherefore I conclude, that the *Romans* had no better ground (if they had so good) of iustice, in this quarrell, than had the *Gothes*, *Hunnes*, *Vandalls*, and other Nations, of the warres that they made vpon the *Roman* Empire, wherein *Rome* her selfe, in the time of her visitation, was burnt to the ground.

## §. II II.

## Of the Iland of Sicil,

## §. I.

## The qualitie of the Iland: and the first inhabitants thereof.

THE defence of the *Mamertines*, or the possession of *Messana*, being now no longer, since the first victories of *Appius Claudius*, the objects of the *Roman* hopes; but the Dominion of all *Sicil* being the prize, for which *Rome* and *Carthage*, are about to contend: it will be agreeable vnto the order, which in the like cases wee haue obserued, to make a brieue collection, of things, concerning that noble Iland, which hath beene the stage of many great acts, performed, as well before and after, as in this present Warre.

That



Phil. lib. 9. 1.  
Strabo.Cicero. lib. 1. 14.  
Diod. lib. 5.  
O. add. lib. 3. 4.

Strabo. lib. 6.

That *Sicil* was sometimes a *Peninsula*, or *Demie-Isle*, adioyned to *Italie*, as a part of *Bruttium* in *Calabria*, neere vnto *Rhegium*, and afterward by violence of tempest severed from the same: it is a general opinion of all antiquitie. But at what certaine time this diuision happened, there is no memoriall remaining, in any ancient writer. *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Dionysius*, affirme, that it was caused by an earthquake; *Silius* and *Cassiodorus*, doe thinke it to haue bene done by the rage and violence of the tides, and furies of the Sea. Either of these opinions may be true; for so was *Enbea* severed from *Bonia*; *Atalante* and *Alacria*, from *Iubara*; *Siblie* here in *England*, from the Cape of *Cornwall*; and *Britaine* it selfe (as may seeme by *Vesilegath*'s arguments) from the opposite continent of *Gaul*. But for *Sicil*, they which lend their eares to fables, doe attribute the cause of it to *Nephtune* (as *Eustathius* witnesseth) who with his three-forked Mace, in fauour of *Iacchus*, the sonne of *Aeolus*, diuided it from the maine land, and so made it an Iland, which before was but a *Demie-Isle*; that by that meanes, he might the more safely inhabite, and possesse the same. *Diodorus Siculus*, moued by the authoritie of *Hesiodus*, ascribeth the labour of fundering it from *Italie*, to *Orion*: who, that he might be compared to *Mercurius* (cutting through the rocks and mountains) first opened the *Sicilian* streights, as *Hercules* did those of *Gibraltar*.

They which value the Ilands of the mid-land Sea, according to their quantitie and content, doe make this the greatest, as *Enslathius* and *Strabo*, who affirme this, not only to excell the rest for bignesse, but also for goodnesse of soyle. As concerning the forme of this Iland, *Pomponius Mela* saith, it is like that Capitall letter of the *Greeke*, which they call *Delta*, namely, that it hath the figure of a triangle; which is generally knowne to be true. That the whole Iland was consecrated to *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, all old written with one consent affirme. To *Ceres* it was dedicated, because it first taught the rules of sowing and fowing of Corne: to *Proserpina*, not so much, for that she was from hence violently taken by *Pluto*, as because (which *Plutarch* and *Diodorus* do report for truth) that *Pluto*, as soone as she, vncouering her selfe, first shewed her selfe to be seene of him, gaue her the Dominion thereof.

Of the fertilitie and riches of this Countrey, there is a famous testimonie written by *Cicero*, in his second Oration against *Verres*, where he saith, that *Marcus Cato* did call it, the *Granarie*, and *Store-house of the Common-wealth*, and the *Nurse of the vulgar sort*. The same *Cicero* doth adde in that place, that it was not only the store-house of the people of *Rome*; but also that it was a well-furnished treasure. For without any cost or charge of ours (saith he) it hath vsually clothed, maintained, and furnished, our greatest Armies, with leather, apparell, and corne. *Strabo* reporteth almost the same thing of it. Whatsoeuer *Sicilie* doth yeeld (saith *Solinus*) whether by the Sunne, and temperance of the aire, or by the industrie and labour of man, it is accounted next vnto those things that are of best estimation: were it not that such things, as the earth first putteth forth, are extremely ouer-grown with saffron. *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that in the fields neere vnto *Leontium*, and in diuers other places of this Iland, wheat doth grow of it selfe without any labour, or looking to of the husbandman. *Martianus* sheweth, that there were in it fixe Colonies, and sixtie Cities: there are that reckon more, whereof the names are found scattering in many good Authors.

Now besides many famous acts, done by the people of this Iland, as well in peace as warre; there be many other things, which haue made it very renowned, as the birth of *Ceres*; the rauishing of *Proserpina*; the Giant *Enceladus*; the mount *Aetna*, *Scylla*, & *Charybdis*, with other antiquities, and rarities; besides those learned men, the noble Mathematician *Archimedes*, the famous Geometrician *Euclides*, the painfull Historian *Diodorus*; and *Empedocles* the deepe Philosopher.

That *Sicil* was at first possessed and inhabited by Giants *Laestrigones*, and *Cyclopes*, barbarous people, and vnciuill, all histories and fables doe ioynly with one consent auctore. Yet *Thucydides* saith, that these sauage people dwelt onely in one part of the Iland. Afterward the *Sicani*, a people of *Spaine*, possessed it. That these *Sicani* were not bredde in the Isle (although some so thinke,) *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* doe very constantly auaunch.

Of these it was named *Sicania*. These *Sicani* were inuaded by the *Siculi*, who, inhabiting that part of *Latium*, whereon *Rome* was afterward built, were driven by the *Pelagi* from their owne seats, and finding no place vpon the Continent, which they were able to

maister

maister and inhabite, passed ouer into this Iland, three hundred yeeres before the *Greekes* sent any Colonies thither: and (saith *Philistus*) eighty yeeres before the fall of *Troy*. These *Siculi* gaue the name of *Sicilia*, to the Iland; and making warre vpon the *Sicani*, draue them from the East and Northerne part thereof, into the West and South. At their landing, they first built the Citie *Zancle*, afterward called *Messina*; and after that, *Catana*, *Leontium*, and *Syracuse* it selfe, beating from thence the *Aetolians*, who long before had seuerall Towne in that place. As for the name of *Syracuse*, it was not knowne, till such times as *Archius* of *Corinth* (long after) wonne that part of the Iland from the *Siculi*. Neither did the *Siculi* at their first arrivall dispossesse the *Aetolians* thereof, but some 10 hundred yeeres after their descent, and after such time as they had founded the Cities before named, with *Naxos*, *Hybla*, *Trynacia*, and diuers others.

After these *Siculi* came another nation out of *Italy*, called *Morgetes*, who were thence driven by the *Oenotrians*. These fare downe in that part of *Sicil*, where they afterward raised the Cities of *Morgentum*, and *Leontium*. For at this time the *Siculi* were diuided, and by a ciuill war greatly infuebled. Among these ancient stories, we finde the last voyage, and the death of *Minos*, King of *Creet*: *Thucydides*, an Historian of vnquestionable veritie, reports of *Minos*, that he made conquest of many Ilands: and some such businesse, perhaps drew him into *Sicil*. But the common report is, that he came thither in pursuit of *Daedalus*. The tale goes thus: *Daedalus* fleeing the reuenge of *Minos*, came into *Sicil* to *Cocalus*, king of the *Sicani*, & during his abode there, he built a place of great strength, neere vnto *Megara*, for *Cocalus*, to lay vp his treasure in; together with many notable works, for which he was greatly admired and honoured.

Among the rest, he cast a Ramme in gold, that was set vp in the Temple of *Venus Erycia*, which hee did with so great Art, as those that beheld it, thought it rather to bee liuing, than counterfeite.

Now *Minos*, hearing that *Cocalus* had entreated *Daedalus*, prepares to invade the Territories of *Cocalus*; but when he was arriued, *Cocalus* doubting his owne strength, promised to deliuer *Daedalus*. This he performs not, but in the meane while, kills *Minos* by treason, and perswades the *Cretans*, *Minos* his followers, to inhabite a part of *Sicil*: the better (as it seems) to strengthen himselfe against the *Siculi*. Hereunto the *Cretans* (their King being dead) gaue their consent, and builded for themselves the Citie of *Minoa*, after the name of their King *Minos*. After, they likewise built the Towne of *Engium*, now called *Gange*; and these were the first Cities, built by the *Greekes* in *Sicil*, about two ages before the warre of *Troy*; for the grand-children of *Minos* serued with the *Greekes* at the siege thereof.

But after such time as the *Cretans* vnderstood, that their King had by treason benee made away; they gathered together a great Armie, to invade *Cocalus*: and landing neere vnto *Camicus*, they besieged the same five yeeres, but in vaine. In the end (being forced to returne, without any reuenge taken) they were wrackt on the coast of *Italie*; and having no means to repaire their ships, nor the honour they had lost, they made good the place whereon they fell, and built *Hyria*, or *Hyrium*, betwene the two famous Ports of *Brundisium* & *Tarentum*. Of these *Cretans* came those Nations, afterward called *Tarantines* and *Messapii*.

After the taking of *Troy*, *Aegisthus* and *Elymus*, brought with them certaine troops into *Sicil*, and seated themselves among the *Sicani*; where they built the Cities of *Aegista* and *Elyma*.

It is said, that *Aeneas* visited these places in his passage into *Italie*; and that some of the *Troians*, his followers, were left behinde him, in these Townes of *Sicil*: whereof there want not good Authors, that make *Aeneas* himselfe the founder.

About the same time, the *Phoenicians* seized vpon the Promontories of *Pachinus*, & *Lilybaeum*, & vpon certaine small Isles adioyning to the maine Iland: which they fortified, to secure the trades that they had with the *Sicilians*, like as the *Portugals* haue done in the East *India*, at *Goa*, *Ormaus*, *Mosambique*, and other places. But the *Phoenicians* staid not there; for after they had once assured their descents, they built the goodly Citie of *Panormus*, now called *Palerma*.

These we finde, were the Nations that inhabited the Isle of *Sicil*, before the warre of *Troy*; and ere the *Greekes* in any numbers began to straggle in those parts.

It may perhaps seeme strange to the Reader, that in all ancient storie, he findes onc

See Ge. in pre-  
face. b. b.

Text. d. R.  
Lure.  
quid. quid.  
quid. quid.  
quid. quid.  
quid. quid.  
quid. quid.  
quid. quid.

\* Syrus, & his  
cher. redness,  
was the great-  
est and most  
goodly Cite  
of all that the  
Greeks posside.  
For the situation  
is both  
strong, and of  
an excellent  
prospect from  
every entrance,  
by Land, or  
Sea. The Port  
was (for the  
most part) en-  
circled with  
beautiful build-  
ings: and that  
part which  
was without  
the City, was  
on both sides  
banked up, and  
sustained with  
beautiful walls  
of Marble.

The Cite it  
selfe was one  
of the greatest  
of the World,  
for it had in  
compass (as  
Syrus, & Ptolemy  
teach) without  
the towne wall  
thereof, 180.  
furlongs,  
which make  
of our miles  
about 15. It  
was compoun-  
ded of foure  
Cities, (Syrus  
saith, of five)  
to wit, *Infula*,  
*Acadina*, *Ty-  
cha*, and *Nea-  
polis*: which  
greatnesse,  
the ruines & foun-  
dations of the  
walls doe yet  
witness.

and the same beginning of Nations, after the flood, and that the first planters of all parts of the World, were said to be mighty and Giant-like men; and that, as *Phanicia*, *Ægypt*, *Lybia*, and *Greece*, had *Hercules*, *Orestes*, *Anteus*, *Typhon*; and the like; as *Denmark* had *Storchaterus*, remembered by *Saxo Grammaticus*; as *Seychia*, *Britanie*, and other Regions, had Giants for their first Inhabitants; so this Ile of *Sicill* had her *Leſtrigones* and *Cyclops*. This discourse I could also reiect for fained and fabulous; did not *Moses* make vs know, that the *Zamzummins*, *Emlins*, *Anakims*, and *Og of Basan*, with others, which sometime inhabited the Mountaines and Deserts of *Moab*, *Ammon*, and *Mount Seir*, were men of exceeding strength and stature; and of the races of Giants: and were it not, that *Tertul- lian*, *S. Augustine*, *Nicephorus*, *Procopius*, *Isidore*, *Plinius*, *Diadore*, *Herodotus*, *Solinus*, *Plato*, *Archelaus*, and many other Authors, have confirmed the opinion. Yea, *Vespasian*, in his second Navigation into *America*, hath reported, that himselfe hath seene the like men in those parts. Again, whereas the selfe-same is written of all Nations, that is written of any one; as touching their simplicity of life, their meane fare, their feeding on acorns and rootes, their poore cottages, the couering of their bodies with the skins of beasts, their hunting, their armes, and weapons, and their warfare, their first passages ouer great Riues & armes of the Sea, vpon rafts of trees tied together, and afterward, their making boats, first, of twigs and leather, then of wood; first, with Oares, & then with Saile, that they esteemed as gods, the first finders out of Arts; as of Husbandrie, of Lawes, and of Policie: it is a matter, that makes me neither to wonder at, nor to doubt of it. For they all liued in the same newnesse of time, which we call *Old time*, and had all the same want of his instruction, which (after the Creator of all things) hath by degrees taught all Mankind. For other teaching had they none, that were remoued farre off from the *Ishreuelites* (who inherited the knowledge of the first Patriarchs.) than that from variable effects they beganne, by time and degrees, to finde out the causes: from whence came Philosophie Naturall; as the Morall did from disorder and confusion; and the Law from crueltie and oppression.

But it is certaine, that the Age of Time hath brought forth stranger and more incredible things, than the Infancie: For wee have now greater Giants, for vice and iniustice, than the World had in those daies, for bodily strength, for cottages, and houses of clay and timber; we haue raised Palaces of stone, we carue them, we paint them, and adorne them with gold; in such as men are rather knowne by their houses, than their houses by them; we are fallen from two dishes, to two hundred, from water, to wine and drunkennesse; from the couering of our bodies with the skinnies of beasts, not onely to silk and gold, but to the very skinnies of men. But to conclude this digression, Time will also take reuenge of the excessse, which it hath brought forth; *Quam longa dies peregit, longior, auxit; longissima subrebit; Long time brought forth, longer time increased it, and at time, longer than the rest, shall ouerthrow it.*

## †. II.

### The plantation of the Greekes in Sicill.

When the first inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dominion of all Sicill: it happened, that one *Theocles*, a Greeke, being driuen vpon that coast by an Easterly wind; and finding true the commendations thereof, which had bene thought fabulous, being deliuered onely by Poets; gaue information to the Athenians of this his discovery, & proposed vnto them the benefit of this easie conquest, offering to become their guide. But *Theocles* was as little regarded by the Athenians, as *Columbus*, in our Grand-fathers times, was by the English. Wherefore he took the same course that *Columbus* afterwards did. He ouerlaboured not himselfe in perswading the Noble Athenians (who thought themselves to be well enough already) to their owne profit; but went to the *Chalcidians*, that were needie and industrious, by whom his proiect was gladly entertained. By these was built the Cite of *Naxos*, and a Colony planted of Eubeans.

But the rest of the Greekes were wiser than our western Princes of Europe: for they had no Pope, that should forbid them, to occupie the void places of the World. *Archibius* of Corinth followed the Eubeans, & landed in Sicill; where vnto that Cite, called afterward *Syracuse* of which, that part onely was then compassed with a wall, which the

*Ætolians*

*Ætolians* called *Homerothermus* the Greeks, *Naxos*, the Latines, *Infula*. He with his Corinthians having overcome the Siculi, draue them vp into the Country; and after a few years, their multitudes increasing, they added vnto the City of the Iland, that of *Acadina*, *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*. So as well by the commodity of the double Port, capable of as many ships, as any Haven of that part of Europe, as by the fertility of the soyle, *Syracuse* grew vp in great haste, to be one of the goodliest Towns of the world. In short time the Greeks did possesse the better part of all the Sea-coast; forcing the Sicilians to withdraw themselves into the fast and mountainous parts of the Iland, making their Royall residence in *Trinacia*.

Some fewen years after the arrival of *Archibius*, the *Chalcidians*, encouraged by the successe of the Corinthians, did assaile, and obtaine the city of *Leontium*, built and possessed by the Siculi. In brieft, the Greeks win from the Siculi, and their Associates, the cities of *Catana* and *Hybla*, which, in honour of the Megarians that forced it, they called *Megara*.

About 45. yeares after *Archibius* had taken *Syracuse*; *Antiphemus* and *Entimus*, the one from *Rhodes*, the other from *Crete*, brought an Army into Sicill, and built *Gela*; whose Citizens, one hundred and eight yeares after, did erect that magnificent and renowned city of *Agigentum*, gouerned according to the Lawes of the Dorians.

The *Syraculians* also, in the seuentieth year after their plantation, did set vp the city of *Acra*, in the Mountaines; and in the ninetieth year *Casmene*, in the Plaines adioyning; and againe in the hundred and thirtieth yeare of their dwelling in *Syracuse*, they built *Camerina*; & soon after that, *Enna*, in the very Center of the Iland. So did the *Cumani* about the same time, recover from the Siculi the city of *Zancle*, which they had founded in the streight between Sicill and Italy. They of *Zancle* had bene the founders of *Himera*.

Not long after this, *Dorians* the *Lacedæmonian* built *Heraclia*; which the *Phoenicians*, and *Carthaginians*, fearing the Neighbourhood of the Spartans, soon after inuaded and ruined, though the same were againe ere long re-edified.

*Selinus* also was built by a Colony of *Megara*; and *Zancle* was taken by the *Messeni- ans*, who hauing lost their owne Country, gaue the name thereof vnto this their new purchase. Such were the beginnings of the greatest cities in this Iland.

## †. III.

### Of the government and affaires of Sicill, before Dionysius his Tyranny.

The most part of the cities in Sicill, were gouerned by the rule of the people, till such time as *Phalaris* began to vsurpe the state of *Agigentum*, and to exercise all manner of tyranny therein.

This was that *Phalaris*, to whom *Perillus*, the cunning Artificer of a detestable Engine, gaue an hollow Bull of brasse, wherein to inclose men, and scorch them to death: praiſing the deuise with this commendation; That the noise of one tormented therein, should bee like vnto the bellowing of a Bull. The Tyrant gaue a due reward to the Inuentour; by causing the first triall to be made vpon himselfe. He reigned one and thirty yeares, saith *Eusebius*; others giue him but sixteene: Howfoeuer it were, one *Telemachus* in the end, fell vpon him with the whole multitude of *Agigentum*, and stoned him to death; being thereto animated by *Zeno*, euen whilst the Tyrant was tormenting the same *Zeno*, to make him confesse some matter of conspiracy.

After the death of *Phalaris*, the Citizens recovered their liberty, and enioyed it long, till *Thero* vsurped the government of the Common-weale: at which time also *Penastus* made himselfe Lord of *Leontium*; & *Cleander*, of *Gela*: but *Cleander*, hauing ruled 7. yeares, was slaine by one of the Citizens. *Cleander* being dead, his brother *Hippocrates* succeeded in his roome, & greatly afflicted the people of *Naxos*, of *Zancle*, or *Messena*, and of *Leontium*; whom with diuers others of the ancient inhabitants, he forced to acknowledge him their Lord. He also made warre with the *Syraculians*, and, in the end, got from them by composition, the City of *Camerina*. But when hee had reigned seuen yeares, he was slaine in a battell against the Siculi, before *Hybla*.

At this time did the *Syraculians* change their forme of government, from Popular to Aristocratical; a preparation towards a Principality, wherinto it was soon after changed.

After the death of *Hippocrates*, *Gelon* descended from the Rhodians, which together with the Cretans had long before, among other of the Greeks, feared themselves in Sicily that had commanded the forces of *Hippocrates*, in the former warre, with notable success, became Lord of Gela. He, after his Masters death, breaking the trust committed vnto him by *Hippocrates* ouer his children, and being in possession of Gela, tooke the occasion and advantage of a contention in Syracuse, betwene the Magistrates and the People. For comming with a strong Armie to the succour of the Gouvernours, driven out by the multitude, they elected him their Prince, being the first, and (indeed) the most famous, that euer governed the Syracusians. This change happened in the second yeere of the three-score and twelfth Olympiad; wherein the better to establish himselfe, he took to wife the Daughter of *Thero*, who had also usurped the state of Agrigentum.

Paul. 1.6.

Now this *Gelon*, the sonne of *Dinomenes*, had three brethren; *Hiero*, *Polyzelus*, and *Thrasylulus*: to the first of which he gaue vp the Citie of Gela, when hee had obtained the Principalltie of Syracuse. For, after that time, all his thoughts trauelled in the strengthening, beautifying, and amplifying of Syracuse. He defaced Camerina, that a little before was fallen from the obedience of the Syracusians who built it, and brought the Citizens to Syracuse. The Megarians that had moued a warre against him, he ouercame; the richer sort he brought vnto Syracuse; and the people he sold for slaues. In like manner dealt hee with other places vpon the like occasion. Not long after this, *Thero*, a Prince of the Agrigentines, hauing dispossest *Terillus*, of his Citie Himera; the Carthaginians were drawne into the quarrell by *Anaxilus*, Lord of Messina, Father-in-law to *Terillus*; and *Gelon* was also solicited by his Father-in-law, *Thero*. *Gelon* was content, and in fine, after diuers conflicts, the Carthaginians, and other Africans, led by *Amilcar*, were ouerthrowne by *Gelon*; and an hundred and fiftie thousand of them left their bodies in Sicil.

Herd. &amp; Dis.

This *Gelon* it was, to whom the Athenians and Lacedæmonians sent for succour, when *Xerxes* with his huge Armie past the Hellespont. He, for their reliefe hauing armed thirty thousand Souldiers, and two hundred ships, refused neuertheless to send them into Greece, because they refused him the commandement of one of their Armies, either by Sea, or Land. So hee vied to their Embassadors onely this saying, *That their Spring* withered; accounting the Armie, by him prepared, to be the very flower of the Greeke Nation.

The Carthaginians, after this great losse receiued, fearing the inuasion of their owne Countrey, sent to *Gelon* by their Embassadors, to desire peace; who grants it them on these conditions; That from thenceforth they should not facittie their children to *Seburne*; That they should pay him 2000. talents of siluer, and present him with two armed ships, in signe of amitie. These conditions the Carthaginians, not onely willingly accepted, but with the two thousand talents, and the ships for warre, they sent vnto *Demarata*, *Gelon*'s wife, a crowne, valued at an hundred talents of gold, with other presents. Whereby we see, that some Nations, and some Naures, are much the better for being well beaten. The warres ended; and Sicil in peace, *Gelon* beautified the Temples of the gods, and erected others in honour of them. So being exceedingly beloued and honoured of his Subjects, he left the World, and left for his Successor his brother *Hiero*. *Philistia* and *Plinie* report, That, when his body was burnt, according to the custome of that Age, a Dogge of his, which alwaies waited on him, ranne into the fire, and suffered himselfe to be burnt with him.

To *Gelon*, *Hiero* his brother succeeded, a man rude, cruell, couetous, and so suspicious of his brethren *Polyzelus*, and *Thrasylulus*, as hee sought by all meanes to destroy them. Notwithstanding all this; by the conuersation which he had with *Simonides*, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the studie of good Arts. Diuers quarrels he had, as well with *Theron* of Agrigentum, as with other Cities: all which he shortly after compounded, and gaue a notable ouerthrow to the Carthaginians, whom *Xerxes* had incited to invade Sicil, fearing the succours which *Gelon* had prepared, to aide the Grecians, against him. Hee also ouerthrew in bataille *Thrasylulus*, the sonne of *Theron*, and thereby restored the Agrigentines, to their former libertie. But in the end, hee lost the loue of the Syracusians; and after he had reigned 11. yeeres, hee left the kingdom to his brother *Thrasylulus*, who became a most vniust & bloody Tyrant. *Thrasylulus* inioyed his Principalltie no longer than ten moneths. For, notwithstanding the force

force of mercenary Souldiers, which he entertained for his guards, hee was beaten out of Syracuse by the Citizens; to whom being besieged in Acragas, he restored the gouernement, and was banished the Island. From whence he sailed into Greece, where he died a private man, among the Locrians.

And now had the Syracusians recovered againe their former libertie, as all the rest of the Cities did, after which they had neuer sought, had the Successors of *Gelon* inherited his vertue, as they did the Principalltie of Syracuse. For in all changes of Estates, the preservation ought to answer the acquisition. Where a liberrall, valiant, and aduised Prince, hath obtained any new Signiory, and added it to that of his owne, or exalted himselfe from being a private man, to the dignity of a Prince; it behooueth the Successor to maintain it by the same way and art, by which it was gotten.

To conclude, Syracuse (though not without blowes, ere that shee could cleanse her selfe of the creatures and louers of *Gelon*) was now againe become Mistresse of her selfe, and held her selfe free, well neere threescore yeeres, to the time of *Dionysius*, though he were in the meane while greatly endangered by a Citizen of her owne, called *Timoclea*.

Now, to preuent the greatnesse of any one among them, for the future, they deuised a kinde of banishment of such among them, as were suspected; taking patterne from the Athenian Ostracisme. They called this their new deuised indgement of exile, *Petalismos*, wherein euerie one wrote vpon an Olive leafe (as at Athens they wrote vpon shells) the name of him, whom hee would haue expelled the City. Hee that had most suffrages against him, was banished for five yeeres. Hereby in a short time, it came to passe that those of iudgement, and best able to gouerne the Common-weale, were by the worst able; either suppressed, or thrust out of the City. Yea, such as feared this Law, though they had not yet felt it, withdrew themselves as secretly as they could; seeking some place of more security, wherein to maintain themselves. And good reason they had so to doe, seeing that there is nothing so terrible in any State, as a powerfull and authorized ignorance. But this Law lasted not very long. For their necessity taught them to abolish it, and restore againe the wisest sort vnto the Gouernement; from

which, the Nobility hauing practised to banish one another, the State became altogether Popular. But after a while, being inuaded by *Duceius*, king of the Sicilians, that inhabited the inner part of the Island (who had already taken *Syracusa*, and some other of the Grecian Cities, and ouerthrowne the Army of the Agrigentines) the Syracusians sent forces against him, commanded by an unworthy Citizen of theirs, called *Dolon*. This their Captaine made nothing so much haste to finde out *Duceius*, against whom he was employed, as hee did to flee from the Army he led, as soone as *Duceius* presented him battell. So for want of conduct, the greatest number of the Syracusians perished.

But making better choice among those whom they had banished, they leuie other troups: by whom, in conclusion, *Duceius* being beaten, submitted himselfe, and is constrained to leaue the Island for a time. Yet it was not long ere he returned againe, and built the City Collatina on the Sea-side.

*Duceius* being dead; all the Greek Cities did in a sort acknowledge Syracuse; Trinacia excepted; which also by force of armes, in the fourescore and fift Olympiad, they brought to reason.

But they doe not long enioy this their Superintendencie. For the Citizens of Leontium, being oppressed by them, seek aide from the Athenians, about the fixt yeare of the Peloponnesian Warre; In this suite they prevailed by the eloquence of *Gorgias* their Orator; and got an hundred Athenian Gallies to succour them, vnder the leading of *Laches*, and *Charades*. To this fleet, the Leontines, and their Partners, added one hundred more; with which forces, and with some supplies brought by *Sophocles*, *Pythodorus*, *Euryclides*, and other Athenian Captains, they inuaded the Territories of the Syracusians, and their Partisans; wanne and lost diuers places; tooke Messina, and, in the seventh yeare of the Peloponnesian Warre, lost it againe. They also at the same time, attempted Himera, but in vaine. The fire of this quarrell tooke hold vpon many Cities, which did inuade each others Territory with great violence. But when they had wearied themselves on all hands, & yet could see none issue of the warre, the Leontines, without the aduice of the Athenians, came to an accord with the Syracusians, and were admitted

admitted into their society with equal freedom. So the Athenians, who hoped to have greatened themselves in Sicily by the dissolution and civil warre, were disappointed of their expectation, by the good agreement of the Sicilians, and faine to be gone with the broken remainder of their fleet. This they knew not how to amend, but (according to the custome of popular Estates) by taking revenge vpon their owne Commanders. So they banished *Pythodorus*, and *Sophicles*, and laid an heauie fine vpon *Euryades*. Shortly after this, followed the most memorable war, that euer was made by the Greeks in Sicily: which was that of the Athenians, against the Selinuntines & Syracusians, in fauour of the cities of Eggesta, Leontium, & Catana. They of Selinus had oppressed the Eggestians, & they of Syracuse the Leontines, & the Catanians: which was the ground of the war. For, the Athenians vnderooke the protection of their old friends: and, in hatred of the Athenians, aide from Lacedaemon was sent to the Syracusians. The Lacedaemonians dealt plainly, hauing none other end, than that which they pretended, namely, to help a people of their owne Tribe, that craved their succour, being in distresse. The Athenians scarce knew what to pretend: for their preparations were so great, as discovered their intent to be none other, than the conquest of the whole Iland. Yet they which had called them in, were so blinded with their owne passions, that they would not beleefe their owne ties; which presented vnto them a Fleet, and Army, far greater, than the terrible report of fame had made it.

In this expedition, the city of Athens had engaged all her power; as regarding, not onely the greatnesse of the enterprize, but the necessity of finishing it in a short space of time. For the Lacedaemonians (as hath already been shewed in due place) stood at that time in such broken terms of peace with Athens, as differed not much from open war. Wherefore it was thought necessary, either to spare cost in this great expedition, or altogether to forebare it: which was likely to be hindred by warres at home, if their proceedings were slacke abroad. And surely, had not the desire of the Athenianship one passionate, the arguments of *Nicias* had caused them to abstaine from so chargeable a businesse, to and to reserve their forces for a more needfull vse. But young counsailes preuailed against the authority of ancient men, that were more regardfull of safety than of honour.

Of this businesse, mention hath beene already made, in that which vnce haue written of the Peloponnesian war. But what was there deliuered in generall termes, as not concerning the affairs of Greece, otherwise than by consequence, doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter, wherein the whole State of Sicily was like to haue felt a great conuersion.

Though *Alcibiades* had preuailed against *Nicias*, in exhorting the people to this great voyage, yet *Nicias*, together with *Alcibiades*, and *Lamachus*, was appointed to be one of the chiefe Commanders therein.

These had commission & direction, as well to succour the Segestans, & to re-establish the Leontines, cast out of their places by the Syracusians; as also by force of armes, to subiect the Syracusians, and all their adherents in Sicily, and compell them by tribute to acknowledge the Athenians for their supreme Lords. To effect which, the fore-named Captaines were sent off, with an hundred and thirty Gallies, and fise thousand one hundred Souldiers, besides the thirty ships of burthen, which transported their victuals, engines, and other munitions for the war: and these were Athenians, Mantinians, Rhodians, and Candians: there were, besides these, sixe thousand Megarians light-armed, with thirty horse-men.

With these troups & fleets they arrive at Rhegium, where the Rhegians refuse to giue them entry; but sell them victuals for their money. From thence they sent to the Eggestians, to know what treasure they would contribute towards the warre, seeing for their sakes they had entred therein. But they found by their answers, that these Eggestians were poore, and that they had abused the Athenian Embassadors with false hopes of gold, hauing in all but 30. talents. The Athenians further were discouraged, when they found that the Rhegians, their ancient friends, and allied vnto the Leontines, refused to trust them within their Walls. Hereupon *Nicias* aduised to depart towards the Selinuntines, and to force them, or perswade them to an agreement with the Eggestians: as likewise to see what disbursements the Eggestians could make, and to returne a promise to Greece, and not to waste Athens in a needlesse war. *Alcibiades*, on the other hand, would

solicite the cities of Sicily to confederacy against the Syracusians & Selinuntines, whereby to force them vnto restitution of all that they had taken from the Leontines. *Lamachus* the perfwades them to assaile Syracuse itself, before it were prepared against them. But in the end (being excluded out of diuers Cities) they surpriue Catana; & there they take new resolution, how to proceede. Thence they imploied *Nicias* to those of Eggesta, who receiued from them thirty talents towards his charges, & one hundred and twentie talents more there were of the spoils they had gotten in the Iland. Thus, the Summer being spent in idle consultations, & vaine attempts, the Athenians prepare to assaile Syracuse. But *Alcibiades* hauing been accused at home, in his absence, was sent for back by the Athenians, to make his answer: and the Army was left to the conduct of *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. These Commanders obtaine a landing place very neere vnto Syracuse, by this device.

They imploie to Syracuse an inhabitant of Catana, whom they trust; & instruct him, to promise vnto the Syracusians, that he would deliuer into their hands all the Athenians within Catana. Hereupon the Syracusians draw thitherward with their best forces. But in the mean while, the Athenians, setting saile from Catana, arrive at Syracuse, where they land at faire ease, & fortifie themselves against the Towne. Shortly after this, they fight, & the Syracusians had the losse: but the Athenians, wanting horse, could not pursue their victory to any great effect. They then retire themselves, with a resolution to refresh their Army at Catana, for the winter-season. From thence they made an attempt vpon Messina, hoping to haue taken it by an intelligence, but in vain. For *Alcibiades* had discovered such as were Traitors within the City to the Messenians. This he now did, in despite of his own Citizens, the Athenians, because they had recalled him from his command; with a purpose either to haue put him to death, or to haue banished him: wherof being assured by his friends, he tooke his way towards the Lacedaemonians, & to them he gaue mischieuous counsaile against his country. While this Winter yet lasted, the Syracusians sent Embassadors to Lacedaemon, and Corinth, for aide: as likewise the Athenian Captaines in Sicily, send to Athens, for supplies. Which both the one and the other obtained.

In the Spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth yeare of the Peloponnesian war) the Athenians in Sicily, saile from the Port of Catana, to Megara, for assistance of the Inhabitants; from whence foraging the Country, they obtaine some small victuals, other the struggling Syracusians: & as their returne to Catana, they receive a supply of two hundred men at armes, but without horse, which they hoped to furnish in the Iland, from the Segestans, and other their adherents: they were also strengthened with a company of Archers, and with three hundred talents in money.

Hereupon they take courage, and encamp neere Syracuse, vpon the banks of the great Port, repelling the Syracusians, that sallied to impeach their intrenchments. They also receiued from their Confederates foure hundred horse-men, with two hundred other horse to mount their men at armes. Syracuse was now in effect blockt vp, so as hardly any sack could enter, but such as were able to forge their passage: yet the Athenians receiued diuers losses; among which it was not the least, that *Lamachus*, one of their best Commanders, was slaine.

In the mean while, *Gylippus*, & *Pythias*, with the Lacedaemonian, and Corinthian forces arrive, and take land at Himera. The Citizens of Himera, and of Gela, together with the Selinuntines, ioine with them; so that with these and his own troups, *Gylippus* aduanced to march ouer-land toward Syracuse. The Syracusians send a part of their forces to meet him, & conduct him. The Athenians prepare to encounter them, expecting his actual onere vnto the City, vpon a place of advantage. At the first encounter they had the better of their enemies, by reason that the Syracusian horse-men could not come to fight in those straightes; but to one after, *Gylippus* charging them againe, brake them, and commanded *Nicias* to fortifie himselfe within his Camp. Whereupon *Nicias* made the best of his affaires knowne, by his letters to the Athenians, shewing that, without great supplies by Sea & Land, the enterprize would be lost, together with the Army, by remaining. These letters receiued, the Athenians appoint two other Generalls, *Euryades*, and *Demosthenes*, to come with *Nicias*, the one they dispatch presently with some shipping, the other they send after him in the Spring following. In the mean while, *Gylippus* at Syracuse, fights with the Athenians both by Sea and Land,

Land, sometimes with ill, and at other times with good success: but in conclusion, he took from their Fort, near two Syracusæ, the Promontory, called *Phymyrion*; wherein the Athenians lost their treasure, and a great part of all their provisions. Notwithstanding which loss, & that the Athenians themselves, in Greece, were (in effect) besieged within Athens, by the Lacedæmonians; yet were they most obstinate in prosecuting the Warre in Sicil, & dispatched away *Demosthenes* with new succours. *Demosthenes*, in his way towards Sicil, encountered with *Polyantus* the Corinthian, with his fleet: both the Captaines being bound for Sicil, the one to succour *Nicias*, the other *Gylippus*. The losse betweene them was in effect equal; and neither so broken, but that each of them prosecuted the enterprize they had in hand. But before the succours arrived to either, *Gylippus* and *Ariflon* had assailed the Athenians in the great Port of Syracusæ, and in a Sea fight put them to the worst, to the great discouragement of the Athenians. On the necke of this, *Demosthenes* arrived with threecore and thirteen Gallies, charged with footmen; and (blaming the sloath of *Nicias*) he invaded the Syracusians, the same day that he arrived. But he made more haste than he had good speed, being shamefully beaten, and repulsed with great losse. Hereupon *Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon*, determine to rise up from before Syracusæ, and returne to the succour of Athens: but *Nicias* disputed to the contrary, pretending that he had good intelligence within Syracusæ, whereby he learned, that the Towne could not long hold out.

Whatsoever *Nicias* his Intelligence was; vpon the arrivall of a new supply into the Towne, the Athenians had all consented to depart, & to lodge at Catana: had not an Eclipse of the Moone, boding (as was thought) ill success, caused them to deferre their departure. But this superstition cost them deare. For the Syracusians, Lacedæmonians, & Corinthians, with threecore and seventeen saile of Gallies, entered the great Port of Syracusæ, wherein the Athenians kept their fleet, and wheron they had fortified themselves. The Athenians, in the same Port encountered them with fourecore & sixe Gallies, commanded by *Eurymedon*, in which the Athenian fleet was beaten, by the lesser number, & *Eurymedon* slaine. Now, though it were so; that the Syracusians received the more losse by land (for the fight was generally) yet when the Athenians were beaten by sea, in which kinde they thought themselves invincible, they were wonderfully cast downe. For it was well said of *Gylippus*, to the Syracusians, when any people doe finde themselves vanquished in that manner of fight, and with those weapons, in which they persuade themselves that they exceede all others, they not onely lose their reputation, but their courage. The Athenians, besides the Gallies (suncke and wracke, had seventeen taken, and posselt by the enemy: and with great labour and losse they defended the rest from being fired, having drawn them within a Palisado, in one corner of the Port, vnadvisedly: for it is as contrary to a Sea-war, to thrust ships into a streight roome and corner, as it is to scatter too in a plaine field against horse; the one suffering, by being at large; the other by close im-barrailing.

The Syracusians, having now weakened the Athenian fleet, resolute to imprison them within the Port. And to that purpose they range all their Gallies in the mouth of the Haven, being about a mile over, and there they came to Anchor, filling the out-let with all manner of Vessels, which they man most strongly, because the Athenians, being now made desperate, should not with double ranks of Gallies break through the Syracusian fleet; which lay but single, because they were forced to range themselves over all the Out-let of the Port. They therefore, not onely intred themselves strongly by their Anchors, but chained the sides of their Gallies together, and laid behinde them againe certaine ships, which served in the former warre for victuallers to the end, that if any of their Gallies were suncke, or the chaine, which ioyned them to their fellows, broken, the Athenians might yet find themselves, a second time, intangled and arrested. To this det 30 also those Athenian Gallies, which came on in forme of a wedge, to breake through, and force a passage, the Syracusians had left within these Gallies & Ships, in chained together, a certain number of loose ones, to stop their course and fury. For where the way of any vessell, wing bare or failes, is broken, and their speede foreflowed, they cannot force with any weight and violence, the resistance opposing.

On the other side, the Athenians knew that they were utterly lost except with an invincible resolution, they could make their way; and breake downe this great bulwark of boats, or at least force a passage through them in some part, or other, where they re- solve

solve to hazard, with all their shipping (to the number of one hundred & ten, of all sorts) and with all the strength of their Land-armie, in them imbarqued. But the Gallies, which were within the bridge of boats, did so disorder the Athenian fleet, ere they came to force the bridge, as, albeit some few of them had broken through the chaines, yet being stop with the ships without, and assailed by other loose Gallies of the Syracusians, which were purposely left at large in the Sea, they were either taken or sunk. Three great disadvantages the Athenians had: the first, that fighting within a Haven, and (as it were) in a streight, they had no room to turne themselves, nor to free themselves one from another, being intangled; the second, that having over-pestered their Gallies with Souldiers, who used offensive armes of darts and slings, they had no place vpon the decks to stretch their armes: the third was, the discomfortable end for which they fought, namely, to force a passage, by which they might save themselves by running away. To bee short, the fight was no lesse terrible than the confusion; the slaughter great on all sides; and the noise, and the cries, so lowd and lamentable, as that no direction could be heard. But in the end, the Athenians, as many as survived, were beaten backe to the Land, with losse of threecore of their Gallies, broken, suncke, or abandoned. The Syracusians did also sixtytwo of theirs, with *Pythob*, Commander of the Corinthians. The rest of the Athenian Gallies, running themselves into the bottome of the Port, saved themselves by the helpe and countenance of the Land-armie, there fortified. In this desperate estate, the Athenian Commanders goeto counsell. *Demosthenes* perswades them, to furnish with fresh Souldiers those few Gallies which remained; and while the Syracusians were triumphing, and made secure by their present victory, to set vpon them, and forcing their way out of the Port, to returne to Athens. This was no ill counsaile. For, as wee haue heard of many great Captaines (yea, the greatest number of all that haue beene victorious) that haue neglected the speedy prosecution of a beaten enemy; so might wee produce many examples of those, who, having slept securely in the bosome of good success, have beene suddenly awaked, by the re-allied Companies of a broken Armie, and have thereby lost againe all the honour, and advantage, formerly gotten. But *Nicias* opposeth the aduice of *Demosthenes*: Others say, that the Sea-men were against it. Whereupon 30 abandoning their Gallies, they all resolute to march over land to the Cities of their Confederates, till some more favourable fortune should call them thence. On the other side, *Gylippus*, & other the Lacedæmonian & Corinthian Caprains, with *Hermocrates*, exhorted the Syracusians to put themselves presently into the field, & to stop all the passages, leading to those Cities of their enemies, to which the Athenians might make retreat. But many were weary, and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had done enough for the present. Which humour in some of our Commanders at Cadez, lost vs both the Indian fleet, and the spoiles of many other Neighbour-places. *Hermocrates*, the Syracusian, finding it a lost labour, to perswade his Countreimen to any hastie prosecution, deuised this good stratagem, thereby to gaine time, not doubting, but that 40 after a day or two, he should draw them willingly out. He sent two or three horse-men out of Syracus by night, willing them to finde *Nicias*, and (after they had assured him, that they were of the Athenians faction) to giue him aduice not to march away over-hastily from the place, wherein he was fortified; alledging that the Syracusians had lodged their Armie, which could not long stay there, vpon the passages and places of advantage, leading towards the Cities of their Allies. These tidings *Nicias* easily beleued, and put off his iourney to the third day. For men newly bearen, are (for the most part) more fearefull than wise; and to them, euery thistle in the field, appeares, by night, a man at armes.

The third day (leauing all their Gallies, and all their baggage) they remoue, being pierced and pursued with the lamentable out-cries of those that were sicke and hurt: 50 whom they abandon to the cure of their enemies swords. The rest march away, to the number of fortie thousand; and make their first passage by force, ouer the Riuer of *Anapus*, notwithstanding the opposition of their enemies. But being euery day charged in their marches, & by the Syracusian horse-men, beaten in from foraging and provision of food, they grow weake and heartlesse. The Syracusians also possesse the Mountaine *Lepas*, by which they were to passe towards *Camerina*, and thereby force them to fall backe againe towards the Sea-coast, and to take what way they could: being vnable to proceed in their iourney intended. Many hard shifts they made, in difficult passages, and



and blinde marches by night; which they were faine to endure, as hauing none other means to escape from the enemy that pursued them, and held them waking with continual skirmishing. To keep all in order, *Nicias* vnderooke the leading of the Vanguard; & *Demosthenes* conducted the Reare. At the Riuer Erineus, *Nicias* takes the start of a whole nights march, leauing *Demosthenes* to make the retreat: who being incompassed, and ouerprest with numbers, in the end renders himselfe. The conditions he obtained, were farre better than he could haue hoped for; and the faith of his enemies farre worse than he suspected. For he was afterward, with *Nicias*, murdered in prison. The Army of *Demosthenes* being dissolved, they pursue *Nicias* with the greater courage: who being utterly broken, vpon the passage of the Riuer Asinarus, rendered himselfe to *Gylippus*, vpon honest conditions. *Gylippus* sought to preferre him, and to haue had the honour, to haue brought these two to Sparta; *Nicias*, as a Noble Enemy to the Lacedaemonians, and who, at the ouerthrow, which they receiued at Pylus by the Athenians, had saued the liues of the vanquished; *Demosthenes*, as one that had done to Lacedaemon the greatest hurt. *Hermocrates* also, the Commander of the Syracusan Army, dissuaded the rest, by all the art he had, from vsing any barbarous violence, after so noble a victory. But the cruell, and the cowardly fort, (cowardise and cruelty, being inseparable passions) prevailed, and caused these braue Captaines to bee miserably murdered: one part of their Souldiers to be starued in loathsome prisons; and the rest, sold for slaues. This was the successe of the Sicilian warre: which tooke end at the riuer Asinarus, the foure and twentieth day of May, in the fourescore and eleuenth Olympiad.

The Athenians being beaten out of Sicily, the Eggestans (for whose defence, against the Selinuntines, this late war had beene taken in hand) fearing the victorious Syracusians, sought helpe from the Carthaginians; to whom they offered themselves, and their Citie, as their vassals. The Carthaginians, though ambitious enough of enlarging their Dominion in Sicily, yet considering the prosperity of the Syracusians, & their late victories ouer the Athenians, they stayed a while to dispute of the matter, whether they should refuse or accept the offer made vnto them: for the Selinuntines were straightly allied to the Syracusians, as may appeare by what is past. In the end, the Senators of Carthage resolved vpon the enterprize, & (by a trick of their Punick wit) to separate the Syracusians from the Selinuntines, they send Embassadors to Syracuse: praying that Citie, as in the behalfe of the Eggestans, to compell the Selinuntines to take reason, and to rest content with so much of the lands in question, as they of Syracuse should thinke meet to allow them. The Syracusians approued the motion; for it tended to their owne honour. But the Selinuntines would make no such appointment: rather they took it ill, that the Syracusians, with whom they had run one course of fortune, in the Athenian war, should offer to trouble them, by interposing as Arbitrators, in a businesse, that themselves could end by force. This was right as the Carthaginians would haue it. For now could they of Selinus with an ill grace craue aide of Syracuse; and the Syracusians as ill grant it vnto those, that had refused to stand to the Arbitrement, which the Carthaginians would haue put into their hands. Hereupon, an Army of three hundred thousand men is set out from Carthage, vnder the conduct of *Hannibal*, Nephew to that *Amilcar*, who (as you haue heard before) was ouerthrowne with the great Carthaginian Army at Himera; by Gelon *Hannibal* was exceeding greedy of this employment, that he might take reuenge as well of his Vncles, as of his Fathers death; the one of them hauing bin slaine by the Himerans, the other by those of Selinus. Both the Cities, *Hannibal*, in this war, won by force of armes, sackt them, and burnt them; and hauing taken three thousand of the Himerans prisoners, he caused them to be led vnto the place, where *Amilcar* was slaine, and buried them there.

After this followed some trouble at Syracuse, occasioned by the banishment of *Hermocrates*, who had lately bin Generall of the Syracusan forces, against the Athenians. The malice of his enemies had so farre prevailed with the ingratefull multitude, that he was condemned to exile for his meere vertue, at such time, as he was aiding the Lacedaemonians, in their warre against Athens; wherein he did great seruice. All the honeste fort within Syracuse were sorry for the injury done vnto him, and fought to haue him repealed. *Hermocrates* himselfe, returning into Sicily, gathered an Army of sixe thousand; with which he began to repaire Selinus; & by many noble actions laboured to win the

the loue of his Citizens. But the faction that opposed him was the stronger. Wherefore he was aduised to seize vpon a Gate of Syracuse, with some strength of men; whereby his friends, within the Towne, might haue the better means to rise against the aduerser partie. This he did: but presently the multitude fell to armes, and set vpon him; in which conflict he was slaine. But his sonne-in-law, *Dionysius*, shall make them with *Hermocrates* alue againe.

## I. IIII.

Of *Dionysius* the Tyrant: and others following him, in Syracuse.

THE Syracusians had inioyed their liberty about threescore yeeres, from the death of *Thiſſalus*, to the death of *Hermocrates*: at which time *Dionysius* was taied vp by God, to take reuenge, as well of their cruelty towards strangers, as of their ingratitude towards their owne best Citizens. For before the time of *Dionysius*, they had made it their pastime, to reward the vertue of their worthiest Commanders with death, or disgrace: which custome they must now be taught to amend.

*Dionysius* obtained the principallty of Syracuse, by the same degrees, that many others, before him, had made themselves Masters of other Cities, and of Syracuse it selfe. For, being made *Prætor*, and commanding their Armies against the Carthaginians, and other their enemies, he behaued himselfe so well, that he got a generall loue among the people, and men of warre. Then began hee to follow the example of *Pisistratus*, that made himselfe Lord of Athens; obtaining a band of sixe hundred men, to defend his person: vnder pretence, that his priuate enemies, being traiterously affected to the State of Syracuse, had laied plots how to murder him, because of his good seruices. Hee doubled the pay of his Souldiers, alledging, that it would encourage them to fight manfully: but intending thereby to assure them to himselfe. He perswaded the Citizens, to call home, out of exile, those that had beene banished, which were the best men of Syracuse; and these were afterwards, at his deuotion, as obliged vnto him by so great a benefite. His first fauour, among the Syracusians, grew from his accusation of the principall men. It is the delight of base people to reigne ouer their betters: wherefore, gladly did he helpe them to breake downe, as fetters imprisoning their liberty, the bars that held it vnder safe custody. Long it was not, ere the chiefe Citizens had found what hee aimed. But what they saw, the people would not see: and some that were needy, and knew not how to get Offices without his helpe, were willing to helpe him, though they knew his purposes to be such, as would make all the Citie to smart. He began early to hunt after the tyranny; being but siue and twenty yeeres of age when hee obtained it: belike, it was his desire to reigne long. His first work, of making himselfe absolute Lord in Syracuse, was, the possession of the Citadell, wherein was much good prouision, & vnder it the Gallies were moored. This he obtained by allowance of the people; and hauing obtained this, he cared for no more, but declared himselfe without all shame or feare. The Armie, the chiefe Citizens, restored by him from banishment; all the needy sort within Syracuse, that could not thrive by honest courses, and some neighbour-townes, bound vnto him, either for his helpe in warre, or for establishing the faction, reigning at that present, were wholly affected to his assistance. Hauing therefore gotten the Citadell into his hands, he needed no more, saue to assure what he had already. Hee strengthened himselfe by diuers marriages, taking first to wife the daughter of *Hermocrates*; and after her, two at once; the one a Locrian, *Doris*, by whom hee had *Dionysius*, his Successor; the other, *Aristonache*, the daughter of *Hipparimus*, and sister to *Dion*, honourable men in Syracuse; which bare vnto him many children, that serued to fortifie him with new alliances.

Yet it was not long, ere some of the Syracusians (enuying his prosperitie) incited the multitude, and tooke armes against him, even in the noueltie of his Rule. But their enterprize was more passionately, than wisely gouerned. Hee hid shamefully beene beaten by the Carthaginians at Gela; which, as it vexed the Sicilian men at armes, making them suspect that it was his purpose to let the Carthaginians wast al, that he might afterwards take possession of the desolate places, so it inflamed them with a desire to free themselves from his tyranny. They departed therefore from him, and marched hastily to Syracuse, where they found friends to helpe them: there they forced his Palace, ran-

saked



sacked his treasures, and so shamefully abused his wife, that for the griefe thereof he poisoned her selfe. But he followed their heeles apace, and firing a Gate of the Citie by night, entred soone enough to take reuenge, by making a speedy riddance of them. For he spared none of his knowne, no, nor his suspected enemies. After that, he grew so doubtfull of his life, as he neuer durst trust *Barbaro* trim him, nor any person, no, nor so much as his brother, to enter into his chamber, ynstript and searched. Hee was the greatest Robber of the people that euer raigned in any State; and withall the most vnrespectively cruell.

After this, he separated with fortification that part of the Citie, called the Iland, from the rest, like as the Spaniards did the Citadell of Antwerpe: therein hee lodged his treasures, and his Guards.

He then began to make warre vpon the free Cities of Sicil: but while hee lay before *Herbelle*, an in-land Towne, the Syracussians rebelled against him; so, as with great difficulty hee recovered his Citadell: from whence, hauing allured the old Souldiers of the Campanians, who forced their passage through the Citie, with one thousand and two hundred horse, hee againe recovered the maiestie ouer the Syracussians. And when a multitude of them were busied in gathering in their harvest, hee disarmed all the Townsmen remayning; and new strengthened the Fort of the Iland, with a double wall. Hee inclosed that part also, called *Epipoles*, which, with three score thousand labourers, hee finished in three weekes, being two leagues in compass. He then built two hundred new Gallies, and repaired one hundred and ten of the old; forged one hundred and forty thousand Targets, with as many swords, and head-peeces, with fourteen thousand costles, and all other futable armes. Which done, hee sent word to the Carthaginians, greatly infected by the plague, that except they would abandon the Greeke Towns, which they held in Sicil, hee would make warre vpon them: and, not staying for answer, hee tooke the spoile of all the Phœnician ships, and merchandize, within his Ports; as King *Philip* the second did of our English, before the warre in our late Queenes time. Hee then goes to the field with foure score thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and sends his brother *Leptines* to sea, with two hundred Gallies, & five hundred ships of burden. Most of the Towns which held for Carthage yielded vnto him; saving *Panormus*, *Segesta*, or *Egesta*, *Ancyræ*, *Motyæ*, and *Entella*. Of these, hee first wan *Motyæ* by assault, and put all therein to the sword; but before *Egesta* hee lost a great part of his Armie, by a fallie of the Citizens. In the meane while *Himilco* arriues; but, ere hee tooke land, hee lost in a fight at Sea, with *Leptines*, fiftie ships of warre, and foure thousand Souldiers, besides many ships of burden. This notwithstanding, hee recovered againe *Motyæ* vpon his first descent. From thence marching towards *Messena*, hee took *Lypara*, and (soon after) *Messena*, and razed it to the ground. Now began *Dionysius* greatly to doubt his estate. Hee therefore fortified all the places hee could, in the Territorie of the *Leontines*, by which hee supposed that *Himilco* would passe toward *Syracuse*; and hee himselfe tooke the field againe, with foure and thirtie thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Now, hearing that *Himilco* had diuided his Armie into two parts, marching with the one halfe ouer-land, and sending *Mago* with the other by Sea: hee sent *Leptines*, his brother, to encounter *Mago*. But *Leptines* was utterly beaten by the Carthaginians; twenty thousand of his men were slaine, and an hundred of his Gallies lost. It is very strange, and hardly credible, which yet good Authors tell vs, That one Citie should bee able to furnish five hundred saile of ships, and two hundred Gallies: (for, so many did *Syracuse* arme in this warre) and more strange it is, that in a battaile at Sea, without any great Artillerie, or Musket-shot, twenty thousand should bee slaine in one fight. In all our fights against the Turkes, of which that at *Lepanto* was the most notable, wee heare of no such number lost; nor in any other fight by Sea, that euer happened in our age, nor before vs. When *Charles* the first went to besiege *Algier*, hee had in all his fleet, transporters and others, but two hundred and fiftie saile of shippes, and three score and five Gallies: for the furnishing of which fleet, hee sought helpe from all the Cities and Ports of Spaine, Naples, and the rest of Italie. But in old times it was the manner to carry into the field, vpon extremitie, as many as were needfull, of all that could beare armes, giuing them little wages, or other allowance: in our dayes it is not so; neither indeede, is it often requisite, vpon this ouerthrow, *Dionysius* postes away to *Syracuse*, to strengthen it: *Himilco* follows him, and besiegeth the Towne by Land and Sea. But the

hauing received aide from the *Lacedæmonians*, vnder the conduct of *Pharacides*, purs himselfe to Sea, to make prouision for his Citizens, who in his absence, take twenty of the Carthaginian Gallies, and sinke foure. Hereupon, finding their owne successe prosperous, and that of the Tyrant exceeding ill: hauing also at the present weapons in their hands; they consult how to recover their liberty. And this they had done, had not *Pharacides* the *Lacedæmonian* resisted them. It also felow to his exceeding aduantage, that the plague was so increased, and so violent, among the Carthaginians; as it is said, that about an hundred thousand of them died thereof. Hee therefore, with the power that hee could gather together, sets vpon them both by Sea and Land; and hauing slaine great numbers of them, forceth *Himilco* to desire peace. This peace *Dionysius* sold him for a great summe of money; on condition that hee should steale away with his Carthaginians onely: which hee basely accepted, betraying the rest of the Africans and Spaniards. Yet no faith was kept with him: for hee was persued, and left many of his Carthaginians behinde him. The rest of the Africans fell vnder the swords of their enemies; onely the Spaniards, after they had a while brauely defended themselves, were (after their submission) entertained, and serued the Conquerour.

Many such examples of perfidious dealing haue I noted in other places, and can hardly forbear to deliuer vnto memory the like practises, when they meet with their matches: That which hapned vnto *Monsieur de Piles*, was very futable to this trecherie, wherewith *Dionysius* persued *Himilco*. I was present, when *De Piles* related the iniurie done vnto him. Hee had rendered *S. Iohn d'Angeli*, to the French King *Charles* the ninth, who besieged him therein. Herendred it, vpon promise made by the faith of a King, that hee should be suffered to depart in safety, with all his followers. Yet in presence of the King himselfe, of the Duke of *Anion* his brother, Generall of his Armie, of the Queene Mother, and of diuers Dukes and Marshals of France, hee was set vpon, and broken in his March; spoyled of all that hee had; and forced to saue his life by flight, leauing the most of his Souldiers dead vpon the place: the Kings hand & faith, warranting him to march away with ensignes displaid: and with all his goods and prouisions, no whit auailing him. It needs not therefore seeme strange, that an Heathen Tyrant should thus breake his faith, since Kings, professing Christianitie, are bold to doe the like, or command their Captaines to doe it for them.

*Dionysius*, after this great victorie, tooke care to re-edifie *Messena*. *Mago*, who staid in Sicil, to hold vp the Carthaginians therein, is againe beaten by *Dionysius*; who is also beaten by the Tauromenians. A new supply of foure score thousand Souldiers is sent from Carthage to *Mago*; but these take egges for their money, and make peace with *Dionysius*, leauing the Sicilians in Tauromenium, to shift for themselves: whom *Dionysius*, after a long siege, ouer-came, and gaue their Citie to his mercenary Souldiers.

He then past into Italie, obtained diuers victories there, brought the Rhegians on their knees, forced them to pay him one hundred & foure score thousand crownes, to furnish him with twelfe score Gallies, and to put in an hundred pledges, for assurance of their future obseruance of covenants. This hee did, not with any purpose to performe vnto them the peace that they had so dearly bought; but that hauing taken from them their Gallies, hee might besiege them, and ruine them utterly, with the more ease. Now to the end hee might not, without some colour, falsifie the faith that hee had giuen to them; hee pretended to want victuall for his Armie, at such time as hee seemed ready to depart out of Italie, and sent to them to furnish him therewith; promising to returne them the like qualitie, at his comming home to *Syracuse*.

His resolution was, that if they refused to furnish him, hee would then make their refusal the cause of his quarrell: if they yielded to aide him with the proportion which hee desired, that then they should not be able, for want of food, to endure a siege any long time against him. For, to ruine them hee had fully determined, at what price soeuer. And great reason hee had to take reuenge of them, if hee had done it fairely, and without breach of faith. For when in the beginning of his reigne, hee desired them to bestow a daughter of some of their Nobilitie vpon him for a wife: they answered, That they had not any one fit for him, saue the Hangmans daughter. Princes doe rather pardon ill deedes, than villanous words. *Alexander* the great forgave many sharpe swords, but neuer any sharpe tongues; no, though they told him but truely of his errors.

And certainly, it belongs to those that haue warrant from God, to reprimend Princes; and to none else, especially in publique.

It is said, that *Henrie* the fourth of France, had his heart more inflamed against the Duke of *Biron*, for his ouer-bold and biring taunts, that he vsed against him before *Amiens*, than for his conspiracie with the Spaniard, or Sauoyan: for hee had pardoned ten thousand of such as had gone farther, and drawne their words against him. The contemptuous words that *Sir John Parret* vsied of our late Queene *Elizabeth*, were his ruine; and not the counterfait letter of the Romish Priest, produced against him. So feared it with some other, greater than hee, that thereby ranne the same, and a worse fortune, soone after.

To be short, he made them know new bread from old. Hee assaulted their Towne on all sides, which hee continued to doe eleuen moneths, till hee wonne it by force. Hee vsied his victorie without mercy, specially against *Physon*, who had commanded within it.

Some other wars he made with the Carthaginians, after the taking and rasing of this Citie; and those with variable successe. For, as in one encounter he slue *Mago*, with ten thousand Africans: so the sonne of *Mago* beat him, and slue his brother *Leptimus*, with foureteene thousand of his Souldiers. After which he bought his peace of the Carthaginians, as they had formerly done of him; following therein the aduice of Prosperity and Aduersitie, as all Kings and States doe.

When he had reigned eight and thirty yeeres, he died: some say in his bed, peaceably, which is the most likely, though others report it otherwise. A cruell man he was, and a faithlesse; a great Poet, but a foolish one. He entertained *Plato* a while, but afterward, for speaking against his tyranny, he gaue order to haue him slaine, or sold for a slave. For he could endure no man that flattered him not beyond measure. His Parasites therefore stilled his cruelty, *The hate of euill men*; and his lawlesse slaughters. *The ornaments and effects of his inscie*. True it is, that flatterers are a kinde of vermine, which poyson all the Princes of the World; and yet they prosper better than the worthiest and valiantest men doe: and I wonder not at it, for it is a world: and, as our *Sauour Christ* hath told vs, *The world will loue her owne*.

To this *Dionysius* his sonne of the same name succeeded, and inherited both his Kingdome and his Vices. To win the loue of the People, he pardoned, and released out of prison, a great number of persons, by his Father lockt vp, and condemned. Withall, he remitted vnto his Citizens diuers payments, by his Father imposed vpon them. Which done, and thereby hoping, that he had fastned vnto himselfe the peoples affections; hee cast off the Sheepes skin, and put on that of the Wolfe. For being ialous of his owne Brethren, as men of more vertue than himselfe, he caused them all to be slaine; and all the Kindred that they had by their Mothers side. For *Dionysius* his Father (as hath been said) had two Wiues; *Doris* of Locris, and *Aristomache* a Syracusan, the sister of *Dion*, which Brother-in-law of his he greatly enriched.

By *Doris* he had this *Dionysius*, who succeeded vnto him: and by *Aristomache* he had two Sonnes and two Daughters; of which the elder, called *Sapphrosine*, he gaue in marriage to his eldest Sonne, and her halfe-brother, *Dionysius*; the younger, called *Arete*, he bestowed on his Brother *Theorides*: after whose death, *Dion* tooke her to Wife, being his Nece.

This *Dion*, a iust, and valiant man, finding that *Dionysius* had abandoned all exercise of vertue, and that he was wholly giuen ouer to sensuality, prevailed so much with *Plato*, whose Disciple he had beene, as he drew him into Sicill, to instruct the young King. And hauing perswaded the King to entertaine him, he wrought so well with him, as *Dionysius* began to change condition; to change Tyrannie, into Monarchie; and to hold the Principallitie, that he had, rather by the loue of his People, and his Nationall Lawes, than by the violence of his Guards and Garrisons. But this goodnesse of his lasted not long. For *Philistus* the Historian, and other his Parasites, that hated *Dions* severity, wrought him out of the Tyrants fauour, and caused him soone after to be banished out of Sicill, to the great griefe of the whole Nation. For whereas *Dion* had made offer to the King, either to compound the quarrels betweene him and the Carthaginians, of whom *Dionysius* stood in great feare; or (at least) if they refused it, to furnish him with fiftie Gallies at his owne charge, during the warre against them: his enemies

found meanes, by sinister interpretation, to conuert his good will into matter of treason. They told *Dionysius*, that all the great commendations, giuen of *Plato*, had rendered none other end, than to soften his minde, and to make him neglect his owne affaires, by the studie of Philosophie; whilst *Dion*, in the meane time hauing furnished fiftie Gallies, vnder colour of the Kings seruice, had it in his owne power, either to deliuer to the Syracusians their former libertie, or to make himselfe Lord and Soueraigne of their State.

It is likely, that the honest and liberall offer which hee made, to serue the King with so great a preparation, at his owne charge, begot him many enemies. For they that had serued the King for none other end, than to raise and enrich themselves, and had already bene raised and enriched, thought themselves bound to make the same offer, that *Dion* had made; if the King had had the grace to conceiue it aright. But the couetous and ignorant cowards, that had neither the knowledge, nor the daring, that *Dion* had, were bold to stile his Loue and Liberalitie, Pride and Presumption; and heartened the young King, in his oppressing, and eating vp his owne People, of whose spoyle they themselves shared no small portion. I haue heard it, That when *Charles* the fift had the repulse at *Algier* in Africa, *Ferdinando Cortese*, one of the brabest men that euer Spanie brought forth, offered vnto the Emperour, to continue the siege at his owne charge. But hee had neuer good day after it. For they that enuid his victories, and his conquest of Mexico in the West Indies, perswaded the Emperour, that *Cortese* sought to raise himselfe aboue him; and so haue it said. That what the Emperour could not, *Cortese* had effected; and was therefore more worthie of the Empire, than hee himselfe.

When *Dion* was newly banished, the Tyrant was contented, at first, to send him the newes of his Lands, and permit him to dispose of his moueables, at his owne pleasure: not without giuing hope, to recall him in short time. Had hee continued in this good moode, like enough it is, that *Dion* would haue bene well pleased to liue well, as he did at Athens. But after some time, *Dionysius* made Port-sale of this Noble-mans goods, and thereby vrged him to take another course, than to seeke the restitution of his Countrie to libertie. The vertues of *Dion*, especially his great liberalitie, had purchased much loue in Greece. This loue made him suspected and hated of the Tyrant: but stood him in good stead, when he sought to raise men (with whose helpe hee might returne into Sicill). Yet he got not aboue eight hundred (for he carried the matter close) to follow him in this aduventure. But many of these were men of qualitie, and fit to be Leaders. Neither did hee doubt of finding in Syracuse, as many as should bee needfull, that would readily assist him. Therefore he landed boldly in Sicill, marched to Syracuse, entered the Citie without resistance, armed the multitude, and won all, saue the Castle.

*Dionysius* was then absent in Italie, but hee quickly had aduertisement of this dangerous accident. Wherefore hee returned hastily to Syracuse: whence, after many vain treaties of peace, and some forceable attempts to recover the Towne, hee was faine to depart; leaving yet the Castle to the custodie of *Apollocrates* his eldest sonne. Yet ere hee went, his Minion *Philistus*, comming with a strength of men to assist him, was brazen, taken, and put to death by torment. But *Dion*, for the recouerie of his Countries libertie, had the same reward, that all worthy men haue had from popular Estates. Hee was disgraced, assaulted, and forced to abandon the Citie. Hee retired himselfe to the *Leontines*, who receiue him with great ioy. Soone after his departure from Syracuse, new troups entered the Castle: they fallie out, assaile, spoyle, and burne a great part of the Citie. *Dion* is sent for, with humble request: yet, ere hee could arriue, *Dionysius* his Souldiers were retired; and the Townes men, thinking themselves secure, laid the gates against *Dion*. But the next night they of the Castle talke againe, with greater fury than euer; they kill Man, Woman, and Child, and set fire in all parts of the Towne. In this their extremitie *Dion* comes the second time to their succour; the loue of his Countrie stirring in him all the injuries that hee had received. Hee is vpon the Garrison of the Castle, with the one part of his Armie; and quenches the fire eury where kindled, with the other part. In conclusion, after hee had conquered both the fire and the sword, that had wel-neede burnt and depopulated Syracuse, hee recovered the Castle, with the submission and surrender thereof; and sent *Apollocrates*

after *Dionysius* his Father, into Italie. But their malice, of whom hee had best deserved, and whom hee had loved most, gave an vntimely end to his dayes. For hee was soon after this his victorie, murdered by *Cylippus*; who, after hee had, with ill success, awhile governed Syracuse, was slaine with the same Dagger, with which hee had murdered *Dion*.

Ten yeares after the death of *Dion*, *Dionysius*, with the assistance of his friends in Italy, recouers his estate, and returnes to Syracuse, druing *Nysus* thence, whom he found Gouernour therein. The better sort of the Citizens, fearing, more than euer, his cruelty, flee to *Ictes*, a Syracusan borne, and then ruling the Leontines. *Ictes* enters into confederacie with the Carthaginians, hoping by their assistance, not onely to preuaile against *Dionysius*; but by the hatred of the Syracusians towards *Dionysius*, to make him also Lord of their Citie. The Syracusians, being deservely afflicted on all sides, send to the Corinthians for succour. *Ictes* also sends thither, and dissuades the Corinthians, as well as he can, from intermeddling in the businesse. He tells them, by his messengers, That he had entred into league with the Carthaginians, who were so strong by Sea, that it was not in the power of Corinth, to land any Armie in Sicily. But the Corinthians, being by this treason of *Ictes*, more enraged than dissuaded, sent *Timoleon* with nineteene Gallies, to deliuer Syracuse from tyrannie. In the meane while, *Ictes* had entred Syracuse, and with the helpe of the Carthaginians, driven *Dionysius* into the Castle, where he beleagged him.

*Ictes*, being himselfe a Tyrant in Leontium, rather sought how to enlarge his power, than how to deliuer his Countrie. Therefore, bearing that *Timoleon* was arrived at Rhegium, he sent to perswade him, to returne his fleet; for that all things were (in effect) established in Sicily. The Carthaginian Gallies were also in the same Port of Rhegium; whose Captaines aduised *Timoleon*, to get him gone in peace. They had farre more Gallies there, than he had, and were like to compell him, if he would not be perswaded. *Timoleon*, finding himselfe ouer-mastered, makes request to the Carthaginian Captaines, that they would be pleased to enter into Rhegium, and there, in an open assembly of the people, to deliuer vnto him those arguments, for his returne, which they had vied to him in priuate; that hee might, by publique testimonie, discharge himselfe to the Senate of Corinth.

The Carthaginians, perswading themselves, that a victorie, obtained by a few faire words, was without losse, and farre more easie, than that of many blowes and wounds, yeelded to *Timoleon*s desire. But while the Orations were deliuering, *Timoleon*, favoured by the Rhegians, stole out of the preasse; and hauing set saile, before the Gates were opened to the Carthaginians, he recovered the Port of Taormenium, where he was ioyfully receiued by *Andromachus* the Gouernour. From thence he marched toward Adranum, where surprising *Ictes* his Armie, he slew a part therof, and put the rest to run. It is the nature of victorie to beget friends. The Adranitans ioyned with him; and so did *Mamercus*, the Tyrant of Catania. *Dionysius* also sent to *Timoleon*, offering to surrender the Castle of Syracuse into his hands, as thinking it better to yeeld vp himselfe, and the places which he could not defend, vnto the Corinthians, than either to *Ictes*, whom hee disdained, or to the Carthaginians, whom hee hated. Now *Timoleon*, who within fiftie dayes, after his arrivall, had recovered the Castle of Syracuse, and sent *Dionysius* to Corinth, to live there as priuate man, was still invaded by the Armies, and molested by the practices of *Ictes*. For he besieged the Corinthians within the Castle of Syracuse, and attempted (but in vaine) the murder of *Timoleon*.

The Corinthians send vnto *Timoleon* a supply of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, which are slaid in Italie by foule weather. *Ictes* is strengthened with three thousand Africans, brought vnto him by *Mago* (all which he lodgeth within Syracuse) and with an hundred and fiftie Gallies, to keepe the Port. This was the first time, that euer the Carthaginians had dominion within the walls of that Citie. With this great Armie, *Ictes* assaulteth the Castle. *Timoleon* sends them victuals, and succour, in small boats, by night, from Catania. *Mago* and *Ictes* doe therefore resolue to besiege Catania; but they were no sooner on their way towards it, with part of their forces, than *Leon*, Captaine of the Corinthians, sallied out of the Castle, and tooke that part of Syracuse, called *Armenina*, which he fortified.

In the meane while, the two thousand Corinthians arrive: with whom, and two thousand other Souldiers, *Timoleon* marcheth towards Syracuse. *Mago* abandoneth hope,

being frighted out of Sicily (which he might easily haue conquered) without the rumour of treason. This made him returne to Carthage; where the generall exclamation against his cowardize, did so much affright him, that for feare of farther punishment, he hanged himselfe. *Timoleon* enters the Citie, and beats downe the Castle (which he called the nest of Tyrants) to the ground. But he found the Citie when the strangers were fled, in effect desolate; for as their horse did feed on the grasse, growing in the market-place. Therefore, hee writes to Corinth, for people to re-inhabite it. Ten thousand are sent out of Greece; many come from Italie; others, from other parts of the Island.

There came a new forme of artifice. *Asdrubal* and *Amilcar*, Carthaginians, arrive about Lilybæum, with three score and ten thousand Souldiers, transported (with all their provisions) in a thousand ships of burden, and two hundred Gallies. *Timoleon* marcheth thither, and chargeth this great Armie vpon the passage of a River.

A tempest of raine, haile, and lightning, with boisterous windes, beating vpon the faces of the Carthaginians, they are utterly broken: ten thousand slaine, five thousand taken, with all their carriages and provisions: among which there were found a thousand steeles, gilt and grauen. After this, *Timoleon* gave an overthrow to *Ictes*, and following his victory, tooke him, with his son *Eupolemus*, and the Generall of his horse, prisoners; whom he caused all to be slaine: and afterwards, which was impudently to him for great cruelty, he suffered *Ictes* his wiues & daughters to be put to death. But this was the reuenge of God vpon *Ictes*; who, after the murder of *Dion*, had caused *Arete*, *Dion*s wife and a young child of his, with *Ariflamache* his sister, to be cast into the Sea.

He againe preuailed against *Mamercus*, Tyrant of Catania, and won Catania it selfe. *Mamercus* fled to *Hippodamus* Tyrant of Messina: but *Timoleon*, pursuing him, won the towne, deliuering *Hippodamus* to his Citizens, who tormented him to death. The same end had *Phalaris*, and all other, the Tyrants in Sicily.

Finally, he made peace with the Carthaginians, on condition, That they should not passe the River of Lycus. After this; hee liued in great honour among the Syracusians, till his death; and was solemnly buried by them in the market-place of their Citie: the day of his Funerals, being for euer ordained to be kept holy among them.

After such time, as *Timoleon* had deliuered Syracuse, from the tyrannie of *Dionysius*, and brought peace to the whole Island; the Inhabitants enioyed their libertie in peace, above twentie yeeres. The Cities and Temples were repaired; the Trade renewed; the Merchant sailed in safetie; and the Labouring man enioyed the fruits of the earth in quiet. But it was impossible that a Nation which neither knew how to gouerne, nor how to obey, which could neither endure Kings, nor men worthy to be Kings, to gouerne them; should any long time subsist.

Twentie yeeres after the death of *Timoleon*, there started vp one *Agathocles* among them, a man of base birth, and of baser condition; who from a Beggar, to a common Souldier; from a Souldier to a Captaine; and so from degree to degree, rising to bee a Tyrant; finally, became Lord and Soueraigne of the Syracusians. Many fortunes hee had, and vnder-went as many dangers, ere hee obtained the Principallitie. For hee had more than once attempted it, and was therein both beaten and banisht. A passing valiant man he was, and did notable seruice, as well for those by whom he was employed, as also for the Syracusians, and against them. For in their warres against those of Enna; and the Campanes, hee did them memorable seruice: and on the contrary, as memorable seruice for the Murgantines, against the Syracusians. For being entertained by the people of Murgantia, and made Generall of their forces, hee sackt Leontium; and beleagged Syracuse so streightly, that the Citizens were driuen to craue aide, euen from their ancient and natural enemies, the Carthaginians. *Amilcar* was sent by the Carthaginians, to relieue Syracuse. With him *Agathocles* wrought so well, that hee got him to make peace betweene himselfe and the Syracusians; binding himselfe by promise and oath, to remaine a friend and sequent to the Senate of Carthage, for euer after. *Amilcar* entertained the businesse, and compounded the quarrels betweene *Agathocles*, and the Syracusians. *Agathocles* was chosen Prætor; hee entertaines five thousand Africans, and diuers old Souldiers of the Murgantines, vnder colour of a purpose to besiege Herbita. With these, and with the assistance of the poore and discontented Syracusians (the Citie also being diuided into many factions), hee assailes the Senators, kills all his enemies and opposers;

divides the spoile of the rich, among the poore, and giues liberty to his Souldiers, to rob, to rauenish, and to murder, for two whole dayes and nights, without controulement: the third day, when they had blunted their barbarous appetites, and strewd the streets with ten thousand dead carcases, besides those that had broken their necks ouer the walls, their furie had no further subiect to worke on.

*Agathocles*, in an assembly of the people (being an eloquent knaue) perswaded them, that, for the violent sicknesse, by which the common-wealth was vterly consumed, hee found no better, than the violent remedies, which he had administred; and that hee affected no other thing, than the reducing of the state from an Oligarchie, or the rule of a few tyrannous Magistrates, to the ancient and indifferent Democra tie, by which it had bene gouerned, from the first institution, with so great glorie and prosperitie. This he did, to haue the crowne clapt on his head (as it were) perforce. For as hee knew, that he had left none liuing, within the Citie, fit, nor able, to exercise the office of a Magistrate: so knew he right well, that all they which had assisted, in the murder and spoile of their fellow Citizens, had no other hope of defence, than the support of a lawlesse Lord, who had bene partaker with them, in their villanies and cruelties committed. So as this Rabbie, his Oration ended, proclaimed him King: againe and againe, saluting, and aduoying him, by that name, as if it had bene giuen to him by some lawfull election. Hence had our King *Richard* the third a piece of his patterne; but the one was of base, the other, of Kingly parents, the one tooke liberty from a common-weale; the other fought onely to succeed in a Monarchie; the one continued his cruelty to the end; the other, after hee had obtained the Crowne, fought, by making good lawes, to recover the loue of his people.

The life of this Tyrant, is briefly written by *Lutius*; more largely and particularly by *Diodorus Siculus*: the summe whereof is this. The same *Amilcar* that had brought him into Syracuse, and that had lent him five thousand men to helpe in the massacre of the Citizens, was also content to winke at many wrongs, that hee did vnto the Confederates of the Carthaginians. It was the purpose of *Amilcar*, to settle *Agathocles* in his tyranny, and to let him vex and waste the whole Island; because it was thereby like to come to passe, that hee should reduce all Sicily into such termes as would make it become an easie prey to Carthage. But when the Sicilies, confederate with the Carthaginians, sent their Embassadors, with complaint of this ill dealing, to Carthage; the Punick faith (so much raunted by the Romans, as no better than mere falshood) shewed it selfe very honourable, in taking order for the redresse. Embassadors were sent to comfort the Sicilians, and to put *Agathocles* in minde of his covenantes; *Amilcar* was recalled home into Africk, and a new Capitaine appointed to succeed in his charge, with such forces, as might compell *Agathocles* to reason, if otherwise hee would not hearken to it. All this ended, to saue their Confederates, from suffering such iniuries in the future. For that which was past (since it could not be recalled) they tooke order to haue it severely punished. *Amilcar* was accused secretly, and by way of scrutiny: the suffrages being giuen, but not calculated; and so referred vntill he should returne. This was not so closely handled, but that *Amilcar* had soone notice of it. In managing his businesse with *Agathocles*, it is likely that hee had an eye to his owne profit, as well as to the publike benefit of his Countrey. For hee had made such a composition with the Syracusan, as gaue him not onely meane to weaken others, but to strengthen himselfe, both in power and authority, euen against the Carthaginians. Such is commonly the custome of those, that hope to worke their owne ends by cunning practices, thinking to deale subtilly and finely, they spin their threads so small, that they are broken with the very winde. *Amilcar* saw, that his Carthaginians had a purpose to deale substantially; and that therefore it would be hard for him, to make them follow his crooked devices: which if hee could not doe, it was to be expected, that their anger would breake out into so much the greater extremities, by how much the more they had concealed it. Therefore hee followed the example, which some of his fore-goers had taught him; and, for feare of such a death, as the Iudges might award him, he ended his owne life in what sort he thought best. This desperation of *Amilcar* serued to informe *Agathocles* of the Carthaginians intent. Hee saw they would not be deluded with words, and therefore resolued to get the start of them in action. Hee dissembled no longer; but, in stead of spoyle and robbery, made open warre vpon all their Adherents. Hee had made the better part of Sicily his owne; the

Carthaginians,

Carthaginian forces arrived: which thinking to haue in countrey an ill-established Tyrant, found him readie, as a King, to defend his owne, and giue them charge thereat. They were beaten by him; and their Naue was so tempest-beaten, that they could either doe good by Land, nor Sea, but were glad to leaue their businesse vndone, and returne into Africke.

The Carthaginians prepare a new fleet: which being very gallantly manned & furnished, was broken by foule weather, and the best part of it cast away, euen whilst it was yet within kenning of their Citie. But *Amilcar*, the sonne of *Officer*, gathering together the remainders of his ship-wracks, was bold to passe over into Sicily, and landed not far from Gela, where *Agathocles* was soone readie to examine the cause of their coming. Many skirmishes passed betwene them, in which (commonly) the Syracusan had the better. But his good successe begat presumption, whereby hee lost a battaile, more important than all the other fights. One aduerser chance is enough to ouerthrow the state of a Tyrant, if it be not upheld by great circumspection. The war was soone transferred to the walls of Syracuse; within which *Agathocles* was closed vp, and driven to make his last defence by their helpe, who may be iudged to haue loued him not very greatly. But the inhabitants of Syracuse, after that great massacre of the principall men, made in the beginning of this new Tyranny, were (for the most part) such, as had bene either mercenary Souldiers, enfranchised slaues, or base & needie people; helpers in establishing the present Guernement, and Executioners of the murders, and spoyle, committed in that change. If there were any other (as some there were) they were so well obserued, and (withall) so fearefull, that they durst not stirre. But it was enough, that they all agreed in the common defence of themselves and their Citie. Famine was likely to grow vpon them, and enforce them to change their resolution. In this necessity, *Agathocles* aduoyed vpon a strange course, which the euent commended as wise. He embarked as many as he thought meet, in those vessels that rode in the Hauens, and committing the gouernment of the Citie to his brother *Antander*, willed the people to be of good courage, for that (as he told them) hee had be thought himselfe of a meane, both to raise the siege, and to repaire all other losses. A Carthaginian fleet lay in the mouth of the Hauens, both to hinder the entrance of victuallers, and to keepe the besieged from issuing forth.

Now at such time as *Agathocles* was ready to depart, aduertisement came, that many ships of burden, laden with corne, and other provisions, were drawing nere vnto Syracuse, to intercept these, the Carthaginians hoise saile, and lanch forth into the deepe. They were not far gone, when they might behold *Agathocles*, issuing forth of the Port, with purpose (as they thought) to giue conuoy vnto his victuallers. Hereupon they wheeled about, and make amaine towards him, as thinking him the better bootie. He neither shod their coming, nor fled backe into the Citie, but made all speed towards Africke, and was pursued by the Carthaginians, as long as the day would giue them light. In the meane season, the victuallers were gotten to Syracuse, which was the more plentifully relieved by their coming, for that *Agathocles* had vnburdened the place of no small number. When the Carthaginian Admirall perceived, first, that by pursuing two fleets at once, he had misfed of them both; and secondly, that *Agathocles* returned not againe, but was gone to seeke his fortune elsewhere, hee thought it good to pursue those that were fled, and to attend so well vpon them, that they should not haue leisure to doe mischief in some other part.

The Carthaginian Naue followed *Agathocles* (whether by chance, or by relation of such as had met with him at Sea) directly towards Africk, and ouer-tooke him after fixe dayes. Hee had (at the first) a great start of them; so that (helike) they rowed hard, and wearied themselves, in seeking their owne misfortune. For he fought with them, & beat them; and, hauing funke, or taken many, draue the rest to flee which way they could, laden with such strange tidings of his voyage.

When *Agathocles* had landed his men in Africk, then did he discover vnto them his purpose, letting them vnderstand, That there was no better way to diuert the Carthaginians, than only first Syracuse, but from all the Ile of Sicily, than by bringing the war to their owne doors. For hee (said he) they haue many that hate them, and that will readily take armes against them, as soone as they perceiue that there is an Armie on foot, which shal look vpon their walls. Their Townes are ill fortified, their people vntaunted, and

and vnexperienced in dangers; the mercenarie forces, that they leuie in these parts, will rather follow vs than them, if we offer greater wages than they can giue: which wee may better promise and make good, by letting them haue some share with vs in all the wealth of the Carthaginians, than our enemies can doe, by making some addition to their stipends. Thus he talked, as one already Master of all the riches in Africk; and with many braue words encouraged his men so well; that they were contented to set fire on all their ships (suffering one or two to be as Messengers) to the end that no hope should remaine, saue onely in victory. In this heat of resolution, they winne by force two Cities, which after they had thoroughly sacked, they burnt to the ground; as a marke of terror to all that should make resistance: The Carthaginians, hearing this, are amazed; thinking that *Amilcar* is broken, and his whole Armie destroyed in Sicil. This impression so distmaies them, that when they know the truth of all, by such as had escaped in the late Sea fight, yet still they feare, and know not what. They suspect *Amilcars* faith, who had suffered *Agathocles* to land in Africk: they suspect their principall Citizens at home, of a meaning to betray Carthage vnto the enemy; they raise a great Armie, and know not to whose charge they may safely commit it.

There were at that time two famous Captaines in the Citie, *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*; great enemies, and therefore the more vnlikely to conspire against the Common-wealth. These are made Generals of the Armie leuied, which farre exceeded the forces of *Agathocles*; But it seldom happens, that dissension betwene Commanders produeth any so fortunate euent. Neede thus drave *Agathocles* to fight: and the courage of his men, resolved to deale with the whole multitude of the Carthaginians, made easie the victory against the one halfe of them. For *Bomilcar* would not surre: but suffered *Hanno* to be cut in pieces.

The reputation of this great victory, brought ouer a King of the Africans, from the Carthaginian society, to take part with *Agathocles*: who pursuing his victory wineth many Townes, and sends word to Syracuse of his good successe. The Carthaginians also send into Sicil, willing *Amilcar*, their Generall, to succour the State of Africk, which was in danger to bee lost, whilst he was traouailing in the conquest of Sicil. *Amilcar* sends them five thousand men: all his forces hee thought it not needfull to transport; as hoping rather to draw *Agathocles* backe into Sicil, than to be drawn home by one, that could scarce retaine his owne Kingdome. But these good hopes had a bad issue. Hee spent some time in winning a few Townes, that adjoined vnto the Syracusians: and hauing brought his matters to some good order, hee conceived a suddain hope of taking Syracuse by surpris. It was a prettie (though tragically) accident, if it were true, as *Tullie* relates it. *Amilcar* had a dreame, which told him that hee should sup the next day within Syracuse. His fancie begot this dreame, and hee verily beleueed it. Hee made more haste than good speed, toward the Citie: and coming vpon it on the sudden, had good hope to carry it. But his enemies were prepared for him, and had laied an ambush to intrappe him, whereinto hee fell. So hee was carried prisoner into the Citie; in which it was likely, that hee had no great care to his supper: for they struck off his head, and sent it into Africk (a welcome present) to *Agathocles*.

This good successe of things at home, did put such courage into the Sicilian Armie, that *Agathocles* was bold to weare a Crowne, and stile himselfe King of Africk. Hee had allured *Ophellus*, King of the Cyrenians, to take his part, by promises to deliuer the Countie into his hands: for that (as hee said) it was sufficient vnto himselfe to haue diuented the Carthaginians from Sicil, wherein (after this warre ended) he might reigne quietly. *Ophellus* came with a great Armie, and was friendly entertained. But the traitorous Sicilian, taking an aduantage, did murder this his assisstant; and afterwards by good words, and great promises, drew all the Cyrenian Armie to follow him in his Warres. Thus his villanie found good successe; and hee so preuailed in Africke, that hee possessed to make a step into Sicil. Many Townes in Sicil had embraced a desire of recovering their libertie; thinking it high time to fight at length for their owne freedome, after that they had so long bene exposed, (as a reward of victory) either vnto Aliens, or to Tyrants, of their owne Countie. These had preuailed farre, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common cause: when the coming of *Agathocles* abated their high spirits, and his good successe in many fights, compelled them to Obedience. Out of

Sicil

Sicil hee returned into Africk, where his affaires stood in very bad termes. *Agathocles*, his sonne, had lost a battaile; and (which was worse) had ill meanes to helpe himselfe: his Armie being in mutinie for lacke of pay. But *Agathocles* pacified the tumult, by the accustomed promises of great bootie and spoyles. It had now bene time for him, to offer peace to the Carthaginians: which to obtaine, they would (questionlesse) haue giuen to him, both money enough to pay his Armie, and all that they then held in Sicil. For their Citie had bene distressed, not onely by this his warre, but by the treason of *Bomilcar*, who failed not much of making himselfe Tyrant ouer them. But ambition is blinde. *Agathocles* had all his thoughts fixed vpon the conquest of Carthage it selfe: out of which dreame he was awaked, by the losse of a battaile, not so memorabill in regard of any accident therein, as of the strange euents following it. The Carthaginians, after their great misfortunes in this warre, had renewed their old sacrifices of children to *Saturne*: from which they had abstained, euer since they made peace with *Gelon*. And now they made choice of some, the goodliest of their prisoners, taken in the battaile, to offer vnto the said Idoll, in way of thankfulness for their vitorie. The fire, with which these vnhappie men were consumed, caught hold vpon the lodgings neere vnto the Altar; and spreading it selfe farther through the Campe, with the destruction of many men, caused such a tumult as is vsuall in the like cases. At the same time, the like accident of fire burnt vnto the Paullion of *Agathocles*. Hereupon both the Armies fled away; each of them beleeming, that the noise in the aduerser Campe, was a signe of the enemies coming to invade it. But the Carthaginians had a safe retreat: *Agathocles*, by a second error, fell into a new calamitie. In the beginning of this his flight in the darke, hee met with his owne African Souldiers; and thinking them to be enemies, (as indeed the one halfe of them had revolted from him, to the Carthaginians, in the last battaile) hee began to assault them; and was so stoutly resisted, that hee lost in this blinde fight, about foure thousand of his men. This did so discourage his proud heart; that being fallen from the height hope of taking the Citie of Carthage, vnto some distrust of his owne safetie, hee began to moderate his present weak fears, than lately hee had known how to gouerne his ambition. Therefore hee tooke the way that came next into his head; which was, to scale closely a-board his shippes, with his younger sonne (the elder hee suspected of Inceest, and of Ambition) and so to flee into Sicil, thinking it the best course to haile himselfe, as wanting vessels wherein to transport his Armie. His elder son, *Agathocles*, perceiving his drift, arrested him, and put him vnder custodie: but by means of a sudden tumult, hee was let loose, escaped, and fled alone, leaving both his sonnes behinde him. His flight being noyed through the Armie, all was in vpror; and extremitie of rage caused not onely the common Souldiers, but euen such as had bene friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold vpon his two sonnes, and kill them. That this flight of *Agathocles* was extremely base; I need not vse words to proue: That his feare was truly, as all feare is said to be, a passion, depriuing him of the succours which reason offered, the sequels doth manifest. His forsaken Souldiers, being now a headlesse company, and no longer an Armie to be feared, obtained neuerthelesse a reasonable composition from the Carthaginians: to whom they sold those places, whereof they had possession, for nineteene talents. Likewise, *Agathocles* himselfe, hauing lost his Armie, did neuerthelesse, by the reputation of this late warre, make peace with Carthage vpon equal termes.

After this, the Tyrant, being deliuered from forraine enemies, discountured his bloudie nature, in most abominable cruelties, among the Sicilians. His wants, and his feares, vnged him so violently, that he was not satisfied with the spoyles of the rich, or the death of those whom he held suspected: but in a beastly rage depopulated whole Cities. Hee deuised new engines of torment; wherein struing to exceed the Bull of *Phalaris*, hee made a frame of brasle, that should serue to scorch mens bodies, and withall giue him leue to behold them in their miserie. So deuillish is the nature of man, when reason should be his guide, is become a slave to his brutish affections. In these mischiefs hee was so outrageous, that hee neither spared Sexe, nor Age; especially, when he was informed of the slaughter of his children in Africk. But this was not the way to preserue his Citie: it threw him into new dangers. They whom hee had chased out of their Countie, took armes against him, and drave him into such feare, that he was faine to seeke the Citie at Carthage, which by using well hee might haue had in Sicil. Hee shortly deliuered







Romans, the better to assure themselves, cut a deepe trench, betwene the walls of the Citie and their Campe : and another on the out-side thereof ; that neither the Carthaginians might force any suddenly, by a fallie, nor those of the Countrey without, breake vpon them vnawares : which double defence kept the besieged also from the relieuing any reliefe of victuals, and munitions, whilst the Siracusan supplies the assailants with what they want. The besieged send for succour to Carthage : after they had beene in this fort pent vp five moneths. The Carthaginians imbarke an Armie, with certaine Elephants, vnder the command of *Hanno* ; who arriues with it at Heraclea, to the West of Agrigentum. *Hanno* puts himselfe into the field, and surpriseth Eubecus, a Citie wherein the Romans had bestowed all their prouision. By means hereof, the famine without grew to be as great, as it was within Agrigentum ; and the Roman campe no lesse straightly assailed by *Hanno*, than the Citie was by the Romans : inso much, as if *Hieron* had not supplied them, they had beene forced to abandon the siege. But seeing that this distresse was not enough to make them rise ; *Hanno* determined to giue them battaile. To which end departing from Heraclea, hee makes approach vnto the Roman campe. The Romans resolute to sustaine him, and put themselves in order. *Hanno* directeth the Numidian horsemen to charge the Vanguard, to the end to draw them further on ; which done, hee commands them to returne as broken, till they came to the body of the Armie, that lay shadowed behinde some rising ground. The Numidians performe it accordingly ; and while the Romanes pursued the Numidians, *Hanno* giues vpon them, and hauing slaughtered many, beates the rest into their Trenches.

After this encounter, the Carthaginians made no other attempt for two moneths, but lay strongly encamped, waiting vntill some opportunitie should inuite them. But *Annibal* that was besieged in Agrigentum, as well by signes as messengers, made *Hanno* know how ill the extremitie which he endured, was able to brooke such dilatory courses. *Hanno* thereupon, a second time, prouoked the Consuls to fight : But his Elephants being disordered by his owne Vanguard, which was broken by the Romans, hee lost the day : and with such as escaped, he recovered Heraclea. *Annibal* perceiving this, and remaining hopelesse of succour, resolved to make his owne way. Finding therefore, that the Romans, after this daies victory, wearied with labour, and secured by their good fortune, kept negligent watch in the night ; hee rusht out of the Towne, with all the remainder of his armie, and past by the Roman campe without resistance. The Consuls pursue him in the morning, but in vaine : sure they were, that hee could not carry the Citie with him, which with little a-doe the Romans entred, and pitifully spoiled. The Romans, proud of this victorie, purposed rather to follow the direction of their present good fortunes, than their first determinations. They had resolved in the beginning of this Warre, onely to succour the Mamertines, and to keepe the Carthaginians from their owne coasts : but now they determine to make themselves Lords of all Sicill, and from thence, being fauoured with the winde of good successe, to saile ouer into Africa. It is the disease of Kings, of States, and also of priuate men, to count the greatest things, but not to enioy the least ; the desire of that which we neither haue nor neede, taking from vs the true vse and fruition of what wee haue already. This cause vpon mortal men, was neuer taken from them since the beginning of the World vnto this day.

To prosecute this Warre, *Lucius Valerius* and *Titus Octilius*, two new Consuls, are sent into Sicill. Whereupon, the Romans being Masters of the field, many in-lad Towns gaue themselves vnto them. On the contrarie, the Carthaginians keeping still the Lordship of the Sea, many maritime places became theirs. The Romans therefore, as well to secure their owne coasts, often inuaded by the African fleets, as also to equall themselves in euery kinde of warfare with their enemies, determine to make a fleet. And herein fortune fauoured them with this accident, that being altogether ignorant in ship-wrights craft, a storme of winde thrust one of the Carthaginian Gallies, of sue banks, to the shore.

Now had the Romanes a patterne, and by it they beganne to set vp an hundred *Quinqueremes*, which were Gallies, rowed by five on euery banke, and twentie, of three on a banke : and while these were in preparing, they exercised their men in the feat of rowing. This they did after a strange fashion. They placed vpon the Sea-sands

many feates, in order of the banks in Gallies, whereon they placed their water-men, and taught them to beate the sand with long poles, orderly, and as they were directed by the Master, that so they might learne the stroke of the Gallie, and how to mount and draw their Oares.

When their fleet was finished, some rigging and other implements excepted, *C. Cornelius*, one of the new Consuls (for they changed euery year) was made Admirall : who being more in loue with this new kinde of warfare, than well aduised, past ouer to *Messina* with twentie Gallies, leauing the rest to follow him. There he staid not, but would needs row along the coast to *Lipara*, hoping to doe some piece of seruice. *Hanno*, a Carthaginian was at the same time Gouernour in *Panormus* ; who being aduertised of this new Sea-mans arriuall, sent forth one *Boodes*, a Senatour of *Carthage*, with twentie Gallies to entertaine him. *Boodes*, falling vpon the Consull vnawares,ooke both him and the fleet he commanded. When *Hannibal* received this good newes, together with the Roman Gallies, and their Consull ; he grew no lesse foolish hardier than *Cornelius* had bin. For hee, fancying to himselfe to surprize the rest of the Roman fleet, on their owne coast, ere they were yet in all points prouided ; sought them out with a fleet of fiftie saile : wherewith falling among them, he was well beaten ; and leauing the greater number of his owne behinde him, made an hard escape with the rest : for of one hundred and twentie Gallies, the Romans vnder *Cornelius* had lost but fouenteene, so as one hundred and three remained, which were not easily beaten by fiftie.

The Romans, being aduertised of *Cornelius* his ouerthrow, make haste to redeme him, but giue the charge of their fleet to his Colleague, *Duilins*. *Duilins*, considering that the Roman vessels were heauie and slow, the African Gallies hauing the speed of them, deuised a certaine Engine in the prow of his Gallies, whereby they might fasten or grapple themselves with their enemies, when they were (as we call it) boord and boord, that is, when they brought the Gallies sides together. This done, the weightier ships had gotten the aduantage, and the Africans lost it. For neither did their swiftnesse (some them, nor their Mariners craft ; the Vessels wherein both Nations fought, being open : so that all was to be carried by the aduantage of weapon, and valour of the men. Besides this, as the heauier Gallies were accidentally likely to crush and cracke the sides of the lighter and weaker, so were they by the reason of their breadth, more steady ; and those that best kept their feet, could also best vse their hands. The example may be giuen between one of the long boates of his Maiesties great ships, and a *Long-ship*.

Certainly, he that will happily performe a fight at Sea, must be skilfull in making choice of Vessels to fight in : he must beleue, that there is more belonging to a good man of warre, vpon the waters, than great during ; and must know, that there is a great deale of difference, betwene fighting loose or at large, and grappling. The Gunnes of a slow ship pierce as well, and make as great holes, as those in a swift. To clasp ships together, without consideration, belongs rather to a mad man, than to a man of warre : for by such an ignorant brauerie was *Peter Strozzi*, lost at the *Acoria*, when he fought against the *Marquesse of Santa Cruz*. In like sort had the Lord *Charles Howard*, Admirall of England, beene lost in the yeere 1588. if he had not beene better aduised, than a great many malignant fooles were, that found fault with his demeanour. The Spaniards had an Armie aboard them ; and he had none : they had more ships than he had, and of higher building and charging ; so that, had he intangled himself with those great and powerful Vessels, he had greatly endangered this Kingdome of England. For twentie men vpon the defences, are equal to an hundred that boord and enter ; whereas then, contrariwise, the Spaniards had an hundred, for twentie of ours, to defend themselves withall. *Boour* Admirall knew his aduantage, and held it : which had he not done, he had not beene worthy to haue held his head. Heere to speake in generall of Sea-fight (for particulars are fitter for priuate hands than for the Presse,) I say, That a fleet of twentie shippes, all good sailers, and good ships, haue the aduantage, on the open Sea, of an hundred as good ships, and of slower sayling. For if the fleet of an hundred saile keepe themselves neere together, in a grosse squadron ; the twentie ships, charging them vpon any angle, shall force them to giue ground, and to fall backe vpon their owne next fellows : of which so many as intangle, are made vnseruiceable or lost. Force them

Nnnn

they



twenty of theirs; whereas the *Africans* lost thirtie that were slaine, and threecore and three that were taken.

Now, if *Amilcar*, who had more *Gallies* than the *Romans*, had also divided his fleet into foure squadrons, (besides those that he ranged in the front to draw on the enemies, and to ingage them) and that, whilst he himselfe fought with one squadron that charged him, all the rest of the enemies fleet had beene at the same time engaged, he had prevailed: But the second squadron, beinge five, came to the rescue of the first, by which *Amilcar* was oppressed and *Amilcar*, beinge oppressed and scattered, the Consull had good leisure to relieue both the third and the fourth squadron, and got the victorie.

*Charles* the first, among other his Precepts to *Philip* the second, his sonne, where he aduiseeth him concerninge Warre against the *Turkes*, tells him, that in all battles betweene them and the *Christians*, he should neuer faile to charge the *Lansiers* in the beginning of the fight, and to ingage them at once with the rest. For (saith he) the *Lansiers*, who are alwaies referred intire in the Rere of the battaile, and in whom the *Turkes* repose their greatest confidence, come up in a grosse body, when all the troops on both sides are disbanded and in confusion; whereby they carrie the victorie before them without resistance. By the same order of fight, and reformation, did the *Romans* also prevail against other Nations. For they kept their *Triarij* in store (who were the choice of their Armie) for the vp-shot and last blow. A great and victorious aduantage it hath ever beene found, to keepe some one or two good troopes to looke on, when all else are disbanded and ingaged.

### §. VIII.

*The Romans prevail in Affric. Atilius the Consull proponeth intolerable conditions of peace to the Carthaginians. He is utterly beaten, and made prisoner.*

Now the *Romans* according to their former resolution, after they had repaired and re-viualled their fleet, set saile for *Africa*, and arrived at the *Promontory of Hercules*, a great Head-land, somewhat to the East of the Port of *Carthage*, and some fortie leagues from *Heraclia* in *Sicill*, where *Amilcar* himselfe as yet staid. From this Head-land (leaving the entrance into *Carthage*) they coasted the East-side of the *Promontory*, till they came to *Clypea*, a Towne about fiftie *English* mile from it. There they disembarked, and prepared to besiege *Clypea*, which, to ease them of labour, was yielded vnto them. Now had they a Port of their owne on *Africa* side; without which all inuasions are foolish. By this time were the *Africans* also arrived at their owne *Carthage*, fearing that the *Roman* fleet and armie had directed themselves thither: but beinge aduertised that they had taken *Clypea*, they made provisions of all forts, both by Sea and Land, for their defence. The *Romans* send to *Rome* for directions, and in the meane while waite all round about them. The order giuen from the Senate, was, that one of the Consulls should remaine with the Armie, and that the other should returne, with the fleet into *Italie*. According to this direction, *Manlius* the Consull is sent home to *Rome*, whither he carried with him twenty thousand and *African* Captaines, with all the *Roman* fleet and armie; except fortie ships, fiftene thousand foot, and fise hundred horse, that were left with *Atilius*.

With these forces, *Regulus* easily wanne some Townes and Places that were vnwalld, and laid siege to others. But he performed no great matter, before he came to *Adu*. Yet I hold it worthy of relation, that neere vnto the Riuer of *Bagrada*, he encountered with a Serpent of one hundred and twenty foot long, which he slue, not without losse of many Souldiers, beinge driuen to vse against it such engines of warre, as serued properly for the assaulting of Townes. At *Adu* he met with the *Carthaginian* Armie, whereof the Captaines were *Hanno* and *Bassar*, together with *Amilcar*, who had brought out of *Sicill* fise thousand foote, and fise hundred horse to succour his Countrie. These (belike) had an intent, rather to wearie him out of *Africa*, by warie protraction of time, than to vndergoe the hazard of a maine fight. They were careful to hold themselves free, from necessitie of comming to blowes: yet had they a great desire, to saue the Towne of *Adu* out of his hands. Intending therefore to follow their generall purpose, and yet to disturbe him in the siege of *Adu*; they incampe neere vnto him, and strongly

strongly (as they think) on the top of an hill: but thereby they lost the seruice, both of their *Elephants*, & of their horse-men. This disadvantage of theirs, *Regulus* did not make vse of. He assailes them in their strength, whilst they defend in waite, but in fine the *Romans* prevail, & force them from the place, taking the spoile of their campe. Following this their good fortune at the heeles, they proceeded to *Tunis* a Citie withstanding the miles of *Carthage*, which they assault and take.

By the losse of this battaile at *Adu*, and more especially by the losse of *Tunis*, the *Carthaginians* were greatly dismayed. The *Nomilians*, their next Neighbours towards the West, insult vpon their misfortunes; inuade, and spoile their Territory; and force those that inhabit abroad, to forsake their villages and fields, and to hide themselves within the walls of *Carthage*. By reason hereof, a great famine at hand threatens the *Citizens*; *Amilcar* findes his own aduantage, and assures himselfe that the Citie could not long hold out, if he feared lest it might defend it selfe, vntill his time of Office; that was fiftie years, should be quite run out; whereby the new Consuls were like to reape the fruit of obtaining it. Ambition therefore hath no respect but to it selfe, perswading him to warre of peace with the *Carthaginians*. But he propounded vnto them to vnderstand the conditions, as thereby their hearts, formerly possessed with feare, be desired to be courageous and disdainfull, that they resolved, either to defend their liberty, or to be the last man. To strengthen this their resolution, there arrived at the same time a great troope of *Greekes*, whom they had formerly sent to entertaine. Among these was a very expert Souldier, named *Xantippus*, a *Spartan*: who being informed of what had passed, & of the overthrow which the *Carthaginians* receiued neere vnto *Adu*, sent him word, that the same was occasioned by default of the Commanders, and not of the Nation. This bruit ran, till it came to the Senate; *Xantippus* is sent for; giues the reason of his opinion; and in conclusion, beinge made Generall of the *African* forces, he put himselfe into the field. The Armie which he led, consisted of no more than twelve thousand foot, and fower thousand horse, with an hundred *Elephants*. No greater were the forces wherewith the *Carthaginians* fought for all that they had; Liberties; Liues; Goods; Wiues, and Children; which might well make it suspected, that the *Armenies* by *Sabote* spoken of, were misse-humored; the one consisting of an hundred and forty thousand, and the other of an hundred and fiftie thousand: were it not commonly found that they which vse the seruice of mercenary Souldiers, are stronger abroad, than at their owne doores.

*Xantippus*, taking the field with this Armie, marched directly towards the *Romans*; and raising his troops vpon saire and leuell ground, fitteth both for his *Elephants* and horse, presented them battaile. The *Romans* wondered much, whence this new coming of their enemies might grow: but confident they were, that it should soone be checked. Their chiefe care was, how to resist the violence of the *Elephants*. Against them they placed the *Velites*, or light-armed Souldiers, as a forelorne hope; that might, either with darts and other casting weapons, drive backe the beasts vpon the heeles, or at least breake their violence, and hinder them from rushing freely vpon the Legions. To the same end, they made their battailes deeper in file, than they had been accustomed to doe. By which means, as they were the lesse subiect vnto the impression of the *Elephants*; so were they so much the more exposed vnto the violence of horse, wherein the Enemy did faire exceede them. The *Elephants* were placed by *Xantippus*, all in one ranke, before his Armie, which followed them at a notable distance: his horsemen, and some light-armed foot, of the *Carthaginian* side, were in the wings. The first on-set was giuen by the *Elephants*; against which the *Velites* were so vnable to make resistance, that they brake into the battailes following, and put them into some disorder. In this case, the depth of the *Roman* battaile was helpful. For when the beasts had spent their force, in pushing through the first rankes, the squadrons neuterallise persisted in their order, without opening. But the *Carthaginian* horse, hauing at the first encountered by reason of their advantage in number, driuen those of *Atilius* out of the field, beganne to charge the *Roman* battalions in flankes, and put them in great distresse; who beinge forced to come to any way, could neither passe forward nor yet retire; but had very much to doe, to hold the ground whereon they stood. In the meane while, such of the *Romans* as had escaped the rage of the *Elephants*, and left their backs to their

This Citie was taken from the *Tartars* by Charles the fifth the year 1535 and was one of the three Keyes, which he gaue in charge to his sonne to keepe safe; to wit, this Key of *Africa*; the Key of the *Indies*; and the Key of *Spain*; but two of these he hath lost, that he neuer found them againe; the third, our *English* were bold, in the time of the renowned *Queen Elizabeth*, to write out of his hands were we fled not to picke any lock, but brake open the doore and hauing rid all, threw it into the fire.



of three hundred and forty ships: so as their former great victory was detoured by the Seas, before the fame thereof recovered Rome.

The *Carthaginians*, hearing what had happened, repaired all their warlike Vessels, hoping once again to command the Seas: they are also confident of their land-forces since the overthrow of *Asilius*. They send *Asdrubal* into *Sicily* with all their old Souldiers, and an hundred and forty Elephants imbarqued in two hundred Gallies. With this Armie and fleet he arrives at *Lilybaeum*, where he begins to vex the *Partisans* of *Rome*. But aduersitie doth not discourage the *Romans*: They build in three moneths (a matter of great note) one hundred and twenty ships; with which, and the remainder of their late ship-wracks, they row to *Panormus*, or *Palerma*, the chiefe Citie of the *Africans* in *Sicily*, and surround it by Land and Water: after a while they take it, and leaving a Garrison there, in returne to *Rome*.

Very desirous the *Romans* were to be doing in *Africa*; to which purpose they imployed *C. Scruilius*, and *C. Sempronius*, their Consuls. But these wrought no wonders. Some spoile they made vpon the coasts of *Africa*; but Fortune robbed them of all their gettings. Soon in their returne, they were first set vpon the lands, and like to haue perished, nere vnto the lesser *Syria*, where they were faine to heate all ouer-board, that they might get off: then, hauing with much adoe doubled the Cape of *Lilybaeum*, in their passage from *Panormus* towards *Italy*, they lost an hundred and fifty of their ships by foule weather. A greater discouragement neuer Nation had; the god of the vvas favoured them no more, than the god of the waters afflicted them. Of all that *Mors* enricheth with vpon the Land, *Neptune* robbed them vpon the Seas. For they had now lost besides what they lost in fight, four hundred and sixe Ships and Gallies, with all the munition and Souldiers transported in them.

The exceeding damage hereby received, perswaded them to giue ouer their Navigation, and their fight by Sea, and to send only a Land-armie into *Sicily*, vnder *L. Cassius*, and *F. Furius*, their Consuls. These they transported in some threecore ordinary passage boats, by the streights of *Messana*, that are not about a mile and a halfe broad from land to land. In like sort, the overthrow which *Asilius* received in *Africa*, occasioned chiefly by the Elephants, made them lesse cholerick against the *Carthaginians*, than before, so that for two yeares after, they kept the high & wooddie grounds, not daring to fight in the faire and champion Countries. But this late resolution of forsaking the Sea, did not long. For it was impossible for them to succour those places which they held in *Sicily*, without a Naue, much lesse to maintaine the vvar in *Africa*. For whereas the *Romans* were to send forces from *Messana* to *Egesta*, to *Lilybaeum*, and to other places in the chiefe West parts of *Sicily*, making sometimes a march of about an hundred and forty *English* mile by land, which could not be performed with an Armie, and the provisions that follow it, in lesse than foureteene daies, the *Carthaginians* would passe it with their Gallies, in eight and forty houres.

An old example we haue, of that great aduantage of transporting Armies by water, between *Cannus*, and *Edmond Ironside*. For *Cannus*, when he had entered the *Thames* with his Naue and Armie, and could not persuaile against *London*, suddenly imbarqued, and sailing to the West, landed in *Dorsetshire*, so drawing *Edmond* & his Army thither. There finding all entertainment, he againe shippe his men, & entered the *Seacoe*, making *Edmond* to march after him, to the succour of *Worcestershire*, by him greatly spoiled. But when he had *Edmond* there, he failed back againe to *London*: by the meanes whereof both wearied the King, and spoiled where he pleased, the succour could not arrive. And this was not the least help, which the *Netherlands* haue had against the *Spaniards*, in the defence of their liberty, that being Masters of the Sea, they could passe their Army from place to place, vnwearied, and entire, with all the Munition & Artillerie belonging vnto it, in the tenth part of the time, wherein their enemies haue been able to do it. Of this, an instance or two. The Count *Maurice of Nassau*, how illing, one of the greatest Capitaines, and of the worthiest Princes, that either the present or preceeding Ages haue brought forth, in the yeare 1590 carried his Armie by Sea, with forty Canons, to *Brada*: making countenance either to besiege *Pejiscade*, or *Gerpenden Berg*; which the enemy (in prevention) filled with Souldiers, and vnto all. But as soon as the wind serued, he suddenly set sail, arriving in the mouth of the *Meuse*, turned vpon the *Rhine*, and thence to *Ussel*, and sat downe before *Zutphen*. So before the *Spaniards* could

double their quer-lan Donad about *Holland*, about forecore mile, and ouer many great Ribow with their Cannon and cartiages, *Zeephen* was taken. Again, when the *Spanish Armie* had overcored his wearisome march, and was now far from home, the Prince *Maurice* making countenance to saile vpon the *Rhine*, changed his count in the night, and sailing downe the streame, he was set down before *Hilphen*, *Brabant*, ere the *Spaniards* had knowledge what was become of him. So this Towne he also took, before the *Spanish Armie* could returne. Lastly, the *Spanish* Armie was no sooner arrived in *Brabant*, than the Prince *Maurice*, well attended by his good fleet, having fortified *Hilphen*, set saile againe, and expected himselfe before *Nymegen* in *Gelder*, a Citie of notable importance, so and thence to *Ussel*.

And to say the truth it is impossible for any maritime Countrey, not hauing the coasts so well fortified, to defend it selfe against a powerful enemy, that is master of the Sea. Hence it had rather, that *Spain* than *England* should be an example. Let it therefore be supposed, that King *Philip* the second had fully resolved to hinder Sir *John Norris*, in the yeare 1589, from presenting *Don Antonio*, King of *Portugale*, before the gates of *Lisbon*, and that he would haue kept off the *English*, by power of his land-forces, as being too weak at Sea, through the great overthrow of his mighty Armie, by the loss of Queene *Elizabeth*, in the yeare foregoing. Surely, it had not bin hard for him, to prepare an Armie, that should be able to resist our eleven thousand. But where should this Armie haue bin bestowed? If about *Lysborne*, shon would it haue beene easie to this *English*, to take, ransacke, and burne the Towne of *Graine*, and to waste the Countrey round about it. For the great and threatening preparations of the Earle of *Almonde*, the Marquesse of *Seralba*, and others, did not hinder them from performing all this: Neither did the haffie leaue of eight thousand, vnder the Earle of *Arundell*, serue to more effect, than the increase of honour to Sir *John Norris*, and his Associates: considering, that the *English* charged these, at *Pucette de Burges*, and passing the great Bridge, behind which they lay, that was flanked with shot, and barricaded at the further end, routed them,ooke their campe,ooke their Generals standard with the Kings Armes, and pursued them ouer all the Countrey, which they fired. If a royal Armie and not (as this was) a Companie of priuate aduenturers, had thus begun the war in *Galicia*; I thinke it would haue made the *Spaniards* to quit the guard of *Portugale*, and make haste to the defence of their *St. Iago*, whose Temple was not far from the danger. But, had they held their first resolution, as knowing, that Sir *John Norris* his maine intent was, to bring *Don Antonio*, with an Armie, into his Kingdom, whither coming strong, he expected to be readly and ioyfully welcomed: could they haue hindered his landing in *Portugale*? Did not he land at *Peniche*, and march ouer the Countrey to *Lisborne*, fixe dayes journey? Did not he (when all *Don Antonio* his promises failed) passe along by the Riuer of *Lysborne* to *Cascais*, and there, hauing won the Fort, quietly imbarque his men, and depart? But these, though no more than an handfull, yet were they *Englishmen*. Let vs consider of the matter it selfe, what another Nation might doe, euen against *England*, in landing an Armie, by aduantage of a fleet, if we had none. This question, whether an invading Armie may be resisted at their landing vpon the coast of *England*, were there no fleet of ours at the Sea to impeach it, is already handled by a learned Gentleman of our Nation, in his obseruations vpon *Cassars* Commentaries, that maintaines the affirmative. This he holds only vpon supposition; in absence of our shipping: and comparatively, as that it is a more safe and easie course, to defend all the coast of *England*, than to suffer any enemy to land, and afterwards to fight with him. Surly I hold with him, that it is the best way to keep our enemy from treading vpon our ground; wherein, if we faile, then must we seeke to make him will, that he had staied at his owne home. In such a case, if it should happen, our iudgements are to weigh many particular circumstances, that belong not vnto this discourse. But making the question general, and positive, whether *England*, without helpe of her fleet, be able to deterre an enemy from landing; I hold that it is vnable so to do: and therefore, I thinke it most dangerous to make the aduerture. For the encouragement of a fust victory to an enemy, and the discouragement of being beaten to the invaded, may draw after it a most pernicious consequence.

His true, that the Marshall *Monluc*, in his Commentaries, doth greatly complaine, that by his wanting forces, wherewith to haue kept the frontier of *Guienne*, they of the Protestants



Protestant religion, after the battaile of Monmouth, entered that Countie, and gathered great strength and reliefe thence, for if the Kinge saith he ) would haue giuen me but reasonable meanes, *je ne bien garda Monsieur d'Admiral, de faire boire les Cheneux en la Garonne; I would haue kept the Admiral from watering his horses in the River of Garonne.* Monsieur de Langey, on the contrary side, preferred the not fighting vpon a frontier with an invading enemy, and commends the delay; which course the Constable of France held, against the Emperour Charles, when he invaded Provence. Great difference I know there is, and a diuerse consideration to be had, betweene such a Countie as France is, strengthened with many fortified places; and this of ours, where our Ramparts are but of the bodies of men. And it was of inuasions vpon firme land, that these great Captaines spake: whose entrances cannot be vncertaine. But our question is, of an Armie to be transported ouer Sea, and to be landed againe in an enemies Country, and the place left to the choice of the Inuader. Hereunto I say, That such an Armie cannot be resisted on the coast of England, without a fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the coast of France, or any other Countie: except euery Creek, Port, or sandy Bay, had a powerfull Army, in each of them, to make opposition. For let his whole supposition be granted; That Kent is able to furnish twelve thousand foot, and that those twelve thousand be layed in the three best landing places within that Countie, to wit, three thousand at Margat, three thousand at the Nesse, and six thousand at Foulston, that is somewhat equally distant from them both; as also that two of these troupes (vnlesse some other order be thought more fit) be directed to strengthen the third, when they shall see the enemies fleet to bend towards it: I say, that notwithstanding this provision, if the enemy, setting saile from the Isle of Wight, in the first watch of the night, and towing their long boates at their sternes, shall arrive by dawne of day at the Nesse, and thrust their Armie on shore there; it will be hard for those three thousand that are at Margat, (twenty and foure long miles from thence) to come time enough to re-enforce their fellows at the Nesse. Nay, how shall they at Foulston be able to doe it, who are neerer by more than halfe the way? seeing that the enemy, at his first arrival, will either make his entrance by force, with three or foure hundred shot of great Artillery, and quickly put the first three thousand, that were intrenched at the Nesse, to run; or else giue them so much to doe, that they shall be glad to send for helpe to Foulston, and perhaps to Margat: whereby those places will be left bare. Now let vs suppose, that all the twelve thousand Kentish Souldiers arrive at the Nesse, ere the enemy can be ready to disimbarke his Armie, so that he shall find it vnsafe, to land in the face of so many, prepared to withstand him; yet must we beleeue, that he will play the best of his own game; and (having liberty to go which way he list) vnder covert of the night, set saile towards the East, where what shall hinder him to take ground, either at Margat, the Downes, or elsewhere, before they at the Nesse can be well aware of his departure? Certainly, there is nothing more easie than to doe it. Yea the like may be said of Waymouth, Purbeck, Poole, and of all landing places on the South Coast. For there is no man ignorant, that Ships, without putting themselves out of breath, will easily outrun the Souldiers that coast them. *Les Armees ne valent points en poste; Armees ne s'eyent, nor run post,* saith a Marshall of France. And I know it to be true, that a fleet of Ships may be seene at Sunne-set, and after it, at the Lisard; yet by the next morning they may recover Portland, whereas an Armie of foot shall not be able to march it in five dayes. Again, when those troupes, lodged on the Sea-shores, shall be forced to run from place to place in vaine, after a fleet of Ships; they will at length sit down in the mid-way, and leaue all at adventure. But say it were otherwise; That the invading enemy will offer to land in some such place, where there shall be an Army of ours ready to receiue him; yet it cannot be doubted, but that when the choice of all our trained bands, and the choice of our Commanders and Captains, shall be drawn together (as they were at Tilbury in the year 1588.) to attend the person of the Prince, and for the defence of the Citie of London: they that remaine to guard the coast, can be of no such force, as to encounter an Armie like vnto that, wherewith it was intended that the Prince of Parma should haue landed in England.

The Isle of Tercera hath taught vs by experience, what to thinke in such a case. There are not many Islands in the world, better fenced by nature, and strengthened by art: it being euery where hard of access; having no good harbour whereto shelter a Naue

of friends; and vpon euery coue or watering place a Fort erected, to forbid the approach of an enemies boat. Yet when Emmanuel de Sylua, and Monsieur de Chateaux, that held it to the life of Don Antonio, with five or six thousand men, thought to haue kept the Marquisse of Sant'a Cruz, from setting foote on ground therein; the Marquisse having shewed himselfe in the Road of Angra, did set saile, ere any was aware of it, and arrived at the Port des Mols, farre distant from thence, where he was a Fort, and landed, ere Monsieur de Chateaux, running thither in vaine, could come to hinder him. The example of Philip Sirey, slaine the yeare before, without all regard of his worth, and of three hundred French prisoners murdered in cold blood, had instructed de Chateaux, and his followers, what they might expect at the Marquisse's hands: Therefore it is not like, that they were slow in carrying reliefe to Port des Mols. Whether our English would be persuaded to make such diligent haste, from Margat to the Nisse, and backe againe, it may be doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of Tercera; wherof the Spanish men had not measured the one halfe when they found themselves precluded by the more nimble ships of Spaine.

This may suffice to proue, that a strong Armie, in a good fleet, which neither foot, nor horse, is able to follow, cannot be denied to land where it list, in England, France, or elsewhere, vnlesse it be hindered, encountred, and shuffled together, by a fleet of equal, or answerable strength.

The difficult landing of our English, at Fajal, in the yeare 1597, is alledged against this: which example thoues me no way to thinke, that a large coast may be defended against a strong fleet. I handed those English in Fajal, my selfe, and therefore ought to take notice of this instance. For whereas I finde an action of mine cited, with omission of my name; I may by a ciuill interpretation, thinke, that there was no purpose to defraud me of any honour; but rather an opinion, that the enterprize was such, of so ill managed, as that no honour could be due vnto it. There were indeede some which were in that voyage, who aduised me not to undertake it: and I hardened vnto them; somewhat longer than was requisite, especially, whilst they desired me, to reserve the title of such an exploit (though it were not great) for a greater person. But when they began to tell me of difficulty: I gave them to vnderstand, the same which I now maintaine, that it was more difficult to defend a coast, than to inuade it. The truth is, that I could haue landed my men with more ease than I did; yea without finding any resistance, if I would haue rowed to another place; yea even there where I landed, if I would haue taken more companie to helpe me, but without fearing any imputation of rashnesse, I may say, that I had more regard of reputation, in that businesse, than of safetie. For I thought it to belong vnto the honour of our Prince and Nation, that a few Islanders should not think any aduantage great enough against a fleet set forth by Q. Elizabeth: and further, I was vnwilling, that some Low-Country Captaines, and others, not of mine own squadron, whose assistance I had refused, should please themselves with a sweet conceit (though it would haue bin short, when I had landed in some other place) that for want of their helpe I was driuen to turne tide. Therefore Iooke with me none, but men assured, Commanders of mine owne squadron, with some of their followers, and a few other Gentlemen, voluntaries, whom I could not refuse; as, Sir William Brooke, Sir William Harney, Sir Arthur Gorges, Sir John Stan, Sir Thom is Ridgeway, Sir Henrie Tannes, Sir Charles Morgan, Sir Walter Chute, Marcellus Throckmorton, Captaine Lawrence Kemis, Captaine William Morgan, and others, such as well vnderstood themselves and the enemy: by whose helpe, with Gods fauour, I made good the enterprize I vnderooke. As for the working of the Sea, the steepnesse of the Cliffs, and other troubles, that were not new to vs, we ouercame them well enough.

And these (notwithstanding) made five or six Companies of the enemies, that sought to impeach our landing, abandon the wall, wherupon their Musketers lay on the Rest for vs, and won the place of them without any great losse. This I could haue done in this example; but the reasons before alledged, (together with other reasons well knowne to some of the Gentlemen aboue named, though more private, than to be here laid down) made me rather follow the way of brauery, and take the shorter course, hauing it still in mine owne power to fall off when I should thinke it meet. It is easily said, that the Enemy was more than a Coward; (which yet was more than we knew) neither will I magnifie such a small peece of seruice, by seeking to proue him better; whom had I thought



thought equall to mine owne followers, I would otherwise haue dealt with. But for so much as concerns the Proposition in hand; he that befield this, may well remember that the same enemy troubled vs more in our march towards *Fajal*, than in our taking the shore; that he fought how to stop vs in place of his aduantage; that many of our men were slaine or hurt by him, among whom Sir *Arthur Gorges* was shot in that march; and that such as (thinking all danger to be past, when we had won good footing) would needs follow vs to the Towne, were driven by him; to forsake the pace of a man of war, and betake themselves to an halfe trot.

For end of this digression, I hope that this question shall neuer come to triall; his Maiesties many moueable Forts forbid the experience. And although the *English* will no lesse disdain, than any Nation vnder heauen can doe, to be beaten vpon their owne ground, or elsewhere by a forraigne enemy; yet to entertaine those that shall assaile vs, with their owne beeste in their bellies, and before they cate of our *Kentish* Capons, I take it to be the wisest way. To doe which, his Maiesty, after God, will employ his good ships on the Sea, and not trust to any intrenchment vpon the shore.

## §. X.

*How the Romans attempt againe to get the mastery of the Seas. The victory of Cæcilius the Roman Consul at Panormus: The siege of Lilybæum. How a Rhodian Gallie entered Lilybæum at pleasure, in despite of the Roman fleet. That it is a matter of great difficultie to stop the passage of good ships. The Romans, by reason of grieuous losses receiued, vnder Claudius and Tullius their Consuls, abandon the Seas againe.*

**W**Hen, without a strong Nauie, the Romans found it altogether impossible either to keepe what they had already gotten in *Sicily*, or to enlarge their Dominions in *Africa* or elsewhere, they resolved once againe, notwithstanding their late misadventures, to strengthen their fleet and ships of war. So causing fit new Gallies to be built, & the old to be repaired, they gaue them in charge (together with certaine Legions of Souldiers) to the new Consuls, *C. Attilius*, & *L. Manlius*. On the other side, *Asdrubal* perceiving that the Romans, partly by reason of the shipwracke which they had lately suffered, partly by reason of the ouerthrow which they receiued by *Xanthippus* in *Africa*, were lesse daring than they had bin in the beginning of the warre: and withall, that one of the Consuls was returned into *Italie*, with the one halfe of the Armie; and that *Cæcilius*, with onely the other halfe, remained at *Panormus*: he removed with the *Carthaginian* forces from *Lilybæum* towards it, hoping to prouoke *Cæcilius* to fight. But the Consul was better aduised. For when *Asdrubal* had made his approaches somewhat neere the Towne, *Cæcilius* caused a deepe trench to be cut, a good distance without the ditch of the Citie: betweene which and his trench he left ground sufficient, to embattle a Legion of his Souldiers. To these he gaue order that they should aduance themselves, and passe ouer the new trench, till such time as the *African* Elephants were thrust vpon them. From those beasts he commanded them to retire, by slow degrees, till they had drawn on the Elephants to the brinke of the new trench, which they could by no means passe. This they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a stand, they were so gawled and beaten, both by those Souldiers that were on the inside of the trench, & by those that lay in the trench it selfe, that being enraged by their many wounds, they brake backe furiously vpon their owne foot-men, and vterly disordered them. *Cæcilius*, espying this aduantage, fallied with all the force he had; and charging the other troupes, that stood embattailed, he vterly brake them, and put them to their heeles; making a great slaughter of them, and taking all their Elephants.

The report of this victory being brought to *Rome*, the whole State, filled with courage, prepared a new fleet of two hundred saile, which they sent into *Sicily*, to giue end to that warre, that had now lasted fouretee yeares. With this fleet and armie the Romans resolved to attempt *Lilybæum*, the onely place of importance which the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*; and all indeed, saue *Drepanum*, that was neere adioyning. They set down before it, and possesse themselves of all the places of aduantage neere vnto it, especially of such as command the haven, which had a very difficult entrance. They also beat to the ground fixe towres of defence; & by forcible engines weaken so many other parts of the Citie,

of defence; and by forcible engines weaken so many other parts of the Citie, as the defendants begin to despair. Yet *Himilco*, Commander of the place, faileth not in all that belongs to a man of Warre. All that is broken, hee repairs with admirable diligence; he maketh many furious sallies, and giueth to the Romans all the affronts that possibly could be made. He hath in Garrison (besides the Citizens) ten thousand Souldiers; among which there are certaine Lieutenants, and other petty Officers, that conspire to render and betray the Towne. But the matter is reuealed by an *Achæan*, called *Alexon*, who had formerly, in danger of the like treason, saved *Agriumentum*. *Himilco* vseth the helpe of *Alexon*, to assure the hired Souldiers, and imployeth *Hannibal* to appeale the troupes of the Gauls, which did wauer, and had sent their agents to the enemy. All promise constancie and truth; so that the Traitors, being vnable to performe what they had vnderstaken, are faine to liue in the Roman campe as fugitiues, that had wrought no good wherby to deserue their bread. In the meane while, a supply of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from *Carthage* to their reliefe, hauing *Hannibal*, the son of *Amilcar*, for their Conductor: who, in despite of all resistance, entered the Port and Citie, to the incredible ioy of the besieged. The old Souldiers, together with the new Companies, (thereto perswaded by *Himilco* with hope of great reward) resolute to set vpon the Romans in their Trenches, & either force them to abandon the siege, or (at least) to take from them, as for fire, their engines of batterie. The attempt is presently made, and pursued to the merriest, with great slaughter on both sides. But the Romans being more in number, and hauing the aduantage of the ground, hold fill their places, and with extreme difficultie defend their engines.

They of *Carthage* desire greatly to vnderstand the state of things at *Lilybæum*; but know not how to send into the Towne. A certaine Rhodian vndertakes the seruice, and hauing receiued his dispatch, sailes with one Gallie to *Ægusa*, a little Iland neere *Lilybæum*. Thence, taking his time, he steered directly with the Port; and hauing a passing swift Gallie, he past through the best of the Channel, and recovered the water-gate, ere any of those, which the Romans had to guard the Port, could thrust from the shoores on either side.

The next day, neither attending the couert of the darke night, nor dreading to be boorded by the Roman Gallies, who waited his returne, he set saile, and shipped his Oares (his Gallie being exceeding quick of sterage, & himselfe expert in all parts of the channel) recovered the Hauens mouth and the Sea, in despite of all the pursuit made after him. Then, finding himselfe out of danger of being compassed by many, he turned againe towards the mouth of the Hauens, challenging any one, if any one durst come forth, to vndertake him. This enterprife, and the well performing of it, was very remarkable, and much wondered at in those dayes: and yet, where there was no great Artillerie, nor any other weapons of fire, to kill a farre off, the aduantage which this Rhodian made was not greatly hazardous. For in this Age, a valiant and iudicious man of war will not feare to passe by the best appointed Fort of Europe, with the help of a good Tide, and a lea-ding gale of winde: no, though fortie peeeces of great Artillerie open their mouths against him, and threaten to tear him in peeces.

In the beginning of our late *Queenes* time, when *Denmarke* & *Sweden* were at War; our *East-land* fleet, bound for *Leif-land*, as forbidden by the King of *Denmarke* to trade with the subjects of his enemies, & he threatened to sink their ships if they came through the straits of *Ellenour*. Notwithstanding this, our Merchants (hauing a ship of her Maiesties, called the *Minion*, to defend them) made the aduantage, and sustaining some Volleys of shot, kept on their course. The King made all the prouision he could, to stop them, & to take them at their returne. But the *Minion*, commanded (as I take it) by *Mr. Iam Bar-trug*, leading the way, did not onely passe out with little losse, but did beate downe, with Artillerie, a great part of the Fort of *Ellenour*; which at that tyme was not so well fortified, as now perhaps it is: and the fleet of Merchants that followed him, went through without any wound receiued. Neither was it long since, that the Duke of *Puma*, besieging *Antwerp*, and finding no possibilitie to master it, otherwise than by famine, laid his Canon on the bancke of the Riuer; so well to purpose, and so close, with the face of the water, that hee thought it impossible for the least boat to passe by. Yet the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, not blown vp by any winde of glory, but comming to finde a good market for their Butter and Cheefe, euen the poore

men, attending their profit when all things were extreme deare in Antwerp, passed the boordes on or welle Tonne, by the mouth of the Dukes Cannon, in despite of it; when a strong Westerly winde, and a Tide of flood fauoured them; as also with a contrary winde, and an ebbing water, they turned backe againe: so as hee was forced, in the end, to build his Stockado ouerthwart the Riuer, to his maruailous trouble and charge.

The Port Saint Philip terrified not vs in the yeere 1596. when he entered the Port of Calis; neither did the Port at Pantal, when we were entered, beate vs from our anchoring by it; though it plaide vpon vs with foure Demi-cannons within point blanche, from five in the morning till twelue at noone. The siege of Ostend, and of many other places, may be giuen for proofe, how hard a matter it is to stop the passage of a good ship, without another as good to encounter it. Yet this is true, that where a Port is so far, as that of Angra in Terceira, that there is no passage along beside it, or that the ships are drin to come vpon it bow-line towards it, wanting all helpe of winde and tide; there, and in such places, is it of great vse, and fearefull: otherwise not.

But to returne to our aduenturous Rhodian: Hee arrives in safety at Carthage, and makes them know the state of Lilybæum. Others also, after this take vpon them to doe the like, and performe it with the same successe. The Romans therefore labour to choke the channell; and, for that purpose, fill many Merchants ships with great stones, and sinke them therein. The force of the Tides cleares it againe in part: but they grow dedd so many of those great bellied boates in the best of the entrance; as at last it made a manifest rising and heape, like a ragged Island, in the passage. Herby it came to passe, that a Carthaginian Gallie, taking her course by night, and not suspecting any such impediment, ranne her selfe a-ground thereon, and was taken. Now comes the braue Rhodian, thinking to enter, as hee had done before: but this Carthaginian Gallie, a little before taken, gaue him chafe, and gathered vpon him; hee findes what shee is, both by her forme and by her swiftnesse: and being not able to runne from her, resolved to fight with her. But shee is too well manned for him, so that he is beaten and taken.

Lilybæum, after this, is greatly distressed; the Souldiers being worne with labour and watching. But in this despair there rose so violent a tempest, as some of the Romans wooden Towers, by which they ouer-topt the walls of Lilybæum, were ouer-turned. A Greeke Souldier vnder takes to fire those that were fallen, and performs it: for the fire was no sooner kindled, but being blowne vnto by the bellowes of a tempest, it increased so fast, as it became resistlesse, and in the end burned all to ashes, and melted the brazen heads of the battering Rammes. Hereupon, despair and wearinesse hinder the Romans from repairing their Engines: so that they resolve, by a long siege, to starue the defendants.

Vpon relation of what had past, a supply of tenne thousand Souldiers is sent from Rome, vnder M. Claudius, the Consull. Hee arrives at Messana, and marcheth our land to Lilybæum: where having re-inforced the Armie, and supplied the Gallies with new Rowers, he propounds the surpris of Drepanum, a Citie on the other side of the Bay of Lilybæum. This seruice the Capitaines and Souldiers willingly embrace. Some Consull embarks his troups, and arrives on the sudden in the mouth of the Port. Adherbal is Gouverneur of the Towne, a valiant and prudent man of warre; who being ignorant of the new supply arrived at Lilybæum, was at first amazed at their sudden approach; but having recovered his spirits, hee perswades the Souldiers, rather to fight abroad, than to be enclosed. Herewithall hee promiseth great rewards to such, as by their valour shall deserue them; offering to leade them himselfe, and to fight in the head, of his fleet. Having sufficiently encouraged his men, he thrusts into the Sea towards the Romans. The Consull, deceived of his expectation, calls backe the foremost Gallies, that he might now marshall them for defence. Hereupon some rowe backward, some forward, in great confusion. Adherbal findes and followes his aduantage; and forceth the Consull into a Bay at hand, wherein hee rangeth himselfe; hauing the land on his backe: hoping thereby to keepe himselfe from being incompassed. But hee waithereby, and for want of Sea-rouine, so streightened, as he could not turne himselfe any way from his chemies, nor range himselfe in any order. Therefore when hee found no hope of resistance, keeping the shore on his left hand, hee thrust out of the Bay with

thirty

thirtie Gallies, besides his owne, and so fled away: all the rest of his fleet, to the number of ninetie and foure ships, were taken or sunke by the Carthaginians. Adherbal for this seruice is greatly honoured at Carthage; and Claudius, for his indiscretion and flight, as much disgraced at Rome.

The Romans, notwithstanding this great losse, arme threescore Gallies, with which they send away L. Iunius, their Consull, to take charge of their businesse in Sicil. Iunius arrives at Messana, where he meetes with the whole remainder of the Roman fleet, those excepted which rode in the Port of Lilybæum. One hundred and twenty Gallies hee had; and besides those, hee had gotten together almost eight hundred ships of burthen, which were laden with all necessarie provisions for the Armie. With this great fleet hee arrives at Syracuse, where he staies a while; partly to take in corne; partly, to wait for some, that were too slow of saile, to keepe company with him along from Messana. In the meane time, he dispatcheth away towards Lilybæum, his Quaestors or Treasurers, to whom he commits the one halfe of his victualers, with some Gallies for their conveyance.

Adherbal was not carelesse, after his late victory: but studied how to vse it to the best aduantage. The ships and prisoners that he had taken, he sent to Carthage. Of his owne Gallies hee deliuered thirtie to Carthage, who had threescore and tenne more vnder his owne charge; and sent him to try, what good might be done against the Roman fleet, in the Mouth of Lilybæum. According to this direction, Carthage suddenly enters the mouth of that Haue, where hee findes the Romans, more attentue to the keeping in of the besieged Carthaginians, than to the defence of their owne against another fleet. So hee chargeth them, boords, and takes some, and fires the rest. The Roman Campe takes alarme, and hastens to the rescue. But Himilo, Gouverneur of the Town, is not behinde hand; who sallies out at the same time, and putting the Romans to great distress, giues Carthage good leasure to goe through with his enterprise.

After this exploit, Carthage ranne all along the South coast of Sicil, disguising how to worke mischief to the enemy; wherein Fortune presented him with a faire occasion, which he wisely managed. He was aduertised by his Scouts, that they had descried, neere at hand, a great fleet, consisting of all manner of Vessels. These were the victualers, which the Consull Iunius, more hastily than proudly, had sent before him towards Lilybæum. Carthage was glad to heare of their coming: for he and his men were full of courage, by reason of their late victories. Accompting therefore the great multitude of Roman Hulks approaching, to be rather a prey, than a fleet, likely to make strong opposition, hee hastens to encounter them. It fell out according to his expectation. The Romans had no minde to fight: but were glad to seeke shelter in an open Road, full of rocks, vnder covert of a poore Towne, belonging to their partie; that could helpe to save them onely from the present danger, by lending them engines & other aide, where-with to beate off the Carthaginians that assailed them. Carthage therefore, hauing taken a few of them, lay waiting for the rest, that could not long ride vnder those rocks, but would be forced by any great change of winde, either to put out into the deepe, or to save their men, how they could, by taking land, with the losse of all their shipping. Whilst he was busied in this care, the Consull Iunius drew neere, and was discovered. Anging him Carthage makes out, and findes him altogether vnprepared to fight, as being wholly ignorant of that which had hapned. The Consull had neither meanes to flie, nor ability to fight. Therefore he likewise ran into a very dangerous Creeke; thinking no danger so great, as that of the enemy. The Carthaginian, seeing this, betakes himselfe to a Station betwene the two Roman fleets; where he watcheth, to see which of them would first stir, with a resolution to assault that, which should first dare to put it selfe into the Sea. So as now all the three fleets were on the South coast of Sicil, betwene the Promontorie of Pachinus and Lilybæum, a Tract exceeding dangerous, when the winde so blowed at South. The Carthaginians, who knew the times of tempest, and their signes, finding (belike) some swelling bellow (for so we doe in the West of England, before a Sowerly storme) hastned to double the Cape of Pachinus, thereby to couer themselves from the rage at hand. But the Romans, who knew better how to fight, than how to Naue, and neuer found any soule weather in the entrailes of their beafts, their South-lays being all land-propneys, were suddenly ouer-taken with a boistrous South winde, and all the Gallies forced against the rocks, and vtterly wrackt.

This calamity so discouraged the Romans, that they resolved againe to forsake the Seas, and trust onely to the seruice of their Legions vpon firme ground. But such a resolution cannot long hold. Either they must be strong at Sea, or else they must not make warre in an Island; against those that haue a mightier fleet. Yet are they to be excused, in regard of the many great calamities which they had suffered, through their want of skill. Here I cannot forbear to commend the patient vertue of the Spaniards. We seldom or neuer finde, that any Nation hath endured so many misaduentures and miseries, as the Spaniards haue done, in their *Indian Discoveries*. Yet persisting in their enterprises, with an invincible constancie, they haue annexed to their Kingdome so many goodly Provinces, as burie the remembrance of all dangers past. Tempests and shipwracks, famine, counterthows, mutinies, heat and cold, pestilence, and all manner of diseases, both old and new, together with extreme povercie, and want of all things needfull, haue bene the enemies, wherewith euery one of their most noble Discoverers, at one time or other, hath encountered. Many yeeres haue passed ouer some of their heads, in the search of not so many leagues: yea more than one or two, haue spent their labour, their wealth, and their liues, in search of a golden Kingdome, without getting further notice of it, than what they had at their first setting forth. All which notwithstanding, the third, fourth, and fift vndertakers, haue not bene disheartened. Surely, they are worthily rewarded with those Treasuries, and Paradises, which they enioy; and well they deserve to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like vertue in others, which (perhaps) will not so be found.

## S. XI.

*The Citie of Eryx is surprized by the Romans, and recovered by Amilcar, who slowly holds warre with them six yeeres. The Romans having emptied their common treasure, build a new fleet, at the charges of priuate men. The great victorie at Sea of Lucius, the Consul, whereby the Carthaginians are forced to craue peace. The conditions of the peace betwene Rome and Carthage.*

THE Romans were carefull, to supply with all industrie, by land, the want of strength at Sea. Therefore they continue the siege of Lilybæum, and seek to make sure to themselves all places, whither the enemies ships could not bring reliefe. The Consul *Junius*, to cure the wound of dishonour, which hee had received, bethought him what enterprises to vndertake. In the end hee resolved to attempt the Mountaine and Citie of Eryx, with the Temple of *Venus Erycina*: which was the fairest and richest of all the land; and of these, by cunning or treason, he got possession. Eryx was commodiously seated betwene Drepanum and Panormus; so that it seemed a fit place for a Garrison, that should restrain the Carthaginians from making roads into the Countrey. Wherefore *Junius* fortified both the top of the Mountaine, and the first entrance of the passage from the bottome, (both which places were very defensible) with a good strength of men. But shortly after, in the eighteenth yeere of this warre, the Carthaginians sent forth *Amilcar*, (surnamed *Barcas*, Father of the great *Hannibal*), with a fleet and Armie, who sailing to the coasts of Italie, did thoroughly repay the spoyle which the Romans made in Africa. For hee first of all wasted and destroyed the Territories of the Locrians, and of the Brutians, that were dependants of Rome. Then entred he into Sicily; and finding there no walled Citie in the Carthaginians power, that serued fitly to infect the Romans, he occupied a piece of ground of great advantage, and lodged his Armie thereon; to confront as well the Romans, that were in Panormus, as those that kept about Eryx, putting himselfe betwene both Armies with admirable resolution.

The place that *Amilcar* had seized vpon, was not onely very strong by situation, but had the command of a Port: whereby it gaue him opportunitie, to scoure all the coast of Italie with his fleet, waisting all along as farre as to Cuma. In the Isle of Sicily he held the Romans to hard worke: lying neere vnto Panormus, where in three yeeres abode he did many notable acts, though not of much consequence, for that the enemy could neuer be drawne to hazard the maine chance. Having wearied himselfe and the Romans long enough about Panormus, he vndertooke a strange peece of work at Eryx. The Roman Garrisons, placed there by *Junius*, on the top, and at the bottome of the Mountaine,

to

were very strongly lodged. *Neuerthelesse Amilcar* found a way, lying towards the Seaside, by which hee conueighed his men into the Citie of Eryx, that was about the midst of the ascent, ere the enemy knew of it. By this it came to passe, that the Romans which kept the top of the mountaine, were streightly held (as it were) besieged. And no lesse was *Amilcar* himselfe restrained, by both of these Garrisons, and such as came to relieue them. There he found them pastime about two yeeres more; hoping still to wearie out those that lay ouer his head, as they on the contrary did their best, to thrust him out of those quarters.

At this time, all the care, both of the Romans and of the Carthaginians, was bent vnto the prosecuting of this businesse at Eryx. Wherein it seemes true (as *Hannibal*, in *Livy*, spake vnto *Scipio*) that the affaires of Carthage neuer stood in better termes, since the beginning of the warre, than now they did. For whereas the Romans had utterly forsaken the Seas, partly by reason of their great losses; partly vpon confidence of their land forces, which they held resistlesse, *Amilcar*, with a small Armie, had so well acquired himselfe, to the honour of his Countrey, that by the triall of six yeeres warre, the Carthaginian Souldier was iudged equall, if not superior to the Roman. Finally, when all, that might be, had bene deuised and gone, for the dislodging of this obstinate Warriour: no way seemed better to the Senate of Rome, than once againe to build a fleet; whereby, if the mastric of the Sea could once bee gotten; it was likely that *Amilcar*, for lacke of supply, should not long be able to hold out. But in performing this, extreme difficulty was found. The common treasure was exhausted: and the cost was not little, that was requisite vnto such an enterprise. Wherefore there was none other way left, than to lay the burden vpon priuate purses. Diuers of the principall Citizens vndertooke to build (each at his owne charges) one *Quinquereme*, which example wrought so well, that they, whose abilitie would not serue to doe the like, ioyned with some others, and laying their money together, concurred two or three of them, in building of another; with condition to be repaid, when the war was finished. By this voluntary contribution, they made and finished two hundred new *Quinqueremes*: taking for their paterne, that excellent swift rowing Gallie which they had gotten from the Rhodian, in the Port of Lilybæum, as was shewed before. The charge of this fleet was committed to *C. Lucilius Catulus*; who past with the same into Sicily, the Spring following, and entred the Port of Drepanum, in dauncouring by all meanes to haue forced the Citie. But being aduertised that the Carthaginian fleet was at hand, and being mindfull of the late losses which his Predecessours had receiued; he was carefull to put himselfe in order, against their arriuall.

*Hannus* was Admiral of the Carthaginian fleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wise in picture, exceedingly formall, and skilfull in the art of seeming teuerend. How his reputation was first bred, I doe not finde; but it was vp-held by a factious contradiction, or things vndertaken by men more worthy than himselfe. This qualitie procured vnto him (as it hath done to many others) both good liking among the ancient sort, whose cold temper is averse from new enterprises, and therewithall an opinion of great foresight, confirmed by euery losse receiued. More particularly, he was gracious among the people, for that he was one of the most grieuous oppressors of their subiect Provinces; whereby he procured vnto the Carthaginians much wealth, but therewithall such hatred, as turned it all to their great losse. He had ere this bene employed against the Numidians, and wilde Africans, that were more like to Rovers, than to Souldiers, in making Warre. Of those fugitiue Nations, he learned to neglect more manly enemies, to his owne great dishonour, and to the great hurt of Carthage; which lost not more by his bad conduct, than by his malicious counsaile, when, hauing shewed himselfe an vnworthy Capitaine, he betooke himselfe to the long Robe. Yet is he much commended in Roman Histories, as a temperate man, and one that studied how to preserve the League betwene Carthage and Rome. In which regard, how well hee deserved of his owne Countrey, it will appeare hereafter: how beneficiall he was to the Romans, it will appeare, both hereafter, and in his present voyage; wherein hee reduced the Carthaginians to a miserable necessitie of accepting, vpon hard conditions, that peace which hee thought commended.

*Hannus* had very well furnished his Nauie, with all needfull prouisions for the Souldiers at Eryx: (for dexteritie in making preparation was the best of his qualities) but he

had neither beene carefull in traying his Mariners, to the practice of Sea-fight, nor in manning his Gallies with stout fellows. He thought, that the fame of a Carthaginian fleet was enough, to make the vnexpert Romans giue way: forgetting, that rather the resolute force of tempests, than any other strength of opposition, had made them to forsake the Seas. Yet in one thing he had either conceiued aright, or else was sent forth well instructed. It was his purpose, first of all to saile to Eryx, and there to discharge his ships of their lading: and hating thus lightned himselfe, he meant to take aboard some part of the Land-armie, together with *Amilcar* himselfe, by whose helpe he doubted not, but that he should be able to make his enemye repent of his new aduerture to Sea. This was a good course, if it could haue bene performed. But *Catulus* vsed all possible diligence, to prevent the execution of this designe: not because he was informed of the enemyes purpose, but that he knew it to be the best for them, & for that he feared no danger so greatly, as to encounter with *Amilcar*. Wherefore although the weather was very rough, and the seas went high, when the Carthaginian fleet was discried, yet he rather chose to fight with the enemy, that had the winde of him, than to suffer his conuoy to passe along to Eryx, vpon vnlikely hope of better opportunity in the future. All that *Hanno* should haue done, *Catulus* had performed. He had carefully exercised his men in Rowing; he had lightned his Gallies of all vnecessary burthens; and he had taken aboard the choyce men of the Roman Land-souldiers. The Carthaginians therefore, at the first encounter, were vtterly broken and defeated; hauing fiftie of their Gallies stemed and sunke, 20 and seuentie taken, wherein were few lesse than ten thousand men, that were all made prisoners: the rest, by a sudden change of winde, escaping to the Ile of Hieronensis.

The state of Carthage, vtterly discouraged by this change of fortune, knew not whercon to resolute. Meanes to repaire their fleet in any time there were none left, their best men of warre by Sea were consumed; and *Amilcar*, vpon whose valour, and iudgement the honour and safetie of the Common-weale rested, was now surrounded by his enemies in Sicill, where hee could not bee relieved. In this extremitie, they make dispatch vnto *Amilcar* himselfe, and authorize him to take what course should seeme best vnto his excellent wisedome; leauing all conclusions to his election and sole counsaile.

*Amilcar*, whom no aduersitie, accompanied with the least hope or possibilitie of recovery, had euer vanquished, looking ouer euery promise, true or false, that the present time could make him, (for to attend any thing from the future hee was not able) resolved to make tryall, whether his necessitie might bee compounded vpon any reasonable termes. Hee therefore sent to *Lucilius* the Consull an Overture of peace: who considering it well, gathered so many arguments from the present poutie of the Roman State, waisted beyond expectation in the former warre, that hee willingly harkened vnto it. So, in conclusion, an accord was made, but with prouision, That it should hold none otherwise, than if the Senate and People of Rome would ratifie it with their allowance.

The conditions were: First, that the Carthaginians should clearely abandon the Ile of Sicill. Secondly, that they should neuer vnder-take vpon *Hieron* King of Syracuse, nor inuade any part of his Territories, nor the Territories of any of his Friends and Allies. Thirdly, that they should set at libertie, and send backe into Italie, all the Romans, whom they held prisoners, without ranfome. Lastly, that they should pay vnto the Romans two thousand and two hundred talents; which make, as the French reckon the talent, thirtee hundred and twenty thousand crownes: the same to be deliuered within twentie yeeres next following.

These Articles were sent to Rome, where they were not thoroughly approued: but ten Commissioners were sent into Sicill, to make perfect the agreement. These Commissioners added a thousand talents to the former sum; & required a shorter time of payment. Further also, they tooke order, that the Carthaginians should not onely depart out of Sicill itselfe, but should also withdraw their Companies out of all other Ilands betwene it and Italie, renouncing their whole interest therein.

Such was the end of the first Punick warre, that had lasted about twentie foure yeeres without intermission; in which time the Romans had lost, by fight or shipwracke, about seuen hundred, *Quinquereemes*; and the Carthaginians about fiftie hundred: the greatnesse of which losses, doth serue to proue the greatnesse both of these two Cities, and of

of the Warre it selfe; wherein I hold good the iudgement of *Polybius*, That the Romans, in generall, did shew themselves the brauer Nation; and *Amilcar*, the most worthy Capitaine.

## CHAP. II.

## Of diuers actions passing betwene the first and second Punick Warres.

## §. I.

Of the cruell warre begun betwene the Carthaginians and their owne Mercenaries.

**T**HE Romans hauing partly by force, and partly by composition, thrust the Carthaginians out of Sicill, and all the little Ilands thereunto adiacent, gaue them rather meanes and leisure to helpe themselves in a following Warre, than cause to hold themselves contented with the present peace. It is an ancient and true rule, *Quod leges à victoribus dicuntur, accipiuntur à victis*; That lawes are giuen by the Conquerours, and receiued of the conquered. But the Romans had either forgotten the answer that was made vnto them, by one of the *Prinernates*; or else had forgotten to follow it, in this weightie businesse. For when one of *Prinernum*, after a rebellion, defending in the Senate the cause of his Citie, was demanded by a Senator, what peace the *Romans* might hope for, or assure themselves of, if they quitted their present advantage vnto them; hee answered in these words, *Si bonam dederitis, & fidem & perpetuam*; si malam, haud disturnam; If the peace bee good and faithfull that you giue vs, it will bee perpetuall; if it bee ill, shew of little continuance. To this answer, the Senate, at that time, gaue such approbation, that it was said, *Viri & liberi vocem audiam*; an *old posses*, *villum populum, aut hominem deniq; in ea conditione, cuius cum panis sit, diutius quam necesse sit mansurum*; That it was the speech of a manly, and a free man; for who could belleeve, that any people, or indeed any one man, would continue longer in an over-burdened state, than mere necessitie did enforce? Now if the Romans themselves could make this iudgement, of those Nations, who had little else, besides their manly resolution, to defend their libertie; surely, they grossly flattered themselves, in presuming, that the Carthaginians, who neither in power nor in pride, were any way inferior vnto themselves, would sit downe any longer by the losse and dishonour receiued, than vntill they could recouer their legges, and the strength, which had a while failed them, to take revenge. But Occasion, by whom (while well entertained) not onely private men, but Kings and publique States, haue more preuailed; than by any proper prowesse or vertue, withheld the tempest from the Romans for a time, and turned it most fearefully vpon Africa, and the Carthaginians themselves.

For after that the first Punick War was ended, *Amilcar*, leauing Eryx, went to Lilybæum, from whence most conveniently the Armie might be transported into Africk: the care of which businesse he committed vnto *Geso*, to whom, as to a man of approued sufficiency, he deliuered ouer his charge. *Geso* had an especial consideration of the great summes, wherein Carthage was indebted vnto these Mercenaries; and, withall, of the great disability to make payment. Therefore he thought it the wisest way, to send them over (as it were) by handfulls, a few at a time, that so the first might haue their dispatch, and be gone, ere the second or third Companies arriued. Herein hee dealt prudently. For it had not been hard to perfwade any small number, lodged within so great a Citie as Carthage, vnto some such reasonable composition, as the present emptinesse of the common Treasurie did require: so that the first might haue bene friendly discharged, and a good president left vnto the second and third, whilst their dismission had made them

them vnable to recouer their whole due by force. But the Carthaginians were of a contrarie opinion. They thought to finde, in the whole Armie, some that would bee contented to gratifie the Publique State, by remitting a great part of their owne due : and hoped by such an example, to draw all the multitude to the like agreement and capitulation. So they detained the first and second commers ; telling them, that they would make an euen reckoning with all together. Thus euery day the number increased, and many disorders (a thing incident among Souldiers) were committed ; which much disquieted the Citie, not accustomed vnto the like. In this regard it was thought fit, to remove them all to some other place where they might be lesse troublesome. This must bee done by some colourable words of perswasion : for their number was already so great, that it was not safe to offend them too farre. Wherefore it is deuised, that they should all attend the comming of their fellowes, at Sicca : receiuing euery once a piece of gold, to beare his charges in the meane while.

This motion is accepted, and the Souldiers began to dislodge ; leaving behind them their wiues, their children, and all their baggage, as meaning shortly to fetch away all, when they came backe for their pay. But the Carthaginians haue no fancie to their returning into the Towne ; and therefore compell them to trusse vp their fardells, that they might haue none occasion left to make any errands thither. So to Sicca they remooued, with all their goods ; and there lay waiting for newes of their fellowes arriuall, and their owne pay. Buiuesse they had none to do, and therefore might easily be drawne to mutinie : the whole argument of their discourse inclining them to nothing else. Their daily talke was, how rich they should bee, when all their money came in ; how much would fall to euery single share ; and for how long time the Citie was behinde hand with them in reckoning. They were all growne Arithmeticians ; and hee was thought a man of worth, that could finde most reason to increase their demands, to the very highest, beyond their due. No part of their long seruice was forgotten ; but the comfortable words and promises of their Captaines, leading them forth to any dangerous fight, were called to minde, and so many obligations, not to be cancelled, without satisfying their expectation by some vnordinaire largesse.

Thus the time passeth away ; vntill the whole Armie being arriued, and lodged in Sicca, *Hanno* comes thither to cleare the accompt. Now is the day come, wherein they shall all be made rich ; especially if they can hold together, in maintaining stoutly the common cause. So thinke they all ; and assemble themselves to heare what good newes this messenger had brought ; with a full resolution to help his memorie, in case he should happen to forget any part of the many promises made to them ; all which were to be considered in their Donatide. *Hanno* begins a very formall Oration ; wherein he bewailes the pouertie of Carthage, tells them, how great a summe of money is to be paid vnto the Romans ; reckons vp the excessive charges, whereat the common-wealth had bene in the late warre ; and finally desires them to hold themselves contented with part of their pay, and out of the loue which they bare vnto the Citie, to remit the rest. Few of them vnderstood his discourse : for the Carthaginian Armie was composed of sundry Nations, as Greeces, Africans, Gauls, Ligurians, Spaniards, and others, all of different languages. Yet they stared vpon him, and were (as I thinke) little pleased with his very gesture. But when such, as conceiued the whole tenor of his speech, had informed the rest what cold comfort he brought ; they were all enraged, and fared like mad-men, so that nothing would serue to appease them.

*Hanno* would faine haue allswaged their furie, but he knew not how : for hee lesse vnderstood their dissonant lowd noyses, than they did his Oration. An Armie collected out of so many Countries, that haue no one language common to all, or to the greater part of them, is neither easily stirred vp to mutinie, nor easily pacified, when once it is broken into outrage. The best that *Hanno* can doe, is to vse the helpe of Interpreters and messengers. But these Interpreters mistake his meaning ; some, for want of skill ; others of set purpose ; and such as deliuer his errands in the worst sence, are best beleeued. Finally, they thinke themselves much abused by the Carthaginians, and resolute to demand their owne in peremptorie termes, at a neerer distance. In this mood they leaue Sicca, and march as farre as Tunis, that is within a very little of Carthage, and there they incampe.

Now begin the Carthaginians to finde their owne error. It is a good rule,

*Curandum*

*Curandum imprimis, ne magna iniuria fac  
Fortibus & miseris.*

Haue speciall care, that valliant pouertie  
Be not oppressed with too great iniurie.

But this proud citie, hauing neglected the rule, hath also bene carelesse in providing to secure her selfe against the inconuenience that might follow. Shee had suffered the whole multitude, whereunto she was like to giue cause of discontent, to ioyne it selfe into one bodie, when the seuerall troupes might easily haue bene dispersed ; shee hath turned out of her gates the wiues, children, and goods of these poore men, which had shee retained in shew of kindnesse, she might haue vied them as Hostages, for her own safety ; and by employing a miserable pennie-father, in her negotiation with men of Warre, shee hath weakened the reputation of her brauest Captaines, that might best haue serued to free her from the threatening danger. Yet likely it is, that *Amilcar* had no desire to be vied as an instrument in defrauding his owne Souldiers of their wages : especially considering, that as he best could beare witness of their merits, so was he not ignorant, that means to content them were not wanting, if the Citizens had bene willing thereunto. Hereunto may be added a probable coniecture, that *Hanno*, with his complices, who at this very time was a bitter enemy to *Amilcar*, had the boldnesse to impose the blame of his owne wretched counsaile, vpon the liberrall promises made by the Captaines. *Amilcar* therefore did wisely, in suffering those that maligned him, to haue the managing of their owne plot, and to deale the cardes which themselves had shuffled. This they continue to do as foolishly, as they had at first begun. They furnish a market at Tunis for the Souldiours ; whom they suffer to buy what they list, and at what price they list. They send euery and anon some of their Senatours into the Campe ; who promise to satisfie all demands, as farre forth as it should be possible. And thus by shifting from one extreame to another, they make the Souldiours vnderstand, into what feare the Citie was driuen ; which cannot choofe but adde much insolencie to the passions already stirred vp.

This sudden change of weather, and the true cause of it, is quickly found by the Army, which thereupon growes wise, and finding the season fit, labors to make a great harvest. Money must be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many haue lost their hopes, in publique seruice of the State. The State shall pay for them. They had liued some yeares, by making hard shift, without receiuing their allowance of victuals from Carthage. If they had liued, they wanted not meat ; therefore what was this to the Carthaginians ? Was it not all one, whether the ships did bring in prouision ; or their Captaines direct them, where to fetch it ? But this would not serue. They said that they had bene sometimes driuen to buy ; and that (since they could not remember, how much, or at what rate they bought) they would be paid for their prouision, during the whole time, and according to the dearest price that wheat had borne, whilest the Warre lasted. Such are now the demands of these Mutiners ; who might easily haue bene satisfied with farre lesse charges, and farre more honour, by receiuing their due at the first. But now they make none end of crauing. For whilest the Carthaginians are perplexed, about this Corn-monie, the Souldiers haue deuised many more trickes, whereby to extort a greater sum of money, without all regard of shame. Since therefore no good end could be found of these controuerfies which daily did multiply, it was thought conuenient, that one of the Carthaginians, which had commanded in Sicil, should be chosen by the Souldiers, to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the Armie condescended, and made choice of *Gesto* partly out of good liking to him, who had shewed himselfe at all times a friendly man to them, and carefull of their good, especially when they were to be transported into Africa : partly out of a dislike which they had conceiued of *Amilcar* ; for that hee had not visited them in all this busie time. So *Gesto* comes among them ; and, to please them the better, comes not without money : which might giue better countenance to his proceedings, than barren eloquence had done to the negotiation of *Hanno*. Hee calls vnto him first of all, the Captaines, and then, the seuerall Nations apart, rebuking them gently for that which had passed ; aduising them temperately concerning the present ; and exhorting them to continue their loue vnto the State, which had long entertained

and



ned them, and would needs always be mindefull of their good seruices. After this he began to put hand to his purse: offering to give them their whole pay in hand; and then after to consider of other reckonings at a more conuenient time. This had beene well accepted, and might haue serued to bring all to a quiet passe; if two seditious ring-leaders of the multitude had not stood against it.

There was in the Campe one *Spendius*, a sturdy fellow, and audacious, but a slave; that in the late war had fled from a Roman whom he served, and therefore fled in fear, lest he should be delivered back to his Master; at whose hands he could expect no less, than to be whipt and crucified. This wretch could finde no better way to prolong his owne life, than by raising such troubles as might serve to with-draw men from care of private matters, and make his owne restitution impossible, were his Master neuer so importunate. With *Spendius* there associated himselfe one *Matho*; an hate-headed man, that had beene so forward in stirring up the tumult, as he could not chooseth but to be the haine of his owne death should be made an example, to deterre others from the like seditious behauiour. This *Matho* deales with his Countymen the Africans; telling them, that they were in faire worse condition, than either the Gauls, the Greeks, the Spaniards, or any forreyne mercenaries. For (saith he) *these our companions haue no more to doe, than to colour their wages, and so get them gone: but wee, that are to stay behinde in Africa, shall be led to another manner of accompt, when we are left alone; so that wee shall haue cause to wish, that we had returned home beggars, rather than laden with the monie, which (little though it be) shall break our backs. You are not ignorant, how tyrannically these our haughty Masters of Carthage doe reigne ouer vs. They thinke it reasonable, that our liues and goods should be at their disposition, which they haue at other times beene accustomed to take from vs, and with our apparant taile, as it were to declare their Soueraigntie: what will they now doe, seeing that we haue demaunded our selues as free men, and beene bold to set a good face on the matter, demanding our owne, as others haue done? Yee all doe know, that it were a very shame for vs, if hauing borne as forward in every danger of warre, as any other men, wee should now stand looking like slaves, and not dare to open our mouths, when others take libertie to requite their due. This notwithstanding yee may assure your selues, that we are like to be taught better manners, as some as our fellowes are gone in regard of whom they are content to shadow their indignation with a good, but a forced countenance. Let vs therefore be wile; and consider, that they hate and feare vs. Their hatred will shew it selfe, when their feare is once past: wills we now take our time, and whilst we are the stranger, enfeeble them so greatly, that their hatred shall not be able to doe vs wrong. All their strength consisteth in monie, inber withall they haue hired others against vs, and vs against others. At the present they haue neither money nor friends. The best Armie that euer serued them, whereof we are no small part, lieth at their gates, ready to helpe vs if we be men. A better opportunitie cannot be expected: for were our swords once drawne, all Africa would rise on our side. As for the Carthaginians, whether they send for helpe, if the case is selfe in plain: but we must quickly refuse. Either we must prevent the diligence of Gelco, by incensing these Gauls and Spaniards, and procuring them to draw blood; or else it behooueth vs to please our good masters, by toyning with them against our fellowes, yea by offering to forgiue unto them all our wages, if so (peraduenture) they maye be wonne to forgiue vs, or not otherwise: cruellie to punish our faults committed. He is most worthily a wretched slave, that neither hath care to winne his Masters loue, nor the courage to attempt his owne libertie.*

By such persuasions *Matho* winnes the African souldiers to his owne purpose. They are not now so greedy of money, as of quarrell, which he that seeketh, will not misse to finde. When *Gesco* therefore offered to pay them their whole stipend presently, but referred their other demands, for horses and victuals, to some other more convenient time; they brake into great outrage, and say that they will haue all, even all at once, and that out of hand. In this tumult, the whole Armie flocke together about *Matho*, and *Spendius*; whose diligence is not wanting, to adde more fuell to the fire already blazing. *Matho* and *Spendius* are the onely men to whom the souldiers will hearken: if any other stand vp to make a speech, a shewre of stones, flying about his eares, puts him to silence, that he shall neuer afterwards speake word more. Neither say they to consider what it is that any man would say: enough hath beene said already by those good spokefemen; so that no other word (though perhaps to the same purpose) can be heard, save onely *Throw, throw*.

**Now**

Now the Rebellion begins to take forme. *Mathe* and *Spendius* are chosen Captaines; who, followed by a desperate crew of Ruffians, will suffer no man to make his owne peace, but pursue their owne ends, under false pretence of the common cause. All which notwithstanding, *Gesse* is not wanting to the good of his country, but adventures himselfe vpon their furie. One while he deales with the Captaines; and other principal men, furring them by the hand, and giuing gentle words. Another while he workes with the content men. None of them are so follen as the Africans: indeed none of them had to good cause. They require him peremptorily, to giue them their owne, and not to feed them with words. The truth is, that they are not so courteous as they seeme: but will be more glad of an ill answer, than of a good payment. This is more than *Gesse* knows: he knowes that *Mathe* hath any more than bare words to bestow vpon them. Wherefore, rebuking their inconsiderate heat, he tells them, That they may doe well, if they stand in want of money, to seek it of their Captaine, *Mathe*. This is enough. Shall he be defrauded, and deride them? They stay no longer, but lay violent hands vpon the cause that he had brought; yea vpon him also, and all that are with him: as intending to take this in part of payment, and for the rest, to take another course. *Mathe* and *Spendius* are glad of this. It had little pleased them to see their fellowes begin to grow calme by his faire language: wherefore they cast into bonds both him, and all the Carthaginians that they can finde; that so the Armeies may be freed from danger of good aduice, which they call Treason. After this follows open warre. *Mathe* solicites all Africans, and his Embassadors are euer where well entertained. Neither is it needfull to say, that the very fame of this rebellion sufficeth to draw the whole countrie into arms against the Carthaginians be plagued for those oppressions, with which they have oppressed others. It is true that *Adurba* hath neuer bene vatold of her errors: and as she was refused to heare her owne, so commonly with her owne the vndergoes those of other men. The Africans finding the Carthaginians hang vnder the wheele, get them to their come; their Impositions were merciesse, that they took from them the one halfe of their come; that they doubled their tributes in all things else; and that they inflicted vpon their vassals the greatest punishment for the least offences. These cruelties the Carthaginians themselves haue forgotten: but the people, that haue suffered so much, retain all perfect memorie. Wherefore not only such as can beare Armes, are ready to doe violence in this great Commotion; but the very women bring forth their Jewels, and ornaments, offering all to sale for the maintenance of iust a quarrell. By this great sympathy, and liberal contribution, *Mathe* and *Spendius* are supplied with a strong traine of more than ten thousand Africans: and are moreover furnished with money, not only to satisfy the present appetite of their men; but sufficient to continue the war long, though it should be of long endurance.

§. II.  
Diderot's observations upon the war with the mercenaries

Of Tyrannie, and how Tyrants are faine to use the helpe of mercenaries.

[illegible]



the Athenians, that their dominion over their subjects, was none other than a meere tyrannie; though it were so, that they themselves were a great Citie; and a popular state. Neither is it peradventure greatly needfull, that I should call this forme of commanding, *violent*; since it may well and easily be conceived, that no man willingly performs obedience, to one regardlesse of his life and welfare; vnlesse himselfe be either a mad man, or (which is little better) wholly possessed with some extreme passion of loue. The practice of tyrannie, is not alwaies of a like extremitie: for some Lords are more gentle, than others, to their very slaues; and he that is most cruell to some, is milde enough towards others, though it be but for his owne aduantage. Neuertheless, in large Dominions, wherein the Rulers discretion cannot extend it selfe, vnto notice of the difference which might be found between the worth of seuerall men; it is commonly seene, that the taste of sweetnesse, drawne out of oppression, hath so good a relish, as continually inflames the Tyrants appetite, and will not suffer it to be restrained with any limits of respect. Why should he seeke out bounds to prescribe vnto his desires, who cannot endure the face of one so honest, as may put him in remembrance of any moderation? It is much that he hath gotten, by extorting from some few: by sparing none, he should haue riches in goodly abundance. He hath taken a great deale from every one: but every one could haue spared more. He hath wrung all their purses, & now he hathenough: but (as Coucrousesse is neuer satisfied) he thinks that all this is too little for a stocke, though it were indeed a good yeerely In-come. Therefore he deuiseeth new tricks of roberie and is not better pleased with the gaines, than with the Art of getting. He's hared for this, and he knows it well: but he thinks by crueltie to change hatred into feare. So he makes it his exercise, to torment and murder all, whom he suspecteth: in which course, if he suspect none vnjustly, he may be said to deale craftily; but if Innocency be not safe, how can all this make any Conspiratour to stand in feare, since the Traitor is no worse rewarded, than the quiet man? Wherefore he can thinke vpon none other security, than to dis-arme all his Subjects; to fortifie himselfe within some strong place, and for defence of his Person and state, to hire as many lustie Souldiers as shall bee thought sufficient. These must not be of his owne COUNTRY: for if not every one, yet some one or other may chance to haue a feeling of the publique miserie. This considered, he allures vnto him a desperate rabble of strangers, the most vn honest that can be found, such as haue neither wealth nor credit at home, and will therefore be careful to support him, by whose onely fauour they are maintained. Now left any of these, either by detestation of his wickednesse, or (which in wicked men is most likely) by promise of greater reward, than he doth giue, should bee drawne to turne his sword against the Tyrant himselfe: they shall all be permitted to doe as he doth; to robbe, to fault, to murder, and to satisfie their owne appetites, in most outrageous manner; being thought so much the more assured to their Master, by how much the more he sees them grow hatefull to all men else. Considering in what age, and in what Language I write; I must be faine to say, that these are not dreames; though some Englishman perhaps that were vnacquainted with Historie, lighting vpon this lease, might suppose this discourse to be but little better. This is to shew, both how tyrannic growes to stand in need of mercenary Souldiers, and how those Mercenaries are, by mutuall obligation, firmly assured vnto the Tyrant.

## 1. II.

That the tyrannie of a Citie over her Subjects is worse, than the tyrannie of one man: **A** tyrannicall Citie must likewise vse mercenary Souldiers.

**N**OW concerning the tyrannie, wherewith a Citie or State oppresseth her Subjects; it may appeare some waies to be more moderate, than that of one man: but in many things it is more intolerable. A Citie is jealous of her Dominion; but not (as is one man) fearefull of her life: the lesse need hath she therefore, to secure her selfe by cruelty. A Citie is not luxurious in consuming her treasures; and therefore needs the lesse, to plucke from her Subjects. If warre, or any other great occasion, diuice her to necessity, of taking from her Subjects more than ordinarie summes of money: the same necessity makes either the contribution easie, or the taking extensible. Indeed no wrongs are so grievous & hatefull, as those that are insolent; *Remember I haue said like the Emperor,*

solid ground, moored *(Anno 1611)* that I may doe what I list, and be without list: these words were encountered horrible, though wee did her no harme. And I should reckon it, as the complement of all torments, inflicted by a cruel Roman Emperour vpon her slaues; that which he sawe as whipping them, she painted her face, talked with her Gallies, and vied all signes of neglecting what those wretches felt. Now seeing that the greatest grieuances wherewith a dominating State offendeth her Subjects, are free from all sense of indignitie; likely it is, that they will not extremely hate her, although desire of liberty make them wearie of her Empire. In these respects it is not needfull, that she should keepe a Guard of licentious cut-throats, and maintaine them in all villany, as a *Dionysius* or *Agesilaus* should doe: her owne Citizens are able to terrifie, and to hold perforce in obedience, all male contents. These things, considered alone by themselves, may serue to proue, That a Citie is scarce able to deserue the name of a Tyrannesse, in the proper signification.

Altho it notwithstanding, it shall appeare, that the miseries, wherewith a Tyrant loadeth his people, are not so heauie, as the burdens imposed by a cruell Citie. Notwithstanding our former appearance of truth, it may be said, that Lust, and many other private passions, are not vnto incident to a City or Corporation. But to make this good, wee shall haue need vnto the helpe of such distinctions, as the Argument in hand doth not require. Was not Rome incestuous, when *Cato* was faine to rise and leaue the Theater, to the end, that he might regard of his grauity, might not hinder the people, from calling for a show of wicked Courtians, that were to be brought vpon the open stage? By common probability and general approoued custome, we are to censure the quality of a whole State; not by the private vertue or vice of any one man, nor by metaphysicall abstractions of choiciness, all from the singular, or of the Corporation, from those of whom it is composed. And therefore (as I haue said elsewhere) That it were better to liue vnder one pernicious Tyrant, than vnder many thousands. The reasons prouing this, are too many to set downe: but few may suffice. The desires of one man, how inordinate soeuer, if they cannot be satisfied, yet they may be wearied; he is not able to search all corners; his humour may be found, and soothed; age or good aduice, yea, or some unexpected accident may reforme him; all which failing, yet is there hope, that his successour may proue better.

Many Tyrants haue beene changed into worthy Kings: and many haue ill vsed their ill-gotten Dominion, which becomming hereditary to their posterity, hath grown into the most excellent forme of Government, euena lawfull Monarchy. But they that liue vnder tyrannicall Citie, haue no such hopes: their Mistresse is immortall, and will not leaue the reines, vntill they be pulled out of her hands; and her owne mouth receiue the bridle of a more mightier Chariotier. This is wofull: yet their present sufferings make them lesse mindfull of the future. New flies, and hungry ones, fall vpon the same forepart of which, others had already sucked their fill. A new Governour comes yearly among them, attended by all his poore kindred and friends; who meane not to returne home empty to their hives, without a good lading of waxe and honey. These flye into all quarters, and are quickly acquainted with euery mans wealth, or what he querelle, in all the Province, is worthy to be desired. They know all a mans enemies, and all his feares: becomming themselves, within a little space, the enemies that he feareth most. To grow into acquaintance with these masterfull guests, in hope to win their friendship, were an endless labour (yet it must be vndergone) and such as euery one hath not meanes to goe about: but were this effected, what would it? The loue of one Governour is purchased with griefe: the Successor of this man, he is more louing than could be wished, in respect of his Wife or Daughter: then comes the third, perhaps of the contrary faction at home, a bitter enemy to both his fore-goes, who seeks the ruine of all that haue bene acquainted with them. So the miseries of this tyranny are not simple; but interlaced (as it were) with the calamities of ciuill warre. The Romans had a Law, *De Reperenda*, or, *Of Recovery* against extorting Magistrates: yet wee finde, that it serued not wholly to restrain their Princiuall Governours, who presuming on the fauour of their owne Citizens, and of their kindred and friends at home, were bold in their Provinces, to worke all these enormities rehearsed; though somewhat the more sparingly, for feare of indignation. If the subjects of Rome groined vnder such oppressions; what must we thinke of those that were vassals vnto Carthage? The Romans imposed no burthen some tributes,

tributes, they loved not to heare, that their Empire was rigorous, they condemned many noble Citizens, for having bene ill Governours. At Carthage all went quite contrary: the rapines newly devised by one Magistrate, fetted as Presidents to instruct another, every man resolved to doe the like, when it should fall to his turne; and there was held a notable Statesman, whose robberies had been such, as might afford a good share to the common treasure. Particular examples of this Carthaginian practice, are not extant: the government of *Verres* the Roman in Sicil, that is lively set out by *Tullie*, may serve to informe vs, what was the demeanour of these Pynck Rulers, who stood in feare of no such condemnation, as *Verres* vnder-went. By prosecuting this discourse, I might inferre a more general Proposition; That a Citie cannot governe her subiect Provinces so mildly, as a King: but it is enough to have shewed, That the tyranny of a Citie is farre more intolerable, than that of any one most wicked man.

Sutable to the crudelty of such Lords, is the hatred of their subiects: and againe, suitable to the hatred of the subiects, is the jealousy of their Lords. Hence it followed, that in warres abroad, the Carthaginians durst vse the service of African souldiers in Africa is selfe, they had rather be beholding to others, than were farther fetcht. For the same purpose did *Hannibal*, in the second *Punicke warre*, thinke his mercenaries out of their own Countries; *Vt Afri in Hispania, Hispani in Africa, melior procul ab amplexu suo videri, miles, velut mutui pignorum obligati pendenda facerent*. That the Africans might fight in Spain, the Spaniards in Africa, being each of them like to proue the better souldiers, the farther they were from home, as if they were whigged by mutuell pledges. It is disputable, I confess, whether these African and Spanish hirelings, could properly be termed Mercenaries; for they were subiect vnto Carthage, and carried into the field, not onely by reward, but by dutie. Yet seeing their dutie was no better than enforced, and that it was not any loue to the State, but meere desire of gaine, that made them fight; I will not nicely stand vpon propriety of a word, but hold them, as *Polybius* also doth, no better than Mercenaries.

### †. III.

The dangers growing from the use of Mercenary souldiers, and forraigne Auxiliaries.

THE extreme danger, growing from the imployment of such souldiers, is well observed by *Machiavel*: who sheweth, that they are more terrible to those whom they serve, than to those against whom they serve. They are seditious, vnfaithfull, disobedient, deuourers, and destroyers of all places and countries, wherinto they are damne, as being held by no other bond, than their owne commoditie. Yea, that which is most fearefull among such hirelings, is, that they haue often; & in time of greatest extremity, not onely refused to fight, in their defence, who haue entertained them, but resolted vnto the contrarie party; to the vtter ruine of those Princes and States, that haue trusted them. These Mercenaries (saith *Machiavel*) which filled all Italie, when *Charles* the eighth of France did passe the Alpes, were the cause that the said French King won the Realme of Naples; with his Buckler without a sword. Notable was the example of *Sforza*, the Father of *Francis Sforza*, Duke of Millan, who being entertained by *Queen Isabella* of Naples, abandoned her seruice on the sudden, and forced her to put herselfe into the hands of the King of Aragon. Like vnto his father was *Francis Sforza*, the first of that race Duke of Millan, who being entertained by the Milanois, forced them to become his slaves; euen with the very same Armie which themselves had leised for their owne defence. But *Lodowick Sforza*, the sonne of this *Francis*, by the iudgement of God, was made a memorable example vnto posteritie, in losing his whole estate by the treacherie of such faithlesse Mercenaries, as his owne Father had bene. For, having waged an Armie of Switzers, and committed his Dutchie, together with his person, into their hands; hee was by them deliuered vp vnto his enemy the French King, by whom he was inclosed in the Castle of *Loches* vnto his dying day.

The like inconuenience is found, in vsing the helpe of forraigne Auxiliaries. We see, that when the Emperor of Constantinople had hired ten thousand Turkes against his neighbour Princes; hee could neuer either by perswasion or force, get them againe once the sea vpon Asia side: which gaue beginning to the Christian seruitude, that followed.

followed. *Alexander*, the sonne of *Cassander*, sought aide of the great *Demetrius*: but *Demetrius*, being entred into his Kingdome, slue the same *Alexander*, who had inuited him, and made himselfe King of Macedon. *Syrac* the Turke was called into Egypt by *Sauar* the Soldan, against his Opposite: but this Turke did settle himselfe so surely in Egypt, that *Saladine* his successor became Lord thereof; and of all the holy Land, soone after. What need we looke about for examples of this kinde? Euery Kingdome, in effect, can furnish vs. The Brittaines drew the Saxons into this our Countrey; and *Mac Murrough* drew the English into Ireland, but the one and the other soone became Lords of those two Kingdomes.

Against all this may be alledged, the good successe of the vnited Provinces of the Netherlands, vsing none other than such kinde of souldiers, in their late warre. Indeed these Low countries haue many goodly & strong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are wealthy, industrious, and valiant in their kinde. They are stout Sea-men, and therein is their excellencie; neither are they bad, at the defence of a place well fortified: but in open field they haue seldome been able to stand against the Spaniard. Necessity therefore compelled them to seek helpe abroad: and the like necessitie made them forbear to arme any great numbers of their owne. For, with money raised by their Trade, they maintained the Warre: and therefore could ill spare vnto the Pike and Musket, those hands, that were of more vse in helping to fill the common purse. Yet what of this? they sped well. Surely they sped as ill as might be, whilst they had none other than mercenary souldiers. Many fruitlesse attempts, made by the Prince of Orange, can witness it: and that braue Commander, Count *Lozowicke* of *Nassau*, felt to his griefe, in his retreat from *Groeningham*, when in the very instant, that required their seruice in fight, his mercenaries cried out aloud for money, and so ranne away. This was not the onely time, when the hired souldiers of the States, haue either sought to hide their cowardize vnder a shew of greedynesse, or at least, by meere countenance, haue ruined in one houre the labour of many moneths. I will not stand to proue this by many examples: for they themselves will not deny it. Neither would I touch the honour of *Monsieur* the Duke of Aniou, brother to the French King, saue that it is folly to concele what all the world knowes. He that would lay open the danger of forraigne Auxiliaries, needeth no better patterne. It is commonly found, that such Aiders make themselves Lords ouer those, to whom they lend their succour: but where shall we meet with such another as this *Monsieur*, who, for his protection promised, being rewarded with the Lordship of the Countrey, made it his first worke, to thrust by violence a galling yoke vpon the peoples necke? Well, he liued to repent it, vvith griefe enough. Euen whilst he was counterfeiting vnto those about him, that were ignorant of his plot, an imaginative sorrow for the poore Burghers of Antwerpe, as verily beleeuing the Towne to be surprized and wonne; the death of the Count *S. Aignan*, who fell ouer the wall, and the Cannon of the Citie, discharged against his owne troupes, informed him better what had happened; shewing that they were his own French, who stood in need of pitty. Then was his feigned passion changed, into a very bitter anguish of minde; vvherein, smiting his breast, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed, *Helas, mon Dieu, que veulez vous faire de moy, alas, my God, what wilt thou doe with me?* So the affaires of the Netherlands will not serue to proue, that there is little danger in vsing mercenary souldiers, or the helpe of forraigne Auxiliaries. This notwithstanding they were obedient vnto necessity, and sought helpe of the English, Scots, and French: wherein they did wisely, and prospered. For when there was in France a king, partaker with them in the same danger; when the Queen of England refused to accept the Soueraignty of their Countrey, which they offered, yet being prouoked by the Spaniard their enemy, pursued him with continuall warre when the heire of England reigned in Scotland, a king too iust & wise (though hee ingaged in any quarrell) either to make profit of his Neighbours miseries, or to help those that had attempted the conquest of his owne inheritance: then might the Netherlands very safely repose confidence, in the forces of these their neighbour countries. The souldiers that came vnto them from hence, were (to omit any other commendations) not onely regardfull of the pay that they should receiue; but well affected vnto the cause that they took in hand: or if any were cold in his deuotion, vnto the side vvhereon he fought; yet was he kept in order, by remembrance of his owne home, vvhere the English would haue rewarded him with death, if that his faith had bene corrupted.

by the Spaniard. They were therefore trusted with the custodie of Cities; they were held as friends, and patrons; the necessitie of the poorer sort was relieved, before the pay-day came, with *lendings*, and other helpes, as well as the abilitie of the Starcs could permit. When three such Princes, reigning at one time, shall agree so well, to maintaine against the power of a fourth, iniurious (or at least so seeming) to them all, a Neighbour-Country, of the same Religion, and to which they all are lovingly affected: then may such a Countrey be secure of her Auxiliaries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other businesse, in hope of like successe. But these circumstances meet so seldom, as it may well hold true in generall: *That mercenary, and forraigne auxilliary forces, are no lesse dangerous, than the enemy, against whom they are entertained.*

### †.IIII.

*That the moderate government of the Romans gave them assurance to use the service of their owne subjects in their warres. That in mans nature there is an affection breeding tyrannie, which hindreth the use and benefit of the like moderation.*

Here it may be demanded, whether also the Romans were not compelled to use force of other souldiers in their many great warres, but performed all by their owne Citizens: for if it were their manner to arme their owne subjects; how happened it, that they feared no rebellion: if strangers; how then could they avoid the inconueniences about rehearsed? The answer is, That their Armies were compounded vially of their owne citizens, and of the Latines, in equal number: to which they added, as occasion required, some companies of Campanes, Heturians, Samnites, or other of their subjects, as were either interested in the quarrell, or might best be trusted. They had, about these times (though seldom they did employ so many,) ten Romane Legions; a good strength, if all other helpe had been wanting: which serued to keepe in good order their subjects, that were alwaies fewer in the Army than themselves. As for the Latines, if consanguinitie were not a sufficient obligation, yet many priuiledges and immunities, which they enjoyed, made them allured vnto the State of Rome: vnder which they liued almost at libertie, as being bound to little else, than to serue it in warre. It is truc, that a yoke, how easie soeuer, seemes troublesome to the necke that hath been accustomed to freedom. Therefore many people of Italie haue taken occasion of severall advantages, to deliuer themselves from the Roman subiection. But still they haue been reclaimed by Warre; the Authors of rebellion haue sharply bin punished; and the people by degrees haue obtained such libertie, as made them esteeme none otherwise of Rome, than as the common citie of all Italie. Yea, in proceesse of time it was granted vnto many Cities, and those farre off remooued, euen to Tarfus in Cilicia, where Saint Paul was borne; That all the Burgeses should be free of Rome it selfe. This fauour was conferred absolutely vpon some; vpon some, with restraint of giuing voice in election of Magistrates, or with other such limitation, as was thought fit. Hereunto may be added, that it was their manner, after a great conquest, to releafe vnto their new subjects halfe of their tribute which they had been wont to pay vnto their former Lords, which was a ready way, to bring the multitude into good liking of their present condition; when the renew of harder times past, should rather teach them to feare a relapse, than to hope for better in the future, by seeking innoouation. Neither would it be forgotten, as a speciall note of the Romans good government, That when some, for their well-deferring, haue had the offer to be made Citizens of Rome; they haue refused it, & held themselves better contented with their owne present estate. Wherefore it is no maruell, that Petellia, a Citie of the Brutians in Italie, chose rather to indure all extremities of warre, than vpon any condition, to forsake the Romans; euen when the Romans themselves had confessed, that they were vnable to helpe these their subjects, and therefore would them to looke to their owne good, as hauing been faithfull to the utmost. Such loue purchased these milde Gouvernours, without impairing their Maiesty thereby. The summe of all is: They had, of their own, a strong Armie; they doubled it, by adioyning therunto the Latines; and they further increased it, as need required, with other helpe of their own subjects: all, or the most of their followers, accounting the prosperity of Rome to be the common good.

The moderate vse of soueraigne power being so effectuell, in assuring the people

vnto

vnto their Lords, and consequently, in the establishment or enlargement of Dominion: it may seeme strange, that the practice of tyrannie, whose effects are contrary, hath been so common in all ages. The like, I know, may be said of all Vice and Irregularity whatsoever: For it is lesse difficult, (whofoeuer thinke otherwise) and more safe, to keepe the way of Iustice and Honesty, than to turne aside from it, yet commonly our passions doe lead vs into by-paths. But where Lust, Anger, Feare, or any the like Affection, seduceth our reason; the same vnuly appetite either bringeth with it an excuse, or at least wile taketh away all cause of wonder. In tyrannie it is no so: for as much as we can hardly descry the passion, that is of force to insinuate it selfe into the whole tenour of a Government. It must be confessed, that lawlesse desires haue bred many Tyrants: yet so, that these desires haue seldom bin hereditary, or long-lasting; but haue ended commonly with the Tyrants life, sometimes before his death; by which means the government hath bin reduced to a better forme. In such cases, the saying of Aristotle holds, *That tyrannies are of a short continuance.* But this doth not satisfie the question in hand. Why did the Carthaginians exercise Tyrannie? Why did the Athenians? Why haue many other Cities done the like? If in respect of their generall good, how could they be ignorant, that this was an ill course for the safetie of the Weale publique? If they were ledde hereto by any affection; what was that affection wherein so many thousand Citizens, diuided and subdiuided within themselves by factions, did all concur, notwithstanding the much diuersitie of temper, and the vehemencie of private hatred among them? Doubtlesse, we must be faine to say, That Tyrannie is, by it selfe, a Vice distinct from others. A Man, we know, is *Animal politicum*, apt euen by Nature, to command, or to obey; eury one in his proper degree. Other desires of Mankind, are common likewise vnto bruite beasts; and some of them, to bodies wanting sense: but the desire of rule belongeth vnto the nobler part of reason; whereunto is also answerable an aptnesse to yeld obedience. Now as hunger and thirst are giuen by nature, not onely to Man and Beast, but vnto all sorts of Vegetables, for the sustentation of their life: as Feare, Anger, Lust, and other affections are likewise natural, in conuenient measure, both vnto Mankind, and to all creatures that haue sense; so for the shunning or repelling of harme, and seeking after that which is requisite; euen so is this desire of ruling or obeying, ingrafted by Nature in the race of Man, and in Man onely as a reasonable creature, for the ordering of his life, in a ciuill forme of Iustice. All these in-bred qualities are good and vefull. Neuthelesse, Hunger and Thirst are the Parents of Gluttony and Drunkennesse, which, in reproach, are called beastly, by an vproper terme: since they grow from appetites, found in lesse worthy creatures than beasts, and are yet not so common in beasts, as in men. The effects of Anger, and of such other Passions, as descend no lower than vnto bruite beasts, are held lesse vile; & perhaps not without good reason: yet are they more horrible, and punished more grieuously, by sharper Lawes, as being in generall more pernicious. But as no corruption is worse, than of that which is best; there is not any Passion, that nourisheth a vice more hurtfull vnto Mankind, than that which issueth from the most noble roote, euen the depraued Affection of ruling. Hence arise those two great mischiefs, of which hath been an old question in dispute, whether be the worse; That all things, or That nothing should be lawfull. Of these, a dull spirit, and ouer-loaden by fortune, with power, whereof it is not capable, occasioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrary distemper, whose vehemency the bounds of Reason cannot limit. Vnder the extremity of either, no Country is able to subsist: yet the defectiue dulnesse, that permitte any thing, will also permit the execution of Law, to which, meere necessity doth enforce the ordinary Magistrate; whereas Tyrannie is more active, and pleaseth it selfe in the excess, with a false colour of iustice. Examples of stupiditie, and vnaptnesse to rule, are not very frequent, though such natures are eury where to be found: for this quality troubles not it selfe in seeking Empire; or if by some error of fortune, it incounter therewithall, (as when Claudius, hiding himselfe in a corner, found the Empire of Rome) some friend or else a wife, is not wanting to supply the defect, which also crueltie doth helpe to shadow. Therefore this Vice, as a thing vnknowne, is without a name. Tyrannie is more bold, and feareth not to be knowne, but would be reputed honourable: for it is *perpetuum & felix scelus*, a fortunate mischiefe, as long as it can subsist. There is noteward or honour (saith Peter Charron) assigned vnto those, that know

how to increase, or preserve humane nature: all honours, greatnesse, riches, dignities, crowns, triumphs, trophies, are appointed for those, that know how to assault, repulse, as *Alexander*, *Cesar*, and *Alexander*, have vn-made and slaine, each of them, more than a million of men: but they made none, nor left none behinde them. Such is the error of blind iudgement, in valuing things according to the common opinion. But the true name of Tyranny, when it grows to ripenesse, is none other, than *Feritie*: this name that *Smith* saith to bee worse than any vice. It exceedeth indeed all other vices, issuing from the passions incident both to Man and Beast; no less than Perurie, Murder, Treason, and the like horrible crimes, exceed in villanie, the faults of Gluttony & Drunkennesse, that grow from more ignoble appetites. Hereof *Sciron*, *Phaerastes*, and *Phryxus* are examples, that vsed their bodily force to the destruction of Mankind: are not better examples, than *Phalaris*, *Dionysius* and *Agathocles*, whose mischievous heads were afflicted by the hands of detestable Ruffians. The same barbarous desire of Lordship, transported those old examples of *Feritie*, and these latter Tyrants, beyond the bounds of reason: neither of them knew the vse of Rule, nor the difference between Freeman and slaues.

Gen. 1. 28.  
Gen. 9. 3.

The rule of the husband ouer the wife, and of parents ouer their children, is natural, and appointed by God himselfe: so that it is alwaies, and simply, allowable and good. The former of these, is as the dominion of Reason ouer Appetite; the latter is the whole authoritie, which one Free man can haue ouer another. The rule of a King is no more, nor none other, than of a common Father ouer his whole countie: which he that knows what the power of a Father is, or ought to be, knowes to be enough. But there is a greater, and more Masterly rule, which God gaue vnto *Adam*, when he said: *Have dominion ouer the fish of the Sea, and ouer the fowle of the aire; and every liuing thing that moveth upon the earth*: which also he continueth vnto *Noah*, and his children, saying, *The fear of you, and the dread of you, shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowle of the aire, upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all the fishes of the Sea; into your hands are they deliuered*. He who gaue this dominion vnto Man, did giue also an aptitude to vse it. The execution of this power hath since extended it selfe, ouer a very great part of Mankind. There are indeed no small numbers of men, whose disability to gouerne themselves, proues them, according vnto *Aristotles* doctrine, to be naturally slaues.

Ari. Pol. 1. 1. 3.

Yet finde I not in Scripture any warrant, to oppress men with bondage: vnlesse the lawfulness thereof be sufficiently intimated, where it is said, That a man shall not be punished for the death of a seruant, whom he hath slaine by correction, if the seruant liue a day or two because he is his money; or else by the captivity of the Midianitish girls, which were made bond-slaues, and the Sanctuary had a part of them for the *Lords tribute*. Doubtlesse the custome hath been very ancient: for *Noah* laid this curse vpon *Canaan*, that he should be a seruant of seruants; and *Abraham* had of *Pharaoh*, among other gifts, men-seruants and maid-seruants, which were none other than slaues. Christi- an Religion is said to haue abrogated this old kinde of seruilitie: but surely, they are deceived that thinke so. Saint *Paul* desired the libertie of *Onesimus*, whom he had wonne vnto Christ: yet wrote for this vnto *Philemon*, by way of request, craving it as a benefite, not vrging it as a dutie. Agreeable hereto is the direction, which the same Saint *Paul* giueth vnto seruants: *Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called: as thou called, being a seruant? care not for it, but if thou mayst be made free, use it rather*. It is true, that Christian religion hath procured libertie vnto many, not onely in regard of pietie, but for that the Christian Masters stood in fear, of being discovered by their slaues, vnto the persecutors of religion. *Mohomet* likewise by giuing libertie to his followers, drew many vnto his impietie: but whether he forbade it, as vnlawfull, vnto his sectators, to hold one another of them in bondage, I cannot tell; saue that by the practice of the Turks and Moores, it seemes he did not. In England we had many bond-seruants, vntill the time of our last ciuill wars: and I thinke that the Lawes concerning Villenage are still in force, of which the latest are the sharpest. And now, since slaues were made free, which were of great vse and seruice, there are growne vp a rabble of Rogues, Cutpurpes and other the like trades; slaues in Nature, though not in Law.

1. Cor. 7. 20.  
Eph. 6. 5.

But whether this kinde of dominion be lawfull, or not, *Aristotle* hath well proueed, that it is naturall. And certainly we finde not such a latitude of difference in any creature,

man, in the nature of man: whereunto sheweth the difference in estate, of the blacke and white, which extendeth to the most foolish by farre, great degrees, and the most wise of men, who differ in the wisdom of beasts. Therefore when *Comenius* hath giuen way to *Reuerend*, he hath shewed that Tyranny is the ground euen of Masterly power, and of the obedience, which is the true correspondent. But may be truly said, that some countries have continued long without the vse of any seruilitie: as also it is true, that some countie hath not the vse of any tame cattell. Indeed the affections which uphold continuall, are not in more noble beasts simply needfull, nor the satisfaction either of our kind, made Lust and the like, of our very best, as well chunger and thim, which not without reason are the lowest in degree. But where most vile and ferocious dispositions, haue liberty to shew themselves begging in the streets, there may we more justly wonder, how the danger of the life of sea-faring men can find enough to undertake them, than how the sinne of idle vagabonds should increase, by access of those, that are weary of their own more painfull condition. This may suffice to proue, that in Mankind there is found, implanted in Nature, a desire of absolute dominion: whereunto the generall estate of Nations doth subscribe; together with the pleasure which most men take in it, that is, that are the basest of slaues.

This being so, we finde no cause to maruaile, how Tyranny hath been so rise in all ages, and practised, not only in the single rule of some vicious Prince, but euer by consent of whole Cities and Estates: since, other vices haue likewise gotten head, and borne a generall sway, notwithstanding that the way of vertue be more honorable, and commodious. Few there are that haue vsed well the inferiour Passions: how then can we expect, that the most noble affections should not be disordered? In the government of wife and children, some are vterly careless; and corrupt all by their dull conuulience: others, by masterly rigour, hold their owne blood vnder condition of slavery. To be a good Governour is a rare commendation: and to preferre the Weale publike aboue all respects whatsoever, is the Vertue iustly termed *Heroicall*. Of this Vertue, many ages afford not many examples. *Hebor* is named by *Aristotle*, as one of them; & deservedly, if this praise be due to extraordinary height of fortitude, vsed in defence of a mans own countrey. But if we consider, that a loue of the generall good cannot be perfect, without reference vnto the *fountain of all goodness*: we shall finde, that no morall vertue, how great soeuer, can, by it selfe, deserue the commendation of more than Vertue, as the *Heroicall* doth. Wherefore we must search the Scriptures, for pattrenes hereof, such as *David*, *Isaphat*, and *Asaph* were. Of Christian Kings, if there were many such, the world would soone be happy. It is not my purpose to wrong the worth of any, by denying the praise where it is due, or by preferring a lesse excellent. But he that can finde a King religious, and zealous in Gods cause, without inforcement either of aduersitie, or of some regard of state, a procurer of the generall peace and quiet, who not onely vseth his authoritie, but adds the trauell of his eloquence, in admonishing his Iudges to doe iustice; by the vigorous influence of whose Government, ciuilitie is infused, euen into those places, that haue been the dens of sauage Robbers and Cut-throates; one that hath quite abolished a *Smiths Breken Law*, by which an whole Nation of his subiects were held in bondage; and one, whose higher vertue & vnsedome doth make the praise not onely of Nobility and other ornaments, but of abstinence from the blood, the wines, and the goods, of those that are vnder his power, together with a world of chiefe commendations belonging vnto some good Princes, to appear lesse regardable: he, I say, that can find such a King, findeth an example, worthy to adde vnto vertue an honourable title, if it were formerly wanting. Vnder such a King, it is likely by Gods blessing, that a Land shall flourish, with increase of Trade, in countries before vnknown; that Ciuitie and Religion shall be propagated, into barbarous and heathen countries; and that the happinesse of his subiects shall cause the Nations farre off removed, to wish him their Soueraigne. I need not adde herunto, that all the actions of such a King, euen his bodily exercises, doe partake of vertue; since all things tending to the preservation of his life and health, or to the mollifying of his cares, (who, fixing his contemplation vpon God, seeketh how to imitate the vnspokeable goodnesse, rather than the inaccessible maiestie, with both of which himselfe is indued, as farre as humane nature is capable) doe also belong to the furtherance of that common good, which he procureth. Left any man should thinke me transported with admiration, or other affection, beyond the bounds of reason; I adde hereunto,

herquens, that such a thing is more charitable a man should die, and may crye: yea or wadome and fame shall let him free from error, and from both with and without the help of time, Nothing I may not omit, as a singular benefit (though there be many other besides) redounding vnto this King, as the fruit of his goodnesse: The example that liues under a pleasant yoke, are not onely louing to their Soueraign, and his kindred, but are more and greater in number of men, than of stout fighters, it need require: whereas on the contrary, he that ruleth as ouer slaues, shall be attended in time of necessity, by slaue mindes, neither louing his person, nor regarding his or their own honour. Cowards may be furious, and slaues outrageous, for a time: but among spirits that haue once yielded vnto slavery, vnusually it is found true, that *Hannos faith* And *Baronach a man of hisse* his vertue, that *Hannos* he casteth him into bondage.

Of these things, I might perhaps more seasonably haue spoken, in the general discourse of Government: but where so liuely an example, of the calamity following a tyrannical rule, and the use of mercenaries, thereupon depending, did offer it selfe, as is this present businesse of the Carthaginians, I thought that the note would be more effectual, than being barely deliuered, as out of a common place.

## §. III.

*How the warre against the Mercenaries was diversly managed by Hanno and Amilcar, with variable successe. The bloody counsailes of the Mercenaries; and their final deffection.*

**B**EING now to returne vnto those Mercenaries, from whom I haue thus farre digressed, I cannot readily finde, by what name henceforth I should call them. They are no longer in pay with the Carthaginians; neither care they to pretend, that they seeketh their wages already due; so that they are neither Mercenaries, nor Mutiners. Had they all bene subiects vnto Carthage, then might they iustly haue bene termed Rebels: but *Spendius*, and others, that were the principall part of them, ought none allegiance to that State, which they endeuored to subuert. Wherefore I will borrow the name of their late occupation, and still call them Mercenaries, as *Polybius* also doth.

These vying the aduantage of their present strength, besieged *Vtica*, and *Hippagreta*, Cities of great importance, as being seated vpon the western Hauens of Carthage, where it is diuided by a neck of land; *Hippagreta* standing inwards vpon the great Lake, *Vtica* further out vpon the Sea. Neither was the Campe at *Tunes* abandoned, which lay fitly to hinder the Carthaginians, from passing vp into the countrey: for *Matho* and *Spendius* wanted not men, to follow the war in all parts at once.

How the Carthaginians were amazed with this vnexpected perill, any man may conceiue. But the businesse it selfe awakes them hastily. They are hardly prest on all sides, & therefore trauailed their braines to the vttermost, how to shake off these furious dogs from their shoulders, who sometimes by night, sometimes by day, came vnto the very walls of their Citie. In this exigent, *Hanno* was made their generall: who failed not in his accustomed diligence of making a good preparation: but had gotten together whatsoever was needfull, as well to relieue a Town besieged, as to batter and assaile any place defended against him. With these prouisions, and with an hundred Elephants, he came to *Vtica*, so suddenly, that the enemies as men surpris'd, forsook their Trenches, and retired themselves vnto a rising piece of woody ground, where they might be safe against the violence of his beasts. *Hanno*, thinking that he had to doe with Numidians, whose custome was, after any losse, to flie two or three whole daies iourney off; presently entred the Town; to shew himselfe, after this his victory. But these good fellows, against whom he was to war, had learned of *Amilcar*, to retire and to fight againe, many times in one day, as need required. Therefore as soon as they perceiu'd, that he knew not how to vie a victory; they assailed their own Camp, and with great slaughter, draue the Carthaginians out of it, forcing them to hide themselves within *Vtica*; and got possession of all the store, that *Hanno* had brought for the reliefe of the Towne. This bad beginning *Hanno* followed with futable indifferetion: losing the benefit of many faire opportunities, and suffering the enemies to take possession of all the entrance from Carthage to the firme land.

The Carthaginians perceiuing this, were exceedingly troubled, and did therefore let fall their three anchor, sending to the field their great Capitaine, *Amilcar*, whom they furnished with ten thousand foot of supply, and seuentie Elephants. *Amilcar* had worke enough to doe, before he should be able to meet with the enemy vpon equall ground. For besides other places of aduantage that the Mercenaries had occupied, *Hanno* had suffered them to win the onely Bridge, by which the Riuer *Macra*, or *Bagradas*, was passable vnto these, that were to trauaile into the Continent. This riuer had not many fords, nor those easie for a single man to get ouer: but vpon them all was kept such guard, as gaue to *Amilcar* little hope of preuailling in seeking way by force. As for the Bridge it selfe, *Matho* and his followers were there lodged; and had there built a Town, wherein to lyc commodiously, intenuie onely to the custody thereof. But *Amilcar* had obserued, that the very mouth of *Bagradas* vsed to be sometimes cloyed with sand and grauell, that was driuen in by certaine custumarie winds, and could not be driuen out againe, by force of that slow riuer, till the wind falling, or changing, suffered the weight of the waters, to disburden their channell. Hereof he made vse; and taking his opportunity, passed the Riuer, contrary to all expectation, either of the enemy, or of his owne Citizens.

There was no need to bid *Spendius* looke about him, when once it was heard, that *Amilcar* was come ouer *Bagradas*: all the Mercenaries were troubled with the newes; knowing that they were no longer to deale with the improuident grauity of *Hanno*, but with an able spirit, euen with their own Master in the Art of Warre, whom they admired, though they hated him. But this feare was soone changed into presumption, when more than fifteen thousand of their owne society, were come from *Vtica*; and other ten thousand from the guard of the Bridge. Their Armie was farre greater, than that of *Amilcar*; and they were, in their owne iudgement, the better men, vpon which confidence, they resolu'd to charge him on all sides, and beat him downe, in despite of his worth and reputation. With this resolution they attended vpon him, watching for some aduantage, and still exhorting one another to play the men, and giue the onset. Especially they that followed him in the Reare, had a great minde to begin the fight; whereunto their promptnesse was such, as tooke from them their former circumspection. *Amilcar* held his way towards the Bridge, keeping himselfe on plaine grounds, that were fit for the seruice of his Elephants, which he placed in front of his Armie. Neither made he lew of any desire to fight, but suffered the rashnesse of his enemies to increase, till it should breake into some disorder. At length perceiuing, that with more boldnesse than good heed, they followed him so nere, as would be little for their good, if he should nyme vpon them, he hastened his march, euen to such a pace, as made a shew little differing from plaine flight. The Mercenaries presently fell vpon his skirts; beleueing, that for feare of them he was ready to run away. But whilst they confusedly, as in sudden opinion of victory, were driuen at the heeles of those that had the Reare; *Amilcar* wheeled about; and met them in the face, charging them hotly, but in very good order, so that amazed with the apprehension of vnexpected danger, they fled without making any resistance. In this ouerthrow, there were six thousand of the Mercenaries slaine, and about two thousand taken, the rest fled, some to the Campe at *Vtica*, others to the town at the Bridge; whither *Amilcar* followed them so fast, that he wan the place easily; the enemies being thence also fled vnto *Tunes*, as not hauing recollected their spirits to make it good.

The fame of this victory, together with the diligence of *Amilcar* in pursuing it, caused many Towns reuolted, partly by feare, partly by force, to return to their former obedience. Yet was not *Matho* wanting to himselfe, in this dangerous time. He sent about *Numidia* and *Africa*, for new supplies; admonishing the people, now or neuer to doe their best, for the recovery of their freedome; he perswaded *Spendius*, and *Autaritus*, that was a Captaine of the Gaules, to wait vpon *Amilcar*, and alwayes to keepe the higher grounds, or at least the foot of some hill, wherethey might be safe from the Elephants; and he himselfe continued to presse the Town of *Hippagreta* with an hard siege. It was necessary for *Amilcar*, in passing from place to place, as his businesse required, to take such wayes as there were: for all the country lay not leuell. Therefore *Spendius*, who still coasted him, had once gotten a notable aduantage of ground: the Carthaginians lying in a Plaine, surrounded with hills, that were occupied by the Mercenaries, with their Numidian



Numidian and African succours. In this difficultie, the fame of *Amilcar* his personall worth did greatly benefit his cuntry. For *Naransu*, a yong gentleman commanding ouer the Numidians, was glad of this occasion foruing to get the acquaintance and loue of so braue a man, which he much desired: and therefore came vnto *Amilcar*, signifying his good affection to him, with offer to doe him all seruice. *Amilcar* ioyfully entertained this friend; promised vnto him his own daughter in marriage; and so wan from the enemies two thousand horse, that following *Naransu* turned vnto the Carthaginians side. With this helpe he gaue battaile vnto *Spendius*: wherein the Numidian laboured to approprate his own valour, to his new friend. So the victory was great: for there were slaine ten thousand of *Spendius* his fellows, and foure thousand taken prisoners; but *Spendius* himselfe, with *Autarius* the Gaule, escaped to doe more mischief. *Amilcar* dealt very gently with his prisoners: pardoning all offences past, and dismissing as many, as were vnwilling to become his followers; yet with condition, that they should neuer more beare armes against the Carthaginians; threatening to take sharpe reuenge vpon all, that should breake this Couenant.

This humanitie was vehemently suspected by *Matho*, *Spendius*, and *Autarius*, aspiring to win from them, the hearts of their Souldiers. Wherefore they resolved to take such order, that not a man among them should dare, to trust in the good nature of *Amilcar*, nor to hope for any safetie, whilest Carthage was able to doe him hurt. They counterfeited letters of aduertisement, wherein was contained, that some of their company, to respectiue onely of their priuate benefit, & carelesse of the generall good, had a purpose to betray them all vnto the Carthaginians, with whom they held intelligence; & that it was needfull, to look well vnto *Gesco*, & his companions, whom these traitors had a purpose to enlarge. Vpon this Theme *Spendius* makes an Oration to the Souldiers, exhorting them to fidelity; and shewing with many words, that the seeming humanitie of *Amilcar*, toward some, was none other than a baite, wherewith to intrap them all at once together; as also telling them, what a dangerous enemy *Gesco* would proue, if he might escape their hands. While hee is yet in the midst of his tale, were letters come, to the same purpose. Then steps forth *Autarius*, and speaks his minde plainly: saying, that it were the best, yea the onely way, for the common safetie, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with Carthage; that if some were desiring to make their owne peace, it would goe hard with those that had a care of the war; that it were better to make an end of *Gesco* his life, than to trouble themselves with looking to his custody; that by such a course euery one should be engaged in the present Action, as hauing none other hope left, than in victory alone; finally, that such as would speake here-against, were worthy to be reputed Traitors. This *Autarius* was in great credit with the souldiers, & could speake sundry languages, in such sort, that he was vnderstood by all. According to his motion therefore it was agreed, that *Gesco*, and all the other prisoners, should forthwith be put to horrible death, by torments. Neuerthelesse there were some, that for loue of *Gesco*, sought to alter his intended cruelty; but they were forthwith stoned to death, as a Document vnto others; and so the Decree was put in execution. Neither were they therewithall contented; but further ordained, that all Carthaginian prisoners which they rooke, should be serued in like sort: and that the subjects or friends of Carthage, should lose their hands, and so be sent home: vvhich rule they obserued euer afterwards.

Of this cruelty I need say no more, than that it was most execrable feritie. As for the counsaile of vsing it, it was like vnto the counsaile of *Achitophel*; All Israel felt heare, that thou art abhorred of thy fathers; thou shalt be the hands of all that are with thee, but strong. Such are the fruits of desperation. He that is past all hope of pardon, is afraid of his owne fellows, if they be more innocent; and to auoid the punishment of lesse offences, committeth greater. The cowardize of offenders, and the reuengefull spirits of those that have been wronged, are breeders of this desperation: to vvhich may be added, some deficiency of Lawes, in distinguishing the punishments of malefactors, according to the decree of their severall crimes. A coward thinks all prouision too little for his owne securitie. If *Phocas* be a coward (saide the Emperour *Mauritius*) then is he murderous. To be stedfast and sure, in taking reuenge, is thought a point of honour, and a defensatie against new injuries. But wrongfully: for it is opposite to the rule of Christianitie; and such a qualitie discovered, makes them deadly enemies, who otherwise

wife would have repented; and sought to make amends, for the wrong done in passion. This was it, which wrought so much wee to the Carthaginians, teaching *Matho*, and his Africans, to suspect euen their gentleness, as the introduction, to extreame rigour. Like vnto the errors of Princes & Golemours, are the errors of Lawes. Where one and the same punishment, is awarded vnto the lesse offence, and vnto the greater; he that hath aduocated to rubbe a man, is easily tempted to kill him, for his owne securitie.

Against these inconueniences, Mercy and Seueritie, vied with due respect, are the best remedies. In neither of which *Amilcar* failed. For as long as these his owne souldiers were any way likely to be reclaimed, by gentle courses; his humanity was ready to inuice them. But when they were transported with beastly outrage, beyond all regard of honour, and shame; he rewarded their villanie with answerable vengeance, casting them vnto wilde beasts, to be deuoured.

Vntil this time *Hanno*, with the Armie vnder his command, had kept himselfe apart from *Amilcar*, & done little, as may seeme; for that nothing is remembered of him, since his last losses. Neither was *Amilcar* sorry to want his helpe; as being able to doe much without him. But when the warre grew to such extremity, as threatened vnto ruine to the one or the other side: then was *Hanno* sent for, and came to *Amilcar*, with whom he ioyned his forces. By this access of strength *Amilcar* was not enabled, to doe more than in former times: rather he could now performe nothing, such was the hatred between him and his worthy Colleague. The Towns of *Vitea* and *Hippagreta*, that had stood alwayes firme on the Carthaginian party, did now reuolt vnto the enemy, murdering all the souldiers that they had in Garrison, and casting their bodies forth, without suffering them to be buried. The prouision brought by sea, for maintenance of the Armie, vnto the last vnto the weather; and Carthage it selfe stood in danger, of being besieged, about which *Matho* and *Spendius* consulted, whilest one of the Carthaginian Generals did (as I haue) binde the others hands.

It hath in all Ages bene vsed, as the safest course, to send forth in great Expeditions, two Generals of one Armie. This was the common practice of those two mighty Cities, Athens & Rome; which other States and Princes haue often imitated; perusing themselves, that great Armies are not so well conducted by one, as by two: who out of emulation to excel each other, will vse the greater diligence. They haue also ioynd two chiefe Obminders in equal commission, vpon this further consideration; the better to reuaine the ambition of any one, that should be trusted with so great a strength: For hereof all Common-weales haue bene iequal, hauing bene taught by their examples, that haue made themselves Tyrants ouer those Cities and States that haue employed them. In this point, the Venerians haue bin so circumspect, as they haue for the most part trusted strangers, and not their owne, in all the warres which they haue made. It is true, that the equall authoritie of two commanding in chiefe, serueth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning vpon the Prince or State that hath giuen them trust: but in managing the warre it selfe, it is commonly the cause of ill successe. In warres made ouer vnto Rome it selfe, when two good friends were Consuls, or such two as, as considered in one desire of *Triumph*, which honor (the greatest of any that Rome could giue) was to be obtained by that one yeers seruice; it is no meruaile, though each of the Consuls did his best, and referred all his thoughts vnto none other end, than victory. Vnto all dangerous cases, when the Consuls proceeded otherwise than was desired, one Dictator was appointed, whose power was neither hindered by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeed the manner, to send forth both the Consuls in one warre; but each went, whither his lot called him, to his owne prouision, vnto the business: seemed to require them both, and they also seemed fit to be ioynd in the administration. Now although it was so, that the Romans did many times preuaile with their ioyne Generals: yet was this neuer or seldome, without as much conceit, as any of the reuenge of the Commanders. For their modesty hath often bene such, that the lesse able Captaine, though of equall authority, hath willingly submitted himselfe to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithstanding, they haue many times, by ordering two Commanders of one Armie, receiued great, and most dangerous overthrowes; whereof in the second Punic warre we shall haue examples. On the contrary side, in their warres most remote, that were euals managed by one, they seldom



failed to win exceeding honour, as hereafter shall appeare. Now of those ten Generals, which served the Athenians in the Battell of Marathon, it may truly be said, that had not their temper beene better, than the iudgement of the people that sent them forth, and had not they submitted themselves to the conduction of *Alcibiades*: their affaires had found the same success which they found at other times, when they coupled *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* together in Sicily: the one being so over-ward, and the other so hasty, as all came to nought that they undertooke: whereas *Cimon* alone, as also *Aristides*, and others, binding sole charge of all, did their Countre and Common-weale most remarkable service. For it is hard to finde two great Captaines, of equall discretion and valour, but that one hath more of furie than of iudgement, and so the contrary, by which the best decisions are as often overslipped, as at other times many actions are vnseasonably undertaken. I remember it well, that when the Prince of Condy was slaine at the Battell of Iarnac, (which Prince, together with the Admiral *Chastilian*, had the conduct of the Protestant Armie) the Protestants did greatly bewaile the losse of the said Prince, in respect of his Religion, person, and birth, yet comforting themselves, they thought it rather an advantage, than an hinderance to their affaires. For so much did the valour of the one, but-reach the aduisednesse of the other, as whatsoever the Admiral intended to vntake, attending the aduantage, the Prince aduentured to lose, by being over-confident in his owne courage.

But we neede no better example, than of the Carthaginians in this present business: who, though they were still sicke of their ill-grounded love to *Hannu*, and were vniuersally King to disgrace him; yet seeing that all ranne towards ruine, through the discord of the Generals, committed the decision of their controuersies, vnto the Armie that serued vnder them: The iudgement of the Armie was, that *Hannu* should depart the Camp, which he did; & *Hannibal* was sent in his stead, one that would be directed by *Amilcar*, and that was enought.

After this, the affaires of Carthage began to prosper somewhat better. *Matho* de *Spendius* had brought their Armie neere vnto the Citie, and lay before it, as in a siege. They might well be bold, to hope and aduenture much; hauing in their Campe about fiftie thousand; besides those that lay abroad in Garrisons. Neuerthelesse, the Citie was too strong for them to win by assault: and the entrance of victualls they could not hinder, if any should be sent in by friends from abroad. *Antenor*, King of Syracuse, though during the warres in Sicily hee assisted the Romans, and still continued in their alliance, yet now sent succours to the Carthaginians: fearing their fall, and consequently his owne; because if no other State gaue the Romans any what to trouble their digestion, the Principalitie of Syracuse would soon be deuoured by them. The Romans also gaue them some slender assistance, and for the present refused good offers made vnto them by the Mercenaries. This they did, to their shame of noble disposition, which was indeed but counterfeits, as the sequel manifestly proueth.

Whilest *Matho* and his followers were busily pressing the Citie, *Amilcar* was as diligently waiting at their backs, and cutting off all that came to their supply: so that finding themselves more streightly besieged by him, than Carthage was by them, they purposed to desist from their valiant attempt, and try some other course. Hereupon they issued into the field: when *Spendius*, and one *Zurca*, an African Captaine assisting the rebellious, came vpon them to hinder *Amilcar* worke, leaving *Matho* in Tunis, to negotiate with their friends, and take a generall care of the business. The Elephants of Carthage, and those of *Narada*, made *Spendius* fearefull to descend into the Plains. Wherefore he betooke himselfe to his former method of warre; keeping the mountaines, and rough grounds, or occupying the straightest passages, wherein the desperate courage of his men might shew it selfe, with little disadvantage. But *Amilcar* had more skill in this Art, than could be matched by the labour of *Spendius*. He drew the enemy to many skirmishes, in all which the success was such, as added courage to his owne men, and abated the strength and spirit of the Rebels. Thus he continued, prouoking them night and day: still interring some of them, and sometimes giuing them the overthrow in plaine battail: vntill at length he got them into a straight, whence they should get out, he meant to take of them a good account. Their aduancement was enough to perceiue their owne disadvantage: and therefore they had the losse of some of their fight,

fight; but a waiting for helpe from Tunis. *Amilcar* prudently foreseeing, that necessity might reach them, to dare impossibilities, yfed the benefit of their present feare, and shut them close vp with Trench and Rampart. There they waited miserably for succour, that came not: and hauing spent all their victualls, were so pinched with hunger, that they fed vpon the bodies of their prisoners. This they suffered patiently, as knowing that they had not deferred any fauour from Carthage: and hoping, that their friends at Tunis would not be vnmindfull of them. But when they were driuen to such extremitie, that they were faine to deuoure their own companions, and yet saw none appearance or likelihood of reliefe: their obstinacie was broken, and they threatened their Captaines with what they deferred, vnlesse they would goe forth to *Amilcar*, and seeke such peace as might be gotten. So *Spendius*, *Zurca*, and *Antenor*, fell to consultation, wherein it was resolved to obey the multitude, and yeeld themselves, if it were so required, vnto the death, rather than perish by the hands of their owne Companions. Hereupon they sent to craue parley, which is granted; and these three come forth to talke with *Amilcar* in person. What they could say vnto him, it is hard to coniecture: yet by the conditions which *Amilcar* granted, it seemes that they tooke the blame vpon themselves, and craved pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, that the Carthaginians should choose, out of the whole number of these enemies, any ten whom they pleased, to remaine at their discretion; and that the rest should all be dismissed, each in his shirt, or in one single coate. When the peace was thus concluded, *Amilcar* told these Ringleaders, that he chose them presently, as part of the ten, & so commanded to lay hands on them: therof he forthwith went to fetch with his whole Armie in order. The Rebels, who knew not that peace was concluded vpon so gentle articles, thought themselves betrayed: and therefore amazedly ran to armes. But they wanted Captaines to order them, and the same astonishment, that made them breake the Couenants of peace, whereof they were ignorant, gaue vnto *Amilcar* both colour of iustice, in accomplishing reuenge, and ease in doing the execution. They were all slaine: being fortie thousand, or more, in number.

This was a famous exploit: and the newes thereof, exceeding welcome to Carthage; and terrible to the reuolted Cities of Africa. Henceforward *Amilcar*, with his *Narada*, *su*, and *Hannibal*, carried the warre from Towne to Towne, and found all places ready to yeeld: *Pica*, and *Hippagreta*, onely standing out, vpon feare of deferred vengeance; and Tunis being held by *Matho*, with the remainder of his Armie. It was thought fit to begin with Tunis, wherein lay the chiefe strength of the enemy. Comming before this Towne, they brought forth *Spendius*, with his fellows, in view of the defendants, and crucified them vnder the wals; to terrifie those of his old companions, that were still in armes. With this rigour the siege began; as if speedy victory had beene assured. *Hannibal* quartered on that part of Tunis, which lay towards Carthage; *Amilcar* on the opposite side: too far asunder to helpe one another in sudden accidents; and therefore it behooued each, to be the more circumspect.

*Matho* from the wals beheld his owne destinie, in the misery of his companion, and knew not how to auoide it otherwise than by a cast at dice with fortune. So hee brake out vpon that part of the Carthaginian Armie, that lay secure, as if all danger were past; vnder the command of *Hannibal*: and with great and vnexpected furie he sallied, that after an exceeding slaughter, he tooke *Hannibal* prisoner, on whom, and thirte the most noble of the Carthaginian prisoners, he presently reuenged the death of *Spendius* by the same torture. Of this *Amilcar* knew nothing, till it was to late; neither had he strength enough remaining, after this great losse, to continue the siege, but was faine to breake it vp, and remoue vnto the mouth of the Riuer *Bagrada*, wher he intencped.

The reuour was no lesse within Carthage, vpon the fame of this losse; than had beene the ioy of the late great victory. All that could beare armes, were sent into the field, vnder *Hannu*; vvhom, it seemes, they thought the most able of their Caprains suruiuing the late accidents of Warre. If there were any Law among them, forbidding the intermixture of one sole Generall, neere vnto their Citie (for they are knowne to haue trusted one man abroad) the time did not permit, in this hasty exigent, to deuise about reuenging it. But thirty principal men are chosen by the Senate, to bring *Hannu* to *Amilcar*, and by all good perswasions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one day.

day. It heere touched *Amilcar* in his honour, that the carelesnesse of *Hannibal* seemed to be imputed vnto him, by sending his enemy to moderate his proceedings. Nevertheless after many conferences, the authority of the Senators prevailed; *Amilcar* and *Hanno* were made friends; and thenceforth, whilst this war lasted, *Hanno* tooke warning by *Hannibals* calamities, to follow good directions, though afterwards he returned to his old and deadly hatred.

In the meane season *Matbo* was come abroad, as meaning to vse the reputation of his late successe, whilst it gaue some life vnto his businesse. He had reason to doe as he did: but he wanted skill to deale with *Amilcar*. The skirmishes, and light exercises of warre, wherein *Amilcar* trained his *Carthaginians*, did so farre abate their strength, and withall diminish the credit of *Matbo*, that he resolved to try the fortune of one battaile: wherein either his owne desire should be accomplished, or his cares ended. To this conclusion the *Carthaginians* were no lesse prone, than *Matbo*: as being weary of these long troubles, and insupportable expences; confident in the valour of their owne men, which had approved it selfe in many trials; and well assured of *Amilcar* his great worth, whereunto the enemy hath not what to oppose. According to this determination, each part was diligent in making prouision: inuiting their friends to helpe; and drawing forth into the field, all that lay in Garrison.

The issue of this battaile might haue beene foretold, without helpe of witchcraft, *Matbo*, and his followers, had nothing whereon to presume, save their daring spirits, to which had bin well cooled by the many late skirmishes, wherein they had learned how to run away. The *Carthaginians* had reason to dare, as hauing beene often victorious: and in all points else they had the better of their enemies; especially (which is worth all the rest) they had such a Commander, as was not easily to be matched in that Age. Neither was it likely, that the desire of liberty should worke so much, in men accustomed to seruitude; as the honour of their State would, in Citizens, whose future & present good lay all at once engaged in that adventure. So the *Carthaginians* won a great victory, wherein most of the *Africans* their enemies were slaine; the rest fled into a Towne, which was not to be defended, and therefore they all yielded, and *Matbo* himselfe was taken aliue. Immediately vpon this victory, all the *Africans* that had rebelled, made submission to their old masters: *Vtica* only, and *Hippagreta* stood out, as knowing how little they deserved of fauour. But they were soone forced, to take what conditions best pleased the victours. *Matbo* and his fellows were led to *Carthage* in triumph; where they suffered all torments that could be deuised, in recompence of the mischiefes which they had wrought in this warre. The war had lasted three yeares, and about foure moneths, when it came to this good end: which the *Carthaginians*, whose subiects did not loue them, should with lesse expence, by contenting their Mercenaries, haue prevented in the beginning.

### §. IIII.

*How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, that were in Sardinia, rebelled: and were afterwards driuen out by the Islanders. The faithlesse dealing of the Romans with the Carthaginians, in taking from them Sardinia, contrary to the peace.*

**W**Hilst *Matbo* & *Spendius* were making terrible combustion in *Africa*; other Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* had kindled the like fire in *Sardinia*; where murdering *Boslar* the Gouvernour, & other *Carthaginians*, they were in hope to get, and hold that Iland to their own vse. Against these, one *Hanno* was sent with a small Armie (such as could be spared in that busie time); consisting likewise of Mercenaries, leuiued on the sudden. But these companions that followed *Hanno*, finding it more for their safety, and present profit, to ioyne themselves with those that were already revolted, than to indanger themselves by battaile, for the good of that common-weale, of which they had no care; began to enter into practice with the *Sardinian* Rebels, offering to runne one course of fortune with them in their enterprise. This their offer was kindly taken; but their faith was suspected. Wherefore, to take away all iequitie and distrust, they resolved to hang vp their Commander *Hanno*, and performed it. A common practice it hath beene in all Ages, with those that haue undertaken the quarrell of an vnjust warre, to enioyne the performance of some notorious and villainous act,

to those that come in to them; secondly, to offer to partake, and to assist the impious purposes, which they haue in hand: It is indeede the best way, that desperate men can deuise to reach other, to performe some such actions, as are equally unpardonable to all.

By such a kinde of cruelty, did the vngoverned *Matthias* murder a Garrison of *Carthians*, sent vnto them for their defence against the *Deledonians*, by *Aratus*; vnto whom he had formerly posset himselfe of their Citie, by right of war, did not onely spare the sacke and spoyle therof, but gaue them equall freedome, with the rest of the Citie vnted. These *Reuolts* are also common in our Court wars; where, in the conquests of new fortunes, and making of new parties, and factions, without the depredation or destructions of old friends, we cannot be received and trusted by old enemies. *C'est les coups de vieille eferime. These*, (say the French) *be the blowes of the old art of fighting*.

These Mercenaries in *Sardinia* were no whit lesse violent in their purpose, than were *Spendius*, and his associates: only they wanted a *Matbo* among them, to negotiate with the inhabitants of the Prouince. The Islanders were no lesse glad, than the *Soldiours*, that the *Carthaginians* were expelled the Countrey: but they could not agree about the proportion of the victory. The *Sardinians* thought that it was enough, if they rewarded the *Soldiours* for their paines taken. Contrariwise, the *Soldiours* were of opinion, that the title of the *Carthaginians* to that Ile, was deuolued vnto themselves, by right of conquest. The same quarrell would (in likelihood) haue risen, between *Spendius* with his Mercenaries, & their *African* friends, if the common desire of both had once taken effect: vnto the riches of *Carthage* had serued to content them all. But in *Sardinia*, where there was none other valuable reward, than possession and rule of the Countrey, the matter was not easily taken vp. So they fell to blowes; which how they were dealt, I know not; but finally the Mercenaries were driuen out, and compelled to satisfie themselves in *Utie*. Before their departure out of *Sardinia*, they had inuited the *Komans* into it, with as good right, as the *Numerians* had called them into *Seil*. Yet this offer was refused, vpon reasons that follow.

Some *Italian* Merchants had relieved *Matbo* and *Spendius* with summe of whom the *Carthaginians* tooke almost five hundred, and held them in prison. Hereof was made a great complaint: so that the *Romans* sent Embassadors to *Carthage*, requiring satisfaction. It was no time for the *Carthaginians* to dispute: they quietly yielded to release them all. This was so kindly taken, that they forbade all their Merchants, to trade thenceforth with the Rebels; admonishing them to carry all prouisions to *Carthage*. And vpon the same reason, did they forbear to meddle with *Sardinia*, or to accept the Citie of *Vtica*, offering it selfe vnto their subiection. This might haue serued, as a notable example of the *Roman* faith, to all posteritie: had not the issue proued, that it was meer regard of greater profit, which kept them so temperate; no longer than the hope lasted of thriving better thereby, than they should haue done by open breach of faith. The whole state of *Carthage* depended at that time, vpon the vertue of *Amilcar*: who had bin overthrowen by *Spendius* or *Matbo*, in one maine battaile, that mighty Citie must either haue fallen into the barbarous hands of mercileffe villains, or haue submitted her selfe vnder protection of the *Romans*, with whom she had lately striven for superiority. That extreme necessitie, whereinto *Matbo* reduced the Citie, by the fortune of one fallie made out of *Tunis*, is enough to proue, that *Carthage* was not free from such a miserable choyce. Wherefore it was not vnwisely done of the *Romans*, to make such demonstration of kindnesse, and honourable dealing, as might inuite a returne, but sinking ship, to runne her selfe aground vpon their shore. But when all was well ended in *Africa*, and the *Carthaginians* began to prepare for the recovery of *Sardinia*, then did Ambition put off her goodly vizard. The *Romans* perceiving that *Carthage*, beyond their hope, had recouered her feet againe, began to strike at hot head. They entertained the proffer of those Mercenaries, that were fled out of *Sardinia*; and they denounced war against this enfeebled and impowerished Citie, vnder a shamelesse pretence, that the preparations made for *Sardinia*, were made indeede against Rome it selfe. The *Carthaginians* knew themselves vnable to resist; and therefore yielded to the *Roman* demand; renouncing vnto them all their right in *Sardinia*. But this was not enough. They would haue twelue hundred talents, in recompence belike for the



## S. V I.

*The estate of Greece from the death of Pyrrhus, to the reigne of Philip the sonne of Demetrius in Macedon.*

**I**N the long terme of the first *Punic* war; and the vacation following, betwene the and the second; the estate of *Greece*, after the death of *Pyrrhus*, was growne somewhat like vnto that, whererin *Philip of Macedon* had found it; though farre weaker, as in an after-spring. The whole Countrie had recovered by degrees a forme of libertie: the petty tyrannies (bred of those inferior Capitaines, which in the times 10 of generall combustion, had seised each vpon such townes as he could get) were, by force or accident, extirpated, and reformed; and some States were risen to such greatnesse, as not only serued to defend themselves, but to giue protection to others. This conuersion to the better, proceeded from the like dissensions and tumults in *Macedon*, as had bin in *Greece*, when *Philip* first began to encroach vpon it. For after many quarrels and great wars, about the Kingdome of *Macedon*, between *Antigonus* the elder, *Cassander*, *Demetrius*, *Lyfimachus*, *Selenus*, *Pyrrhus*, and the *Gauls*: *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Demetrius*, finally got and held it, reigning fixe and thirtie yeares; yet so, that he was diuers times thence expelled, not only by the *Gauls*, and by *Pyrrhus*, as hath bin already shewed, but by *Alexander* the son of *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot*, from whose father he had hardly won it. This happened vnto him, by the reuolt of his souldiers, euen 20 at such time, as hauing ouerthrowne with great slaughter an Armie of the *Gauls*, he was conuerting his forces against the *Athenians*, vvhom he compelled to receive his Garisons. But his young sonne *Demetrius* raised an Armie, wherewith he chased *Alexander*, not only out of *Macedon*, but out of his own *Epirus*, and restored his father to the Kingdome.

By the help of this young Prince *Demetrius* (though in another kind) *Antigonus* got into his possession the Citadell of *Corinth*; vvhich was iustly termed the fittor of *Greece*. The Citadell called *Acrocorinthus*, stood vpon a steepe rockie hill on the North side of the towne, and was by nature and art so strong, that it seemed impregnable. It commanded the town; which was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the *Isthmus*, that running betwene the *Aegean* and *Ionique* Seas, ioyneth *Peloponnesus* to the maine of *Greece*. Wherefore he that held possession of this Castle, was able to cut off all passage by land, from one halfe of *Greece* vnto the other; besides the commodity of the two Seas, vpon both of which, this rich and goodly Citie had commodious hauens. *Alexander*, the son of *Polyperchon*; and after his death, *Cratesipolis* his wife, had gotten *Corinth* in the great shuffling of Prouinces and Townes, that was made betwene *Alexanders* Princes. Afterwards it passed from hand to hand, vntill it came, I know not how, to one *Alexander*; of vvhom I finde nothing else, than that he vvas thought to be poisoned by this *Antigonus*, who deceived his wife *Nicaea* thereof, and got it from her by a trick. The deuice was this. *Antigonus* sent his young *Demetrius* to *Corinth*, vvilling him to court *Nicaea*, and seeke her marriage. The foolish old widow perceived not how vnfit a match she was for the yong Prince, but entertained the fancie of marriage; whereto the old King was euen as ready, to consent, as vvas his son to desire, and came thither in person to solemnize it. Hereupon all *Corinth* vvas filled with sacrifices, feasts, plaies, and all sorts of games: in the midst of vvhich, *Antigonus* vvvatched his time, and got into the Castle, beguiling the poore Lady, whose ieaousie had bin exceeding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchase he was so glad, that he could not containe himselfe within the grauity becoming his old age. But as he had stolen it, so vvas it againe stollen from him: neither liued he to reuenge the losse of it, being already spent with age.

*Demetrius*, the son of this *Antigonus*, succeeding vnto his father, reigned ten yeares. He made greater proofe of his vertue before he was King than after. The *Dardanians*, *Ætolians*, and *Achaens*, held him continually busied in war; wheruin his fortune was variable, and for the more part ill. About these times the power of the *Macedonians* began to decay: and the *Gracians* to cast off their yoke.

*Philip*, the only son of *Demetrius*, vvas a young child when his father died; & therefore *Antigonus*, his vnckle, had the charge of the Kingdome, during the minority of the Prince;

Prince; but he assumed the name and power of a King, though he respected *Philip* as his own son, to whom he left the Crowne at his death: This *Antigonus* vvas called the *Tutor*, in regard of his protectorship, and was also called *Dyson*, that is as much as, *will-give*, because he was slow in his liberalitie. He repressed the *Dardanians* and *Thessalians*, which molested his Kingdome, in the beginning of his reigne. Vpon confidence of this good seruice, he took state vpon him, as one that rather were King in his own right, than only a Protector. Hereupon the people fell to mutinie; but vvere soone appeased by faire words, and a seeming vnwillingnesse of his to meddle any more with the Gouvernment. The *Achaens* tooke from him the City of *Athens*, soone after *Demetrius* his death; and likely they were to haue wrought him out of all, or most that he held in *Greece*, if their own estate had not bin endangered by a neerer enemy. But ciuill dissention, which had ouerthrowne the power of *Greece*, when it flourished most; ouerthrew it easily now againe, when it had scarcely recovered strength after a long sicknesse; and gaue to this *Antigonus* no lesse authority therein, than *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, got by the like advantage.

These *Achaens* from small beginnings, had increased in short time to great strength and fame: so that they grew the most redoubted Nation of all the *Greekes*. By the equallie of their Lawes, and by their clemencie (notwithstanding that they were a long time held vnder by the *Macedonians* and *Spartans*) they did not only draw all others by 20 their loue and alliance, but induced, through their example, the rest of the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, to be gouerned by one Law, and to vie one and the same sort of weights, measures, and mony.

Among the *Sicyonians*, was the first that vnited them againe; and gaue them courage, after that they had bin by the *Macedonian* Capraines diuided into many Principalties. In elder times they were gouerned by Kings, as most of the great Cities of *Greece* were; to which kinde of rule they first subiected themselves, after the descent of the *Heraclides*, which *Tylamenes* the son of *Orestes* posselt the Territorie of *Achaia*. In this estate they continued to the time of *Gygas*; after whom, when his sons sought to change the Legall gouernment of their Predecessors into Tyrannie, they expelled them, and made their 30 state popular; as seeming most equall. This forme of Common-weale had continuance with some small changes according to the diuersitie of times, till the reigne of *Philip* and *Alexander* Kings of *Macedon*: who tempest-like ouerturned all things in that part of the world. For those twelue Cities, called the Cities of alliance, wherof *Helice*, and *Ægion* *Olenus*, the Sea had eaten vp a little before the Battails of *Leuctras*; were, by disturbance of the *Macedonians*, diuided from each other, and trained into a war, no lesse foolish than cruell, among themselves. But in the one hundred and foure and twentieth *Olympiad*, in which, or neere it, *Ptolomis* the son of *Lagus*, *Lyfimachus*, *Selenus*, and *Ptolomis* *Cnemonus*, left the world; two of ten remaining Cities and people, namely, the *Patrenses* and the *Dimai*, vnited themselves, and laid the foundation of that generall accord, and re-vnion, vvhich after followed. For hauing bin, some of them *Partisans* with sundrie *Macedonian* Capraines, and others hauing bin gouerned by petty Kings, they began to fasten themselves in a strong league of amitie, partly, in the *Olympiad* before spoken of, and partly, at such time as *Pyrrhus* made his first voyage into *Italic*. Now after the vvniting of the *Patrenses* and *Dimai*, to whom also the Cities of *Tritea*, and *Phars* ioyned themselves; *Ægira* chased out her Garisons: and the *Burians*, killing their Kings, entred with the *Ceraniens* into the same Confederacie. These Cities, for 40 some and five yeares, vsed the same forme of Gouernment with the *Achaens*; who by a Senatorie and two Prators, ordered all things in their Common-weale; and soone after, by one Prator, or Commander: of which, *Marcus Cæcynensis* was the first, and *Archeus* the second.

*Phylarchus* was a noble young Gentleman of *Sicyon*, who liuing at *Argos* in exile, vvhich his Countrie was oppressed by Tyrants, found meemes, through the helpe of, 50 vvhich he desired men, to enter their own Citie by night, with ladders; whence they chased the Tyrants, and restored the people to libertie. This was in the time of *Antigonus* the King of *Macedon*, a Prince more busie in watching what to get among the *Greekes*, than in looking to his owne. For feare of *Antigonus*, the *Sicyonians* enter into the *Achaean* league, which though at that time it receiued more increase by their accession, than is added strength to them, yet the benefit of this conuention serued vs well enough against

against *Antigonum*, whose subtiltie was somewhat greater than his valour. As the industry and counsaile of *Aratus* deliuered his Country from bondage, and fortified it by the *Achaian* league, so further, by his great liberalitie, with the exceeding great cost of 150 talents, he pacified the inexplicable controuersies, between the banished *Sicyonians*, which returned with him, & the other Citizens that had possession of these mens Lands; as also with the same money he drew many others to assist him in those enterprises following, that redounded to the singular good of all *Achaia*. The money he obtained of *Ptolemy Euergetes* King of *Egypt*, who partly had a desire to hold some strong and sure friendship in *Greece*, partly was delighted with the conuersation of *Aratus* himself, that made a dangerous voyage to him into *Egypt*, and fed his pleasure in goodly pictures, with the gift of many curious peeces, wherein the workmen of *Sicyon* excelled.

The first of *Aratus* his great attempts, was the surprize of the *Acrocorinthus* or Citadel of *Corinth*; which he wanne by night, being thereinto guided by some theues that he had hired for the purpose, who liuing in the place, had practised to rob *Antigonum* his treasure, passing in and out by a secret path among the rocks. Yet was he faine to fight for it, ere he could get it: though indeed *Antigonum* his Souldiers were rather overcome by their owne feare, than by any force of the assailants; as mistrusting lest the *Achaians* were more in number, than in truth they were, and hauing lost the advantages of the place already, vpon which they had presumed, before they were aware of any enemy.

In these kinde of night-seruices, ambushments, surprises, and practices, *Aratus* was very cunning, aduenturous, and valiant: in open field, and plaine battaile, he was as timorous. By this strange mixture of cowardize and courage, he ministred argument of disparagement, to Philosphers and others; Whether a valiant man (as he was esteemed, and in some cases approued) might looke pale and tremble, when he began battaile, and whether the vertue of Fortitude were diversified, by the sundry natures of men, & in a manner confined, vnto severall sorts of action. In resoluving which doubts it may be said, that all vertue is perfected in men by exercise, wherein they are trained by occasion: though a naturall inclination standeth in need of little practice; whereas the defect hereof must be supplied with much instruction, vie, good successe, and other helpe, yet hardly shall grow absolute in generall. Such was *Aratus* in matter of Warre. In sincere affection to his Country he was vnreprovable, and so acknowledged: as his following actions will truly testifie.

When *Acrocorinthus* was taken, and ioyned vnto the Common-wealth of *Achaia*, the *Megarians* revolted soone after from *Antigonum*, and entred into the same Corporation. So did the *Trezenians*, and the *Epidaurians*: whereby this new erected State grew to powerfull, that it aduentured to take *Athens*, from the *Macedonians*; and *Argos* & *Megalopolis*, from Tyrants that held them. The enterprise vpon the *Athens* was of none effect. For though *Aratus* wasted the Ile of *Salamus*, to shew his strength, and sent home the *Athenian* prisoners, without ranfome, to allure the Citie by shew of loue, yet the *Athenians* stirred neither against him, nor for him, as being now growne honest slauers to the *Macedonians*. Vpon *Argos* the aduenture was carried more strongly. The *Achaians* came sometimes to the gates of the Citie, but the people stirred not: once they entred in, and might haue wonne it, if the Citizens would haue lent any helpe to the recovery of their owne freedome; sundry times, and with diuers euents, they fought with the Tyrants, (who rose vpon one after another in *Argos*) in open field, and slue one of them in battaile; but all sufficed not: vntill at length *Aristomachus* the Tyrant was forsaken, perswaded, and hired, by *Aratus*, that he consented to resigne his Estate. The like did *Xenon* the Tyrant of *Hermione*, and *Cleonymus* that had oppressed the *Phliasians*.

Whilest this businesse with the *Argines* was on foot, *Lysias* the Tyrant of *Megalopolis*, was so well handled by *Aratus*, that, without compulsion, he gaue liberie to his Citie, and annexed it to the Councell of *Achaia*: whereby he got such credit, that he was chosen General of their forces (which was a yearly Office, and might not be held two yeeres together by one man): euery second yeare, for a certaine while, he and *Aratus* succeeded one another by turnes. But those late Tyrants, and some Citizens, *Aristomachus* and *Aristomachus*, were carried with private passion from care of public generall goods, in which courses they opposed *Aratus*, to the great hurt of *Achaia*, as shall appeare in due time.

The *Achaians* hauing obtained so much puissance and reputation, that *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt* was become Patron of their Alliance, and (in title of honour) General of their forces by Sea and Land; made open War vpon *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonum Gonatas*, for the liberty of *Athens*. It is strange and worthy of noting, That when *Aratus* in this quarrell had lost a battaile, the *Athenians* wore Garlands, in signe of ioy, to flatter their good Lords the *Macedonians*, that had won the victory. Such were now the *Athenians* become; in vvhom the rule was verified, that holds true in generall of the multitude, *Aut humiliter seruit, aut superbe dominatur; it is either base in seruice, or insolent in command*. Nenerthelesse when *Demetrius* was dead, *Aratus* performed that by many, which he could not by force; & corrupting the Captaine of the *Macedonian* Garrison, purchased liberty to the *Athenians*, vvhom thenceforth held good correspondence with the *Achaians*, louing them, and speaking vvell of them, vvhich was all that they could doe: but into their Corporation they entred not, scorning it belike, in regard of their own out-worne glory.

Now as the Common-wealth of *Achaia* daily increased within *Peloponnesus*, by iustice and honestie; so did the *Ætolians*, in the vpper part of *Greece*, yea and within *Peloponnesus* it selfe, waxe very powerfull, by sturdinesse of body, & rude courage in fight, without help of any other vertue. They had stoutly defended themselves against *Antiper* and *Craterus*; partly by daring to do & suffer much; partly by the naturall strength & tallnesse of their Country; but especially by the benefit of the time, vvhich called away these famous Captaines to other businesse, as hath bin related. They had molested *Cassander* in fauour of *Antigonum*, & were themselves as much plagued by him, & by the *Acarnanians*, a little, but a stout Nation, that tooke his part. Afterwards they had to do with *Demetrius*, the son of the first *Antigonum*, & more or lesse, with all the Kings of *Macedonia* succeeding him. They likewise held often War vvvith the *Acarnanians*, *Athamanians*, *Ephians*, & many Cities in *Peloponnesus*: so that they were hardened with perpetuall trauaile; seldom putting off their Armour. But their hardnesse ill deferred the name of valour, seeing they had no regard of honesty or friendship; measuring all things by their own insolent wils, & thinking all people base-minded, that were not as fierce and outrageous as themselves.

These *Ætolians* had lately made great spoyles in *Peloponnesus*, and occupied a good part of the Country. They had inuaded the friends of the *Achaians*; taken and sacked *Tegea*; where although they were soundly beaten by *Aratus*, yet their desire of gaine made them make a new voyage thither, as to a Country wherein somewhat was to be gotten. But they were forced to looke another way, by *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonum Gonatas*: who pressed them so hardly, that they were driuen to seeke helpe of the *Achaians*; which they obtained. The vvar vvhich the *Achaians* made vpon *Demetrius*, without *Peloponnesus*, in *Attica*, though it tended to expelling the *Macedons* out of *Greece*, yet the benefit thereof redounded chiefly vnto the *Ætolians*, at whose instance it was set on foot: for thereby were the *Macedonian* forces diuerced from them. Neither was this good turne vnacknowledged; though very basely the *Ætolians*, giuing thanks in words, deuided how to requite the benefit with some great mischief. They saw that the *Achaians* were desirous, to bring all *Peloponnesus* into their Alliance & Corporation: of which intent, the *Lacedemonians* were very ielous. Wherefore these *Ætolians* laboured earnestly, to set the *Lacedemonians* and *Achaians* together by the eares: hoping that if this might come to passe, they themselves should be called in to helpe it skilled not on what side, and so get no small share, both in bootie and Territorie. Neither did they forbear to communicate this their deuice vnto *Antigonum*; offering to make him partaker of their paine, whom they knew to be offended with the many losses, that this Kingdome had sustained by the *Achaians*. Of this plot *Aratus* was aware: who therefore determined to suffer many indignities, rather than to giue the *Lacedemonians* cause to take Armes. But this resolution was taken somewhat too late: and not altogether in his own power to hold. He had bin meddling with the *Arcadians*, that were dependants of *Lacedemon*: and thereby had prouoked the *Lacedemonians* to looke about them; seeing that all *Peloponnesus*, excepting themselves, the *Eleans*, and a few *Arcadians* their friends (who also were attempted) was already become *Achaian*.

The Citie of *Sparta* was in ill case about these times; and subiect to the injuries of any Neighbour. *Pyrrhus* had greatly weakened it; The *Ætolians* entering *Lacedonia* with

an Armie, had carried away fiftie thousand Slaves; and, which was worse, their discipline was corrupted, Auarice & Lukerie reigned among them; the poore was oppressed by the rich, & the generositie of spirit, that had sometime bin abrid generally vertue, was hardly now to be found among the best of them. There were left in *Sparta* not more than seven hundred natural Citizens; of whom not above one hundred had Lands; all the rest were needie people, and desirous of inuouation. Heraupon followed intestine sedition; which endangered the Citie most of all. *Agis* a good King, who sought to reforme the disorders of the State, exhorted the people to a strict obseruation of *Lycurgus*'s lawes. To which purpose he caused them to passe an Act, for the abolishing of all debts, and equall diuision of Lands: All the younger, and poorer sort were glad of this; but the rich men opposed it. These had recourse vnto *Leonidas* the other King, (for in *Sparta* were two Kings, who tooke their part: being himselfe a dissolute man, as one trained vp in the Court of *Syria*, whence also he had his wife.) In this contention *Leonidas* was expelled the Citie, and a new King chosen in his stead. But *Agis* his friends & Counsaillors in this enterprise, abused his good meaning to their owne private commoditie. They were hasty to take away all debts, & cancell all bands, for they themselves were deeply indebted; but the diuision of lands they afterwards hindered, because their own possessions were great. Hence arose a tumult in *Sparta*, which thele men increased by their foule oppression of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine, *Leonidas* was brought home, and restored to his Kingdome; and the two aduerser Kings driuen to take Sanctuary out of which, *Cleambrotus*, the late-made King, was dismissed into exile: but *Agis* was trained forth, drawn into prison, and thereby his enemies condemned & strangled, together with his Mother, & his old Grandmother. The like to this was neuer known in *Sparta*: and (which is the more odious) this crueltie proceeded from the *Ephori*, Magistrates that should haue giuen Patronage to the lawes, vsing their power, and more power than to them belonged, against a King, that had proceeded orderly in reforming the Citie, as the law required.

The death of *Agis* was much lamented by all good Citizens; & serued to establish the impotent rule of a few tyrannical oppressors. In which case *Aratus* might well hope to adioyne *Lacedamon* to the *Achaens* Common-wealth: though it were great iniustice to take such aduantages, and attempt by force, that which would haue redounded to the generall good of *Peloponnesus*, and to the benefit of *Sparta* it selfe, if it could haue bin wrought by perswasion.

But the same man who redressed the disorders of *Sparta*, and reuenged the death of *Agis*, did also requite the iniust attempts of the *Achaens*, euen in their owne kinde: obtruding vpon them by force, an vnion of all *Peloponnesus*, though little to their good liking, for that the *Lacedamonians* and their King, should haue bin the principall; not they and their Prætor. *Leonidas* hauing thus caused *Agis* to be slaine, tooke his wife that was very rich and beautiful, and gaue her in marriage (perforce) to his own son *Cleonymus*. This young Prince fell greatly enamoured on his wife, & sought to win her affection, as well as he had her person. He discoursed much with her about the purpose of her former husband *Agis*, & by pitying his misfortune, began to entertaine a desire of accomplishing that, wherein *Agis* had failed. So conining himselfe to be King, whilst he was very young, he gladly embraced all occasions of War: for that he hoped by strong hand to effect that, which *Agis*, by proceeding formally, in so corrupt an estate of the Citie, had attempted by his own ruine. Therefore when the *Ephori* gaue him in charge, to take and fortifie *Athenæum*, a Temple on the marches of *Laconia*, to which both they & the *Megalopolitans* pretended title; he readily performed it. Hereof *Aratus* made no complaint, but sought to take by surprize *Tegæ* & *Orchomenus*, Cities then confederate with the *Lacedamonians*; wherein his intelligence failing, he lost the labor of a painful nights trauel, & discovered his enmity to *Sparta*; of which *Cleomenes* was nothing forrie. By these degrees the war began. In the entrance whereto *Aratus* had discovered the *Ætolian* practice, & therefore would haue staid the quarrell from proceeding too far. But *Lysidas* & *Aristomachus* would needs fight, and he could do none other than be ruled by them; especially seeing *Cleomenes* was so virgent. *Aristomachus* was at that time Generall of the *Achaens*, (He and *Lysidas* being of great account, since they had abandoned their tyrannie) who sent vnto *Aratus*, lying then in *Achaia*, and required his assistance in a iourne to be made into *Laconia*. No dissuasions of *Aratus* would therefore

therefore he came in person, and tooke part of a businesse, little pleasing him in the present, and lesse in the future. When he met with *Cleomenes*, he durst not fight; but opposed himselfe against *Aristomachus* who desired to gage battaile. Yet had the *Achaens* twentie thousand foot, and one thousand horse, in their Armie: whereas *Cleomenes* had no more than five thousand in all. This gaue reputation to the *Lacedamonians*, and raised an ill report vpon *Aratus*, which *Lysidas* helped to make worse, by accusing his cowardize. Neuertheless the *Achaens* would not fall out with *Aratus* their Benefactor, but chose him their Generall the yeare following, against *Lysidas* his accuser that sued for the place. Being Generall himselfe, it behoued him to confute, with deedes, the slanderous words of *Lysidas*. Therefore he purposed to set vpon the *Eleans*: but was met withall on the way, nere vnto the Mount *Lycæus*, by *Cleomenes*, who vanquished him in a great battaile, and draue him to hide himselfe all night for feare; so that he was thought to haue bin slaine. This misadventure *Aratus* recompenced by a tricke of his owne more naturall occupation: performing with his broken Armie, that which could hardly haue bin expected, had he bin victorious. For whilst there was no suspicion of any great matter that he could vndertake; he suddenly wrought with some of the *Mantineans*, who did let him into their Citie. These *Mantineans*, (whom he had thus brought to his purpose) had once before ioynd themselves with the *Ælians*; but shortly vpon feare, or some other passion, they gaue themselves to the *Ælians*; and from the *Ælians*, presently after this victorie, to *Cleomenes*, from whom immediately they were thus wonne. For this their leuitie they were not punished, but freely admitted now againe into the *Achaen* societie. As this good successe repaired the credit of *Aratus*, so another battaile almost ruined it. *Cleomenes* and he encountered nere vnto *Megalopolis*; where the *Achaens* had somewhat the better at the first, but their Generall durst not follow his aduantage. Thereupon *Lysidas*, of whom we spake before, grew somewhat impatient with anger; and taking with him all the horse, broke vpon the *Lacedamonians*, whom he routed at the beginning, but pursuing them too far into places of hard passage, he was slaine by them, and his followers driuen backe vpon their owne Companions; in such sort, that finally all the Armie was disordered and put to flight. This was a great losse, and incensed the *Achaens* against *Aratus*: yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refused to make any longer contribution, towards the pay of those Mercenaries which he had waged. This *Aratus* tooke patiently, and followed the warre neuertheless; wherein though *Cleomenes* wanne some Townes, and *Aratus* got the better in one small fight, yet little of importance was done; the *Achaens* being weak, and the *Spartan* King intencie to another businesse.

*Cleomenes* hauing ledde into the field all that were like to hinder his purpose, and tired them with painfull iournies, forsooke the *Achaen* warre on a sudden, and came vnexpected home to *Sparta*, where he slue the *Ephori*, and restored by force the ancient discipline of *Lycargus*. Then gaue he an account of his doings: and shewing by what degrees the *Ephori* had incroched vpon the power of Kings, & many disorders had grown in the Citie; he iustified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equall diuision of the Lands, reducing all to the first institution. He also supplied the defect of Citizens, by choosing new, out of such as were friends to the State, and valiant men: so that beneath his Countrie might not altogether stand in need of Mercenarie helpe, as it lately had done, to saue it selfe from the *Ælians*, *Illyrians*, and such other enemies. All this was dispatched in great haste; the *Spartans* well satisfied, and *Cleomenes* himselfe ready in the field, ere his enemies could take any aduantage of these his domesticall troubles.

The *Achaens* hearing of this great alteration in *Sparta*, thought that it would be long ere *Cleomenes* durst issue forth of the Citie, for feare of some rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard, that he had wasted all the Countrie of *Megalopolis*, had ranged ouer all *Acadia* at his pleasure; and was admitted into *Mantinea*; and ready to take other places, euen of *Achaia*. These newes displeased them not a little: but they must patiently endure to heare worse. For when *Cleomenes* had shaken off the power of the *Ephori*, that curbed his authority, he proceeded more roundly in his worke, being better obeyed and by better men. His *Lacedamonians* resumed their ancient courage; and he himselfe had the heart to demand the Principallitie of *Greece*. He did not therefore bene-  
forth contend about the possession of a few Townes: but aduentured to wiaut or lose all:



all. The *Ætoliens*, in fauour of his attempt, declared themselves on his side: and whereas he had gotten *Maninna*, *Tegæa*, and other places, to which they had sometime, they willingly renounced all their interest vnto him.

*Aratus* did apprehend the danger of his Countrey, and saw that *Antigonus*, with the *Ætoliens*, or perhaps without them, would shortly make an end of that, which *Cleomenes* had thus begunne. Therefore he deuised how to prouide against the worst, and rather to repaire all, or (if it could not be) to saue all from vtter ruine. The office of General when it was next put vpon him, he refused; fearing to be so far prest, as to hazard in one battaile all the force of his Countrey, to which as he had neuer any affection, nor perchance courage, so was his manner of warfare otherwise. For he commonly attempted to by surprise, & defended vpon the aduantage of place, after the manner of the *Trisib*, and of all other Nations, ouer-charged with numbers of men. Yet did he not forsake the care of the Weale-publique, though in aiming at the generall good, it seemed that private passion drew him into an ill course. He saw, that *Megalopolis* could not be defended without making a dangerous hazzard of battaile; that *Maninna* had not onely opened her gates vnto *Cleomenes*, but slaine the *Acheans* Garrison that lay therein; that other Townes had yeelded vnto him, without compulsion; and that *Arismachus*, once Tyrant of *Argos*, and since Generall of the *Archeans*, was now reuolted vnto the enemy, following the fortune of *Cleomenes*. *Ptolemie* was too farre off to helpe; and the neerenesse of *Antigonus* was very dangerous; yet might be vsfull, if this King would (as *Polybius* saith) like others, be friend or enemy, as should best agree with his owne profit. To make triall heereof, *Aratus* praised with some of *Megalopolis*, whom he found apt vnto his purpose; and instructed them how to deale both with *Antigonus*, and the *Acheans*.

The Citie of *Megalopolis* had bene well affected to the *Macedonians*, euer since the time of *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, who had obliged it vnto him by some speciall benefites. At this time it lay neerest vnto the danger; was very faithfull, and therefore deferred succour; yet could not well be releeued by the *Acheans*, with their owne proper strength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embassadours should be sent vnto the generall Councell of *Achaia*, requesting leaue and good allowance, to trie the fauour of *Antigonus* in their necessitie. This was granted, for lacke of what else to answer: and the same Embassadours dispatched away to *Antigonus*. They did their owne errand briefly; telling him of the good will and respect which their Citie had of long time borne vnto him and his Predecessors; of their present neede; and how it would agree with his honour to giue them aide. But when they deliuered the more generall matter, wherein *Aratus* had giuen them instruction; shewing how the ambition of *Cleomenes*, and violence of the *Ætoliens*, might redound to his owne great losse or danger, if the one and the other were not in time preuented; how *Aratus* himselfe did stand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the *Acheans* vnder the Patronage of *Macedon*: then beganne *Antigonus* to lend a more attentiu care to their discourse. He embraced the motion: and to giue it the more life, he wrote vnto the *Megalopolitans*, that his helpe should not be wanting, so farre forth, as it might stand with the *Acheans* good liking. Particularly he commended himselfe, by these Messengers to *Aratus*; assuring them, that he thought himselfe highly bound to this honourable man, whose former actions he now perceived, not to haue bene grounded vpon any hatred to the *Macedonians*, but onely vpon a iust and worthy loue to his owne Nation. With this answer they returned to *Megalopolis*; and are presently sent away to the Councell of *Achaia*; there to make some speedy conclusion, as the necessity of the time required. The *Acheans* were glad to heare, that *Antigonus* was so inclinable to their desire; and therefore were ready to entertaine his fauour, with all good correspondence. Hereunto *Aratus* gaue his consent; and praised the wisdom of his Countreymen, that so well discerned the best and likeliest means of their common safetie: adding neuertheless, that it were not amiss, first of all to try their owne abilitie; which if it failed, then should they doe well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protector. Thus he shewed himselfe moderate, in that which himselfe of all others did most wish: to the end, that he might not afterward sustaine the common reprehension, if any thing fell out amiss; since it might appeare, that hee had not bene Author of this Decree, but onely followed, and that leisurably, the generall consent.

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Neuertheless in true estimation, this finenesse of *Aratus* might haue bin vied, with his greater commendation, in a contrary course. For it had bin more honourable, to make an end of the War, by yeelding vnto *Cleomenes* that power, which they gaue vnto *Antigonus*: since thereby he should both haue freed his Countrey from all further trouble; & withall should haue restored vnto the vniuersall State of Greece, that honourable condition, whereof the *Macedonians* had bene fit. But it is commonly found (which is great pity) that Vertue hauing risen to honour by degrees, and confirmed itselfe (as it were) in the seat of Principality, by length of time, and successe of many actions, can ill endure the hastic growth of any others reputation, wherewith it sees it selfe likely to be ouer-topped. Other cause to despise the *Lacedemonians* there was none; than that they lately had bin in dangerous case: neither could any reason be found, why *Aratus* should preferre *Antigonus* before *Cleomenes*, than that he had stood in doubt of the one, when he thought himselfe more mighty than the other. Wherefore he was iustly plagued, vvhhen he saw his own honours reuerbered by the insolent *Macedonians*; and instead of liuing as a companion with *Cleomenes*, that was descended of a long race of Kings, the posterity of *Heracles* was faine to do sacrifice vnto *Antigonus*, as vnto a god; and was finally paysoned by *Philip*, whose Nobility was but of few degrees, & whom perhaps he might haue seene his fellowes, if he had not made them his Lords. By this inclination to the *Macedonians*, the loue of *Peloponie* was lost: who forthwith tooke part with *Cleomenes*, though he did not supply him with such liberality, as he had vsed to the *Acheans*; being warned, as may seeme, by their example, to be more wary both in trusting and disbursing. *Cleomenes* himselfe, vvhilst this businesse with *Antigonus* was a-foot, passed through *Arcadis* with an Armie, and laboured by all means to draw the *Acheans* to battaile. At the Citie of *Dymes* in *Achaia* were assembled all the remaining forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded, to make triall, whether perhaps they might amend their estate, without seeking helpe of the *Macedonians*. Thither went *Cleomenes*, & there fought with them; where he had so great a victory, that the enemy was no longer able to keepe the open field. The calamitie was such, that *Aratus* himselfe durst not take vpon him to be their Generall, when his turne came in the next election. Wherefore the *Acheans* were compelled to sue for peace; which was granted vpon this easie condition: That they should not arrogate vnto themselves the command of *Peloponie*; but suffer the *Lacedemonians* (as in former ages) to be their Leaders in warre. Hereunto if they would condescend, he promised vnto them, that he would presently restore all places taken from them, & all his prisoners ransom free: also that they should enioy their own Lawes & Liberties without molestation. This gentle offer of *Cleomenes* was very pleasing to the *Acheans*; who desired him to come to the Citie of *Lerna*, where a Parliament should be held, for the conclusion of the Warre.

Now seemed the affaires of Greece likely to be settled in better order, than they had euer bin since the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* Wars, yea or since the *Persian* inuasion: when God, who had otherwise disposed of these matters, hindered all, with a draught of cold water, which *Cleomenes* drank in great heat; & thereupon fell extreame sicke, & so could not be present at *Lerna*, but caused the Parliament to be deferred to another time. Neuertheless he sent home the chiefe of his prisoners, so shew that he meant more other than good faith. By this faire dealing he confirmed the *Acheans* in their desire of his friendship: who assembled againe at *Argos*, there to establish the League. But *Antigonus* was violently bent against it; & fought by great words, & terrible threats, to make his Countreymen afraid of resolving. When all would not serue turne, he betooke himselfe to his cunning, and sent word to *Cleomenes*, that he should doe well to leaue his Armie behinde him, and come alone into *Argos*, receiving hostages for safetie of his person. *Cleomenes* was already far on his way, when he met with this aduertisement: and tooke it in ill part, that he should be thus deluded. For it had bin an easie matter, to haue told him so much at the first, and not haue made him come so far with an Armie, which afterwards he must dismiss. Yet that which chiefly seemed to haue troubled him, was the drift of his oppugners, who fought thereby, either to make him waie without the League, and deale only with themselves and their Messengers, or if he would adventure himselfe into the Citie, then to depriue him of all Royall show, that might breed respect of him in the multitude. This was that indeed which *Aratus* feared, & for which he sought to hinder his coming thither in person: lest the people, hearing the promise

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of *Cleomenes*, ratified by his owne mouth, should presently be wonne with his gentle words, and finish the bargain without more ado. Therefore *Cleomenes* wrote vnto the whole Councell, bitterly complaining against these juggling trickes: and *Aratus* was not farre behind *with him*, in as bitter an Oration. So betwene feare of the one, and reuerence to the other, the Assembly knew not how to proceed, but abruptly brake vp, leaving all as it were to fortune. *Cleomenes* tooke his aduantage of their present weakness, and renewed the Warre. Many Cities yielded vnto him willingly; many he forced, and partly by force, partly by terrour, he wanne *Argos*, which neuer King of *Sparta* before him could doe. In this case *Aratus* sent his owne sonne to *Antigonus*, entreating him to deferre no time; but come presently to relieue the distressed *Achaens*. *Antigonus* tooke good words as could be wished: saying that hee vtterly refused to doe anything, vnlesse he might first haue *Acrocorinthum* put into his hands. This demand was somewhat like vnto that of the Hunter, who promised to helpe the Horse against his enemy the Stagge: but with condition, that the horse should suffer himselfe to be saddled and bridled. *Aratus* was herewithall contented, but wanted all honest colour to doe it: seeing the *Corinthians* had no way deserved, to be thus giuen away to the *Macedonians*. Yet at length an occasion was found, for that the *Corinthians*, perceiuing what hee intended, were minded to attack him. So he withdrew himselfe out of their Citie, and sent word to *Antigonus*, that their Castle should be ready to let him in. The *Corinthians* on the other side ranne to *Cleomenes*, who lost no time, but made haste with them to *Corinth*, where he fought how to get possession of their Castle, or at least to saue it from *Antigonus*, by surrounding it within Trenches, that none might issue nor enter without his leaue. Whilest this was doing, he tooke speciall order, that *Aratus* his house and goods, within the Towne, should be kept for the Owner; to whom he sent Messenger after Messenger, desiring him to come to agreement, and not to bring in the Barbarous *Macedonians*, and *Illyrians*, to *Peloponnesus*: promising that if he would hearken to these perswasions, then would he giue him double the same pension, which he had been wont to receiue of King *Ptolemie*. As for the Castle of *Corinth*, which was the gate of *Peloponnesus*, and without which none could hold assured Soueraignty of the Countrey; hee desired that it might not be committed vnto his owne disposition, but be iointly kept by the *Lacedemonians* and *Achaens*. All this entreaty serued to no purpose. For *Aratus*, rejecting vtterly the motion, sent his owne sonne as an Hostage to *Antigonus*; and laboured with the *Achaens*, to put *Acrocorinthum* into his hands. Which when *Cleomenes* vnderstood, he seized vpon the goods of *Aratus* in *Corinth*, and wasted all the Countrey of *Sicyon*, wherof this his Aduersary was native.

*Antigonus* in the meane time drew neere to the *Isthmus*; hauing passed with his Army through *Euboea*, because the *Atolians* held the streights of *Thermopylae* against him. This they did, either in fauour of *Cleomenes*, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatnesse, whereunto the *Macedonians* might attaine by the good successe of this journey. At his coming thither he found the *Lacedemonians* ready to forbid his entrance: and that with sufficient strength; yet with no purpose to hazzard battaile, but rather to weary him thence with hunger, against which he came not well provided. *Antigonus* therefore laboured hard to make his way by force; but he was not able so to doe: he secretly got into the *Corinthian* Hauens; but was violently driuen out againe, with great losse of men; finally he resolved to turne aside, and seeke a passage ouer the gulfe of *Corinth*, to *Sicyon*, or some other part of *Achaia*; but this required much time, and great preparation, which was not easily made.

In this perplexity newes from *Argos* came by Sea, that greatly comforted *Antigonus*, and no lesse troubled his enemies. The *Achaens* were gotten into that Citie; and the Garrison which *Cleomenes* had left therein, though it was not driuen out of the Citadell, yet was hardly distressed, and stood in need of present helpe. *Argos* had alwayes bin enemy to *Sparta*, and well affected to the Kings of *Macedon*. When *Cleomenes* tooke it, he forbore to chase out those whom he most suspected, partly, at the entreaty of friends; and partly, for that they all made shew to beglad of his prosperity. They were glad indeed of *Cleomenes* his victories, both in *Argos* and elsewhere, as many as hoped that hee would cause all debtors to be discharged from their creditors, as he had lately done at *Sparta*. But that which *Cleomenes* had done in *Sparta*, was agreeable to the *Spartan* institution: in other places where it would haue been tyrannicall, he did it not. Thereupon,

such as were disappointed of their vniust hopes, began to turne good Common-wealths men; and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, because he would not doe the like abroad. So theyooke their time; inuited the *Achaens*; assailed his Garrison; cut in peeces the Rescue that he sent; and compelled him at length, to forsake the defence of *Corinth*, and looke vnto the enemies that were behind his back. For when he vnderstood by continuall messages, that his men which held the Citadell at *Argos*, were almost lost: he began to feare, lest his labour in guarding the entry, should grow fruitles; the *Achaens* in the meane while spoiling all that lay within. Therefore he tooke his custody of the *Isthmus*, and made all haste towards *Argos*: which if he could saue, he meant to trust fortune with the rest. And so farre he preuailed at his coming to *Argos*; that both *Argiues* and *Achaens* were glad to haue themselves, leaving him Master of the streets: when the horsemen of *Antigonus* were discovered a farre off, hasting to relieue the Citizens; and *Antigonus* himselfe (to whom *Corinth* was yielded, as soone as the *Spartans* had turned his backe) following apace with the body of his Armie, *Cleomenes* therefore had no more to do, than to make a safe retreat. This he did, and got him home into *Laconia*: losing in short space all, or most of that which he had bin long in getting.

*Antigonus* hauing shewed himselfe at *Argos*, and commended the Citizens, vvent into *Aradia*; where he vvan such Castles as were held for *Cleomenes*; and restored them to the old Possessors. This done, he tooke his vway to *Egium*, vvhv was held a Parliament by the *Achaens*; to whom he declared the cause of his coming, and spake braue words, that filled them with hope. The *Achaens* were not behinde with him; but made him Captain Generall ouer them and their Confederates; and further entred into covenant with him, That they should not deal with any Prince or State, either by writing or Embassadour, without his consent. All this while, and somewhat longer, *Aratus* was the only man, that seemed to rule the Kings heart: carrying him to *Sicyon*, his owne Town (for Winter was come on) where he not only feasted him as a great Prince, but suffered more than hum an honours, as sacrifices and the like, to be done vnto him. This example of *Aratus* and his *Sicyonians*, was followed by the rest of *Achaia*: vvhich had made (forsooth) a very wise bargain, if in stead of *Cleomenes* that would haue bin a King, it had obtained the protection of a God. But this God was poore, and wanting wherewith to pay his *Macedonians*, imposed the burthen vpon the *Achaens*. This vvas hardly taken: yet worse must be endured in hope of better. Neither was *Aratus* himselfe ouer-carefully respected; when the statues of those Tyrants, which he had throwne downe in *Argos*, were again erected by *Antigonus*; or when the statues, which he had erected, of those that had taken *Acrocorinthum* with him, were all throwne downe by the same King, and one only left vnto himselfe at his earnest entreaty. It might therefore appeare, that this God was also spitefull. Neuerthelesse in taking reuenge vpon those that offended him, *Aratus* did satisfie his own passion by the ayde of these *Macedonians*. For with extreame torments he did put *Aristomachus* to death, vvhv had bin once Tyrant of *Argos*; afterwards Generall of the *Achaens*; and from them reuolting vnto *Cleomenes*, did fall at length into their hands. In like sort handled he (though not as yet) the *Mantineans* for their ingratitude and cruelty shewed to the *Achaens*. For he slue all the principall Citizens, and sold the rest, men, women, and children, all for bond-slaves: diuiding the spoile; two parts to the *Macedonians*, and the third to the *Achaens*. The town it selfe was giuen by *Antigonus* to the *Argiues*: who peopled it with a Colony of their own, and *Aratus* hauing charge of this businesse, caused it to be new-named *Antigonia*. Surely of this cruelty there can be no better excuse; than euen the flattery, which *Aratus* vvas driuen to vs. *Antigonus*: forasmuch as it was a token of feruility, wherinto they had vrged and brought him; whom he as in reuenge thereof, did thus requite. But leauing to speake of this change, which the coming in of the *Macedonian* wrought, in the Ciuill state of the *Achaens*; Let vs returne into his warre against the *Lacedemonian*.

The next Summer *Antigonus* wane *Tegea*, *Mantineia*, *Orchomenus*, *Heraca*, and *Telphussa*; *Mantineia* he dispeopled, as was said before; in *Orchomenus* he placed a Garrison of his *Macedonians*; the rest he restored to the *Achaens*: with whom he wintred at *Egium*, where they held a Parliament. Once only *Cleomenes* had met him this year; and that was on the borders of *Laconia*, where he lay ready to defend his own Territories. The

reason why he stirred no further, nor followed *Antigonus* to *Mantineia*, &c. to those other Townes that he wan, vvas this: He had few Souldiers, and had not many enough to wage more. *Ptolomie* the *Egyptian* promised much, but would performe nothing, vlesse he might haue *Cleomenes* his own Mother, and his children in pledge. These were sent into *Egypt*, yet the aide came not. For *Ptolomie* vvas slow; as dealing in the businesse of *Greece*, rather for his mindes sake, than vpon any apprehension of necessitie. *Cleomenes* therefore provided for himselfe, as well as his own ability would serue. He manumitted all the *Heilotes*, which were the *Lacedamonian* slaues: taking money for their liberty, and arming two thousand of them, after the *Macedonian* fashion. Having thus increased his forces, he came on the sudden to *Megalopolis*; that lay secure, as hauing defended it selfe in more dangerous times, and hauing now *Antigonus* nere at hand in *Argos*. The towne he wan: but after he was entred, all that were fit to beare Armes, rose hastily against him; and though they could not driue him out, yet saued the multitude, to whom they gaue a Port free for their escape. He sent after the Citizens, offering their Town and goods to them againe, if they would be of his party. But they brauely refused his offer: wherefore he sacked and ruined it, carrying with him to *Sparta* a great bootie that he found therein. These newes astonished the *Achaens*, at *Argos*: who thereupon brake vp their Parliament. *Antigonus* sent hastily for his *Macedonians*, one of their wintering places: but they were so long in coming, that *Cleomenes* vvas safely gone home. Therefore he returned them backe to their lodgings, and went himselfe to *Argos*; there to passe the rest of his vnlucky winter, somewhat further from the eyes of the grieued *Achaens*. When he had laine a while at *Argos*, *Cleomenes* vvas at the gates; with no great number of men, yet with more than *Antigonus* had then about him. The *Argiues* perceiving that their Country would be spoiled, if *Antigonus* did not issue into the field; were very earnest with him to go forth and fight. But he vvas wiser than to be moued with their clamors, and suffered them to see their villages burnt, to bid him resigne his Office of Protector vnto some that were more valiant; and to satisfie their passions with foolish words, rather than he would be ouer-come in fight, and thereby lose more honor than could easily be repaired. By this *Cleomenes* had his desire, in weakening the reputation of his enemy: though he thereby added neither followers, nor other strength, vnto *Lacedamon*.

Afterwards, when the season was more fit for war, *Antigonus* gathered together all his troops; meaning to requit these brauado's of his enemy, vwith the conquest of *Sparta*. *Cleomenes* on the other side, laboured to keepe the vvar from his own gates; and therefore entred vpon the Country of *Argos*, where he made such hauocke, as drew *Antigonus* thither, from his intended inuasion of *Laconia*. Many great affronts the *Macedonian* was faine to endure, in coasting of the *Spartan* King; that ranging ouer the Country of the *Argiues*, *Phliasians*, and *Orchomenians*, draue a Garrison of his out of *Oligyrtus*; and did sacrifice, as it were, before his face, in the suburbs of *Argos*, without the Temple of *Tuno*, that was shut vp; sending vnto him in scorne, to borrow the keyes. These were all light things; yet seru'd to dishearten the *Achaen* side, and to fill the enemy with courage, which was no matter of little importance. Therefore he concluded to lay apart all other regard of things abroad, and to put all to hazzard; by setting vp his rest, without any more delay, vpon *Sparta* it selfe. He had in his Army eight and twenty thousand foot, and twelue hundred horse, collected out of sundry Nations, as *Macedonians*, *Illyrians*, *Gauls*, *Epirotes*, *Boeotians*, *Acarnanians*, and others; together with the *Achaens*, and their friends of *Peloponnesus*. *Cleomenes* had of all sorts, twentie thousand, vwith which he lay at *Selasia*: fortifying slightly the other passages into *Laconia*, through which the *Macedonians* were not likely to seeke entrance. *Antigonus* coming vnto *Selasia*, found his enemy so strongly incamped, vpon and between the hills of *Eua* and *Olympus*, that he was constrained to spend much time there, before he could aduance any one foot: neither lay it in his power to come hastily to blowes, vvhich he greatly desired, without the hazzard of his whole Armie, in assaying their well-defenced Campe. But at length (as it happens, when men are wearie both of their hopes and feares) both Kings being resolu'd to make an end one way or other; *Antigonus* attempted with his *Illyrians*, to force that part which lay on the hill *Eua*. But his *Illyrians* were so ill seconded by the *Achaen* foot, that the *Spartan* horse, and light-armed foote, incamped in the freight vally between those hills, issuing forth, fell vpon their skirts, and not only

disordered

disordered them, but were like to haue endangered all the rest. If *Cleomenes* himselfe had stood in that part of the battaile, he would haue made great vse of such a faire beginning. But *Euclydes*, his brother, a more valiant than skilful Souldier, commanded in that wing: who neither followed this aduantage, norooke such benefit as the ground afforded; whereon he lay. *Philopomen* the *Arcadian* of *Megalopolis* who afterwards proofed a famous Capitaine, serued then on horse, as a priuate young man, among the *Achaens*. He seeing that all was like to go to rout, if their *Illyrians* were driuen to fall back vpon the Armie following them; perswaded the Captaines of the *Achaen* horse, to breake vpon the *Spartan* Mercenaries. But they would not: partly despising his youth and want of charge; partly, for that *Antigonus* had giuen order, that they should keepe their places; untill they receiued a signe from him; which was not as yet. *Philopomen* perceiving them to be more orderly, than wel aduised; entreated some of his own Countreimen to follow him: and charge on the *Spartans*; & forced them, not only to leaue the *Illyrians*, but to follow him to saue themselves. Being so far aduanced, he found the place vvhich the *Illyrians* had attempted, like enough to be wonne, through the skilfulnesse of him that held it. Wherefore he alighted, and perswaded the men at Armes his Companions to do the like: the folly of *Euclydes* being manifest, vvhich kept the top of the Hill, and stirred not to hinder those that ascended, but waited for them in a Plaine, where they might fight vpon euen termes. So he recouered the Hill top; where though he was sore hurt, yet he made good the place that he had gotten, untill the whole Armie came vp to him; by which the *Lacedamonians* were beaten from it, with great slaughter of them in their descent. This ouerthrow, and death of *Euclydes*, made *Cleomenes* lose the day: vvhich fighting brauely on the other side, vpon *Olympus*, against *Antigonus* himself, vvas like to haue him firrrounded and lost, if he had not withdrawn himselfe with an extraordinary speed. In this battaile ended the glory of *Lacedamon*, vvhich, as a light ready to goe out, had with a great, but not long blaze, shined more brightly of late, than in many ages past.

*Cleomenes* fled vnto *Sparta*: where he had no desire to stay, finding onely two hundred left, of sixe thousand *Spartans* that he had led vnto this battaile; and most of his hired Souldiers dead, or gone away. So he perswaded his people to yeeld themselves vnto *Antigonus*; and promising to doe all that should at any time lyc in his own power, for their good, he halted away to the Sea-side (where he had shipping long before provided against all that might happen) & imbarqued himselfe for *Egypt*. He vvas louingly entertained by *Ptolomie* *Euergetes*; who vnderooke to restore him to his Kingdome, and (perhaps) meant no lesse, as being much delighted with his gallant behaviour and qualities. In the meane season he had a pension allowed him, of foure and twenty Talents yearly. But this *Ptolomie* died; and his son *Ptolomie* *Philopater* succeeded him: a vicious young Prince, vvholly gouerned by lewd Women, and base Men, vnmindfull of all vertue, and hating any in vvhom it vvas found. When therefore *Cleomenes* was desirous to returne into *Greece*, whither the troubles in *Peloponnesus*, did seeme to inuite him; *Ptolomie* and his Minions, vwould neither giue him aide, nor yet dared to dismisse him (as he desired) to trie his own friends in *Greece*, because he vvas too well acquainted with the weaknesse of *Egypt*: nor well knew how to detain him against his will. At length they deuised matter against him, and made him prisoner. The last act of him, vvas, that vwith thirty of his Countreimen, he vnderooke a desperate enterprise: breaking out of the prison, and prouoking the *Alexandrians* to rebell and seeke their liberty. In vvhich attempt he slue some enemies of his that he met; and hauing walked vp and down the streets without resistance (no man offering to take his part, or, which is very strange, to fight against him on the Kings behalfe) he, and his Companions, agreed together to be ministers of their own death. Vpon his dead body *Ptolomie* vvas bold to shew his indignation: and slue his Mother and Children, that had bin sent thither as Hostages, together vwith the vviues of his Adherents, as many as were there, attending vpon the old Queene. Such vvas the end of *Cleomenes*; a generous Prince, but Son of *Leonidas*, vvhich had caused *Agis*, with his Mother and Grand-mother, to come to such a bloody end, as now befell his own Wife, Son, and Grand-children.

After the victory at *Selasia*, *Antigonus* without resistance entred *Sparta*: vvhetherin to seeke the force of any Enemy, before him, could make vvvay: he kindly aduised

the Citizens, and left them to their own Lawes and Gouernment: tarrying there no longer than two or three daies; after which he hastened out of *Peloponnesus*, and neuer returned. The cause of his speedy departure was, an aduertisement that he receiued out of *Macedon*; how the *Illyrians* ouer-ran, and destroyed the Countrey. Had these newes come a little sooner, or had *Cleomenes* either deferred the fight a few daies longer, or at least-wise tarried a few daies after the fight, in *Sparta*: the Kingdome of *Lacedaemon* would haue stood, and perhaps haue extended it selfe ouer all *Greece*. But God had otherwise determined.

*Antigonus* fought a great battaile with the *Illyrians*, and ouercame them. Yet therein he caught his bane: not by any wound, but by ouer straying his voyce; wherewith he brake a veine that bled inwardly, and in short space finished his life, vvhich was troubled before with a consumption of the lungs. His Kingdome descended vnto *Philip*, the son of *Demetrius*, being then a Boy: as also about the same time it was, that *Antiochus*, surnamed (I know not why) *the Great*; and *Prulomus Philopater*; began to reigne in *Asia*, and *Egypt*: Boyes all. Of these, *Prulomus*, though old enough to loue Harlots, when he first was King, yet continued a Boy, all the seventeen yeares of his reigne. The vnripe age of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, bred such intestine inconuenience to their Kingdomes, as is vntill the minority of Princes: but their elder yeares brought them acquainted with the *Romans*; vpon vvhich occasion, vvhether it comes, we shall more seasonably speake of them, and of their Kingdomes, more at large.

## S. VII.

How the *Illyrians* infested the coast of *Greece*, and how they were subdued by the *Romans*.

W Hile things thus passed in *Greece*, and whilest the *Carthaginians* were busie in their conquest of *Spainne*: the *Romans* had found themselves work among the *Sardinians* and *Corsejans*, that were easily subdued at first, and easily vanquished again, when they rebelled. They made also war with the *Illyrians*, wherein they got much honour vvvith little pain. With the *Gauls* they had much ado, that lasted not long; being rather, as *Linus* saith, a tumult than a war. So that by all these light victories their valour was hardly kept from rust. How they got the Islands in the *Mediterranean Sea*; it hath bin shewed before: of their dealings with *Illyrians* and *Gauls*, it is not meete to be utterly silent.

The *Illyrians* inhabited the Countrey now called *Slauonia*: a troublesome Nation, impatient of rest, and continually making war for gaine, without either regard of friend or foe. They were inuited by *Demetrius* King of *Macedon*, to help the *Mydionians*; his friends, that were besieged by the *Aetolians*; for that they refused to be of their society. Before the *Illyrians* succours came, the *Mydionians* were so far spent, that the *Aetolians* contended about the booty: the old Praetor, or chiefe Magistrate of their Nation, who was going out of his Office, claying to haue the honour of the victory, and the diuision of the spoyle to be referred vnto him; for that he had in a manner brought the siege to an end, and won the towne: others, that were in hope to be chosen into the Office, contradicting this, and desiring that old orders might be kept. It was a prettie strife, and somewhat like to that of the *French* in later ages, who thought vpon diuiding the prey, before they had vwon the victories, which anon they lost, at *Poitiers* and *Agincourt*. The *Aetolians* wisely compounded the difference, ordering it thus; That the old, & the new Praetor, should be ioynly intitled in the victorie, and haue equal authority in distribution of the gettings. But the *Illyrians* finished the strife much more elegantly, & after another fashion. They arrived, and landed, ere any was aware of them; they fell vpon the *Aetolians*, and though good resistance was made, yet got the victory, partly by force of their multitude, partly by the help of the *Mydionians*, that were not idle in their own busines, but stoutly sallied out of the Towne. Many of the *Aetolians* were slaine, more were taken, their Campe and all their baggage was lost: the *Illyrians* tooke the spoyle, & went their way; the *Mydionians* erected a Trophie, inscribing the names, both of their old and new Magistrate (for they also chose new Officers at the same time) as the *Aetolians* had directed them by example.

The successe of this voyage, highly pleased *Agrippa* King of the *Illyrians*: not only on regard

regard of the money, wherewith *Demetrius* had hired his assistance; or of the booty that was gotten; but for that hauing vanquished the *Romans* of *Hispania*, he found it not vnreasonable, to enrich himselfe by setting vpon the *Illyrian* warlike. For he by this he looked, and drank so immoderately, that he fell into a *Phurise*, which in a few dayes ended his life. His Kingdome, together with his great hopes, he left vnto *Tolus*, his wife.

*Tolus* gaue her people free liberty, to rob all sorts at Sea, making no difference between friend and foe; as if she had bin sole Mistress of the *Ionian* Waters. She armed a fleet, and sent it into *Orion*, vvvilling her Captained, to make vvvare where they found advantage, without any farther respect. The fleet fell vvvith the westerne coast of *Peloponnesus*; where they inuaded the *Eleians*, and *Messinians*. Afterwards they returned along by *Epirus*, and stayed in the Citie of *Phenice*, to take in victualles and other necessities. There lay in *Phenice* eight hundred *Gauls*; that hauing bin Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians*, went about to betray, first *Agathocles*, then *Brax*, to the *Romans*; but failing to doe either, they neuertheless revolted, and were for their misdeeds disarmed, and sent to Sea by the *Romans*, yet entertained by these *Epirians*, and trusted to lye in Garrison within their Towne. The *Gauls* were loone growne acquainted with the *Illyrians*, to whom they betrayed *Phenice*; vvhich desired none other in trusting them. All *Epirus* was presently in armes, and hastned to driue out these vnwelcome guests. But whilest the *Epirians* lay before the Towne, there came newes into their Campe, of another *Illyrian* Armie, that was marching thitherward by Land, vnder one *Serdilaidas*, whom Queen *Troas* had sent to help his fellowes. Vpon this aduertisement; a part of them is sent away towards *Antigonis*, to make good that Towne, & the streights adjoining, by vvhich these new commers must enter into their Countrey; another part *Phenice* remains at *Phenice*, to continue the siege. Neither the one, nor the other, sped vvvell in their businesse. For *Serdilaidas* found meane to ioyne vvvith his fellowes; and they that were besieged within *Phenice*, sallied out of the towne, and gaue such an ouerthrow to the *Epirians*, as made them despaire of having that Countrey, without great and speedy help from abroad. Wherefore Embassadors were sent to the *Aetolians* and *Aetolians*: craving their help, with very pittifull tearmes of entreatie. They obtained their suite; neither was it long, before an Armie, sent by these two Nations, was ready in *Epirus*, to preface battaile vnto *Serdilaidas*. But *Serdilaidas* was called home, by letters from *Troas*, the Queen, that signified a rebellion of some *Illyrians* against her: so that he had no meane to put his forces to hazard, but offered composition, vvhich was accepted. The agreement was; That the *Epirians* might ransom their Towne, and all their people that were prisoners; and that the *Illyrians* should quietly depart, with all their booty and slaues. Hauing made this profitable and honourable bargain; the *Illyrians* returned into their own Countrey by Land; sending their booty away by Sea. At their coming home, they found no such great trouble; as that which they brought, or had occasioned in this voyage. For in fulfilling the commandment of their Queene, they had taken many *Italian* Merchants, whilest they lay at *Phenice*; and made them good prize. Hereof the complaints, made vnto the *Roman* Senate, were so frequent, that Embassadors were sent to require of *Tolus*, that she should abstaine from doing such iniurie. These Embassadors found her very iolly; both for the riches which her fleet had brought in; and for that she had, in short space, tamed her Rebels, and brought all to good order, save only the towne of *Issa*, vvhich her forces held streightly besieged. Swelling with this prosperity, she could hardly afford a good look to the *Romans*; that found fault with her doings, and calling them by true name, *Piracy*, required amends. Yet when their speech was ended, the vouchsafed to tell them, That iniury in publicke she would do them none: as for priuate matters, no account was to be made of them; neither was it the manner of Kings to forbid their Subjects to get commodity, how they best could by Sea. But (said the younger of the two Embassadors) we *Romans* haue a manner, & a very laudable one, to take reuenge in publicke, of those priuate wrongs that are borne out by publicke authority: therefore we shall teach you, God willing, to reforme your kingly manners, and learne better of vs. These words the Queeneooke so impatiently, that no reuenge could satisfie her, but the death of him that had spoken them. Wherefore, without all regard of the common Law of Nations, she caused him to be slaine: as if that had bin the way, to set her heart at rest; vvhich vvas indeed the meane, to disquiet and afflict it ever after.

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The Romans, prouoked by this outrage, prepare two great Armies; the one by Sea, consisting of two hundred saile, commanded by C. Fulvius; the other by Land, led by A. Postumius. They trouble not themselves any more, with requiring satisfaction for this iniurie, of such nature, as must be requir'd with mortall war. It is indeede contrary to all humane Law, to vse violence towards Embassadors: the reason and ground whereof, seemes to be this; that since without mediation, there would neuer be an end of vvar and destruction, therefore it was equally receiued by all Nations; as a lesson taught by Nature, that Embassadors should passe freely, & in safety, between enemies. Neuertheless, as I take it, this generall Law is not without limitation. For if any King or State, lay hold vpon Embassadors sent by their enemies, not vnto themselves, but vnto some third, whom they should draw into the quarrell; then it is as lawfull, to vse violence to those Embassadors (thus employed, to make the war more terrible) as it is to kill the men of war, & subiects of an enemy. And so might the Athenians haue answered it, when they slew the Lacedemonian Embassadors, that were sent to Xerxes; to draw him into a vvar vpon the Athenians. Neither are those Embassadors, which practise against the person of that Prince, in whose Countries they reside, warranted by any Law whatsoeuer. For whereas the true Office of an Embassador residing, is the maintenance of amitie; if it be not lawfull for one Prince, to practise against the life of another, much lesse may an Embassador do it without incurring iustly the same danger of punishment, with other Traitors; in which case his place giues him no priuiledge at all. But we will leaue this dispute to the Civilians, and go on with the reuenge, taken by the Romans, for the slaughter of their Embassadors Corinacians.

The Illyrian Queen was secure of the Romans, as if they would not dare to stir against her. She was indeed in an error; that hath vndone many of all sorts, greater and lesse than she, both before and since: Having more regard vnto fame, than vnto the substance of things. The Greeks were at that time more famous than the Romans; the Aetolians and Epirots had the name of the most warlike people in Greece; these had the easily vnmolested, and therefore thought, that with the Romans she should be little troubled. Had she considered, that her whole Army, which wrought such wonders in Greece, was not much greater, than of ten thousand men; & that neuertheless, it prevailed as much, by odds of number, as by valour, or skill in armes; she would haue continued to vse her advantage against those that were of more fame than strength, with such good caution, that she should not haue needed to oppose her late-gotten reputation, against those that were more mighty than her selfe. But she was a woman, and did what she list'd. She sent forth a greater fleet than before, vnder Demetrius of Pharus; with the like ample commission to take all that could be gotten. This fleet diuided it selfe, & one part of it fell with Dyrrachium, the other with Corcyra. Dyrrachium, was almost surpris'd by the Illyrians; yet was it rescued by the stout Citizens. In Corcyra the Illyrians landed, wast'd the Ile, and besieged the Towne. Hereupon the Aetolians and Achaeans, were called in to helpe; who came, and were beaten in a fight at Sea; losing, besides others of lesse note, Marcus Caryneus, the first Prætor of Achaia, whom Aratus succeeded. The Town of Corcyra, dismaid with this ouerthrow, opened the gates vnto Demetrius Pharius, who took possession of it, with an Illyrian Garrison sending the rest of his forces to besiege Dyrrachium. In the meane season, Tenta was angry with her Capitaine Demetrius: I know not why; but so, as she refused to trie any other course, rather than to trust her.

The Romans were euen ready to put to Sea, though vncertaine which way to take, when advertisement was brought to C. Fulvius the Consull, of Demetrius his feare and discontent. Likely it was, that such an occasion might greatly helpe to aduance the business in hand. Wherefore the Consull sail'd thither; where he found the Town of Corcyra so well prepared to his hand by Demetrius, that it not only receiued him willingly, but deliuered into his power the Illyrian Garrison, and submitted it selfe vnto the Roman protection.

After this good beginning, the Consull sail'd along the coast, to Apollonia, accompanied with Demetrius, whom he vs'd thenceforth as his counsailler and guide. To Apollonia came also Postumius, the other Consull, with the Land-Armie, numbered at twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Thence they haften towards Dyrrachium, which the Illyrians had besieged; but vpon newes of the Roman Armie, they disperse themselves.

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From thence the Romans enter Illyria, and take Parthenia; beat the Illyrians by Sea, take twenty of their ships, and enforce the Queene Tenta to forsake the coast, and to couer her selfe in Rifon, far within the Land. In the end, part of the Romans haste them homeward, and leaue the best places of Illyria in the hands of Demetrius; another part staies behinde, and prosecutes the war, in such sort, that Tenta was forced to beg peace: which she obtained vpon miserable conditions; to wit, That she should quit the better part of Illyria, & pay tribute for the rest; & from thenceforth, neuer send any of her ships of war, towards the coasts of Greece, beyond the Ile of Lissa: except it were some one or two vessels, vnmard, and by way of Trade.

After this Illyrian war, the Romans sent Embassadors into diuers parts of Greece, signifying their loue to the Country, and how, for good will therunto, they had made war with good successe vpon Tenta, and her people. They hoped, belike, that some distressed Cities would take this occasion, to desire their patronage: which if it hapned, they were wise enough to play their own games. But no such matter fell out. The Embassadors were only rewarded with thanks; and a decree made at Corinth, That the Romans thenceforth might be partakers of the Illyrian pastimes. This was an idle courtesie, but well meant by the vaine Greeks, & therefore well taken by the Romans: who by this Illyrian Expedition got nothing in Greece, saue a little acquaintance, that shall be more hereafter.

## §. VIII.

Of the warre betwene the Romans and Gaules, somewhat before the coming of Hannibal into Italie.

THE Gaules that dwelt in Lombardie, were the next, against whom the Romanes tooke Armes. These were a populous Nation, and often molested Rome; sometimes with their own forces, and sometimes with the assistance of those that inhabited France. Once their fortune was good; when they tooke Rome, and burnt it: though the issue of that war proued not answerable to the beginning; if we may giue credit vnto Roman Historians. In following times, their successe was variable, and commonly bad. Many ouerthrowes they receiued; and if they got any victory, it yielded them no profit, but was soone extorted out of their hands. They were indeede more fierce, than well aduis'd: lightly stirred vp to vvar, and lightly giuing ouer. At the first brunt, they were said to be more than men; but when that was past, lesse than women. The Romans were acquainted with their temper, by long experience, and knew how to handle them: yet gaue alwayes careful heed to their approach, were it only bruyed. For the danger of them was sudden, and vncertaine; by reason of their neighbourhood and want of intelligence among them. Few of their attempts vpon Rome, were called warres, but tumults Gallici, tumults of the Gaules: and rightly. For they gaue many alarms to Italia, and vsed to rise with great Armies: but after a few dayes march, and sometimes before their setting forth, any small occasion serued to disperse them. Having receiued an ouerthrow; they would rest ten or twelue years, sometimes twenty or thirty: till they were stirred vp again, by younger heads, vnacquainted with the danger. Whilest they rested, the state of Rome, that against these made only defense vvar, had leisure to grow, by setting vpon others. Herein God prouided well for that Monarchie, which he intended to raise: that the Gaules neuer fell vpon Italie with a mighty power, in the time of any other great and dangerous war. Had they attempted to conquer it, whilest Pyrrhus was traueling in the same enterprise; or in either of the two former Punicke wars: it may be doubted what would haue become of this imperious Citie. But it seemes that the Gaules had no better intelligence in the affaires of Italie, than strangers had in Gaule. At least, they knew not how to vse their times: and were therefore like to smart, whensoever the enemies, whom they had much prouoked, and little hurt, should finde leisure to visit them at their own home: which was now after the first Punicke Warre. Once before this, the Romans had bin bold, to set vpon the Gaules in their own Country: and that was three years before the coming of Pyrrhus into Italie. At that time the Senones, a Tribe of the Gaules, invading Etruria, and besieging Arretinum, had won a great battaile, and slaine L. Cælius with the most of his Armie. Mannius Curius the new Consull, sent Embassadors to them, to treat about ranfome of prisoners. But these

Embassa-

a Dyrrachium, sometime called Epidauris, and now Durazzo, seated vpon the Adriatick Sea, betwene the Islands of Pharus & Corcyra, in the Adriatick Sea, not farre from Durazzo: called now Corfu, and in the possession of the Venetians.

c Apollonia, Citie neere Dyrrachium, or Durazzo, vpon the Sea-coast: Pictus calls it Sipontin.



Embassadors they ſue. Therefore when fortune turned to the better, the *Romans* followed it ſo well, that they expelled the *Senones* out of their Country, & ſent a Colonie of their own to inhabit it. This cauſed the *Boj*, another people of *Gaul*, to feare the like meſure: who thereupon tooke armes, and drew the *Hetrurians* to their ſide. But the *Romans* ouerthrew them in two great battailes; and thereby made them ſue for peace, which laſted vntill this end of the *Illyrian* war.

It vexed the *Gauls*, to see a *Roman* Colony planted in their Country; who had bin accustomed to enlarge their bounds, by draining out their Neighbours perforce. Wherefore they laboured with the *Transalpinos* (so the *Romans* called those in *France*, as lying from them beyond the *Alpes*, though to vs they were neerer; like as they called *Cisalpinos*, or by-hinder the *Alpes*, those who dwelt between them and the Mountains) to draw them to their party: reasonably presuming, that as their dis-iunction had caused their losse, so their union might recompence it, with large amends. But the buineffe was so foolishly carried, that the *Cisalpinos* and *Transalpinos*, fell together by the eares, putting the *Romans* only to a summe, without further trouble of war. Soone after, they were urged by a greater indignity, to go more substantially to work. For *C. Flaminius*, a popular man in *Rome*, proposed a Decree which was ratified by the people; That, besides one Colony already planted in the territory of the *Senones*, as many more should be caried thither, as would sene to people the whole Country between *Arcona* and *Ariminum*: exterminating utterly those *Gauls*. Such an offer, were it made in *England*, concerning either *Irish*, or *Guiana* it self, would not over-joy the Multitude. But the Commonalty of *Rome* took this to be in good part, notwithstanding all danger ioyned with the benefit, that *Flaminius* had ever after their good will.

This dreadful President extremely displeased the *Boj*: who being Neighboursto *Ariminum*, feared the like displacement. And because the rest of the *Gauls* had reason to refuse, that themselves also should be rooted out by degrees; the great Nation of the *Imfubrians*, which inhabited the Duchy of *Milan*, joyned with the *Boj*, and vpon a common purfe entertained the *Geates*, Nations about *Rhodanus*, wageable as the *Switzers* in these times. The *Geates* having receiued agreat Imprest, come to the field vnder the conduct of their Kings, *Concolitanus* and *Aneroeslus*: who with the *Boj* and *Imfubrians*, compounded an Armie of fiftie thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, and those off the best men, and best appointed, that euer invaded the *Roman* Territorie: to whom, the *Senegalli*, that had bin beaten out of their possessions, gaue a great increase of strength. On the contrary side, the *Venetians*, and the *Cenomanni*, adhered to the *Romans*: as better beleeuing in their prosperitie & rising fortune. For feare of vvhofe incursions therefore, the *Gauls* were forced to leaue a good part of their Armie, on the frontier of *Milan*: vvhith the rest of their forces they entred into *Tuscanie*. The *Romans* hearing of this danger, send *Emilius* to *Rimini*, to stop their passage; and in the place of *C. Asilius* their other Consul, who then was in *Sardinia*, they imploy one of their Prætors, for the defence of *Tuscanie*.

Being at this time greatly troubled, with the consideration of this powerfull Armie, which the *Gauls* had assembled, they caule a view to be taken, as well of all their owne forces, as of those of their Allies: vvhoe were no lesse willing than themselves, to oppose the incurfions of the barbarous people; fearing, as they had cause, that their owne destruction could not be prevented otherwise, than by the good fortune of *Rome*. The numbers, found in this Muster, deserue to be recorded: because they set out the power of the *Romans* in those dayes. With the Consulls they sent forth to the war foure Legions of their owne: euery Legion consisting of fise thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; and of their Allies, thirtie thousand foot, and two hundred horse. There were also appointed for Supplies (if any misaduenture came to these) of the *Sabinis* and *Hetrurians* fify thousand foot, and foue thousand horse; which Armie was to be lodged in the border of *Hetruria*. Of the *Vmbri* and *Saracines*, which inhabited the *Apennines*, there were twentie thousand; and of the *Venetians* and *Cecumans*, other twenty thousand: which latter Armies were directed, to invade the *Boj*, that forcing them to defend their owne Territories, the generall Armie of the *Gauls* should be thereby greatly diminished. There were besides these, to be ready against all vncertaine chances of war, thirtie thousand foot, and fiftene hundred horse, garrison in *Rome* it selfe, of their owne people; and of their Allies, thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Over and

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of the History of the World.

about the ſe. great troopes; in the Roll of the *Lalines*; that was ſent vnto the Senato; there were numbred foureſcore thouſand foot, and ſixtythouſand horſe; in that of the *Stun- nio*; ſeventie thouſand foot, and of horſe ſeven thouſand; in that of the *Magno*; ſixtyſcore ſappes, fiftythouſand foot, and ſixteene thouſand horſe; the *Lucens* ſena liſt of thirtie thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; the *Marſi*, *Marrucini*, *Ereuntani*, and the *Reſtini*, of twentythouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. The *Romans* had alſo two Legions in *Sicil*, and about *Tarentum*, containing eight thouſand four hundred foot, & four hundred horſe. So as of the *Romans* and *Campani* ioynly, reckoning men armed, and fit to beare armes, there were regiſtred two hundred and fiftythouſand foot; and of horſe, three and twentythouſand: of which, reckoning the *Romans* apart, there were an hundred and fiftythouſand foot, and about fixe thouſand horſe. Caſting vp the whole forces of all the Provinces in *Italie*, both of the *Romans* & their Confederates, it amounted to ſixten hundred thouſand foot, and ſeventy thouſand horſe. But the number is ſomewhat miſſe-caſt by *Polypius*; not with a purpoſe to enrich himſelf by the dead paies; for where hee reckons nine hundred horſe too many, hee falls ſhort nine thouſand two hundred of the foot.

How great fouler this Muster was, it seemes to haue been like vnto that, which *Lodouick* made, when *Lewis* the twelfth invaded *Milan*: at what time, the better to encourage himselfe, and his subiects, he tooke a Roll of all persons able to beare armes, within the Duchie, though indeed he were neuer able to bring a tenth part of them into the field. Certaine it is, that the battailes of *Trebia*, *Trasymene*, and *Cannae*, did not consume any such proportion, as was answerable to this large account. Yet were the *Romans* faine to arme their slaues, euen for want of other Souldiers, after their ouerthrow at *Cannae*. Wherefore the maner is not great, that the *Carthaginians* and others were licenced, with report of such a multitude. For all heads are not fit for Helmes: though the *Roman* Citizens were, in general, as good fighting men, as elsewhere might be found.

Notwithstanding all these counter-preparations, the *Gauls* keepe on their way : and entering into *Tuscane*, destroy, and put to fire and sword, all that lay before them. From thence they march directly towards *Rome*; hoping to finde the *Romans*, rather in deliberation, than in the field. But their intelligence failes them. For the *Roman Army*, sent into *Tuscane*, having taken some other way than they did, and finding that it had misse of them, came againe fast after them, to arrest them in their journey. Hereof when they heard the rumour, fearing to be charged on their backs, they turned head : and in the same evening discouered the *Roman Army*, by whom they incamped. It was now a matter of apparent necessity, that light they must. Wherefore they helped themselves with *stratagem* : that shewed no great finess of wit, but such, as well befitted those that had none other occupation than warre ; and stood them in good stead at the present. In the dead of the night, they cause their foot to march away, but not farre : leaving their horse in guard ; to whom they giue order, to come off at the first light of day, with such a speed, as might rather argue a running away, than a reitrait, as if they had not dared to abide battaile. The *Romans*, interpreting this their hasty departure, as the *Gauls* desired they should, follow them in disorder. The *Gauls* returne ; charge them, and kill five thousand vpon the place ; the rest take a piece of ground of aduantage, and defend themselves, till *L. Aemilius*, being at *Ariminum*, comes to their succour. Vpon the comming of the Consul, the *Gauls* consult, whether they should giue the *Romans* battaile, or forbear. In which dispute, *Anacrosius*, one of their Kings, perswades them, rather to returne into their owne Countries ; where, after they had disposed of the great spoiles and riches which they had gotten, they should then renew the warre, being without carriage, post, or other impediment. This aduice they all embrace ; for seeing they that were Mercenaries, had obtained what they came for, to wit, the spoiles of their enemies ; they thought it wisdome, to hazard neither it, nor themselves, any further.

This indeed had been a good resolution, if they had taken it, before the enemy had been in sight. But as well in the warres of these latter ages, as in former times, it hath been found extreme dangerous, to make a retreat in the Head of an Enemies Army. For although they that retire, doe often turne head; yet in alwaies going on from the pursuing enemy, they finde within a few miles, either a right hedge, ditch, or place of disadvantage, which they are enforced to passe in disorder. In such cases, the Souldier



knowes it, as well as the Capitaine, that he which forsakes the field, perceives, and fears some advantage of the Enemies. For which is the betrayer of these flicours that Reason offereth, when it hath once possessed the heart of man, it casteth thence both courage and understanding. They that make the retreat, are always in feare to be abandoned; they that lead the way, feare to be engaged: and so the hindmost treads on his heels that is foremost, and consequently, all disband, run, & perith, if those that fauour the retreat, be not held to it by men of great courage. The miserable ouerthrow that the French received in Naples, in the year 1503, vpon a retreat made by the *Marques of Sal*, doth testify no lesse. For although a great troupe of French horse sustained the pursuing Enemy a long time, and gaue the foot leisure to trot away; yet being retarded by often turnings, the Spanish foot overtooke, and defeated them vnterly. During the wars between the Imperials, & the French, *Boiss* and *Mont* were lost at *Brignolles*, who in a brauery would needs see the Enemy, before they left the field. So was *Stroff* ouerthrowne by the *Marques of Narbonne*, because he could not be persuaded, to dislodge the night before the *Marques* his arriuall. Therefore did the French King *Francis* the first, wisely: when without respect of point of honour, he disloded from before *Landersey*, by night; as many other, the most aduised Capitaines, (nor finding themselves in case to giue battaile) haue done. *Je ne trouue point* (saith the *Marshall Monluc*) *au fait des armes chose si difficile, qu'une retraite; i finde nothing in the art of warre so difficult, as to make a safe retreat.* A sure rule it is, that there is lesse dishonor to dislodge in the darke, than to be beaten in the light. And hereof *M. de la Noue* giues this iudgement of a dayes retreat, made in France, presently before the battaile at *Moncontour*. For (saith he) staying vpon our reputation, in sliew, not to dislodge by night; we lost our reputation indeede, by disloding by day: whereby we were forced to fight vpon our disadvantage, and to our ruine. And yet did that vvorthy Gentleman, *Count Lodowick of Nassau*, brother to the late famous Prince of Orange, make the retreat at *Moncontour* with so great resolution, as he saued the one half of the Protestant Army, then broken and disbanded; of vvhich my selfe was an eye-witnesse, and was one of them that had cause to thanke him for it.

Now the *Gauls*, embracing the safe aduice (as they take it) of one of their Kings; turn their backs to the enemy, and their faces homeward. *Emilius* follows them, as neer as he can, without ingaging himselfe, attending his advantage. In the meane while, *C. Attilius* the other Consul, with the Legions of *Sardinia*, lands at *Pisa*; so as the *Gauls*, inclosed between two Armies are forced to fight. They therefore equally strengthen their Rear, and Front. To sustaine *Emilius*, they appoint the *Gessates*, and the *Milanes*, in the Front, they range the *Piemontois*, and the rest of the *Gauls* inhabiting vpon the Riuers of *Po*. The manner of the fight *Polybius* describeth at large: which was well fought of all hands. But in the end the *Gauls* fell; and so did *Attilius* the Consul: who died in the place, accompanied with the two Kings of the *Gauls*, *Concolitanus* and *Anermus*, with forty thousand of their Vassals.

After this fatal ouerthrow, the *Gauls* lost courage, and ere long, all that they held in *Italy*. For they were inuaded the year following this ouerthrow, by the new Consuls, *Fulvius* and *Manlius*. The Romans knew vvell how to vse their victory: they gaue not ten, twentie, or thirty yeares time, to the *Gauls*, to repaire their forces, as the *Gauls* had done to them. These new Consuls beat the *Boj*; but by reason of the great rains that fell, and the great pestilence that reigned, they were compelled for that present to surcease. In the second year, *Furius*, & *Flaminius*, inuade the *Milanes*; and preuaile very far, being strongly assisted by the *Genouani* and the *Venetians*. Neuerthelike these Consuls were reuoked out of their Prouince, by the Senate of Rome, & compelled to resigne their Office: because the *Amures*, or *South fayers*, had found, that some token or other of the Birds (in which, and all sorts of their diuination, the Romans were extremely superstitious) had not onely foreshewed little good, when they were chosen, but had also nullified the election. *C. Flaminius*, receiuing letters of this reuocation, from the Senate, & being otherwise aduersified of the contents, was not hable to open them: but first gaue battaile vnto the enemies, vanquished them, and spoiled their Country; then perused the letters, & returning home obtained a triumph, for against the will of the Senate, and not altogether with good liking of the people, who yet bore him out, for that he sided in faction with the Commonalty, though a man of great Nobilitie.

This was that *Flaminius*, who had propounded the Decree, for diuiding the Countrey of the Senones among the people of Rome. He was the first, or one of the first, that vnderstanding the Maiestie of Rome to be indeed wholly in the people, and no otherwise in the Senate, than by way of Delegation, or grant Communion, did not stand highly vpon his birth and degree, but courted the multitude, and taught them to know and vse their power, ouer himselfe, and his fellow-Senators, in reforming their disorders. For this, the Commons highly esteemed him, and the Senators as deeply hated him. But he had the fury side, and found imitators, that rose by the same art, vvhich in proceesse of time grew the onely or chiefe way to preferment.

*Flaminius* and his Colleague, being deposed, *M. Caudius Marcellus*, and *C. Cornelius Scipio*, were chosen Consuls, for the rest of that year. The *Gauls* about this time desired peace, and were like to haue obtained it: though the new Consuls were againe inuading by way of work. But when thirty thousand of the *Gessates*, following their King *Britannicus*, were come ouer the Alpes, & ioyned with the *Insubrians*, & all other discourses, of the present warre, was at an end. So the Consuls halted into their Prouince, where they beleaged *Acerre*, a town not farre from *Nouaro* (so far had the Romans pressed already in the Duchie of Milan. To ouert them from this siege, *Britannicus* far down before *Clastidium*, a towne in the same Tract, with great part of his force, leaving the rest, with the *Insulbrians*, to attend vpon the Consuls at *Acerre*, and to look to the defence of Milan. But this would not suffice, to make the Romans breake vpon their siege. *Marcellus*, taking with him the greatest part of the horse, and fixe hundred foot lightly armed, thought to deale well enough with those at *Clastidium*. *Britannicus* heard of the Consuls coming, and met him vpon the way: so suddenly, that the Romans had no leisure to refresh themselves after their iourney, but were compelled instantly to fight: Herein *Britannicus* had done well, if he had not forthwith, in a rash brauery, lost his game at a cast. He had advantage enough in number, both of horse and foot: but he thought so well of his own personal valour, that he rode out single before his Armie, prouoking any one to fight with him. *Marcellus* was no lesse daring, than the barbarous king: whether more in this action, I will not dispute, he was more fortunate, and that sufficed to comfort him. He slue and disarmed *Britannicus*, in presence of both Armies: whereby his own mentooke such courage, and his enemies were so dismayed, that without much trouble of fight the Romans obtained a great victory.

This was the third and last time, that euer any Roman Generall slue the Generall of the enemies, vvith his owne hand. To this kinde of victory, belonged a peculiar triumph, whereof onely *Romulus*, *Cassius*, and this *Marcellus*, had the honour: yet I dare say, that the two *Scipios*, and diuers other Roman Capitaines, especially *Cesar*, were better men of warre than any of these three, though they neuer offered vp to *Iupiter*, *Optima spolia*. The Armour of a Generall slaine by himselfe, when they were Generalls, nor perhaps as soldiers to doe.

After this victory, *Acerre* was yielded to the Romans, & Milan soone after vvith all that belonged to the *Cisalpinos*, or *Gauls*, that dwelt in *Lumbardie*. Thus was that valiant and mighty Nation, that had so many yeeres vexed the State of Rome, and in former times had the Citie soke, brought to nothing in a short time, their pleasant and fertile Territories possessed by the Romans, and the remainder of their Nation, inhabiting *Italy*, for many as would not submit their necks to the Roman yoke, either forced to band on their Countreies, or to hide themselves in the cold and barren Mountaines, like *Outlawes* and *Thieues*. And thus did the Romans spend the three and twentie yeeres, following the peace made with *Carthage*. In part of vvhich time, they were at such leisure, as they did vs the Temple of *Ianus*: which they neuer did before, (it standing alvvayes open, when they had any warre) since once in the reigne of *Numa*, nor in long time since vvith the reigne of *Augustus*. But this their present happinesse was not to last long: a longardus warre, and perhaps the greatest that had euer been, was to come vnto them.

Which being well considered, they might boldly undertake, to extend their Monarchie as far as their ambition could reach.

### CHAP. III.

*Of the second Punic Warre.*

§. I.

*The Warres of Hanniball in Spain. Quarrels betwene the Romans and Carthaginians, Hanniball besiegeth and taketh Saguntum, whilst the Romans are busied with the Illyrian, warre proclaimed between Rome and Carthage.*

**H**annibal, the sonne of *Amilcar*, was about fixe and twenty years old, when he was chosen Generall of the Carthaginian forces in Spain. He was elected by the Armie, as soone as *Asdrubal* was dead : and the election was ratified by the State of Carthage; wherewith *Hanno* and his Complices were nothing pleased. This was now the third of the Barchine family (so called of *Amilean*, whose surname was *Barchin*) that had command in chiefe, ouer the mee of warre. Which honour would perhaps have beene lesse enuied by these domestick enemies; if the Allies and Friends of the Barchine house, had not also borne the whole sway in government, and been the onely men regarded, both by the Senate and the people. This generall good will, as it was first purchased by the most worthy deserts of *Amilcar*, in saving his Countrie from imminent ruine, inlarging the Dominion thereof, and enriching it with treasures and great reuenues; so was it retained by the same good arts, among his friends and followers. *Hanno* therefore, and his Partisans, being neither able to tax the vertue of their enemies, that was vnreprouable; nor to performe the like seruices vnto the Common-weale; had nothing left, whereby to value themselves, excepting the generall reprehension of Warre, and cautious aduice of not prouoking the Romans. This they ieaoused other-whiles with detraction, saying, that the Barchine faction went about to oppresse the libertie of the Citie. But their malicious words were vnregarded; and if it were factious, to beare ill will to Rome, then were all the Citizens (very few excepted) no lesse Barchine, than *Hannibal* himselfe. For it was long since apparant, that the oath of the Romans, to the articles of peace, afforded no securitie to Carthage, were the neuer so quiet, and officious; vnlesse she would yeeld to become their Subiect. Since therefore the peace was like to hold no longer, than whilst the Romans could finde some good aduantage to renew the vvarre: it was rather desired by the Carthaginians, that whilst their owne state was in good case, the vvarre should begin, than that in some vnhappy time of famine or pestilence, or after some great losse of Armie or Fleet, they should be driuen to yeeld vnto the impudent demands of their enemies; and to giue away safely their lands and treasures, as they had lately done, or miserably fight, vpon tearmes of disadvantage.

This disposition of his countymen, *Hannibal* well understood. Neither was he ignorant for his father, and other friends, had long time devised of this business; that in making war with the Romans, it was no small advantage to get the start of them. If once he could bring an Armie into Italy, without molestation; there was good hope, that he should finde friends and assistance, even of those people, that helped to increase the Roman armies in foreign wars. But this could never be effected, if the matter were openly disputed at Carthage. For it was to be doubted, that the Carthaginians, how glad soever they would be, to hear that he had set the war on foot, would nevertheless be slow and timorous, as commonly men are in the beginning of great enterprises, if the matter were referred to their deliberation. Which if it should happen, then were the Romans like to be made acquainted, not only with the generalities of his purpose, but with such particulars as must be discoursed of, in procuring allowance to his designe. This might suffice to disorder the whole Project. Wherefore, he resolved to lay siege unto Saguntum, which might seeme not greatly to concerne the Romans, and would highly please the Carthaginians, that had fresh in minde the indignitie of that Spanish Towns alliance with their halfe friends. So should he assaie both the patience of his enemies, and the disposition of his owne Citizens.

## Having

Having thus concluded, he never the less went forth and orderly to worke: and beginning with that of the way next in his way, approaching unto Saguntum by degrees. This he did (first) *Libre* to give some colour to his proceedings, as if he had not principally intended the warre against Saguntum, but had beene drawne thither by course of business. Yet reason teacheth plainly, that without regard of such formalities, it was needfull to finish the conquest of the rest, before he did any thing that should provoke the Romans. First therefore he entred upon the Territories of the \* Olindians, and having besieged *Althau* Lincolcaethen (a Cartia) their chiefe Citie, he became, in a few dayes, Master, not onely thereof, but of all the other townes of their Countrey. This Nation which he first undertooke, being subdued, and the winter at hand, he rested his Armie in New Carthage, or Carthagina, and imparted liberally to the Souldiers, the Spoiles he had gotten in his late conquest.

In the Spring following, he pursued the warre against the *Vaccæ*: and without any great difficulty, wan first *Salamanca*, now called *Salamanca*; and after it, *Arbucalla*: by which though not without a long siege, and great difficulty. But in his returne, he was put to the height, both of his courage, and of his Martiall judgement: For all such of the *Vaccæ*, as were able to beare armes, being made desperate, by the spoile of their country, with those of *Salamanca*, and of the *Olacides*; that had escaped in the late overthrow, joining themselves with the *Toletans*; compounded an Armie of an hundred thousand able men: and stayed *Hannibal* on the banks of the *River Tagus*, which runneth into the Sea by *Lisborne* in *Portugale*. These four Nations, having had experience of *Hannibals* invincible courage, and that he neuer saw enemy, vpon whom he durst not charge; were thoroughly resolu'd, that his naturall valour would at this timetho lessenthe cold aduise of discretion, than at other times it had seem'd to doe, wherein he took the like great occasion perswaded him to do it. But he that makes himselfe aboye of *Cynsell*, that all men may look through him; and discern the parts of his disposition, makes himselfe (withall) an Ass: & thereby teacheth others, either how to wile, or drue him: Wife men, though they haue single hearts in all that is iust and vertuous, yet they are like Coopers with double bottomes: which when others looke into, they perceiue, they see not all that they hold, on the hidden, and at once: It is true, that this *Carthaginian*, when he feru'd vnder *Hannibal*, was, of all the men of mark in *Africke*, the most aduenturous. But that which may becene a Captaine, or inferior Commander, doth not alwaies become a Chiefe: though it hath sometime succeded well with such great ones, as haue bene found more fortunate, than wise. At this time, our great Man of warre knew as well how to dissemble his courage, as at other times to make it good. For he withdrew himselfe from the *River* side, as if fearefull to stande thereby to draw out that great multitude, from their banks of aduantage: The *Spaniards*, apprehending this in such sort, as *Hannibal* desired that they should, thrust themselves in furier and disorder, vnder the *Swiss* *Armes*, with a purpose to charge the *Carthaginiens*, abandoning (as they thought for feare) the defence of the contrary side. But when *Hannibal* saw them in their way, and well lined out, he turned backe his Elephants to terrifie them in their landing; and thrust his best Men, both aboue and belowe them into the *River*: These carrying a kind of *Armes de jet*, sharpe at both ends, which they held in the middle of their body had such an aduantage on the foot, that when the *Riuer* vnder their *Prokes* diuided together, and vnable to beate out soft their bodies, as on firme ground; that they fell at those, (as a manner) without resistance, which were already thrust in their wayward, and pursued the rest, that fled like men amazed, with so great a flight, that in that day forward, there was no more to be feared on that side the *Riuer* of the *Spaniards*: except what they did the day following, in vph their hands against the *Car*

The Dominicans, perceiving the danger to their island, cried before they were hurt. They said that a flood of rocks, and bombarded them, as likely to suffer than the island, and they suffered in order to preserve their alliance and friendship with the conqueror of Cuba, while the Conquistador turned. This tale moved the Spaniards to make a report, that Oajima was already besieged. Henceupon some cried out the waters would be proclaimed by Land and Sea; as if that the two Confuls could be with them. And so the whole Spaniards went into Africa. But others went

\* A people (faith *Stephani*) neere the River of Ebro. But in the old description of Spain, in *Orellius*, they are found neere Tagus, and by *Strabo*, not far from New Carthage.

a A people of Castile the old.

b Arbucala, or Albricla, an inland Citie of the Vaccæ in Aragon.

more Roman-like to worke, and carried it. So it was onely concluded, that Embassadors should be sent into Spaine, to view the state of their Confederates, which were indeed none other, than the Saguntines. For if *Hannibal* intended warre, against Rome, it was likely, that he would give them, ere it were long, a more plausible occasion to take armes against him; if he had no such purpose, yet would it be in their power, to determine what they liked themselves, upon the report of these Embassadors, and thus their gravity in being not too rash at first, would serve to countenance their following Decree. Of these Embassadors *Lucius* reports, that they found *Hannibal* before Saguntum, but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to Carthage, where also they were not regarded, nor heard. But *Polybius* an Historian of sincerer lesse questionable, that they found him at Carthage, and had conference with him though such as left them doubtfull. This is more agreeable to the rest of *Hannibal* his whole course. And surely woe might wonder, why the Carthaginians should afterwards admit a more peremptorie Embassage (as *Lucius* confesseth) & fall to dispute about the covenants of peace, if they had rejected that which was sent vpon none other pretence, than pre-emption of warre.

Which the Embassadors passed to and fro, *Hannibal* prepared not onely his forces; but some Roman pictures, against Saguntum. He found out Mamertines, or people that should doe as the Mamertines in Sicily had done for the Romans; and employed him against the Saguntines. These were the Turdetani Nation adjoining to Saguntum, & having many quarrels with them: (as happens commonly among Neighbours) of which *Hannibal* himselfe had hatched a spore. Finding therefore such an occasion, wherfore it was, as made him able to say, that the Saguntines had first provoked him, he meddled with them, he made no more adoe, but sat down with his whole power before their Towne. He was now more secure, than he had formerly been, of his owne Citizens; for that they had not entertained the Roman Embassadors, with any trembling reverence, as of late years they had been wont. Neuertheless, he was glad of any hand, some colour, to shew his actions, not onely because the war, which he so much desired, was not proclaimed; but that he might not be checked in his course, as an open enemy, before he could set foot in Italie. The Romans had the like, though contrary desire. They were glad of the quarrell, as hoping, that Carthage, with all thereto belonging, should thereby in short space become their owne. Yet were they not hasty to the war, before they were ready to strike; but meant to temporize, until they had an Armie in readinesse to be sent into Spaine, where they thought to make Saguntum, the scene of the Warre.

In the meane while, *Demetrius Phalereus*, whom the Romans had made King over a great part of Illyria, rebelled against them either for that he found himselfe over-ruled by them, with hard conditions, or rather because he was of an untractable disposition. The commotion of the Gales, and afterward the state of the Carthaginian warre, emboldened him to despise his Benefactors and Patrons: whom he ought to have defended and aided in all perils, even with the hazard of his whole estate, which he had acquired of their gifts. But he was a Trustor to his owne Cleme[n]cy; and therefore dealt according to his hands, with those that had rewarded him for being such. First, he built ships; & sailed the Isles of Greece against the commands to which he was bound. Then he advanced himselfe to sit upon some place, wher the Romans kept in their owne hands. If he had begun sooner, or rather if he had stayed somewhat longer, he might have succeeded better. For the bulle with the Goats, was ended with *Hannibal* not through his negligence, when he declared himselfe his doings, an enemy; and not through the fault of the Senate. *Scipio* was sent against him, and in such manner, that the Romans were of all humors, and therefore through such reproach upon the Senate round about, that Embassadors were sent from all places, to yeeld themselves up to him, paying him the due paine. And in the Citie of Rhodus, in which *Demetrius* prepared to resist, which he might have done long, as he had intended, but that he had been too late, he was at last driven to a greater part of his friends, in the Isle of Rhodes, by night, and he was there in some manner, until he was the next morning with his ships before the Towne, and offering to surrender himselfe, he was with all his power, ill-treated against the Consul, & was sent into Rhodes from thence, by the same ship in which he fled away through by night, to a certain place, where he had shiping ready

ready for him, and imbarqued himselfe: leauing all his estate vnto them, of whose liberality he first had it.

This business, though it were soone dispatched, yet prevented it not the siege of Saguntum, before which *Hannibal* sat downe, ere *Scipio* was landed in Illyria. In the beginning of the siege, the Carthaginians were much discouraged, by reason of the braue sallies made by the Saguntines, in one of which, their Generall receiued a dangerous wound in the thigh, that caused him to lie many dayes vnable to move. Neuertheless he was not vnmindfull of his worke in the meane while, but gaue order to raise certaine mouable Towers, that might equall those which were built on the wals of the Citie, to and to prepare to batter the curtains, and make a breach. These being finished and applied, had soone wrought their effect. A great and large breach was made, by the fall of diuers Towers, and a great length of wall, wher at an hot assault was giuen: but it was so well sustained by the Saguntines, as the Carthaginians were not onely beaten from the breach, but out of some ground within the Towne, which vpon the first furie they had made, but they were pursued euen to their owne trenches and campe. Neuertheless the Carthaginian Armie, wherein were about an hundred and fiftie thousand men, did sweare in the towncsmen with continuall traualle, that at length it got within the wals, and was onely hindered from taking full possession of the Citie, by some counter-works of the Saguntines, that were also ready to be won. In this extremity, there was one *Alcon* a Saguntine, that conveyed himselfe out of the Towne, to treat with *Hannibal* for some reasonable conditions, which the Carthaginian offered, were so seuer, & without all compasse of honour, as *Alcon* durst not returne to propound them to his countreymen. *Hannibal* demanded all that they had gold, silver, plate, and other riches within the citie: yea, the citie it selfe to be abandoned by the citizens, promising, that he would assigne some other place for their habitation: not allowing them, to carry out with them any other thing, wherewith to sustaine themselves, than the clothes on their backs; or other armes, to defend them, than their nailes and teeth. Yet might they have better haue submitted themselves vnto this miserable appointment, (seeing thereby they might haue enjoyed their liues, and saved the honour of their wives and daughters) than to haue rested at the discretion of the Conquerour, as soone after they did, by whom their wives and daughters were defouled before their own faces, and all put to sword; that were about fourteen yeers of age. For it was a poore comfort, which a great number of them tooke; when not daring to fight, and sell their blood at the dearest rate, they shut themselves up like most wretched creatures in their own houses, and therein burnt themselves with all that they had: so dying vnreueged. The treasures found in Saguntum, which were very great, *Hannibal* kept, therewith to pay his Arme, the slaues, and other bootie, he diuided among his Souldiers, reseruing some things of choice, wherewith to present his friends at Carthage, and to animate them in the Warre.

These ridings exceedingly vexed the Romans, who had good cause to be angry at their own slownesse, in forbearing to send help vnto the Saguntines, that held out eight months, looking still for succour, but in vaine. Wherefore they determined to repaire their honour, by taking sharpe reuenge. To this end they sent Embassadors against Carthage, demanding onely, whether it were by generall consents and allowance of the Carthaginians, that *Hannibal* had made warre upon Saguntum: which if they granted (as some of them would) then to giue them defiance. Hereunto answer was made, in the Senate of Carthage, to this effect; That this their second Embassage, howsoever qualified with milde words, was indeed more insolent than the former. For in that, they onely required iustice against *Hannibal*; but in this, the very State and Commonwealth of Carthage, was vrged to plead guilty, or not guilty. But (said the Carthaginian Generall) whether the Generall of our Arme in Spain, in besieging Saguntum, haue only followed his owne counsaile; or whether he did it, by direction from vs: is not the question which the Romans ought to aske vs. That which is indeed worthy examination, is whether he were lawfull or unlawfull for *Hannibal* to doe as he hath done. For he longe to vs, to call our own Commanders in question, and to punish them: according to their faults and errors, to you to challenge vs, if we haue done any thing contrary to our late League and contract. It is true, that in our negotiation with *Scipio* the Consul, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended: but the Saguntines were

not then of your Allies, and therefore no parties to the peace then made, for of your Allies in the future, or of ours, there was no dispute. As touching the last agreement, between you and *Adribal*, wherein you will say, that the Saguntines were comprehended by name; it is you that have taught vs, how to answer that particular. For whatsoeuer you found in the Treatie between vs and *Lulatiu*, to your owne disadvantage, you call it vpon your Consuls presumption; as promising those things, for which he had no warrant from the Senate and People of Rome. If then it be lawfull for the Romans, to disauow the actions of their Consuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punctual and precise varrant; the same liberty may vve also assume, and hold our selfes no way bound in honour, to performe those bargaines, which *Adribal* hath made for vs, without our commandement and consent.

This was an impertinent answer, and little better than a meere cauill. For *Lulatiu* the Consul, in his Treatie of peace with the Carthaginians, had expressly referred the allowance thereof to the people of Rome. It had been therefore much better, to haue dealt plainly; and to haue alledged, That after this League was made, and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the Romans, in robbing the Carthaginians of the Ile of Sardinia, and withall of twelue hundred talents: which periurie the State of Carthage, being now growne able, would reuenge with open war. As for the Saguntines, it little skilled that the Romans had admitted them into confederacie; and forthwith inferred their names into the Treatie of peace with *Adribal*: seeing that the Treatie with *Adribal*, and all other businesse between Rome and Carthage, following the violence and breach of peace, in taking away Sardinia, were no better than Roman iniuries, as implying this commination, *Do whatsoeuer we require, else will we make warre, without regard of our oath, which we haue already broken.*

But these Carthaginians did not alledge, forgetting, in heat of contention, as *Polybius* takes it the best of their Plea. Yet since *Lulius* himselfe doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of Sardinia from the Carthaginians, did inflame the spirit of *Amilcar* with desire of reuenge: vve may reasonably thinke, that the mention of this iniurie was omitted, not so much vpon forgetfulness, as for that it was not thought convenient, by ripping vp such ancient matter of quarrell, to shew that the war, now towards had long been thought vpon, and like to be made with extraordinary force; in other manner than heretofore. In conclusion, the Carthaginian Senate moued the Roman Embassadors, to deliuer vnto them in plain termes the purposes of those that sent them, and the worst of that, which they had long determined against them: as for the Saguntines, and the confining of their Armies within *Iberia*, those were but their pretences. Whereupon *Q. Fabius* gathering vp the skirt of his Gowne, as if somewhat had bene laid in the hollow thereof, made this short reply: I haue here (quoth he) in my Gowne-skirt both Peace and War: make you (my Masters of the Senate) election of these two, which of them you like best, & purpose to embrace. Hereat all cryed out: at once. Euen which of them you your selfe haue a fancy to offer vs. Marry then (quoth *Fabius*) take the Warre, and share it among you. Which all the assembly willingly accepted.

This was plaine dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each part had resolved to make warre, it was merely friuolous. For all these disputes of breach of peace, haue euer bin maintained by the partie vnnwilling, or vnable to sustaine the warre. The rustic sword, and the emperie purse, doe alwaies plead performance of covenants. There haue bene few Kings or States in the World, that haue otherwise understood the obligation of a Treatie, than with the condition of their owne advantage: and commonly (seeing peace between ambitious Princes and States, is but a kinde of breathing the best aduised haue rather begun with the sword, than with the trumpet. So dealt the Arragonois with the French in Naples, *Henry* the second of Fraunce, with the Imperials, when he wrote to *Brissac*, to surprise as many places as he could, et the war brake out, *Don Iohn*, with the Netherlands, and *Philip* the second of Spaine, with the English, when in the great Imbargo he tooke all our ships and goods in his Ports.

But *Hannibal*, besides the present strength of Carthage, and the common feeling of iniuries received from these enemies, had another private and hereditarie desire, that violently carried him against the Romans. His father *Amilcar*, at what time he did sacrifice being ready to take his journey into Spaine, had solemnly bound him by oath, to pursue them with immortall hatred, and to worke them all possible mischief, as soon as he

he should be a man, and able. *Hannibal* was then about nine yeeres old, when his father caused him to lay his hand vpon the Altar, and make this vow: so that it was no marvell, if the impression were strong in him. But as *Amilcar* himselfe did not flow with animosity, so it is inhumane, to bequeath hatred in this sort, as is done by Legacy: it cannot be deuyed. Yet for mine owne part, I doe not much doubt, but that some of these Kings, with whom we are now in peace, haue received the like charge from their Predecessors, that as soon as their coffers shall be full, they shall declare themselves enemies to the people of England.

## S. 11.

*Hannibal takes order for the defence of Spaine, and Africk. His journey into Italy.*

W<sup>AS</sup> he being thus proclaimed, *Hannibal* resolved, not to put vp his sword; which he had drawne against the Saguntines, vntill he had therewith opened his passage vnto the gates of Rome. So began the second Punicke Warre, second to none, that euer the Senate and people of Rome sustained. *Hannibal* wintered at Carthage, where he licensed his Spanish Souldiers to visit their friends, and refresh themselves against the Spring. In the meane while he gaue instructions to his brother *Asdrubal*, for the government of Spaine in his absence. He also tooke order, to send great many troopes of Spaniards into Africke, to equall the numbers of Africans formerly drawne thence into Spaine; to the end, that so the one Nation might remaine as pledges and gages for the other. Of the Spaniards, he transported into Africk thirtie thousand, eight hundred and fiftie foot, and twelue hundred horse; also eight hundred chinglers of the \* *Baleares*. Besides these, he selected foure thousand foot, all young men, and of qualitie, out of the best Cities of Spaine, which he appointed to be garrisoned in Carthage itselfe, not so much in regard of their forces, as that they might serue for hostages: for among those foure thousand, the best of the Spanish Citizens, and those that I wayed most in these several States, had their Sonnes or Kinsmen. He also bestowed his brother, to guard the coast and Ports of Sicily and Gaules; whereof thirty seven were presently armed, and appointed for the warre. Of Africans and other Nations strangers; he left with him about twelue thousand foot, and two thousand horse, besides one and twenty Elephants.

Having in this sort taken order for the defence of Spaine and Africk, he sent Discouersers before him, to view the Passages of the Pyrenean Mountaines, and of the Alpes. He also sent Embassadors to the Mountaineers of the Pyrenes, and to the Gauls, to obtaine a quiet passage: that he might bring his Armie entire into Italy, and not be compelled to diminish his forces, by any warre in the way, till hee came to encounter the Romans. His Embassadors and discouersers being returned with good satisfaction; in the beginning of the Spring, he passed ouer the River of *Iberus*, with an Armie consisting of foure thousand and ten thousand foot, and twelue thousand horse. All those parts of Spaine, into which he had not entred before, he now subdued; and appointed *Hanno* (not that old commander of his horse, who late still at Carthage to govern Spaine on the East side of *Iberus*, whom he left an Army of ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Being arrived at the borders of Spaine, some of his Spanish Souldiers returned home, without asking what which that others might not also do; of attendance; he courteously dismissed many more, that seemed willing to begone. Next day it came to passe, that the journey from the lesse tedious vnto those that accompanied him, as being not enforced by compulsion. With the rest of his Armie, consisting now but of fiftie thousand foot, & twelue thousand horse, he past the Pyrenies, & entred into Gaules. He found the Gauls that bin dwelt vpon Spaine, ready in Armes, to forbid his entrance into their Countrey: but won them, with gentle speech, and such promises that he bestowed vpon their Leaders, touching his Expedition. So without any molestation, he came to the banks of *Rhodanus*, where dwelt, on each side of the River, a people called *Arverni*. These were vntoquered with the cause of his coming; and therefore sought to keepe him from passing ouer the water. But he was greatly assisted by some of these Gauls, that inhabited on the West side of *Rhodanus*, to wit, by those of *Niuarerz* and *Lionnois*. For although many of them had transported themselves and their goods, into the Countrey of *Daulphine*,

phing, thinking to defend the further banke againe him: yet such as remained, being very deliquis to see their Countie of so many ill gusts, were better pleased to leave their Countie-men well beaten, which had abandoned them, than to have their owne store of corn and cattell wasted by the long stay of so great an Army as lay vpon them. For which reason, they helped him to make boates; informed him of another more facile passage, higher vp the Riuer: and lent him guides: When the Vessels for transportation of his Armie were in readinesse, he sent Hanno, the Sonne of Bomilcar, vp the Riuer: himselfe in the meane while making countenance to enter the Poord below. The end of this labour, was: that Hanno charging the Gauls vnawares vpon their owne side, and Hannibal, at the same time, passing the Riuer in their faces, the further banke was wonne, though with some difficultie; and the enemies dispersed. Yet was he greatly troubled in conueying ouer his Elephants; who maruellously feared the water. He was therefore driuen to make raffles of trees, and couer them with earth and Turfe; whereof he fastened one to each banke, that might serue as a bridge; to and from another of the same sort, but loose, vpon which the beasts were towed ouer.

Having past this first brunt, and ouer-come both the rage of the Riuer, and of those that defend it, he was visited by the Princes of the Gauls Cisalpine, that inhabited Picmont and Milan, who lately had revolted from the Romans. These informed him of the passages of the Alpes, that they were not so difficult, as common report made them; and from thence he received guides, with many other encouragements. All which notwithstanding, he found himselfe extremely incombrd by the Sauoians: and lost both of his carriages, and of his Carthaginians, more than willingly he would, or had formerly thought that he should. For he was twice mainly assailed by them, before he could recover the plaine Countie on the other side. And whereas this journey ouer the Mountaines cost him fifteene dayes trauaile, hee was every day, more or lesse, not only charged by those Mountaigners, but withall extremely beateen with grievous weather and snow: it being the beginning of Winter, when hee began, and ouer-came this passage. But the faire and fertile Plaines, which were now ready to receive them; with the assistance and conduct of the Cisalpine Gauls, who by their proper forces had so often invaded the Roman Territory; gaue them great comfort and encouragement to go on: having nothing else of difficultie remaining, but that which from the beginning they made account to ouer-come, by their proper valour and resolution; namely the Roman Armies, and resistance.

### § III.

How the Romans in vaine solicited the Spaniards and Gauls to take their part. The resolution of the Cisalpine Gauls against the Romans.

**T**He Countiees of Spaine and Gaule, through which the Carthaginians marched thus farre, had beene solicited before, by the same Roman Embassadors, who had denounced the warre at Carthage. These, as they were instructed by the Senate, took Spaine in their way homeward from Carthage, with a purpose to draw into the Roman Alliance, as many of the Cities and Princes as they could; at least to dissuade them from contracting any friendship with the Carthaginians. The first which they attempted, were the Volcians, a people in Spaine; from whom, in open assembly, they received by one that spake for the rest, this uncomfortable answer: With what face can ye Romans perswade vs to value your Alliance, or to prefer it before the friendship of the Carthaginians; seeing we are taught by the example of the Saguntines to be more wise, than to? For they, relying on your faith and promised assistance, have beene vnterly rooked out, & destroyed by the Carthaginians, whom they might else have held their assured friends, and good neighbours, as we, and other the people of Spaine have found them. Ye may therefore be gone, with this resolution from vs, That for our parts (and so I thinke, I may answer for the rest of our Citizens) the Romans henceforth are not to expect any kinde of assistance at our hands; who are resolved, neuer to make account of their protection, nor amitie. From the Volcians, the Embassadors tooke their way towards the Gauls, using their best arguments to perswade them not to suffer the Carthaginians to passe into Italy through their Territory: and withall greatly glorify in themselves,

themselves strength, and large Dominion. But the Gauls laugh them to scorne, and had hardly the patience, to heare them speake. For shall we (saie one of their Princes) by resting Hannibals passage into Italy, entertain a war which is due meant to be made against vs? Shall we hold the warre among our selves, and in our owne Territory, by force, which marcheth with a speedy pace from vs, towards our ancient enemies? Haue the Romans defended so well of vs, & the Carthaginians of ill, that we should set fire on our owne houses, to save theirs from burning? No, we know it well, that the Romans have already forced some Nations of ours, out of their proper Territory and inheritance; and constrained others, as free as themselves, to pay them tribute. We will not therefore make the Carthaginians, our enemies; who haue no way as yet offended vs, nor vs them.

With this vnpleasing answer the Embassadors returned home; carrying no good news, of friends likely to helpe them; but rather some assurance from the people of Massilia, which were Confederates with Rome, that the Gauls were determined to take part with their enemy. Of this inclination, the Cisalpine Gauls gaue hastie proofe. For when the newes was brought into Italy, that the Carthaginians had passed Iberus, and were on the way towards Rome; this alone sufficed to stirre vp the Boii, and Insubrians, against the Romans. These people were lately offended at the plantation of new Roman Colonies, at Cremona, and Placentia, within their Territories. Relying therefore vpon the Carthaginian succour, which they supposed to be now at hand; they laid aside all regard of those hostages, which they had given to the Romans, and fell vpon the new Colonies. The Townes it seemes they could not winne; for Hannibal shortly after failed to get them. But they forced the Roman Commissioners, (who belike were abroad in the Countie) to flee to Modena: where they besieged them. The siege of Modena had continued some small time, when the Gauls, having little skill in assaulting Cities, were wearied, & seemed desirous to haue peace, and to come to some good accord with the Romans. This they did of purpose, to draw on a more meeting, that they might thereby hand vpon the Roman Deputies, thereby to redeeme their hostages, in way of exchange. And it fell out, in part, according to their wish: For the Romans sent out Embassadors to treat with them, and to conclude a peace; whom they detained, Maenius the Pretor, who lay in these quarters with an Armie, hearing this outrage; marched in to the relief of the besieged. But the Gauls, having laid a strong ambush in a wood adjoining to the way, fell vpon the Pretor so opportunely, as hee was utterly ouerthrowne, and all his followers left dead in the place; a few excepted, that recouered by swimming, a little village, but defensib; vpon the Riuer of Po. When this was heard at Rome, G. Asinius, another of the Pretors, was hastily sent; to relieve the besieged, with a Legion, and five thousand of the Roman associates: which forces were taken out of the Caelis Aemii, and supplied by a new levie.

As the Gauls were too rash and hastic; so were the Romans too slow, and indeed too ill-advised, in the beginning of this war: They were not perswaded, that Carthage, which had almost feruently endured so many indignities, in time of this late peace, would be so long and so courageous on the sudden, as to attempt the conquest of Italy itselfe. Wherefore they appointed one of their Consuls, to make warre in Spaine, the other to be sitting secure of all danger at home. Titus Sempronius took his way towards Africa, with an hundred and sixty Leagues warre, or Gallies; of Sueron an care, which reputation may seem to threaten euen the City of Carthage, to which it still more doth menace. Cornelius Scipio, the other Consul, made all possible haste, by the way of Genoa into Provence; and used such diligence, that hee might be as soon at Massilia, as in Sicily he recovered Massilia. There he was aduertised, that Hannibal was passing the Po. He was of this aduise, whom he thought to haue found him; yet as he was in Spaine; Maenius had also newes of the Consuls amitie; which hee was not a little glad, nor sorry, at not having to doe with him. Each of them sent forth Scouts, to discover the enemies subtile doings: Hannibal, about five hundred Numidians; Scipio, three hundred of his better appointed Roman horse. These met and fought, and the Numidians were beateen: yet could not the Romans greatly begge, having a little onely, of Numidians, and but of their thine, one hundred and forty. When Scipio drew neerer, to haue met with the Carthaginians, he found, that they were gone thence dayes before, and that hee then found assuredly true, what had beene said vpon the mouth of Rome.



This interrupted his intended voyage into Spain. Neuerthelesse hee sent away thither his brother *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, with the greatest part of his Fleet and Army, to trie what might be done against *Asdrubal* & the other Carthaginian Lieutenants in that Countie. He himselfe, taking with him a few choice bands, returned by Sea to Pisa, and so passing through Tuscane into Lombardie, drew together the broken troops of *Mambrius* & *Asinius* that lately had bin beaten by the Gaules: with which forces hee made head against the enemy, thinking to finde him ouer-laboured, with trauaile of his painefull iourney.

## S. IIII.

*Scipio the Romane Consul overcome by Hannibal at Ticinum. Both of the Romane Consuls beaten by Hannibal, in a great battell at Trebia.*

**F**IVE Moneths *Hannibal* had spent in his tedious iourney from Carthage; when hee mustered he could make, when hee had passed the Alpes, it is not easily found. Some reckon his foote at an hundred thousand, & his horse at twentie thousand; others report them to haue bene onely twentie thousand foot, and sixe hundred horse. *Hannibal* himselfe, in his Monument which he raised, in the Temple of *Iuno Lucina*, agreeth with the latter summe. Yet the Gaules, Ligurians, and others that ioynd with him, are likely to haue mightily increased his Armie, in short space. But when hee marched Eastward from the banks of *Rhodanus*, he had with him eight & thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, of which, all saue those remembered by himselfe in the Inscription of his Altar in *Iuno's* Temple, are like to haue perished, by diseases, enemies, Riuers, and Mountaines; which mischiefs had deuoured, each, their severall shares.

Having newly passed the Alpes, and scarce refreshed his wearied Armie in the Countie of Piemont; he sought to win the friendship of the *Taurini*, who lay next his way. But the *Taurini* held warre at that time with the *Insabrians*, which were his good friends, and refused (perhaps for the same cause) his amitie. Wherefore hee assaulted their Towne, and wanne it by force in three daies. Their spoyle serued well to hearten his Armie; and their calamitie, to terrifie the Neighbour places. So the Gaules, without more ado, fell vnto his side: many for feare, many also for good-will, according to their former inclination. This disposition ranne through the whole Countie: which ioynd, or was all in readinesse to ioyne with the Carthaginians; when the newes of *Scipio* the Consul his arrival, made some to be more aduised, than the rest. The name of the Romans was terrible in those quarters, what was in the Carthaginians, experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the Roman Consul was already gotten through the most defensible passages, ere any speech had bene heard of his approach: many (as it were) still for very feare, who else would faine haue concluded a League with these new come friends; and some, for greater feare, offered their seruice against the Carthaginians, whom neuerthelesse they had wished well to speed.

This wavering affection of the Prouince, whereinto they were entred, made the two Generals hasten to the trial of a battail. Their meeting was at *Ticinum*, now called *Pavia*; where each of them wondred at the others expedition: *Hannibal* thinking it strange that the Consul whom hee had left behinde him on the other side of the Alpes, should meet him in the face, before hee had well warmed himselfe in the Plaines; *Scipio* admiring the strange adventure of passing those Mountaines; and the great spirit of his Enemy. Neither were the Senate at Rome little amazed at *Hannibal's* success, and sudden arrival. Wherefore they dispatched a Messenger in all haste vnto *Sempronius*, the other Consul, that was then in Sicilie, giving him to vnderstand hereof: & letting him further know, that whereas hee had bin directed to make the warre in Africa, it was now in their pleasure that he should forbeare to prosecute any such attempt, but that he should returne the Armie vnder his charge, with all possible speed, to saue Italye it selfe. According to this order, *Sempronius* sent off his Fleet from *Lidyæum*, with direction to land the *Asiatics* at *Ariminum*, a Port Towne next situate from *Bratenna*: quite another way from *Caualage*, whither hee was making haste. In the meane while, *Scipio* and *Hannibal* were come so neere, that fight they must; & they could part asunder. Hereupon, both of them prepared the minds of their Souldiers, by the best arguments they had: vnto which *Hannibal* added the Rhetoricke of a present example, that hee shewed vpon certain prisoners

prisoners of the *Sauoyans*, which he brought along with him, fitted for the purpose, into Italy. For these, having bene no lesse miserably fettered and chained, than sparingly fed, and withall so often scourged on their naked bodies, as nothing was more in their desire, than to bee deliuered from their miseries by any kinde of present death, were brought into the middle of the Armie: where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with some other of his Companions, till the one of them were slaine, with condition being the Victor, to receive his libertie, and some small reward. This was no sooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did *Hannibal* cause lots to be cast, which of them should enter the List, with such weapons, as the Chieftaines of the Gaules were wont to vse in single combats. Every one of these valiant men wished, that his owne lot might speed; whereby it should at least bee his good fortune, to end his miseries by death, if not to get a reward by victorie. That couple, whose good hap it was to be chosen, fought resolutely: as rather desiring, than fearing death; and having none other hope, than in vanquishing. Thus were some few couples matched, it skilled not how equally: for all these poore creatures were willing, vpon whatsoeuer vneuen termes, to ridde themselves out of slauey. The same affection that was in these Combatants, and in their fellows which beheld them, wrought also vpon the Carthaginians, for whom the spectacle was ordained. For they deemed happy, not only him, that by winning the victorie had gotten his liberty, together with an horse and armour: but euen him also, who being slaine in fight, had escaped that miserable condition, vnto which his Companions were returned. Their Generall perceiving what impression this dumbe shew had wrought in them, began to admonish them of their owne condition, speaking to this effect: That hee had laid before them an example of their owne estates: seeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to runne the same fortune, that these slaues had done; all to liue victorious and rich; or all to die, or (which these prisoners esteemed farre more grieuous) to liue in a perpetual slauey: That none of them all, in whom was common sense, could promise to himselfe any hope of life by flight, since the Mountaines, the Riuers, the great distance from their owne Countie, and the pursuit of mercilesse Enemies, must needs retrench all such impotent imaginations. Hee therefore praied them to remember, that they, who had euen now praised the fortune both of the Victor, and of the vanquished, would make it their owne case, seeing that there was neuer any in the world, appointed with such a resolution, as hee had euer had bin broken, or beaten by their enemies. On the contrarie, hee told them, that the Romans, who were to fight vpon their owne soile, & in view of their owne Townes, who knew as many waies to saue themselves by flight, as they had bodies of men to fight withall, could no way entertaine such a resolution as theirs: seeing the same necessity, to which nothing seems impossible did no way presse them, or constrain them. In this sort did *Hannibal*, with one substantiall argument, *That there was no mean betwene Victorie and Death*, encourage his Companions. For, (saith a great Capitaine of France) *la commodité de la retraite aduance la fuite. The commoditie of a retreat, doth greatly aduance a flight running away.*

*Scipio* on the other side, after that hee had given order for the laying of a bridge, ouer the Riuer of *Ticinum*, did not neglect to vse the best arguments and reasons he could, to encourage the Army he led: putting them in minde of the great conquests and victories of their Ancestors; against how many Nations they had prevailed; and ouer how many Princes their Enemies, they had triumphed. As for this Armie commanded by *Hannibal*, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no better than of Carthaginians, whom in their late warre they had so often beaten, by Land and Sea; yet hee prayed them withall to consider, that at this time it was not onely so diminished in numbers, as it rather seemed a troupe of Brigantes and Theeues, than an Army likely to encounter the Romans; but so weather-beaten, and starved, as neither the men, nor horses, had strength or courage to sustaine the first charge that should be giuen vpon them. Nay (said he) yee your selues may make iudgement what daring they haue now remaining, after so many troubles and miseries; seeing when they were in their best strength, after they had passed the Roane, their horse-men were not onely beaten by quirs, and driuen back to the very Trenches of their Camp, but *Hannibal* himselfe, fearing out approach, ranne head-long towards the Alpes: thinking it a lesse dishonour, to die there by frost, famine, and precipitation, than by the sharpe swords of the Romans, which had so often cut downe his people,



people, both in Africa; and in Sicill. It was not long after this, ere the two Generall-  
each being far advanced before the grosse of his Armie, with his Horse, and the Roman  
hauing also with him some light-armed foot, to view the ground; and the enemies coun-  
tenance. When they discovered the approach one of the other; *Scipio* sent before him  
his horsemen of the Gaules, to begin the fight, and bestowing his Darters in the void  
ground between their troupes, to assist them: himselfe with his Roman men at armes,  
followed softly in good order. The Gaules (whether desirous to trie the mettal of the  
Carthaginians, or hoping thereby to get fauour of the Romans) behaved themselves cou-  
ragiously, and were as courageously opposed. Yet their foot that should haue aided them,  
shrank at the first brunt, or rather fled cowardly away, without casting a Darte, for feare  
of being troden downe by the enemies horse. This notwithstanding, the Gaules main-  
tained the fight, and did more hurt than they received; as presuming that they were well  
backt. Neither was the Consul vnmindfull to relieue them: their hardinesse decreasing  
his aide; and the hasty flight of those that should haue stood by them, admonishing him  
that it was needfull. Wherefore he aduentured himselfe so farre; that he received a dan-  
gerous wound; and had beene left in the place, if his sonne (afterward surnamed *Africus*)  
had not brought him off: though others giue the honour of this rescue to a *Liguri-  
an slave*. Whilest the Romans were buied in helping their Consul; an unexpected  
storme came drining at their backes, and made them look about how to helpe them-  
selves. *Hannibal* had appointed his Numidian light-horse, to giue vpon the Romans in  
flanke, and to compass them about, whilest hee with his men at Armes sustained their  
charge, and met them in the face. The Numidians performed this very well: cutting in  
pieces the scattered foot, that ranne away at the first encounter; and then falling on the  
backes of those, whose looks were fastened vpon *Hannibal* and *Scipio*. By this impression,  
the Romans were shuffled together, and routed: so that they all tooke their flight to their  
speed, and left vnto their enemies the honour of the day.

When *Scipio* saw his horsemen thus beaten, and the rest of his Armie thereby greatly  
discouraged; he thought it a point of Wisdome, hauing lost so many of his Fleet vpon  
the first puffe of the winde, to take Port with the rest, before the extreamest of the tem-  
pest ouertooke him. For he saw by the lowering morning what manner of day it was like  
to prove. Therefore his battaile of foot being yet vnbroken, he in a manner stole the re-  
trait; and recovered the bridge ouer *Ticinus*, which hee had formerly built. But not  
withstanding all the haste that he made, he left sixe hundred of his Reare behinde him;  
who were the last that should haue passed, and staid to breake the bridge. Herein hee  
followed this rule of a good man of warre, *Si certamen quandoq; dubium videatur, sul-  
tari milites arripit fugam: fuga enim aliquando laudanda*: which must be vnderstood in this  
sort: If a General of an Armie, by some vnprosperous beginnings doubts the success, or finde  
his Army fearefull or wavering; it is more profitable to scale a safe retreat, than to abide the  
uncertaine euent of battaile.

It was two daies after, ere *Hannibal* could passe the Riuer; *Scipio* the whilest refreshing  
his men, and easing himselfe of his wound in *Placentia*. But as soone as *Hannibal* pre-  
sented his Armie before the Towne, offering battaile to the Romans, who durst not accept  
it, nor issue forth of their Campe, the Gaules, that hitherto had followed *Scipio* for feare,  
gathered out of his flanke, courage to forsake him. They thought that now the long-de-  
sired time was come; in which better Chieftaines and Souldiers, than *Antiochus*, *Antiochus*,  
*Antiochus*, and *Gellates*, were come to helpe them: if they had the hearts to help themselves.  
Wherefore the same night they fell vpon the Roman Campe; wounded and slue many,  
especially of those guards that kept watch at the gate, with whose heads in their hands,  
they fled ouer to the Carthaginians, and presented their seruice. *Hannibal* received them  
exceeding courteously, and dismissed them to their owne places: as men likely to bee of  
more use to him, in perswading the rest of their Nation to become his Confederates,  
than in any other seruice at the present.

About the fourth watch of the night following, the Consul stole a retreat, as hee had  
done before; but not with the like ease and security. *Hannibal* had a good eye vpon him,  
and ere he could get farre, sent the Numidians after him, following himselfe with all his  
Armie. That night the Romans had received a great blow, if the Numidians greedily  
spoile, had not staid to ransacke their campe, and thereby giuen time to all, (as some say)  
in Reare, that were slaine or taken, to passe the Riuer of *Trebia*, and saue themselves.

Scipio,

being unable to maintaine by reason of his wound, & withall finding it expedient to  
abandon the continuing of his fellow-Consull, incamp himselfe strongly vpon the bankes  
of *Trebia*. Necessitie required that he should so doe; yet his diminished his reparative  
Recovery day, more and more of the Gaules fell to the Carthaginian side, among whom  
came the *Boys*, that brought with them the Roman Commissioners, which they had taken  
in the late Insurrection. They had hitherto kept them as pledges, to redeeme their  
own Hostages: but now they deliuer them vp to *Hannibal*, as tokens and pledges of their  
affections towards him; by whose help they conceived better hope of recovering their  
countrie and lands. In the meane while, *Hannibal*, being in great scarcity of victuals,  
summed the taking of *Clastidium*, a Towne wherein the Romans had laid vp all their  
store and munition. But there needed no force; a *Brundisian*, whom the Romans had  
traded with keeping it, sold it for a little money.

The newes of these disasters, brought to Rome, filled the Senate and People, rather  
with a desire of hastie reuenge, than any great sorrow for their losse received, seeing that  
in manner, all their foot, wherein their strength and hope consisted, were as yet entire.  
There therefore hasted away *Sempronius*, that was newly arrived, towards *Arminium*,  
where the Armie, by him sent out of Sicill, awaited his coming. Hee therefore hasted  
thither; & from thence he marched speedily towards his Colleague: who attended him  
vpon the bankes of *Trebia*. Both the Armies being ioyned in one, the Consuls desired  
that which remained to be done: *Sempronius* receiving from *Scipio* the relation of  
what had passed since *Hannibal* drew off, the fortune of the late fight; and by what sort  
of misadventure the Romans were therein foiled: which *Scipio* chiefly laid on the rout  
and miserie of the Gaules.

*Sempronius*, hauing received from *Scipio* the state of the affaires in those parts, sought  
by all means to trie his fortune with *Hannibal*, before *Scipio* were recovered of his  
wounds; that thereby he might purchase to himselfe the sole glorie of the victory, which  
he had already, in his imagination, certainly obtained. Hee also feared the election of  
new Consuls: his owne time being well-nere expired. But *Scipio* perswaded the  
consul, obiecting the vnskillfulness of the new-come Souldiers, and withall gaue him  
reason to assure him that the Gaules, naturally vnconstant, were vpon termes of  
leaving the party of the Carthaginians; those of them inhabiting between the Rivers  
of *Trebia* and *Po*, being already revolted. *Sempronius* knew all this as well as *Scipio*: but  
being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made haste to finde out the dishonour  
which he might otherwise easily haue avoided. This resolution of *Sempronius* was con-  
ceding pleasing to *Hannibal*: who feared nothing so much as delay and losse of the  
strength of his Armie, consisting in strangers, to wit, in Spaniards and Gaules; that  
might feared the change of affection in the one, than the impatience of the other: who  
being farre from their owne home, had many passions mouing them to turne their faces  
towards it. To further the desire of *Sempronius*, it fell out so, that about the same time,  
the Gaules inhabiting neere vnto *Trebia*, complained of injuries done by the Carthagin-  
ians. They did not supply *Hannibal* with necessaries, as hee supposed that they might  
haue done; although he daily reprehended their negligence, telling them, that for these  
injuries, and to set them at libertie, he had vnderaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore  
how little they regarded his words, he was bold to be his owne Carver, and to wake from  
thenceby force, as much as he needed of that which they had. Hereupon they did not  
ask for helpe: and, to make their tale the better, say that this wrong is done them  
because they refused to ioyne with *Hannibal*. *Scipio* cared not much for this: hee sus-  
pected their fallshood, and was assured of their mutability. But *Sempronius* affirmed that it  
stood with the honor of Rome, to preserue their Confederates from suffering iniurie;  
thereby might be wonne the friendship of all the Gaules. Therefore he sent out  
his horse: which coming vnlooked for vpon *Hannibal* his forragers, and finding  
them heavy laden, cut many of them in pieces, and chased the rest euen into their own  
camps. This indignitie made the Carthaginians sallie out against them: who chased  
them to retire faster than they came. *Sempronius* was ready to backe his owne men; and  
to fight the enemies. *Hannibal* did the like. So that at length, all the Roman Armie  
was drawn forth; and a battaile ready to bee fought, if the Carthaginians had not  
been so much terrified by the sight of the Romans, as they were. The Consul would haue it called  
the Battle of the *Trebia*, and the Romans in general  
desirous

defirous to trie the maine chance in open field: all the persuasions of his friends were trarie notwithstanding. Of this disposition Hannibal was aduised by the Gaules, his spies, that were in the Roman Campe. Therefore he bothought himselfe how to hope forward the victorie, by adding some stratagem to his forces: hee found in the hollow of a water-courfe, ouer-grown with high reede, a fit trench to contain an ambush. There in he cast his brother Mago with a thousand choyce Horfe, and as many foot. The rest of his Armie, after they had well warmed, and well fed themselves in their campe, he led into the field, and marched towards the Consul. Early in the morning, hee had sent ouer Trebia some companies of Numidian light-horfe; to braue the enemy, and draw him forth to a bad dinner; ere he had broken his fast. Sempronius was ready to take any opportunitie to fight: and therefore not onely issued out of his Campe, but forded the Riuer of Trebia, in a most cold and miserable day; his foot being wet almost to the armes-holes: which, together with the want of food, did so enfeeble and coole their courages, as they wanted force to handle the armes they bare. Strong they were in foot, as well of their owne Nation, as of the Latines: hauing of the one, sixteene, of the other, twentie thousand. The masse of these they ranged in a grosse Battallion, guarded on the flanks with threethousand horfe: thrusting their light-armed, and Dartes, in loose troupes in the head of the rest, in the nature of a Vantguard. The Carthaginian humbers of foot, were in a manner equal to their enemies; in horfe, they had by far the better, both in number and goodnesse. When therefore the Roman horfe, ranged on the flanks of their foot, were broken by the Numidians, when their foot were charged both in front and flanke, by the Spaniards, Gaules, and Elephants, when finally the whole Armie was vnawares prest in the Rearer, by Mago and his two thousand, that rose out of their place of ambush: then fell the Romans, by heapes, vnder the enemies sword, and being beaten downe, as well fighting in disorder, as flying towards the Riuer, by the horsemen that pursued them, there escaped no more of fixe and thirty thousand, than ten thousand of all sorts, Horfe and Foot.

Three great errors Sempronius committed, of which every one deserved to be recompensed with the losse that followed. The first was, that he fought with Hannibal in a Champaine, being by farre inferiour in horfe, and withall thereby subiect to the African Elephants, which in inclosed or vn-even grounds and wood-lands, would haue beene of no vse. His second error was, that he made no discouerie of the place vpon which he sought; whereby he was grossely ouer-reacht, and insnared, by the ambush which Hannibal had laid for him. The third was, that hee drencht his footmen with emptie stormes, in the Riuer of Trebia, euen in a most cold and frostie day, whereby in effect they lost the vse of their limbs. For as one saith well; *There is nothing more inconuenient and pernicious, than to present an Armie tyred with trauaile, to an enemy fresh and fed; since where the strength of body faileth, the generosities of minde is but as an vnprofitable vapour.*

The broken remainder of the Roman Armie, was collected by Scipio, who got there with Inno Placentia; stealing away the same night, which was exceeding rainy, from the Carthaginians, who either perceived him not, because of the showres, or would not persecute him, because they were ouer-wearied. Sempronius escaped with extreme danger, flying through the Countie that was ouer-runne by the enemies horfe. Hee was attended by more, than were requisite in a secret flight; yet by fewer, than could haue made resistance, if the enemy had met with him. Neuertheless hee got away, and came to Rome, where he did his office in choosing new Consuls for the yeere following: and then returned into his Prouince, with a fresh supply against Hannibal.

## S. V.

The departure of Hannibal from the Cisalpine Gaules into Hetruria. Flaminius the Roman Consul came, and his Army destroyed by the Carthaginians, at the Lake of Trasimene.

He Winter growing on apace, was very sharpe, and vsuit for seruice; to the great contentment of the Romans, who being not able to respect the winter, were warme in Placentia, and Cerebona. Yet Hannibal did not suffer them to be very quiet: but vexed them with continuall Alarmes, assailing diuers places, and taking some; beating the Gaules their adherents; and winning the Lygurians to his side, who presented him, in token of their faithfull love, with two Roman Consuls, and

Treatisers, two Colonels and five Gentlemen the Sonnes of Senators, which they had intercepted. These, and in general all such prisoners as he had of the Romans, he held in secret places, loaden with yrons, and miserably fedde: those of their followers he not onely well intreated, but sent them to their Countie without ransom; with this protestation, That he therefore undertooke the Warre in Italie to free them from the oppression of the Romans. By these meanes he hoped, and not in vaine, to draw many of them to his partie and assistance. But the Gaules were not capable of such persuasions. They stood in feare, lest he should make their Countie the seat of Warre, and perhaps take it from them. They were also more grieued than reason would them; at his feeding vpon them, and wasting their Territorie. Wherefore some of them conspired against his life; others admonished him of the danger: and these that gaue him the aduise, were ready soone after to practise against him; but were in like sort detected. He was therefore glad to vse Perwigs of haire, and false beards of diuers colours, to the end that he might not be descried, nor knowne, to those that should undertake to kill him away. Faine he would haue passed the Appenines, vpon the first appearance of Spring; but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarry among the Gaules, till he had seene more Swallows than one. At length, when the yeere was somewhat better opened, he resolved to take his leaue of these giddie Companions, and bring the warre nearer to the gates of Rome. So away he went, hauing his Armie greatly increased with Ligurians and Gaules; more seruiceable friends, abroad, than in their owne Countie. The passage of the Appenine Mountains was troublefome, I hold it needlesse to say, I doubt not. Yet since the Romans found no memorable impediment, in their marches that way: the great vexation which fell vpon Hannibal, when he was trauailing through and ouer them, ought in reason to be imputed rather to the extremity of Winter, that makes all waies foule, than to any intolerable difficultie in that iourne. Neither hellesse to avoid the length of way, together with the resistance & fortifications, which may not improbably be thought to haue been erected vpon the ordinary passages towards Rome: he chose at this time, though it were with much trouble, to trauaile through the Fennes and rotten grounds of Tuscan. In those Marishes and bogges, he lost all his Elephants, saue one; together with the vse of one of his eyes; by the moistnesse of the ayre, and by lodging on the cold ground, and wading through deep mire and water. In briefe, after he had with much adoe recovered the firm and fertile Plains, he lodged about Arretium: where he somewhat refreshed his wearied followers, and heard newes of the Roman Consuls.

G. Flaminius, & Cn. Seruilus had of late been chosen Consuls for this yeere: Seruilus, a tractable man, & wholly gouerned by aduice of the Senate; Flaminius, an hot-headed popular Orator, who hauing once been robbed (as he thought) of his Consulship, by a deuice of the Senators, was afraid to be serued so againe, vnlesse he quickly finished the warre. This iaculous Consul thought it not best for him to be at Rome, when he entered into his Office, lest his aduersaries, by fayning some religious impediment, should detain him within the Citie, or finde other businesse for him at home, to disappoint him of the honour, that he hoped to get in the Warre. Wherefore he departed secretly out of the Towne; and meant to take possession of his office, when the day came, at Ariminum. The Fathers (so the Senators were called) highly displeased with this, reuoked him by Embassadors; but he neglected their intunction, and hasting to meet with the Carthaginians, took his way to Arretium, where he shortly found them.

The fierie disposition of this Consul, promised vnto Hannibal great assurance of victorie. Therefore he provoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the Roman. Hoping thereby to draw him vnto fight, ere Seruilus came with the rest of the Armie. All the Countie between Fesula & Arretium he put to fire and sword, euen vnder the Consuls nose; which was enough to make him stirre, that would not haue sitten still, though Hannibal had been quiet. It is true, that a great Capitaine of France hath said; *roy gaste ne esc pas perdu; A wasted Countie is not thereby lost.* But by this waste of the Countie, Flaminius thought his owne honour to be much impaired; and therefore advanced towards the Enemy. Many aduised him (which had indeed been best) to haue patience a while, and stay for his Colleague. But of this hee could not abide to heare: saying, that he came not to defend Arretium, whilst the Carthaginians went beating downe all Italie before them, to the gates of Rome. Therefore he tooke horfe,

and commanded the Armie to march. It is reported as ominous, that one of their Ensignes stucke so fast in the ground, as it could not be plucked vp by the Ensigne-bearer. Of this tale, whether true or false, *Tully* makes a least; saying, That the cowardly *knave* did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) hauing hardly pitched it into the earth. Neither was the answer of *Flaminium* (if it were true) disagreeable hereto: for he commanded, that it should be digged vp, if feare had made the hands too weak to lift it: asking withall; whether letters were not come from the Senate, to hinder his proceedings. Of this their ialousie, both hee and the Senate that did giue him cause, are likely to repent.

All the Territorie of *Cortona*, as farre as to the Lake of *Thrasymene*, was on a light fire; which whilest the Consull thought to quench with his enemies bloud, hee pursued *Hannibal* so vnadvisedly, that hee fell with his whole Armie into an ambush cunningly laid for him, betwene the Mountaines of *Cortona*, and the Lake. There was hee charged vnawares, on all sides, (saue onely where that great Lake of *Perusia* permitted neither his enemies to come at him, nor him to flye from them) knowing not which way to turne, or make resistance. So was hee slaine in the place, accompanied with fiftene thousand dead carkasses of his COUNTRY-men. About fixe thousand of his men, that had the Vanguard, tooke courage, as for the most part it happens, out of desperation; and breaking through the enemies, that stood in their way recovered the tops of the Mountaines. If these had returned, and giuen charge vpon the Carthaginians backs, it was thought that they might haue greatly amended, if not wholly altered, the fortune of the day. But that violence of their feare, which kindled by necessity, had wrought the effects of hardinesse; was well asswaged, when they ceased to despair, of sauing their liues by flight. They stood still, in a cold sweat, vpon the Hill-top; hearing vnder them a terrible noise, but not any way discouering how things went, because of the great fogge that held all that morning. When it grew toward noone, the ayre was cleared, and they might plainly discern the lamentable slaughter of their fellows. But they staid not to lament it: for it was high time, they thought, to be gone, ere they were discried, and attacked by the enemies horse. This they should haue thought vpon sooner, since they had no minde to returne vnto the fight. For desired they were, and *Maharbal* sent after them; who ouer-tooke them by night in a Village, which he surrounded with his horse: and so they yeelded the next day, rendering vp their armies, vpon his promise of their liues and liberties.

This accord *Hannibal* refused to confirme; saying, That it was made by *Maharbal*, without sufficient warrant, as wanting his authoritie to make it good. Herein he taught them (yet little to his owne honour) what it was to keepe no faith: and fitted them with a trick of their owne. For if it were lawfull vnto the Romans, to alter couenants, or adde vnto them what they listed, if the Carthaginians must be faine to pay certaine hundreds, and yet more hundreds of talents, besides their first bargain; as also to renounce their interest in *Sardinia*, and be limited in their Spanish Conquests, according to the good pleasure of the Romans, whose present advantage is more ample, than the conditions of the late concluded peace: then can *Hannibal* be as a Roman, as themselves; and make them know, that perditione gaineth no more in prosperitie, than it loseth in the change of fortune. Fiftene thousand Italian prisoners, or thereabout, he had in his hands: of which all that were not Romans, he set free without rancome; protesting, as he had done before, that it was for their sakes, and to free them and others from the Roman tyrannie, that he had vnderaken this warre. But the Romans he kept in straight prison, and in fetters; making them learne to eat hard meate. This was a good way, to breed in the people of *Italie*, if not a loue of *Carthage*, yet a contempt of *Rome*: as if this war had not concerned the generall safetie, but onely the preserving of her owne neck from the yoke of slavery, which her ouer-strong enemies would thrust vpon her in reuenge of her oppressions. But an ancient reputation, confirmed by successe of many ages, is not lost in one or two batailles. Wherefore more is to bee done, ere the Carthaginians can get any Italian Partisans.

Presently after the battaile of *Thrasymene*, *C. Centronius*, with foure thousand Roman horse, drew neere vnto the Campe of *Hannibal*. Hee was sent from *Ariminum*, by *Servilius* the other Consul, to increase the strength of *Flaminium*: but coming too late, hee increased only the misadventure. *Maharbal* was employed by *Hannibal*, to intercept this companie;

companie, who finding them amazed with report which they had newly heard of the great ouerthrow, charged them, and brake them: and killing almost halfe of them, draue the rest vnto an high piece of ground, whence they came downe, and simply yeelded to mercy, the next day. *Servilius* himselfe was in the meane while skirmishing with the Carthage, against whom he had wrought no matter of importance, when the newes was brought him, of his Colleagues ouerthrow and death in *Hetruria*; that made him hasten backe to the defence of *Rome*.

In these passages, it is easie to discern the fruits of popular ialousie, which perswaded the Romans to the yearly change of their Commanders in the wars; which greatly endangered, and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certaine it is, that all men are farre better taught by their owne errors, than by the examples of their fore-goers. *Flaminium* had heard, in what a trap *Sempronius* had bene taken vp but the yeere before, by this subtle Carthaginian; yet suffered hee himselfe to be caught soone after in the same manner. Hee had also belike forgotten, how *Sempronius*, fearing to bee preuented by a new Consul, and ambitious of the sole honor of beating *Hannibal* in battaile, without helpe of his companion *Scipio*, had bene rewarded with shame and losse: else would he not, contrarie to all good aduice, haue bene so hasty to fight, before the arriual of *Servilius*. If *Sempronius* had been continued in his charge, it is probable that he would haue taken his companion with him the second time, and haue searched all suspected places, proper to haue shadowed an ambush: both which this new Consul *Flaminium* neglected. We may boldly auow it, that by being continued in his gouernment of France ten yeeres, *Cesar* brought that mightie Nation, together with the Heluctians and many of the Germans, vnder the Roman yoke; into which parts had there bene euery yeere a new Lieutenant sent, they would hardly, if euer, haue bene subdued. For it is more than the best wit in the World can doe, to inform it selfe, within one yeeres compasse, of the nature of a great Nation, of the Factions of the Places, Riuers, and of all good helpees, whereby to prosecute a warre to the best effect. Our Princes haue commonly left their Deputies in Ireland three yeeres; whence, by reason of the shortnesse of that their time, many of them haue returned as wise as they went out; others haue profited more, and yet when they began but to know the first rudiments of Warre, and Government, fitting the Countrey, they haue bene called home, and new Apprentices sent in their places, to the great prejudice both of this and that Estate. But it hath euer bene the course of the World, rather to follow old errors, than to examine them: and of Princes and Gouernours, to vp-hold their slothfull ignorance, by the old examples and policie of other ages and people; though neither likenesse of time, of occasion, or of any other circumstance, haue perswaded the imitation.

## S. VI.

*How Q. Fabius the Roman Dictator, sought to consume the force of Hannibal, by lingering warre. Minutius the Master of the Horse, honoured and advanced by the People, for bold and successfull attempting; adventures rashly vpon Hannibal, and is like to perish with his Armie, but rescued by Fabius.*

Greatly were the Romans amazed, at this their ill successe, and at the danger apparent; which threatned them in more terrible manner, than euer did was, since *Rome* it selfe was taken. They were good Souldiers; and so little accustomed to receive an ouerthrow, that when *Pyrrhus* had beaten them, once and againe, in open field, all *Italy* was strangely affected with his successe, and held him in admiration, as one that could worke wonders. But *Pyrrhus* his quarrell was not grounded vpon hate: hee onely sought honour, and fought (as it were) vpon a brauerie: demeaning himselfe like a courteous enemy. This Carthaginian detested the whole Roman name, against which he burned with desire of reuenge. *Tuicium*, *Trebia*, and *Thrasymene*, witnessed his purpose, & his ability. Which to withstand, they fled vnto a remedie that had long bin out of vse, and created a Dictator: The Dictators power was greater than the Consuls, and scarcely subject vnto controll of the whole City. Wherefore this Officer was seldom chosen, but vpon some extremitie, and sat no longer time than sixe moneths. Hee was to be named by one of the Consuls, at the appointment of the Senate: though it were so, that the Consul (if he stood vpon his prerogative) might name whom he pleased. At this time, the



part of his Armie to waste the Countrey. This was boldly done, seeing that *Minutius* incamped hard by him: but it seemes, that he now despised those whom he had so often vanquished. There was a piece of high ground between the two camps; which because it would be commodious to him that could occupie it, the Carthaginians being vpon by night with two thousand of their light-armed. But *Minutius*, by plaine force, won it from them the next day; and intrenching himselfe thereupon, became their nearer neighbour.

The maine businesse of *Hannibal* at this time was, to provide abundantly, not onely for his men but for his horses, which he knew to be the chiefe of his strength; that he might keepe them in good heart against the next Summer: if besides this he could giue the Romans another blow, it would increase his reputation, incourage his owne men, terrifie his enemies, and giue him leaue to forrage the Countrey at will. Since therefore *Minutius* did not in many dayes issue forth of his Campe, the Carthaginian sent out (as before) a great number of his men, to fetch in harvest. This aduantage *Minutius* wisely espied, and tooke. For he led forth his Armie, and setting it in order, presented battaile to *Hannibal*, that was not in case to accept it, euen at his owne Trenches. His horses, and all his light Armature, diuided into many companies, he sent abroad against the forragers, who being dispersed ouer all the fields, and loaden with bootie, could make no resistance. This angered *Hannibal*, that was not able to helpe them; but worse did it anger him, when the Romanes took heart to assaile his Trenches. They perceived that it was mere weakenesse, which held him within his campe, and therefore were bold to despise his great name, that could not resist their present strength. But in the heat of the businesse, *Asdrubal* came from Geryon with foure thousand men, being informed of the danger, by those that had escaped the Roman horse. This imboldned *Hannibal* to issue forth against the Romans; to whom neuertheless he did not such hurt, as he had receiued.

For this piece of seruice *Minutius* was highly esteemed by the Armie, and more highly by the People at Rome, to whom he sent the newes, vwith somewhat greater boast than truth. It seemed no small matter, that the Roman Armie had recovered spirit, so far forth that it dared to set vpon *Hannibal* in his own campe; & that in so doing, it came off with the better. Every man therefore praised the Master of the horse, that had wrought this great alteration; and consequently, they grew as far out of liking with *Fabius*, and his timorous proceedings, thinking that he had not done anything wisely, in all his Dictatorship: sauing that he chose such a worthy Lieutenant; whereas indeed in no other thing he had so greatly erred. But the Dictator was not so ioyfull of a little good lucke, as angry with the breach of discipline, and fearefull of greater danger, thereon likely to ensue. He said that he knew his owne place, and what was to be done; that he would teach the Master of the horse to doe so likewise; and make him giue account of what he had done, if he were Dictator: speaking it openly, That good successe, issuing from bad counsaile, was more to be feared, than calamitie; for as much as the one bred a foolish confidence, the other taught men to be warie. Against these Sermons euery one cried out, especially *Metellus* a Tribune of the people: which Office warranted him to speake, and doe what he list, without feare of the Dictator. Is it not enough (said he) that this our onely Man, chosen to be Generall, and Lord of the Towne, in our greatest necessitie, hath done no manner of good, but suffered all Italie to be wasted before his eyes, to the vtter shame of our State; ynclesse he also hinder others, from doing better than himselfe can, or dares? It were good to consider what he means by this. Into the place of *C. Flaminius* he hath not chosen any new Consul all this while; *Seruius* is sent away to Sea, I know not why; *Hannibal* and He, haue as it were taken Truce; *Hannibal* sparing the Dictators grounds: (for *Hannibal* had indeed forborne to spoyle some grounds of *Fabius*, that so he might bring him into enuie and suspition) and the Dictator giuing him leaue to spoyle all others, without impeachment. Surely his drift is euen this: He would haue the warre to last long, that he himselfe might be long in Office, and haue the sole Government both of our Citie, and Armies. But this must not be so. It were better, that the Commonaltie of Rome, which gaue him this authority, should againe take it from him, and conferre it vpon one more worthy. But lest, in mouing the people hereto, I should seeme to doe him iniurie, thus fare forth I will regard his honour: I will onely

onely propound, That the Master of the Horse may be ioyned in equal authority vwith the Dictator; a thing not more new, nor lesse necessary, than was the election of this Dictator, by the People.

Though all men, euen the Senators, were ill perswaded of the course vvhich *Fabius* had taken against *Hannibal*, as being neither plausible, nor seeming beneficiall at the present; yet was there none so iniurious, as to thinke that his generall intent, and care of the Weale publique, was lesse than very honourable. Whereas therefore it was the manner, in passing of any Act, that some man of credit & authority, besides the propounder, should stand vp, and formally deliuer his approbation; not one of the principall Citizens was found so impudent, as to offer that open disgrace, both vnto a worthy Personage, and (therewithall) vnto that dignity, whose great power, had freed the State at severall times, from the greatest dangers. Onely *C. Terentius Varro*, who the yeere before had bene Praetor, vvas glad of such an opportunity, to winne the fauour of the Multitude. This fellow vvas the sonne of a Butcher, afterwards became a Shop-keeper; and being of a contentious spirit, grew, by often brabbling, to take vpon him as a Pleader, dealing in poore mens causes. Thus by little and little he got into Office; and rose by degrees, being aduanced by those, who in hatred of the Nobilitie fauoured his very basenesse. And now he thought the time was come, for him to giue a hard push at the Consulship; by doing that, which none of the great men, fearing or fauouring one another, either durst or would. So he made an hot inuectiue, not onely against *Fabius*, but against all the Nobilitie; saying, That it grieved them to see the people doe well, and take vpon them what belonged vnto them; in matter of Government; That they sought to humble the Commons by pouertie, and to impoverish them by vvarre; especially by warre at their owne doores, which would soone consume euery poore mans liuing, and finde him other worke to thinke vpon, than matter of State. Therefore he bade them to be wise: and since they had found one, (this worthy Master of the Horse) that was better affected vnto them and his Countrey, to reward him according to his good deserts; and giue him authority, according as was propounded by the Tribune, that so he might be encouraged and enabled, to proceed as he had begun. So the Act passed.

Before this busie day of contention, *Fabius* had dispatched the election of a new Consul, which was *M. Attilius Regulus*, in the roome of *C. Flaminius*: and hauing finished all requisite businesse, went out of Towne, perceiving well, that he should not be able to withstand the multitude, in hindering th: Decree. The news of *Minutius* his aduancement, was at the campe as soone as *Fabius*: so that his old Lieutenant, and new Collegue, began to treat with him as a Companion; asking him at the first, in what sort he thought it best to diuide their authority: whether that one, one day; and the other, the next; or each of them successiue, for some longer time, should command in chiefe. *Fabius* briefly told him, That it was the pleasure of the Citizens, to make the Master of the horse equal to the Dictator, but that he should neuer be his superiour: Hee would therefore diuide the Legions with him, by lot, according to the custome; *Minutius* was not herewith greatly pleased; for that with halfe of the Armie he could not worke such wonders, as otherwise he hoped to accomplish. Neuertheless he meant to doe his best, and so taking his part of the Armie, incamped about a mile and halfe from the Dictator. Needfull it was (though *Liue* seemes to taxe him for it) that he should so doe: For where two seuerall Commanders are not subordinate one vnto another, nor ioyned in Commission, but haue each intire and absolute charge of his owne followers, there are the forces (though belonging vnto one Prince or State) not one, but two distinct Armies: in which regard, one Campe shall not hold them both; without great inconuenience. *Polybius* neither findes fault with this distinction, nor yet reports, that *Fabius* was unwilling to command in chiefe successiue (as the two Consuls vsed) with *Minutius*; by turns. He saith that *Minutius* was very refractary; and so proud of his aduancement, that continually he opposed the Dictator: vvhich thereupon referred it to his choyce, either to diuide the forces between them, as is said before, or else to haue command ouer all by course. This is likely to be true. For Natures impatient of subjection, when once they haue broken loose from the rigour of authority, loue nothing more, than to contest with it: as if herein consisted the prooffe and assurance of their libertie.



It behoued the Master of the horse, to make good this opinion which had thus aduanced him. Therefore he was no lesse carefull, of getting occasion to fight, than was *Fabius* of auoiding the necessity. That which *Minutius* and *Hannibal* equally desired could not long be wanting. The Country lying between them was open and bare, yet as fit for ambush, as could be wished: for that the sides of a naked valley adioyning, had many, and spacious caues; able, some one of them, to hide two or three hundred men. In these lurking places, *Hannibal* bestowed five hundred horse; and five thousand foot, thrusting them to close together, that they could not be discouered. But left by any misadventure they should be found out, and buried in their holes; he made offer betimes in the morning, to seize vpon a piece of ground that lay on the other hand: wherby he drew the eyes and the thoughts of the Romans, from their more needfull care, to busynesse little concerning them. Like vnto this was the occasion, which not long before, had prouoked *Minutius*, to aduventure vpon the Carthaginians. Hoping therefore to increase his honour, in like sort as he govt; he sent first his light armature, then his horse, and at length (seeing that *Hannibal* seconded his owne troups with fresh companies) he followed in person with the Legions. He was soone caught, and so hotly charged on all sides, that he knew neither how to make resistance, nor any safe retreat. In this dangerous case, whilst the Romans defended themselves, losing many, and those of their best men: *Fabius* drew neere, in very good order, to relieve them. For this old Captaine, perceiving a rare off, into what extremity his new Colleague had rashly throwne himselfe, and his followers; did the office of a good Citizen; and regarding more the benefit of his Country, than the disgrace which he had wrongfully sustained, fought rather to approue himself by halting to doe good, than by suffering his enemy to seele the reward of doing ill. Vpon *Fabius* his approach, *Hannibal* retired: fearing to be well wetted with a shower, from the cloud (as he termed the Dictator) that had hung so long on the Hills. *Minutius* forthwith submitted himselfe to *Pabius*; by whose benefit he confessed his life to haue been saved. So from this time forwards, the Warre proceeded coldly as the Dictator would haue it; both whilst his Office lasted, which was not long, and likewise afterwards, when he deliuered vp his charge vnto the Consuls, that followed his instructions.

*Servilius* the Consul had pursued in vaine a Carthaginian fleet, to which he came neerer within kenning. He ran along all the coast of Italie;ooke hostages of the Sardinians and Corsicans; passed ouer into Africke; and there negligently falling to spoyle the Countrey, was shamefully beaten aboard his ships, with the losse of a thousand men. Weighing anchor therefore in all haste, he returned home by Sicily; and (being requirred by the Dictators letters) repaired to the campe, with his fellow-Consul, wher they tooke charge of the Armie.

## §. VII.

The Roman people, desirous to finish the warre quickly, choose a rash and unworthy Consul. Great forces leuied against Hannibal. Hannibal taketh the Romans provisions in the Castle of Cannae. The new Consuls set forth against Hannibal.

With little pleasure did they of the poorer sort in Rome, hear the great commendations that were giuen to *Fabius* by the principall Citizens. He had indeed preferred them from receiuing a great overthrow: but he had neither finished the war, nor done any thing in appearance thereto tending. Rather it might seeme, that the reputation of this his one worthy act, was likely to countenance the slow proceedings, or perhaps the cowardize (if it were no worse) of those that followed him, in protracting the worke to a greater length. Else, what meant the Consuls to sit idle the whole winter, contrary to all former custome, since it was neuer heard before, that any Roman Generall had willingly suffered the time of his command to run away without any performance: as if it were honourable to doe iust nothing? Thus they suspected they knew not what; and were ready euery man, to discharge the griefe and anger of his own priuate losse, vpon the ill administration of the publike.

This affection of the people, was very helpfull to *C. Terentius Varro*, in his suit for the Consulship. It behoued him to strike, whilst the Iron was hot: his owne worth being little or none, and his credit ouer-weak, to make way into that high Dignity. But the

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Commonwealth were then in such a mood, as abundantly supplied all his defects. Wherein he had a kinsman, *Bibius Herennius*, then Tribune of the People, who spared not the liberty of his place, in saying what hee liked, without all regard of truth, or modestie. This bold Orator stucke not to affirme, that *Hannibal* had drawne into Italie, and suffered therein to range at his pleasure, by the Noblenesse, that *Minutius* indeed with his two Legions, was likely to haue bene ouerthrowne, and was rescued by *Fabius* with the other two: but had all bene ioyned together, what they might haue done, it was apparent, by the victorie of *Minutius*, when hee commanded ouer all as Master of the horse; that without a Plebeian Consull, the warre would neuer bee brought to an end. That such of the Plebeians, as had long since bene aduanced to honoure the people, were growne as proud as the old Nobilitie, and continued the manner sort, euer since themselves were freed from contempt of the more mightie; Therefore it was needfull to choose a Consul, who should be altogether a Plebeian, a more new man, one that could boast of nothing but the Peoples loue, nor could wish more, than to keepe it, by well deserving of them. By such persuasions, the Multitude was made wholly for *Terentius*: to the great vexation of the Nobles, who could not endure, to see a man raised for none other vertue, than his degrading from their honour, and therefore opposed him with all their might. To hinder the desire of the People to sell out, or at least was alledged, that neither of the two present Consuls would be spared, from attending vpon *Hannibal*, to hold the Election. Wherefore *Terentius* was named for that purpose: and he againe deplored; either (as was pretended) as some religious impediment, or because the Fathers desired an *Inter-regnum*, when they might better hope to preuaile in Choice of the new Consuls. This *Inter-regnum* tooke name and being in Rome, at the death of *Romulus*; and was in vse at the death of other Kings. The order of it was this. All the Fathers, or Senators; who at the first were an hundred, parted themselves into *Tens*, or *Decuries*, and gouerned successively by the space of five dayes, one *Decurie*, after another in order: yet so, that the *Lictors*, or *Curies* carrying the *Fasces*, or bundles of rods and axes, waited onely vpon the chiefe officers with these Emignes of power. This custome was retained, in times of the Consulate; and put in vse, when by death, or any casualty, they wanted ordinary Magistrates of the said yeare, to substitute new for the yeere following. The aduantage of the Fathers herein was, that if the Election were not like to goe as they would haue it, there needed not more, than to slip five dayes, and then was all to begin a new: by which interruption, the heart of the Multitude was commonly well alluaged. Vpon such change of chiefe that were Presidents of the Election; it was also lawfull vnto new Petitioners, to sue for the Magistracies that lay void: which otherwise was not allowed; but a time limited, wherein they should publickly declare themselves to seeke those Offices. But no device would serue, against the generall fauour borne vnto *Terentius*. One *Inter-regnum* passed ouer, and the malice of the Fathers, against the vertue (as it was beleueed) of this meane, but worthy man, seemed so manifest, that when the People had vttered the business to dispatch, onely *Terentius* was chosen Consul: in whose hand it was left, to hold the election of his Colleague. Hereupon all the former Petitioners gaue ouer. For whereas men of ordinary make had stood for the place before, it was now thought meet, that both to supply the defect, and to bridle the violence of this vnexpert, and hot-headed man, of great sufficiency, and reputation, should be ioyned with him, as both Common and opposite. So *L. Aemilius Paulus*, he who few years since had ouer-come the *Thracians*, and chased *Demetrius Pharius* out of his Kingdome, was vttered by the Nobilitie for the place: which he easily obtained, hauing no Competitor. It was not the part of this honorable man, to trouble himselfe any more in such great business of the Common wealth. For notwithstanding his late good seruice, he and *M. Livius* that had been his companion in Office, were afterwards iniuriously vttered by the People, and came to judgement; wherein *Livius* was condemned, and *Aemilius* hardly escaped: to the iustice they shall praise the Romans with in mind each of them in his second Consulship, wherein they shall honorably approve their worth, the one of them nobly, in the most glorious losse; the other bravely winning in the most happy victory. These two Consuls, *Varro* and *P. Cornelius Scipio*, omitted nothing of their diligence in preparing the warre: wherein though *Varro* made the greater noise, by selling what wonders he



he would worke, and that he would aske no more, than once to haue a sight of Hannibal, whom he promised to vanquish the very first day; yet the providence and care of *Senatus*, traiailed more earnestly toward the accomplishment of that, whereof his fellow vainly boasted. He wrote vnto the two old Consuls *Servilius* and *Mutius*, desiring them to abstaine from hazard of the maine chance; but neuerthelesse, to plect the Carthaginians with daily skirmish, and weaken them by degrees: that when hee and his Colleague should take the field, with the great Armie which they were now leuying, they might finde the foure old Legions well accustomed to the Enemie, and the Enemie well weakened to their hands. He was also very strict in his Musters; wherein the whole Senate assisted him so carefully, as if in this Action they meant to refute the Islanders, with which *Terentius* and his Adherents had burdened them. What number of men they raised, is vncertaine. Fourescore thousand foot, at the least, and fixe thousand horse, they were strong in the field, when the day came, which *Varrus* had so greatly desired, of looking vpon *Hannibal*.

*Hiero*, the old King of Syracuse, as he had reliev'd the Carthaginians, when they were distressed by their own Mercenaries; so did he now send helpe to Rome, a thousand Archers, and Slingers, with great quantity of Wheat, Barlie, and other provisions. Having nothing more, than that one of these two mightie Cities should destroy the other, whereby his owne estate would fall to ruine; that stood vpright, by hauing these two what evenly ballanced. He gaue them also counsaile, to send forces into Africa, (perhaps) by that meanes they might diuert the warre from home. His gifts, and counsaile were louingly accepted; and instructions were given to *Timon* *Quintus* the Sicilian, which was to goe into Sicily, that he should accordingly passe over into Africa, if he found it expedient.

The great Leuies, which the Romans made at this time, doe much more serueto declare their puissance, than any, though larger account by Poll, of such as were actually drawne into the field, and fitted for service. For besides these Armies of the Consuls, and that which went into Sicily, twentie five thousand, with *L. Posthumus Albinus*, another of the Prators, went against the Gauls, to reclaim that Prouince, which the passage of *Hannibal* through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of this their present strength, might well embolden them to doe as they did. They sent Embassadors to *Philip* the son of *Demetrius*, King of Macedon, requiring him to deliuer into their hands *Demetrius Pharius*: who hauing bene their subiect, and rebell, was fled into his Kingdome. They also sent to the Illyrians, to demand their tribute; whereof the day of payment was already past. What answer they receiued, it is not knowne: onely this is knowne, that *Demetrius Pharius* was not sent vnto them; and that *Philip* himselfe began to haue an eye vpon them, little to their good. As for the Illyrian money, by the shifts that they were driuen soone after to make, it will appeare, that the one halfe of it (how little soeuer) would haue bene welcome to Rome, and accepted, without any trouble about forfeiture for non-payment of the whole.

Whilst the Citie was busied in these cares, the old Consuls lay as neere vnto *Hannibal*, as possibly they could, without incurring the necessity of a battaile. Many skirmishes they had with him, wherein their successe for the most part, was rather good than great. Yet one mischance not onely blemished the honour of their other seruices, but was indeed the occasion, to draw on the misery following. *Hannibal*, for the most part of that time, made his abode at Geryon, where lay all his store for the Winter. The Romans, to be neere him, lodged about Cannusium; and, that they might not be driuen to turne aside for all necessities, to the losse of good opportunities, they bestowed much of their provisions in the Castle of *Canna*: for the rowne was razed the yeere before. This place *Hannibal* wan, and thereby not onely furnished himselfe, but compelled his enemies to want many needfull things, vntill they would be troubled with farrer carriage. Besides this, and more to his advantage, he enabled himselfe to abide in that open Countrey, fit for the seruice of his horse: longer than the Romans, hauing so many needfull things to feed, could well endure to tarry, without offering battaile; whilst he most desired. Of this mishap when *Servilius* had informed the Senate, letting them vnderstand, how this Peerce, taken by *Hannibal*, would serue him to command no small part of the Countrey adiacont; it then seemed needfull, to send the Fathers themselves, to aduocate a battaile with the Carthaginians, rather than suffer him thus to tarry in the Countrey of

of Italy. Neuerthelesse, answer was returned vnto *Servilius*, that hee should haue patience yet awhile: for that the Consuls would shortly be there; with a power sufficient to doe as need required. When all things were ready in the Citie, and the season of the yeere, commodious to take the field, the two Consuls, with their Armie, set forth against *Hannibal*. This was almes done with great solemnities especially, whensoever they went forth to warre against any notable or credoubted Enemy. For Sacrifices, and solemn Vowes, were made vnto *Iupiter*, and the rest of their gods, for good successe and victorie: which being performed, the Generals in warlike attire, with an honorable traine of the printipall men, (not onely such as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the warre, as Voluntes, for loie; but a great number of others that meant to abide at home,) were accompanied on their way, and dismissed with friendly leaue taking, and good wishes. At this time, all the Fathers, and the whole Nobility, waited vpon *Emilius Paulus*, as the onely Man, whom they thought either worthy of this honour, or likely to doe his Countrey remarkable seruice. *Terentius* his Attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer Citizens; a troupe no lesse in gratefull, than the other was in dignity. At the parting, *Paulus* the late Dictator, is said to haue exhorted the Consul *Paulus*, with many good words, to shew his magnanimitie, not onely in dealing with the Carthaginians; but (which he thought harder) in bydling the outrageous follie of his fellow Consul. The answer of *Paulus*, was, That he meant not againe to runne into danger of condemnation, by offending the multitude; that he would doe his best for his Countrey: but if he saw his best were likely to beill taken, he would thinke it lesse rashnesse to aduenture vpon the Enemies sword, than vpon the malice of his owne Citizens.

## 6. VIII.

Diffinition betweene the two Roman Consuls. whether it be likely, that *Hannibal* was vpon point of flying out of Italy, when the Romans pressed him to fight. The great battaile of *Canna*.

These new Generals, arriuing at the Camp, dismissed *M. Atilius* one of the last yeeres Consuls, requesting it because of his age and weaknesse; *Servilius* they retained with them, as their Assistant. The first thing that *Emilius* thought necessary, was, to hearten his Souldiers with good words; who out of their bad successe hitherto, had gathered more cause of feare, than of courage. He willed them to confider, not onely now, their victories in times past against the Carthaginians, and other more warlike Nations than were the Carthaginians, but euen their owne great numbers: which were no lesse than all that Rome at the present was able to set forth. Hee told them in what danger their Countrey stood; how the state and safetie thereof rested vpon their hands; vntill some such other common matter of perswasion. But the most effectual part of his Oration, was, That *Hannibal* with this his terrible Army, had not yet obtained one victory by plaine force and valour; but that onely by deceit and ambush he had stolne the honor, which he had gotten at Trebia & Thrasymene. Hertwithall betaxed the inconsiderate rashnesse of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; of whom the one saw not his enemies, vntill hee was surrounded by them; the other scarce saw them, when they struck off his head, by reason of the thick mist, through the darknesse whereof he went groping (as it were blinde-fold) into their snares. Finally, declaring what advantages they had against the Enemie; and how destitute the Enemie was of those helpes, by which he had hitherto preuailed against them; he exhorted them to play the game and doe their best. They were easily perswaded: for the contemplation of their owne multitude, and confidence of the Roman vertue in matter of armes, gaue them cause to thinke, that vnder a Captaine so well experienced, and every way sufficient, as *Emilius* was knowne to be, they should easily preuaile against the Carthaginians: that came short of them in all things else, save craft; which would not alwayes chruce. But in one thing they mistooke the meaning of their Generall. It was his desire that they should haue heart to fight; not that they should lose the patience of awaiting a convenient season. But they, hauing preconceived a victorie, though all delays to bee impediments: and thereby sought to robbe themselves of their best helpe; which

was good conduct. They remembered what talke they had heard at Rome: and were themselves affected with the Vulgar desire, of ending the warre quickly; wherein since *Emilius* had acknowledged, that the aduantage was theirs, why did he make them forebore to vse it? Thus thought the common Souldier: and thus also thought the Consul *Terentius*, who was no lesse popular in the Campe, than hee had beene in the Citie. Expectation is alwayes tedious; and neuer more, than when the Event is of most importance. All men longed, both at Rome, and in the Armie, to bee freed from the doubtfull passions of Hope and Feare: therefore *Terentius*, who hastened their desire to effect, was likely to win more thanks, than should his Colleague, though greater in performance.

Thus while the Romans thinke themselves to haue the better of their Enemies, they to fall into an inconuenience, than which few are more dangerous; *Dissension* of their chiefe Commanders. *Varro* would fight: *Emilius* would so too; but said that it was not yet time; why? because the enemy must shortly dislodge, and remove hence, into places lesse fit for his horse. But shall the Romans wait, till *Hannibal*, hauing eaten vp his last yeeres provisions, returne into Campania to gather a second Haruest? This would (said *Varro*) fauour too much of *Q. Fabius*: And your haste (said *Paulus*) doth fauour no lesse of *C. Flaminius*. Their deedes were like their words: for they commanded by turnes interchangeably euery day. *Emilius* lodged fixe miles from *Hannibal*, where the ground was somewhat vneuen. Thither if the Carthaginians would take paines to come, hee doubted not to send them away in such haste, as they should not leaue running till they were out of Italie. But they came not. *Terentius* therefore the next day descended into the Plaines; his Colleague holding him, and beseeching him to stay. Neuertheless hee fate downe close by *Hannibal*: who as an vnbidden guest gaue him but a rude wel come and entertainment. The Carthaginian Horse, and light armature, fell vpon the Roman Vantcoursers, and put the whole Armie in tumult, whilest it was yet in march: but they were beaten off, not without losse, for that the Romans had among their Velites, some troupes weightily armed, whereas the Carthaginians had none. The day following, *Emilius*, who could not handsomely withdraw the Armie out of that leuell ground, incamped vpon the Riuer Aufidus, sending a third part of his forces ouer the water, to lye vpon the Easterne banke, where they entrenched themselves. Hee neuer was more vnwilling to fight, than at this present: because the ground serued wholly for the aduantage of his enemy; with whom he meant to deale, when occasion should draw him to more equal tearmes. Therefore he stirred not out of his Trenches, but fortified himselfe; expecting when *Hannibal* should dislodge, and remove towards *Gerwyn*, *Canna*, or some other place, where his force lay, for want of necessaries: whereas an Armie foraging the Countrey, was not likely to carry about with it sufficient quantity, for any long time.

Here it would not be passed over with silence, That *Liue* differeth much in his Relation from *Polybius*: telling many strange tales, of the misery into which *Hannibal* had beene driuen; and of base courtes that hee deuised to take, if the Romans could haue retained their patience a little longer. Hee had (saith *Liue*) but tenne dayes prouision of meat. Hee had not money to pay his Souldiers. They were an vnruely Rabble, gathered out of severall Nations, so that he knew not how to keepe them in order; but that from murmuring, they fell to flat exclamations, first, about their Pay, and Prouant, and afterwards for very famine. Especially the Spaniards were ready to forsake him, and run ouer to the Roman side. Yea *Hannibal* himselfe was once vpon the point, to haue holle away into Gaule with all his horse, and left his foot vnto their miserable destinies. At length for lack of all other counsaile, hee resolved to get him as farre as hee could from the Romans, into the Southermost parts of Apulia; to the end, that both his vnfaithfull Souldiers might finde the more difficulty in running from him; and that his hunger might be relieved with the more early haruest. But whilest he was about to put this deuise in execution, the Romans pressed him so hard, that they euen forced him to that, which hee most desired; cuncto fight a battaile vpon open Champaine ground: wherein hee was victorious. It was not vncommendable in *Liue*, to speake the best of his owne Citizens; and, where they did ill, to say, That, without their owne great folly, they had done passing well. Further also hee may be excused; as writing onely by report. For thus hee saith, *Hannibal de fugâ in Galliam (dicitur) agisse*: *Hannibal (s' said)* 10

how hee sought himselfe of flying into Gaule: where hee makes it no more than a matter of heere-day; as perhaps was all the rest of this Relation. As for the poore people, it is very incredible. For if *Hannibal*, coming out of Gaule, through the Marshes and Bogs of Henuia, could finde victuals enough, and all things needfull vnto his Armie, the Summer foregoing: what should hinder him to doe the like this yeere; especially seeing hee had plaid the carefull husband in making a great haruest, since hee had long beene Master of the open field; and besides, had gotten, by surprise, no small part of the Roman prouisions? Suitable herunto is all the rest. If *Hannibal* had taken nothing but corne and castell; his Souldiers might perhaps haue fallen into murinie for pay. But he brought gold with him into Italy: and had so well increased his stocke, since he came into that Countrey, that hee had armed his African Souldiers, all Roman-like, and laden his followers with spoyle: hauing left wherewith to redeeme as many of his owne, as were taken by the Enemy; when the Romans were not willing, as finding it not ealie to doe the like. In this point therefore, we are to attend the generall agreement of Historians: who giue it as a principall commendation vnto *Hannibal*, That hee alwayes kept his Armie free from sedition, though it were composed of sundry Nations, no lesse different in Manners, Religion, and almost in Nature, than they were in languages: and well might hee so doe, hauing not onely pronounced, That which of his men loeuely fought brauely with an Enemy, was thereby a Carthaginian; but solemnly protested, & sware, (besides other rewards) to make as many of them, as should deserue and seeke it, free Citizens of Carthage. The running away into Gaule, was a senselesse deuice. *Hannibal*, being there with his whole Armie, tooke so little pleasure in the Countrey and People, that hee made all haste to get him out of it. And what should hee now doe there with his horse, or how could hee be trusted, either there or elsewhere? yea, how could hee desire to lye; hauing betrayed all his Armie; and relinquished his miserable foot, to the butcherie of their enemies? This tale therefore *Plutarch* omitteth, who in writing the life of *Hannibal*, takes in a manner all his directions from *Liue*. But of this and the like it is enough to say; That all Historians loue to extoll their own Countrey-men; and where a losse cannot be dissembled, nor the honor of the victory taken from the Enemy, and giuen vnto blinde fortune; there to lay all the blame on some strange misgouernment of their own forces: as if they might easily haue won all, but lost all through such folly, as no Enemy can hope to finde in them another time.

Now let vs returne backe to the two Armies, where they lye encamped on the Riuer Aufidus. *Varro* was perswaded, that it concerned him in honour, to make good his word vnto the people of Rome: and since hee had thus long waited in vaine, to get the consent of *Paulus*, now at length to vse his owne authoritie; and, without any more disputing of the matter, to fight when his owne day came. When therefore it was his turne to command; at the first breake of the day hee began to passe the Riuer, without staying to bid his Colleague good morrow. But *Paulus* came to him; and fought, as in former times, to haue dissuaded him, from putting the estate of his Countrey to a needlesse hazard. Against whose words and substantiall arguments, *Terentius* could allege none other, than point of Honour. *Hannibal* had presented them battaile at their Trenches: should they endure this Brauado? Hee had sent his Numidians ouer the Riuer but euen the day before, who fell vpon the Romans that were fetching water to the lesser Campe; and drave them shamefully to runne within their defenses, which also they made offer to assaile: must this also be suffered? Hee could not endure it: for it could not but weaken the spirit of the Roman Souldier; which as yet was liuely, and full of such courage, as promised assured victory. When *Emilius* perceived, that hee could not hinder the obstinate resolution of his Companion, hee tooke all care, that what he saw must be done, might be done well. Ten thousand Roman foot hee caused to be left behinde, in the greater Campe, opposite vnto the Carthaginian; to the intent, that either *Hannibal* might be compelled to leaue behinde him some answerable number, for defence of his Trenches: (which out of his paucitie hee was lesse able to spare from the battaile, than were the Romans) or that these ten thousand, falling vpon the Carthaginian Campe, when the fight began, & taking it with all the wealth therein, might thereby (as commonly doe such accidents) terrifie and distract the Enemies in the heate of fight. This done, the two Consuls went ouer the water with their Armie to the lesser Campe; whence they drew forth their men, and ranged them in order of battaile: the ground

on the East part of the River, seeming perhaps more fit for marshalling of their Armie. Hannibal was glad of this as he had great cause; and without any delay, passed likewise over, somewhat higher up the stream; which ran from the South; leaving in his owne campe so many, as he thought would serve to defend it, and no more. To encourage his men, Hee had them look about them, and view the ground well, upon which they were to fight. They did so. And could you (said hee) pray for any greater fortune, than to ope a battaile with the Romans upon such a leuel ground, where the stronger in horse are sure to prevail? They all assented to him; and shewed by their countenances, that they were very glad of it. Well then (said hee further) yet are first of all to thank the gods, that have brought them hither; and then Vs, that have trained them along, and drawne them into necessity of playing for their lives, where they are sure to lose them. As for these Romans, I was faine to encourage you against them, when yee met them first: but now yee may even encourage your selves, by calling to minde that they are the men, whom yee have as often beaten as seen. Of one thing only I will put you in minde: That whereas hitherto you fought for other respects, as, to drive them before you out of Gaule; and to win the open Countrey, and fields of Italy, both of which yee have obtained: now are ye to fight for the Townes themselves, and all the riches within them; which this victory shall make yours. Therefore play the stout Souldiers: and ere many houres passe, yee shall be Lords of all that the Romans hold.

When he had said this; his brother Mago came to him, whom he had sent to view the countenance of the Enemy. Hannibal asked him, what newes; and what worke they were likely to have with these Romans? Worke enough (answered Mago) for they are horrible many. As horrible a many as they are (thus Hannibal replied) I tell thee, brother, that among them all, search them neuer so diligently, thou shalt not find one man, whose name is Mago. With that he fell a laughing, and so did all that stood about him: which gladdened the souldiers, who thought their General would not be so merry, without great assurance. Whether it were so, that Hannibal, in the pride of his victories already gotten, valued one Mago above many thousand Romans; or whether he intimated, that the Romans were no lesse troubled with thinking upon Mago and his Companions, than was Mago with beholding their huge multitude; or whether hee meant only to correct the sad mood of his brother with a iest, and shew himselfe merry vnto the Souldiers: this his answer, was more manly, than was the relation of his discoverer. But if Hannibal himselfe had been sent forth by Mago, to view the Romans, he could not have retourned with a more gallant report in his mouth, than that which Captain Gam, before the battaile of Agincourt, made vnto our King Henry the sixth: saying, that of the Frenchmen, there were enow to be killed; enow to be taken prisoners; and enow to run away. Even such words as these, or such pleasant iests as this of Hannibal, are not without their moment; but serve many times, when battaile is at hand, to worke vpon such passions, as must gouerne more of the businesse: especially, where other needfull care is not wanting; without which they are but vaine boates.

In this great day, the Carthaginian excelled himselfe, expressing no lesse perfection of his militarie skill, than was greatest in his spirit and undertakings. For to omit the commodiousness of the place, into which he had long before conceiued the means to draw his enemies to battaile; He marshalled his Armie in such convenient order, that all hands were brought to fight, where euer one might doe best seruice. His Darters, and Slings of the *Balastes*, hee sent off before him, to encounter with the Roman Velites. These were loose troupes, answerable in a manner to those, which we call now by a French name *Enfans perdus*; but when we use our owne termes, the *serenos baps*. The grosse of his Armie following them, hee ordered thus. His Africans, armed after the Roman manner, with the poyles which they had gotten at Trebia, Thralymene, or elsewhere; and well trained in the vse of those weapons, that were of more advantage, than those wherewith they had formerly serued; made the two wings, very deepe in file. Betwene these hee ranged his Gaules and Spaniards, armed, each after their owne Countrey manner, their shields alike, but the Gaules vsing long broad swords; that were forcible in a downe-right stroke; the Spaniards, short and well-pointed blades, either to strike or thrust; the Gaules, naked from their naueils upwards, as confident in their owne fierceness; the Spaniards, wearing white callocks embroidered with purple.

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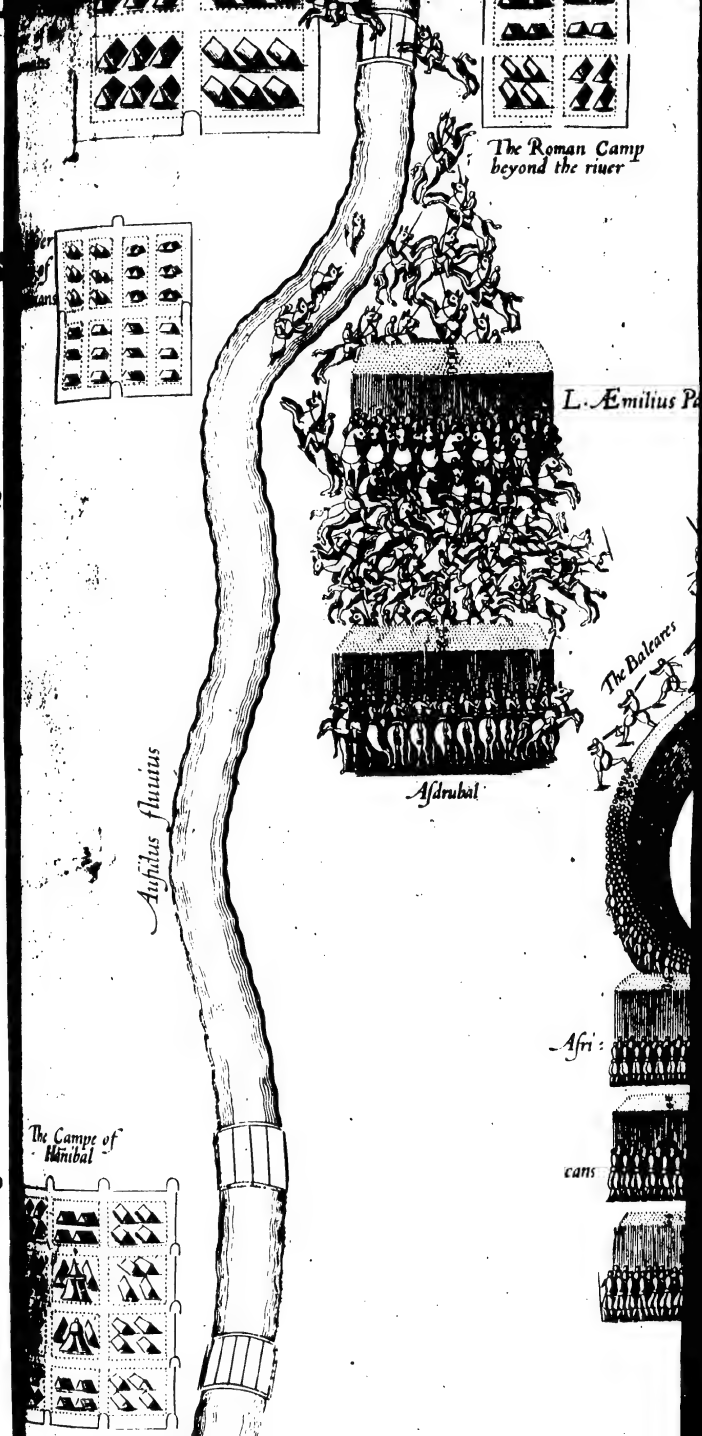
The policy of two Nations differing as well in height and stature, as in quality, made them in this day, to shew themselves in the field, as in a battaile of body and spirit. The Romans, being in the former warre, as we haue seen, to find their violence at the first, such a discipline all the course of them, as was intended to give ground; when they were forced to fight, they were not to give ground, but to stand firm, and to fight upon any small encouragement. The Carthaginians, on the contrary, were not to stand firm, but to give ground, when they were forced to fight, and to fight upon any small encouragement. The Romans, being in the former warre, as we haue seen, to find their violence at the first, such a discipline all the course of them, as was intended to give ground; when they were forced to fight, they were not to give ground, but to stand firm, and to fight upon any small encouragement. The Carthaginians, on the contrary, were not to stand firm, but to give ground, when they were forced to fight, and to fight upon any small encouragement. The Romans, being in the former warre, as we haue seen, to find their violence at the first, such a discipline all the course of them, as was intended to give ground; when they were forced to fight, they were not to give ground, but to stand firm, and to fight upon any small encouragement. The Carthaginians, on the contrary, were not to stand firm, but to give ground, when they were forced to fight, and to fight upon any small encouragement.

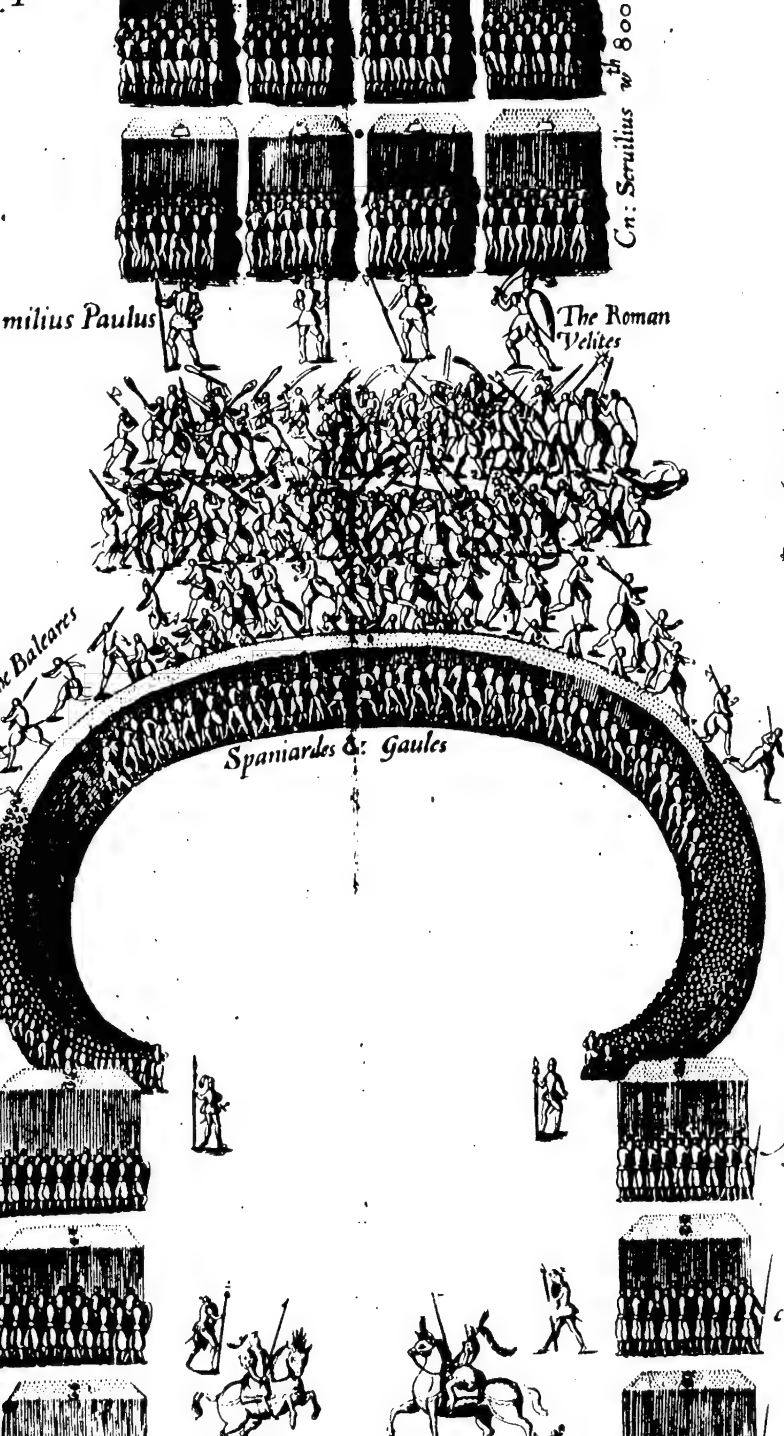
The Roman Army was marshalled in the vsual forme: but somewhat more narrow, and deepe, than was accustomed; perhaps, because this had bene found convenient against the Carthaginians, in the former warre. It was indeed no bad way of resistance against Elephants, to make the Ranks *thick and short*, but the Files long; as also to strengthen well the Rear, that it might stand fast compacted as a wall, vnder shelter whereof the disorderd troupes might re-ally themselves. Thus much it seemes, that Terentius had learned of some old Souldiers; and therefore he now ordered his Battailles accordingly, as meaning to shew more skill, than was in his understanding. But the Carthaginians had here no Elephants with them in the field; their advantage was in Horse; against which, this manner of embattailing was very vnprofitable, forasmuch as their charge is better sustained in front, than vpon a long flanke. As for *Amilins*, it was not his day of command: He was but an Assistant; and in such cases it happens often, that wile they yeeld for very wearinesse vnto the more contentious. Vpon the right hand, and toward the River, were the Roman horse-men, vnder the Consul *Paulus*: On the left wing, was *C. Terentius Varro* the other Consul, with the rest of the horse, which were of the Latines, and other associates: *Cn. Seruilius* the former yeeres Consul, had the leading of the battaile. The Sunne was newly risen, and offended neither part; the Carthaginians having their faces Northward, the Romans toward the South.

After some light skirmish, betwene the Roman Velites and Hannibal his Darters and slingers

V v v v 3

slingers of the Balceares: *Asdrubal* upon the Consul's flank, and was much re-  
 counted; nor after the manner of the one horse, but of many, and was  
 about *thousands*; but each going to his right hand, *Paulus* and *Scipio* mounted  
 the River on the one hand, and the bank of the sea on the other hand, so that there  
 was no way left, but a back retreat, and therefore they did not only use their  
 Lances and Swords, but trilled violently amongst the Enemies, grappled one another,  
 and so their horses running from under them, fell many to the ground; where standing  
 again, they began to deal blows like to the men on foot, for the Roman horse were  
 over-borne, and driven by main force to the River, so that the Roman horse were  
 could not retreat: For *Asdrubal*, with his Boisterous Gauls and Spaniards, was opposed  
 resisted by these Roman Gentlemen, unequal both in number, and in the manner.  
 When the Battails came to joining, the Roman Battails round world enough, and  
 somewhat more than enough, to break that great Crescent, upon which they first  
 so strongly for the while, did the Gauls and Spaniards foot make resistance, at the  
 the two points of their Battails drove towards the midst; by whose sides the Span-  
 fies were forced to disband, and fly back to their first place. This they did with great  
 haste and fence: and were with no little time and toly pursued. Upon the *Asdrubal*  
 stood behind them, they needed not a fall from both for: for there was no room  
 room enough; and forasmuch as the Gauls, or Phoenes of this Moore, pointed out  
 the safe retreat, where *Hannibal* with his Carthaginians was ready to receive them,  
 when time should require. In this hasty retreat, of flight, of the Gauls and Spaniards  
 is hapned, as was necessary, that they who had stood in the limbe or vnter combe of  
 the halfe Moone, made the in the most of confusion, the roof disordered and broken  
 though it were) when it was forced to turne the inside outward: the horses of points  
 thereof, as yet, vntouched, onely turning round, & recovering very little. So the Romans  
 in pursuing them, were inclosed in an halfe circle; which they should not haue needed  
 greatly to regard, (for that the sides of it were exceeding thin and broken, and the bot-  
 come of it, none other than a throng of men routed, and seeming vnable to make res-  
 stance) had all the enemies foot bin cast into this one great body, that was in a manner  
 dissolved: But while the Legions, following their supposed victory, rushed on upon  
 those that stood before them, and thereby vntwittingly engaged themselves deeply with  
 in the principall strength of the Enemies, hedging them in on both hands; the two A-  
 frican Battalions on either side advanced so far, that getting beyond the Rere of them,  
 they enclosted them, in a manner, behinde and forward they could not passe farre, with-  
 out remouing *Hannibal* and *Asdrubal*; which made that way the least easie. Hereby it is  
 apparant, That the great Crescent, before spoken of, was of such extent, as covered the  
 Africans, who lay behinde it vndiscerned, vntill now. For it is agreed, that the Romans  
 were thus empaled *vnawares*; and that they behaued themselves, as men that thought  
 vpon no other worke, than what was found them by the Gauls. Neither is it credible,  
 that they would haue bene so mad, as to run head-long, with the whole bulke of their  
 Armie, into the throat of slaughter; had they seene those weapons bent against them  
 at the first, which when they did see, they had little hope to escape. Much might be  
 imputed to their heat of sight, and rashnesse of inferiour Captaines: but since the Con-  
 sull *Paulus*, a man so expert in warre, being vanquished in horse, had put himselfe a-  
 mong the Legions; it cannot be supposed, that hee and they did wilfully thus engage  
 themselves. *Asdrubal*, hauing broken the troupes of Roman horse, that were led by  
 the Confull *Paulus*, followed vpon them along the River side, beating downe and  
 killing, as many as he could, (which were almost all of them) without regard of taking  
 prisoners. The Confull himselfe was either driuen vpon his owne Legions, or wil-  
 lingly did cast himselfe among them; as hoping by them to make good the day, not-  
 withstanding the defeat of his horse. But he failed of this his expectation. Neverthe-  
 lesse he cheered vp his men as well as he could, both with comfortable words, and with  
 the example of his owne stout behauiour: beating downe, and killing many of the e-  
 nemies with his owne hand. The like did *Hannibal* among his Carthaginians, in the  
 same part of the battaile; and with better successe. For the Consul receiued a blow from  
 a sling, that did him great hurt: and though a troupe of Roman Gentlemen, riding a-  
 bout him, did their best to saue him from further harme, yet was he so hardly laid at, that  
 he was compelled, by wounds and weaknesse, to forsake his horse. Hereupon all his  
 company







the Numidians, lighted left vving, was maruellously troubled by *Hanno* (or *M.*  
the Numidians) who beating vp and downe about that great sandy Plainē,  
about which, which a strong Southwinde, blowing there accustomedly, draue in  
and out of the mouthes of the Romanes. These, vsing their aduantage both of number  
and of the Consul and his followers exceedingly: neither giuing  
any charge, but continually making offers, and vwheeling about. Yet at  
they seemed to promise him an happy day of it. For when the battailes were  
to ioyne, the hundred of these Numidians came picking away from their fel-  
lowes, and hid themselves behinde their backs, (as was the manner of those, which  
doe thus doing downe their armes, rendred themselves. This was good lucke  
to them, which had beene good meaning: *Varro* had not leisure to examine  
them, vnderponed as they were, to get them behinde the Armie)  
to keepe them rest quietly till all was done. These crafty aduencurers did as he  
for a while, till they found opportunitie to put in execution the purpose, for  
which they had thus yeilded. Under their Jackets they had short swords and poyards,  
which they found other scattered weapons about the field, of such as were slain,  
with which they flew vpon the hindmost of the Romans, whilest all eyes and thoughts  
were another way: so that they did great mischief, and raised yet a greater terror  
in a plaine leuell ground, found meanes to lay an ambush at the backs of  
the. The last blow, that ended all fight and resistance, was giuen by the same  
hand as the first. *Asdrubal* hauing in short space broken the Roman troups of  
in pieces all, saues the Companie of *Emilius* that rushed into the grosse of  
and a very few besides, that recovered some narrow passage between the Roman  
owne Battalions; did not stay to charge vpon the face of the Legions, but fell  
to the Beare of his owne, and fetching about, came vp to the Numidians:  
he ioyned, and gaue vpon *Terentius*.  
A full cloud, as it shewed at the first appearance, what weather it had left be-  
hind the other side: so did it prognosticate a dismall storme vnto those vpon  
who was ready now to fall. Wherefore *Terentius* his followers, hauing wearied  
so much in doing little, and seeing more worke toward, than they could hope  
to thought it the best way, to auoid the danger by present flight. The Consul  
his wife than they, in apprehending the greatnesse of his own perill; nor more  
in striving to worke impossibilities: it being impossible, when so many shrank  
to sustaine the impression alone, which he could not haue indured with their  
Now he found, that it was one thing to talke of *Hannibal* at Rome; and an-  
other to encounter him. But of this; or of ought else, excepting hasty flight, his pro-  
posals would not serue him to consider. Close at the heeles of him and his flying  
followed the light Numidians, appointed by *Asdrubal* vnto the pursuit, as fir-  
st in that seruice. *Asdrubal* himselfe, with the Gaules and Spanish horse, compa-  
ny, fell vpon the backs of the Romans, that were ere this hardly distressed,  
in manner surrounded on all parts else: He brake them easily, vvhich before made  
much being inclosed, and laid at on euery side, not knowing which way to turne,  
gan a pittifull slaughter: the vanquished multitude thronging vp and downe,  
not whither or which way, whilest euery one sought to auoid those enemies,  
he saw neere. Some of the Roman Gentlemen that were about *Emilius*, got vp  
and saued themselves: which though it is hardly vnderstood how they could



selfe of that dayes losse. Further, he willed Lentulus so to commend him up the Senate, as  
particular to Fabius: willing them to forsake Rome, as fast as well they could, and selling  
Fabius, that he lived and died wholefull of his wholefomme counsaile. These words moved  
venture) or some to like purpose, the Consul vnto Lentulus, either when he sawe the  
will he was drawne to that Battaille, or when he beheld the first defeat of his battell:  
what time he put himselfe in the head of his Legions. For I doubt not, but *Emilius*  
knew vvhether he said a good while before this, when he thought the Consul & his legions  
in little better case than if they had been bound. The whole Grosse of the Romans, was  
inclosed indeed as within a sacke; whereof the African Battailions made the sides, the  
Spaniards, Gauls, and Hannibal with his Carthaginians the bottome, and *Asdrubalus*  
his horse, closed vp the mouth: in vvhich part, they first of all were thrust together,  
and beganne the Rout, vvherein all the rest followed. *Emilius* therefore, who could  
not sit his horse, whilst the battaille yet lasted, and whilst the spaces were so narrow,  
pen, by which he might haue withdrawn himselfe, vvas now (had he neuer so well  
mounted) vnable to flie, hauing in his vvay so close a strong of his owne miserie, as  
lowers, and so many heapes of bodies, as fell aspace in that great Carnage: It was  
vnto his honour, That in the Battaille he fought no lesse valiantly, than he had vvhen he  
fore, both abstained himselfe, and dissuaded his fellow-Consull, from fighting with  
when the day was vnterly lost, it had lien in his power to saue his own life, vnto the  
of his countrie, neuer more needing it; I should thinke, that hee either too much  
esteemed himselfe, or being too faintly minded, was vnto the world, and to his  
thankfull Citizens. But if such a resolution vvore praise-worthy in *Emilius*, as  
ding out of Roman valor, then was the English vertue of the Lord *John Talbot*, vvhen  
Lesse, sonne to that famous Earle of Shrewsbury, vvho died in the Battaille of *Clontarf*,  
more highly to be honoured: For *Emilius* was old, grievously, if not mortally, woun-  
ded, & accountable for the ouerthrow receiued: *Talbot* was in the flower of his youth,  
vnhurt, easily able to haue escaped, and not answerable for that dayes misfortune, when  
he refused to forsake his Father; who foreseeing the losse of the battaille, and vvhen  
ning to staine his actions past by flying in his old age, exhorted this his noble sonne to  
be gone and leaue him.

In this terrible ouerthrow died all the Roman foot, saue two or three thousand, vvho  
*Lince* (saith) escaped into the lesser campe, whence, the same night, about sixe hundred  
them brake forth, and ioyning with such of those in the greater campe, as were willing  
to trie their fortune, conueyed themselves away ere morning, about four thousand foot,  
and two hundred horse, partly in vvhole troups, partly disperfed, into Cannus: the  
next day, the Roman camps, both lesse and greater, were yeilded vnto Hannibal by those  
that remained in them: *Polybius* hath no mention of this escape: onely he reports, that  
the ten thousand, vvhom *Emilius* had left on the West side of Aufidus (as was shewed  
before) to set vpon the campe of Hannibal, did as they were appointed; but ere they  
could effect their desire, vvich they had well-nere done, the battaille was lost: and *Han-*  
*nibal*, comming ouer the vvater to them, draue them into their own campe, vvich they  
quickly yeilded, hauing lost two thousand of their number. Like enough it is, that at the  
first sight of Hannibal, comming vpon them with his victorious Armie, a greater number  
of these did flie, and thereby escaped, whilst their fellowes, making defence in vvain,  
retired into their campe, and held the enemy busied. For about two Legions they were  
(perhaps not halfe full, but made vp by addition of others, vvhoose fault or fortune vvore  
like that hauing serued at Cannæ, vvore afterwards extremely disgraced by the State of  
Rome, for that they had abandoned their companions fighting. Of the Roman horse  
vvhat numbers escaped, it is vncertaine: but very few they vvore that saued themselves in  
the first charge, by getting behinde the Riuer, and *Terrontius* the Consul recovered *Ve-*  
*nusia*, vvith three score and ten at the most in his companie. That he was so ill attended,  
it is no maruell: for *Venusia* lay many miles off to the Southward, so that his retreat  
vvay thither, had been through the midst of Hannibals Armie, if the passage had bene  
open. Therefore it must needs be, that vvhen once he got out of fight, he turned vp some  
by-way, so disappointing the Numidians that hunted *Cannæ*. Of such as could not hold  
pace vvith the Consul, but tooke other vvayes, and were scattered ouer the fields, two  
thousand, or thereabout, vvore gathered vp by the Numidians, and made prisoners: the  
rest vvore slaine, all saue three hundred; vvho disperfed themselves in flight, as *Emilius*



is taken in this battaile, *Linie* makes no greater than three thousand foot, and  
adred horse: too few to haue defended for the space of one halfe houre, both  
in Camps, which yet the same *Linie* saith, to haue bin ouer-cowardly yellded  
may therefore doe better, to giue credit vnto one of the prisoners, whom the  
Story shortly after introduceth, speaking in the Senate, and saying, That they  
lesse than eight thousand. It may therefore be, that these three thousand were  
has the Enemy spared, when the fury of Execution was past: but to these must  
labour five thousand more, who yellded in the greater campe, when their com-  
re either slaine or fled. So the reckoning falls outright: which the Romans,  
by the Consul *Varro*, had before cast vp (as we say) without their Help, nothing  
rable, as now they finde it. On the side of *Hannibal* there died some foure thou-  
sles, fifteen hundred Spaniards and Africans, and two hundred horse, or there-  
losse not sensible, in the ioy of so great a victory; which if he had pursued, as  
advised him, and forthwith marched away towards Rome, it is little doubted;  
the Warre had presently been at an end. But he beleued not so farre in his  
dperity; and was therefore told, That he knew how to fight, not how to use, a

#### 6. IX.

#### Of things following the battaile at Cannæ.

Or without good cause doth *Polybius* reprehend those two Historians, *Fabius*  
the Roman, and *Philinus* the Carthaginian; who regarding more the pleasure of  
hem, vnto whose honour they consecrated their trauailes, than the truth of  
information of posteritie, magnified indifferently, whether good or bad, all  
nd proceedings, the one of his Carthaginians, the other of his Roman *Quirites*;  
ers conscript. No man of sound iudgement will condemne this liberty of cen-  
ch *Polybius* hath vsed. For, to recompence his iniuritie (such as it was) he pro-  
stantiaill arguments, to iustifie his owne Relation; and confuteth the vanity of  
mer Authors, out of their own writings, by conference of places ill co-hering:  
ines is to be suspected, that he would not haue taken, had he been borne in  
these two Cities, but haue spared some part of his diligence, and been content  
aue all men thinke better and more honourably than it deserved, of his owne  
e. The like disease it is to be feared, that we shall hereafter finde in others; and  
e some cause to wish, that either they were somewhat lesse Roman, or else, that  
orkes of ther opposite Writers were extant, that so we might at least heare both  
ake: being henceforth destitute of *Polybius* his helpe, that was a man indifferent.  
this cannot be, we must be sometimes bold, to obserue the coherence of  
nd beleue so much only to be true, as dependeth vpon good reason, or (at least)  
babilitie. This attentiuie circumspection is needfull at the present: such is the  
icie, or forgetfulnesse, which we find in the best Narration, of things following  
ile of Cannæ. For it is said, that foure thousand foot & horse gathered together  
e Consul *Terentius* at Venusia; that others to the number of ten thousand got in-  
ulum, choosing for their Captaines, yong *P. Scipio*, and *Sp. Claudius*; yet that  
full *Terentius Varro*, ioyning his company vnto those of *Scipio* at Cannussum;  
it to the Senate, that he had now well-neere ten thousand men about him; that

ouertrow. Among such incoherencies, I hold it the best way, to omit so much as hath not some particular connexion with manner ensuing: mutual dependence in things of this nature, being no small argument of truth.

When *Hannibal* had sacked the Roman camp, and trussed vp the spoiles, forthwith he dislodged, and marched away into Samnium, finding a disposition in the Hirpines, and many other people thereabout, to forsake the Roman partie, & make alliance with Carthage. The first towne that opened the gates vnto him, was *Cossa*, where he laid vp his baggage: & leaving his brother *Mago* to take in other places, He hastned into Campania. The general affection of the multitude, in all the cities of Italie, was inclinable vnto him; not onely in regard of their grievous losses, sustained abroad in the fields, which the Romans themselves; who could not hinder him from spoiling the countrey, especially the poorer sort of them, did hardly indure; but in a loving respect vnto that great countesse (as it seemed) which he vsed, vnto such of them as became his prisoners. For as at other times, so now also after his great victory at Cannæ, He had lovingly dismissed as many of the Italian Confederates of Rome, as fell into his hands: rebuking them gently for being so obstinate, against him that had sought to deliuer them from bondage. Neither spared he to win their loue by gifts, pretending to admire their valour, but seeking indeed, by all waies & means, to make them his, whilest all other motives were concurrent. As this time also he began to deale kindly (though against his nature) with the Roman prisoners, telling them, that he bore no mortal hatred vnto their Estate; but being provoked by iniuries, sought to right himselfe and his countrey; & fought with them, to trie which of the two Cities, Rome or Carthage, should beare soueraigne Rule, not which of them should be destroyed. So he gaue them leaue to chioose ten of their number, that should be sent home to treat with the Fathers about their ranfome: and together with these, he sent *Carthala* a Nobleman of Carthage, and Generall of his Horse, to feele the disposition of the Senate; whether it were bowed as yet by so much aduersity, and could stoop vnto desire of peace. But with the Romanes these arts prevailed not, as shall be shewed in due place. The people of Italie, all, or most of them, saue the Roman Colonies, or the Latines, were not onely wearie of their losses past, but entertained a deceivable hope, of changing their old Societie for a better. Wherefore not only the Samnites, Lucans, Brutians, and Apulians, ancient enemies of Rome, & not vntill the former generation vnterly subdued, began to re-assume their wonted spirits: but the Campanians, a Nation of all other in Italie most bound vnto the State of Rome, and by many mutuall affinities therewith as freightly conioyned, as were any saue the Latines, changed on a sudden their loue into hatred; without any other cause found, than change of fortune.

Campania, is the most goodly and fruitfull Prouince of Italie, if not, (as some then thought) of all the Earth: and the citie of Capua, answerable vnto the countrey, whereof it was Head, so great, faire, and wealthie, that it seemed no lesse conuenient a seat of the Empire, than was either Rome or Carthage. But of all qualities, brauery is the least requisite vnto soueraigne command. The Campanians were luxurious, idle, and proud, and valuing themselves like layes by their feathers, despised the vnfortunate vertue of the Romans their Patrons and Benefactors. Yet were there some of the principal among them, as in other cities, that bore especiall regard vnto the Maiestie of Rome, and could not indure to heare of Inuouation. But the Plebeian faction had lately so prevailed within Capua, that all was gouerned by the pleasure of the Multitude; which wholly followed the direction of *Pacurnius Calpurnius* an ambitious Noble-man, whose credit grew, and was vp-held by furthering all popular desires: whereof, the coniunction with *Hannibal* was not the least. Some of the Capuans had offered their city to the Carthaginians shortly after the battaile of Thrasymene: whereupon chiefly it was, that *Hannibal* made his iourney into Campania; the Dictator *Fabius* waiting vpon him. At that time, either the neer nesse of the Roman Armie, or some other feare of the Capuans, hindered them from breaking into actual rebellion. They had indeed no leisure to treat about any article of new Confederacie: or had leisure serued, yet were the multitude (whose inconstant loue *Hannibal* had wonne from the Romans, by gentle vsage, & free dismissing, of some prisoners in good account among them) vnable to hold any such negotiation, without aduices of the Senate, which mainly impugned it. So they that had promised to yield vp their towne to *Hannibal*, & meet him on the way, with some of their nobility, that should assure him

him of all faithfull meaning, were driuen to sit still in a great perplexitie: as hauing failed to let in this their new friend, yet sufficiently discovered themselves, to draw vpon them the hatred of the Romans. In this case were no small number of the Citizens: who thereupon grew the more intenced against their Senate, on whom they cast all the blame, easily pardoning their own cowardize: The people holding so tender a regard of liberty, that euen the lawfull Gouernment of Magistrates grieved them, with an imaginary oppression; had now good cause to feare, lest the Senators would become their Lords indeed, & by helpe of the Romans bring them vnder a more streight subiection, than euer they had indured. This feare being ready to breake into some outrage, *Pacurnius* made vse of, to serue his owne ambition. He discoursed vnto the Senate, as they sate in Council, about these motions troubling the citie: and said, That he himselfe had both married a Roman Ladie, and giuen his Daughter in marriage to a Roman: but, that the danger of forsaking the Roman partie was not now the greatest: for that the people were violently bent to murder all the Senate, & after to ioyne themselves with *Hannibal*; who should countenance the fact, and saue them harmlesse. This he spake, as a man well knowne to be beloued himselfe by the People, and priuy vnto their designs. Hauing thoroughly terrified the Senate, by laying open the danger hanging ouer them: He promised neuertheless to deliuer them all, and to set things in quiet, if they would freely put themselves into his hands; offering his oath, or any other assurance that they should demand, for his faithfull meaning. They all agreed. Then shutting vp the Court, and placing a Guard of his owne followers about it, that none might enter, nor issue forth, without his leaue, He called the people to assembly: and speaking as much ill of the Senate, as he knew they would be glad to heare, he told them, that these wicked Gouernours were surprisid by his policie, & all fast, ready to abide what sentence they would lay vpon them. Onely thus much he aduised them, as a thing which necessity required, That they should chioose a new Senate, before they satisfied their anger vpon the old. So bearing vnto them the names of one or two Senators, he asked what their iudgement was of those. All cried out, that they were worthy of death. Chioose then (said he) first of all some new ones into their places. Hereat the multitude, vnprovided for such a selection, was silent; vntill at last, some one or other aduentured to name whom he thought fit. The men so nominated, were vtterly disliked by the whole Assembly; either for some known fault, basenesse, and insufficiency, or else euen because they were unknown, and therefore held vnworthy. This difficulty in the new Election appearing more and more, whilest more were to be chosen; (the fittest men to be substituted, hauing been named among the first, and not thought fit enough) *Pacurnius* intreated, and easily prevailed with the people, that the present Senate might for this time be spared, in hope of amends hereafter, which (doubtlesse) they would make, hauing thus obtained pardon of all offences past. Henceforth, not onely the people, as in former times, honoured *Pacurnius*, and esteemed him their Patron; but the Senators also were gouerned by him, to whom they acknowledged themselves indebted, for sauing all their liues. Neither did the Senate faile after this by all obsequiousnes, to court the People, giuing the reines vnto their lawlesse Wil, who else were likely to cast them down: All the city being thus of one mind; onely feare of the Romans kept them from opening their gates to *Hannibal*. But after the Battaille at Cannæ, this impediment was remoued: and few there were, that would open their mouths to speake against the Rebellion. Yet forasmuch as three hundred principal gentlemen of the Campanians, did then serue the Romans in the Ile of Sicill: the Parents and Kinsmen of these prevailed so far, that Embassadors were sent vnto *Terentius* the Consul, to see his present case, and what it could minister of Hope or Feare. These, wherefoeuer they found him, found him weakly attended, and as weak in spirit, as in followers. Yet they offered him formally the seruice of their State, and desired to know what he would command them. But he most basely lamented vnto them the greatnesse of the Roman misfortune: saying, that all was lost, and that the Campanians must now, not helpe the Romans, who had nothing left wherewith to helpe themselves, but make warre in their defence against the Carthaginians; as the Romans had sometimes done for the Campanians against the Samnites. Herunto hee is said to haue added a foolish Inuocatie against *Hannibal* and his Carthaginians: telling, How he had taught them to make bridges of slaughtered carcases, & to feed vpon mans flesh; with such other fluffe, as only bewraied his own feare. As for the Campanians themselves,

He put them in minde of their present strength: they having thirty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse; with monie, and all provisions, in abundance. Thus he dismissed them, prouder than they came, & filled them with conceit of getting a great Lordship; whereas before, they were somewhat timorous, in adventuring to seek their owne libertie. Having reported this at Capua: the same Embassadors were dispatched away to Hannibal, with whom they easily made alliance, vpon these conditions; That the Campanians should be absolutely free, and ruled by their own Lawes; That no Citizens of theirs should be subiect vnto any Carthaginian Magistrate, in what soeuer sort, whether in War or Peace; and, That Hannibal should deliuer vnto the Campanians three hundred Roman prisoners, such as themselves would chooseth, whom they might exchange for their Gentlemen which were in Sicill.

Against all this Negotiation, Decius Magius, an honourable Citizen, opposed himselfe earnestly: vying in vaine, many persuasions, to the wilful and head-strong Multitude; whom he put in minde of Pyrrhus and the Tarentines, wishing them not to change old friends for new acquaintance. This did he, when they were sending Embassadors vnto Hannibal: and this also did he, when the new Alliance was concluded; but most earnestly, when a Carthaginian Garrison was entering the towne: at which time hee gaue aduice, either to keepe it out, or to fall vpon it, and to cut it in pieces, that by such a notable piece of seruice, they might make amends vnto the Romans, whom they had forsaken.

Aduertisement hereof was giuen to Hannibal: who lying about Naples not farre off, sent for Magius to come speake with him in the campe. This Magius refused: alleging, that he was, by the late concluded Articles, free from subiection vnto any Carthaginian; & therefore would not come. Hannibal thereupon halted himselfe towards Capua, forbearing to attempt any further vpon Naples, which he thought to haue taken in his way by Scalado, but found the walls too high, & was not well provided to lay siege vnto it. At Capua he was entertained with great solemnity and pompe: all the people issuing forth of the towne, to behold that great Commander, which had won so many noble victories. Having taken his pleasure in the sight of that goodly Citie, and passed ouer his first Entertainments, He came into their Senate: where he commended their resolution, in shaking off the Roman yoke; promising, that ere long all Italie & Rome it selfe, should be driuen to acknowledge Capua as chiefe, and receiue Law from thence. As for Decius Magius, who openly took part with the Romans their enemies; He prayed them, that they would not thinke him a Campan, but a traitor to the State: & vs'd him accordingly, giuing sentence out of hand vpon him, as he deserued. This was granted: and Magius deliuered vnto Hannibal; who vnwilling to offend the Capuans, at his first coming, by putting so great a man to death, yet fearing that they might sue for his libertie, if he kept him alive, thought it best to send him away to Carthage. Thus Hannibal settled his friendship with the Campanians: among whom, onely this Decius Magius had openly dared to speake against him; being assisted by Perella the sonne of Pacuvius. This Perella would haue murdered Hannibal, whilst he was at supper, the first night of his coming; but not his Fathers authority kept him from attempting any such attempt. All the towne (besides) were so earnest in the loue of their new Societie, that they are said to haue murdered all the Romans, vpon whom at the present they could lay hand; or, (which is all one) to haue smothered them to death in an hot Bath.

The same course of fortune, with those of Capua, ranne some other townes thereabouts, which depended on this, as their Mother-Citie. Nola, Nuceria, Naples, Casiline, and Accerta, were the Citie next adioyning, that stood out for the Romans. Against these Hannibal went, thinking to finde them weakly manned; as they were indeed, though stoutly defended.

The Romanes at this time were not in case, to put Garrisons into all their walled townes; but were faine to leaue all places, except a few of the most suspected, vnto the faith and courage of the Inhabitants. Rome it selfe was in extreame feare of Hannibals coming, at the first report of the ouerthrow at Cannæ: and the griefe of that losse was so generall, and immoderate, that it much disturbed the prouision against apparent danger. It was hard to iudge, whether the losse already receiued, or the feare of destruction presently threatening, were the more terrible. All the Senators found worke enough, to stint the noyse and lamentable bewailings, wherof the streets were full. Courtiers were

sent

sent forth, to bring about ridings; how all went, wherof vvhether Letters from the Consul Marcellus had throughly informed them; they varied in amazed; that they saw into barbarous suppositions; & taking direction (as was said) from their fatal bookes, buried alive women and children, in their Oxe-market. If the bookes of Sibyls giue them such instructions; we may iustly thinke, that Sibyl her selfe was instructed by the Muse. Yet is it not improbable, that extremity of feare caused them to hearken to wicked Sorcherers; whose detestable counsells they afterwards, for their own honor (as attributed of such Authors) imputed to the bookes of Sibyl. An Embassador was sent to Delphi, to consult with the Oracle of Apollo; & enquire with what prayers & supplications they might pacifie the gods; & obtain an end of these calamities. This is enough to discover the greatness of their feare; though not seeming to giue remedy. At that time came Letters out of Sicill, from the Prætor C. Cilicium, whom the Senate had appointed; if he found it meet, to passe ouer into Africk. In these were contained newes, of one Carthaginian Fleet, that waited the kingdome of Hieron their good friend & confederate; and of another fleet, riding among the Isles of Sicill, which was in readiness to set vpon Lilybæum, the rest of the Roman Province, if the Prætor stirred aside to the helpe of Hieron. In the midst of these extremities, it was thought needfull to call home Terentius the Consul, that he might name a Dictator, to take fouer again charge of the Weale publique; with absolute power, as necessity required. It must needs seeme strange, that all sorts of people went forth to meet the Consul; & bid him welcome home; giuing him thanks for that he had not despaired of the weale publique. But this was done (as may seeme) by order from the Senate: which therein (doubtlesse) prouided wisely, for vpholding the generall reputation. If his coming into the Citie, had renewed the lamentations & out-cries of the people: vvhether else would haue followed, than a contempt of their wretchednes, among those that were subiect vnto their Dominion? Now in finding this occasion (though indeed he gaue it not) of bestowing vpon him their welcome, and thanks; they noyed abroad a fame, which came perhaps vnto the eares of Hannibal, of their Magnanimity & Confidence: that might seeme grounded on their remaining through. This therefore was wisely done. But whereas Lucius would haue vs thinke, that it was done generously, & out of great spirit; let me be pardoned, if I beleue him not. It was done fearfully, and to couer their grieues: had they dared to shew their indignation, they would haue stricke off his head; as in few yeares after, Cn. Fulvius had his life brought into question; & was bamished by them, being lesse blame-worthy, for a smaller offence. M. Minius, by appointment of the Senate, was nominated Dictator; & T. Sempronius, Master of the horse. These fell presently to mustering of Souldiers, of whom they raised foure new Legions, and a 1000. horse: though with much difficulty, as being faine to take vp some, that were very Boyes. These foure Legions are elsewhere forgotten in accompt of the forces leui'd by this Dictator; and two Legions only set downe, that had bin entolled in the beginning of the yeer for custody of the City. So it may be, that these two Legions being drawn into the field; foure new ones of Pretextati, or striplings, were left in their places. In such raw Souldiers, & so few, little confidence was to be reposed; for which reason they increased their number, by adding vnto them 8000. sturdy slaves, that were put in hope of libertie, if they should deserue it by manfull seruice. This not sufficing; the Dictator proclaimed; That whosoever ought money & could not pay it, or had committed any capital offence, should forthwith be discharged of his debt, or punishment, if he would serue in the war. To arme these Companies, they were faine to take down, out of their Temples and Porches, the spoiles of their enemies that had bin there: & among which, were 6000. Armors of the Gauls; that had bin carried in the Triumph of C. Flaminius, a little before the beginning of this War. To such mockery had God brought the pride of the Romanes; as a due reward of their insolent oppressions, that they were faine to issue forth of their own gates, in the habit of strangers, when Hannibal was ready to encounter them with his Africans, armed Roman-like.

About the same time it was, that Carthage, with the Agents of the prisoners taken at Cannæ, came to Rhodus: Castulo was not admitted into the City, but commanded, whilst he was on the way, to be gone ere night out of the Roman Territory. To the messengers of the captiues audience was giuen by the Senate. They made earnest petition, to be ransom'd at the publique charge; not only the teares & lamentation of their poore kinsfolke, but the great need, wherein the City then stood, of able Souldiers; commending their

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their

their fate; which yet they obtained not. Besides the generall custome of the *Romans* (held by long Tradition, and strengthened by a notable Precedent, when *Regulus* was overthrown, and taken prisoner in the former Warre) not to be so tender of such as had yielded to the enemy; much was alledged against these who now craped rancome: but the speciall point was, that they were wilfully lost, since they might have saved themselves, as others did. It sufficed not vnto these poore men, to say, that their offence was no greater than the Consuls; they were told, that this was great presumption. The truth was, the State wanted money: and therefore could not want excuses, whereby to avoid the disburfement: whether it were so, or not, that any such Plea was hold about this matter of redemption, as we find recorded. Neither must we regard it, that the slaues which were armed for the warre, are said to haue cost more, than the summe did amount vnto, that would haue ranfomed these prisoners. For this is but a tale, deuised to countenance the *Roman* proceedings as if they had beene seuer, when as indeed they were furable to the present fortune, poore, and somewhat beggarly. Hereof it is no little prooffe, That *Hannibal* valued those *Roman* slaues, whom he had taken in the Campe among their Masters, at no more, than euery oneth the third part of a common Souldiers ranfome: and likely it is, that he offered them at the price, wherethee hee thought them current. But if we should suppose, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargaine for slaues might haue beene made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with priuie men; yet must we withall consider, that these priuie men did onely lend these slaues for a while vnto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented to forbeare the price of them (when by order from the Senate they were enfranchised) vntill the War should be ended. If *Hannibal* would haue giuen such long day of payment; it is likely that the *Romans* would haue beene his Chapmen: but seeing he dealt onely for ready mooney, they chose rather to say, We will not giue, than, We cannot. The like austeritie, vpon the same reason, but contrary pretence, was vied toward the souldiers that escaped from that great Battaille. These were charged for hauing fled: as the prisoners were, for not flying, when they might haue done so. True it is, that in such cases (if euery) that which they call *ragione del Stato* may serue for an excuse: when the Common-wealth being driuen to a miserable exigent, is faine to helpe it selfe, by doing injuries to priuie men. And so dealt the *Romans* now: condemning all those that had serued at *Canna*, to be transported into *Sicily*; and thereto serue, not as others did, vntill they had fulfilled twenty yeeres in the Warres, or else were fifty yeeres of age; but vntill this Warre should be ended, how long soeuer it lasted, and that without reward. The same thrifty censure, was afterwards laide vpon others, for their misbehaviour: but neuer vpon any man of quality, saue only (a good while after this, at better leisure) vpon *Cesilius Metellus*, and a few other harr-brained fooles his companions; who being frightened out of their wittes with the terrour of so great a losse, were deuising, after the battaille, which way to runne out of *Italie*, when *Hannibal* as yet had scarce one Towne within it. The inequality of this rigour grew shortly distastfull to the Commonalty: and was openly blamed as by a Tribune of the people; neuerthelesse it was quietly digested, the excuse being no lesse apparant than the fault.

*M. Iunius* the Dictator, hauing dispatched all needfull businesse within the Citie,ooke the field with five and twenty thousand men. What he did with this Armie, I cannot find: nor more of him than this, That he spent the time about *Campania*; where (as may be presumed) he was not idle. To him therefore perhaps it may be ascribed, that *Hannibal* did no greater euill: for of any euill done to *Hannibal*, by the *Romans* in this their weake estate, onely *Marcellus* had the honour. *Marcellus*, being then one of the Prætors, lay at *Ofitia*, with a Fleet ready to set saile for *Sicily*, hauing one Legion aboard his ships, and fifteene hundred other Souldiers newly taken vp: with which forces hee was to defend that Iland, and doe what harme he could in *Africk*. But hearing of the ouerthrow at *Canna*, hee sent these of his new Levy to *Rome*, for defence of the Citie; and marched hastily with his Legion toward *Cannusinum*: deliuering the Fleet, empty of Souldiers, to *P. Furius* his Colleague. Thence was he called by the Magistrates, and chiefe Citizens of *Nola*, to helpe them: who were like to be forced by the multitude (affected, as were the rest of the *Campanians*) to let in the *Carthaginian*; and knew not how to avoid this otherwise, than by seeming to deliberat about the articles of this new Confederacy. Wherefore hee made great iournies thitherward; and arrived euen time enough

enough to prevent the Enemy. Many idle talles haue beene made, how *Marcellus* was deceiued by false words, or how he was deceived by the enemy, and so on. But I will not be so credulous, as to beleeue any such tale, which is not in the least part of the history. And also a sure signe of the truth, is, that in the last of the *Carthaginian* warre, when *Marcellus* was at *Ofitia*, and *Hannibal* was abroad in the Country: But as it was thought, a valuable consideration, that *Hannibal* was Master of the field, which if he laid waste, all the poore people were vnto it done. So thought the Multitude, when hee talked of some, that had with feare of their own priuie want or poverty, but a great desire to gratifie the *Carthaginians*, of these, one *Labidius* was chiefe: a stout young gentleman, and Souldier of speciall mark, well beloued in the Citie, and one that had done good service to the *Roman* cause, was found by *Hannibal*, halfe dead at *Canna*, and after much gentle speech, he was daiced, and cure of his wounds, friendly dismissed with liberrall gifts. He therefore thought, that it concerned him in honour, to retorne the greatest thanks hee could to so courteous an enemy: *Marcellus* perceiving this, wrought vpon the same nature of the Gentleman, and taking notice of him, as if it had bene by chance, found to wonder why one that had so well serued of the *Roman* State, had not repaid him the same. The Prætor, who desired nothing more than such acquaintance. So with many commendations, gifts, and loving entertainment, being himselfe also a man highly affected for his personall valour, made this *Labidius* to faile in loue with him, that hee could be attempted with him, against the *Romans*; whereof he had not presently thought. At the coming of *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* remoued from about *Nola*, as formerly he had done, the *Neapolitan*; but they had lately taken in a *Nol* Garrison, vpon confidence whereof they gaue him a peremptorie answer, to his discontent. Thence went he to *Alatrin*; which he tooke by composition; and so returned backe againe to *Nola*. He was not ignorant, what good affection the common people of *Nola* bore vnto him: who although they durst not stirre in his quarrell, being opposed by the *Roman* Garrison, yet if they saw *Marcellus* hardly beset and forced to turne his care from watching them within, to repelling the enemies assailing him without, like enough it seemed, that they would not be wanting vnto the accomplishment of their own desires. He therefore brought his Army close to the Towne, and skirmished often with *Marcellus*: not in hope thereby to do much good, but only to shew of a meaning to force the Towne, which he sought in the meane while to take by intelligence. In the night time there passed messages betwene him and the Citizens his partakers: whereby it was concluded, That if once *Marcellus*, with all his forces, could be trained into the field, the Multitude within the Towne should presently rise, and seizing vpon the gates, exclude him as an Enemy. Of this Negotiation *Marcellus* was aduertised: and fearing, lest the Conspirators would shortly aduenture, euen to find him busied within the Citie, whilst the *Carthaginians* should scale the vvaies, he thought it the surest way, to cut off the enemies hope, and send him away betimes. Wherefore ordering his men in three Companies, within three seuerall gates looking toward the enemy: He gaue a streight command, that all the Citizens should keepe their houses. Thus he lay close a good part of the day, to the enemies great wonder; against whom he had customarily issued forth before more early, euery day, to skirmish. But when it was further noted, that the wales were bare, and not a man appearing on them, then thought *Hannibal*, that surely all was discovered, and *Marcellus* now busied with the Citizens. Whereupon he bad his men bring ladders, and make ready for the assault: which was done in all haste. But when the *Carthaginians* were at the very wals, and thought nothing lesse, than that the *Romans* would meet them in the field: suddenly the middle gate was opened, whereto *Marcellus*, with the best and oldest of his Souldiers, brake forth vpon them, with a great noise, to make his vnexpected fallie the more terrible. Whilst the *Carthaginians*, much out of order, were some of them flying before *Marcellus*, the rest making head against him: the other two gates opened, whereto in like sort issued they of the new leuied Companies, vpon the enemies backs. The sudden terror was more auailable vnto the *Romans*, than their force: yet the Execution was so great, that this was accounted as a victory, and reputed one of the bravest performed in all that Warre; forasmuch as hereby it was first proued, that *Hannibal* might be overcome. After this, *Marcellus*, being freed from his enemies that were departed, tooke a strict account of the Citizens of *Nola*: condemning about



therefore these of high Treason, who should be struck off, & so leaving the Town, we  
 gave obedience unto their Senate, vnder obsequial hand by about 800000 men  
 in the mean season vvas gotten to *Capua*: where being excluded, he thought he  
 would come to some time in persuasions; but heide large into it, & began on all sides to  
 close vpon. This terrified the People, who knew themselves vnable to hold out any  
 longer before his Works were finished, and they quite surrounded, they stole away by  
 night, and left him the Town empty: which he sacked and burnt. Then hearing news  
 of the Dictator, that he was about *Capua*, thither came *Hannibal*: as being unwilling  
 that an Enemy so neere should disquiet him at *Capua*, where he meant to winter. He  
 legions, or rather indeed it is plain, that the late victory of *Marcellus* had nothing abated  
 the spirit of the *Carthaginians*: vho durst with a small part of his Army seek to  
 the Dictator, that had with him the heart of the Roman strength. Wherefore the joy of the  
 Enemy, vpon so slight an occasion as the death of some two thousand of his men, as  
 the most, and those not slain in plaine battaile, but by a sudden eruption, vnder such  
 chiefly, in what great feare they stood of *Hannibal*, & how Crest-fallen they were, the  
 having three years since demanded at *Carthage*, the body of *Hannibal*, to be delivered  
 vpon their pleasure, by his own Citizens, could now please themselves, as with good  
 power, to hear, that in a skirmish not far from *Rome* he appeared to be a man, and not  
 ridiculous. At *Capua* the Dictator vvas not: but many Companies of Italian Con-  
 federates of *Rome*, were gotten into the Town, & held it. Five hundred of the *Pro-  
 pines* there vvas, and about foure hundred of *Perses*, with some of the *Lutians*. All  
 these had the good hap, to come too late to the battaile at *Cannæ*, being sent by their  
 all States to the Campe; whither whilst they were marching, the tidings of this  
 great misfortune encountered them, & sent them back sorrowfull; for they loved well  
 their Lords the *Romans*, vnder whose government they liued happily. So came they  
 all one after another to *Capua*, where they met and stayed. Neither had they stayd  
 there long, ere they heard news from *Capua*, How that great Citie became the Ring-  
 leader of all the *Campanes* into rebellion. The people of *Capua* were affected as they of  
*Capua*: and therefore fought how to rid their hands of those *Præfines* and their fel-  
 lowes; but the Souldiers were too hard for them, and after many traines laid one for  
 another, at last they slew all the Townsmen in a night, and fortified the Western part  
 of the Town (for it was diuided by the River *Vulturius*) against the Enemy. If they  
 had run away with the goods, and pretended, that these of *Capua* were as the rest of  
 the *Campanes*, all Traitors, they themselves might haue bin reputed, as no better  
 than the *Adumbrates*. But their constancy in defence of the place wained, vpon what  
 honest reasons they surprisid it. *Hannibal* came thither, thinking to haue encountred  
 with greater forces: but these few found him more vvorke than he expected. Divers  
 assaults he gaue, but was still repelled with losse: and many sallies they made, with vari-  
 able cunct. The Enemy mined, and they countermined: opposing so much industry  
 to his force, that he was driuen to close them vp, and seek to winne them by famine. *Q.  
 T. Sempronius Gracchus*, that was Master of the horse, lay with the Roman Army higher  
 vpon the River: who faine would haue relieved *Capua*, but that the Dictator, being gone  
 to *Rome* about some matters of Religion, had giuen him expresse charge not to fight till  
 his returne. *Marcellus* from *Suessula* could not come: his way being stopped by the  
 ouerflowings of *Vulturius*; the *Nolans* also beseeching him not to leave them, vho  
 were in danger of the *Campanes*, if he departed. Thus it is reported: but if the water  
 stayed his iourney, such entreaties were needlesse. Neither is it like that the Dictator  
 tarried at *Rome* so long, as till extreme famine had consumed the Garrison in *Capua*.  
 Wherefore it may be thought, that the Towne vvas lost, because the *Romans* durst not  
 adventure to raise the siege. Barrels of corne were sent by night, floating down the River,  
 & when some of these, being carried awry by an Eddie of the water, stuck among the  
 Willowes on the bank, whereby this manner of reliefe was discovered and prevented;  
*Gracchus* cast a great quantity of Nuts into the streame, which faintly sustained the  
 poore besieged men. At length when all food vvas spent, and whatsoever grew greene  
 vnder the Wall was gathered for Sallets; the *Carthaginians* ploughed vpon the ground:  
 whereon the besieged presently sowed Rape-seede. *Hannibal* seeing this, admired  
 their patience; and said, That he meant not to stay at *Capua*, vntill the Rape were  
 grown. Wherefore, though hitherto he had refused to hearken vnto any Compulsion,

as intending to make them an example to all others; by punishing their obstinacy; yet  
 now he was content, to grant them their liues at an indifferent rate: in which when they  
 had paid, he quietly dismissed them according to his promise. Seven hundred *Carthagini-  
 ans* he placed in *Capua*, as a Garrison for defence of the *Campanes*, vnto whom he re-  
 stored it. To the *Præfines* Souldiers great thanks were giuen, and louing rewards;  
 among which they had offer, in regard of their vertue, to be made Citizens of *Rome*.  
 But their present condition pleased them so well, that they chose rather to continue, as  
 they were, in *Præfines*; which is no weak proofe, of the good estate wherein the Cities  
 flourished; that were subiect to the Roman Government. This siege of *Capua* vvas not  
 so little beneficiall to the *Romans*; as hauing long detained *Hannibal*, and consumed much  
 of his time, that might otherwise haue bin better spent. For Winter ouer-took him, long  
 before he could dispatch the businesse: which how to quit with his honour he knew  
 abhorment he was once engaged. Therefore he wintered at *Capua*: where he refreshed  
 his Army, by rather corrupted it, as all Historians report, & made it effeminate; though,  
 as it was, he therewithall did often beate the *Romans* in following times, as  
 shall appeare hereafter.

## G. X.

of the great supply that was decreed at *Carthage* to be sent to *Hannibal* into *Italie*. How by  
 the malice of *Hanno*, and slob or parsimony of the *Carthaginians*, the supply was too long  
 deferred: That the riches of the *Carthaginians* grew faster, than of the *Romans*. Of *Fabius*  
 and other old Roman Historians, how partiall they were in their writings.

When *Mago*, the son of *Amilcar*, had spent some time about the taking in of  
 such *Italians*, as fell from the *Romans* after the battaile at *Cannæ*, his brother  
*Hannibal* sent for him to *Capua*, & thence dispatched him away to *Carthage*,  
 with the ioyfull message of Victory. He told the *Carthaginian* Senate, with how many  
 Generals his brother had fought, what Consuls he had chased, wounded, or slain;  
 how the stout *Romans*, that in the former war neuer shunned any occasion of fight,  
 were now growne so calme, that they thought their Dictator *Fabius* the only good  
 Captain, because he neuer durst adventure to come to battaile: That, not without rea-  
 son, their spirits were thus abated; since *Hannibal* had slain of them about two hun-  
 dred thousand, and taken about fifty thousand prisoners. He further told them of the  
*Remians*, *Apulians*, *Sammites*, *Lucans*, and other people of *Italy*; that following the for-  
 tune of those great victories, had revolted vnto the *Carthaginians*. Among the rest he  
 magnified *Capua*, as a goodly City, and fit to be not only (as already it was) Head of  
 all the *Campanes*; but the chiefe seat of their Dominion in *Italie*: and there he informed  
 them, how louingly his brother had bin entertained, where he meant to rest that winter,  
 minding their supply. As for the vvar, he said it vvas euen at an end; if they would  
 pursue it closely, and not giue the *Romans* any breathing time, wherein to recollect  
 themselves, and repair their broken forces. He willed them to consider, that the war was  
 far from home, in the Enemies Country; that so many battailes had much diminished  
 his brothers Army: that the Souldiers, who had so well deserved, ought to be considered  
 with liberall rewards; and that it was not good to burden their new Italian friends, with  
 exactions of money, corne, and other necessities; but that these things must be sent from  
*Carthage*: which the victory would requite with large amends. Finally, hee caused  
 the golden rings, taken from the fingers of the Roman Knights that were slain; to be  
 powdered out openly in the Court: which being measured, filled (as some say) three  
 bushels; or (as others would rather haue it) no more than one; adding, that by this might  
 appeare the greatnesse of the Roman calamity, for as much as none but the principall of  
 that Order, were accustomed to weare that ornament.

Who so considers the former *Punicke Warre*, may easily find; that the State of *Car-  
 thage* neuer did receiue, in all the durance thereof, any such hopeful advertisements from  
 their Captains abroad. Wherefore it is no marvell, if the errand of *Mago* found extra-  
 ordinary welcome. In the vehemency of this joy, *Himilco*, a Senator aduersely to the faci-  
 litie of *Hannibals* did to haue demanded of that great perswader vnto peace with *Rome*.

\* This *insinuation*  
 reports it: and  
 credible it is  
 that while  
 home was  
 poore, the bra-  
 uery of pri-  
 uate men was  
 not altogether  
 so great, as the  
 Law would  
 haue permit-  
 ted; though  
 otherwise in  
 small. The  
 meaning of the  
 thing, was the  
 general prou-  
 idence of the  
 Roman a-  
 quires.

Whether he were still of opinion, that *Hannibal* should be yielded vp vnto the *Romans*, or whether he would forbid them to giue thanks vnto the gods, for this their good success. Hereunto though it be not likely that *Hanno* made the same formal answer, which *Linie* puts into his mouth, calling the *Carthaginian* Senators *Patres conscripti*, by a terme proper to the *Romans*, and putting them in minde of his owne shamefull overthrow received at the llands *Agates*: yet the summe of his speech appears to haue beene no lesse malicious, than it is set downe, forasmuch as *Hannibal* himselfe, at his departure out of *Italie*, exclaimed against the wickednesse of this *Hanno*, saying, that his hatred against the *Barbines*, had oppressed their Familie, when otherwise it could not, with the ruine of *Carthage*. Therefore it may well be, that he made such a iest of these victories, as is reported, saying, it ill befecmed him, who had vanquished the *Romans*, to call for more helpe, as if he had been beaten; or him, that had taken their campe, filled forsooth with spoyle, to make request for meate and money. To these cauls, if an answer were needfull, it might be said, That other booty than of horses and slaues, little was to be found in the *Roman* campe: the best of the Souldiers carrying no other wealth into the field, than a few *siluer* studs in the bridles and trappings of their horses. If *Hannibal* had taken any maine conuoy of money and prouisions, going to supply all wants of a great Army in some other Prouince, (as the two *Scipios* are afterwards said to haue done, when they wanne the campe of *Asdrubal*, that carried along with him all the wealth of *Spain*, in his iourney towards *Italie*) then might such an obiection more iustly haue been made vnto his demand of a supply. But the most likely part of *Hanno* his Oration, and which he best might hope to preuaile, contained a perswasion to vse their fortune with moderation; and now to seeke peace, whilest they had so much the better in warre.

What would haue been the issue of this counsaile, if it had been followed; it were not easie to say. For though it be likely, that the *Roman* pride would haue brooked much indignity, in freeing *Italy* from the danger of warre, yet it is not likely that the *Romans* often broken to the *Carthaginians* in former times, would haue bin kept entire; when any opinion of good advantage had called for reuenge of so many shameful owndresses, since after this warre ended, and a new league concluded, no submission behauour could preserue *Carthage* from ruine, longer than vntill such time, as *Rome* was at leisure from all other warres. This counsaile therefore of *Hanno*, though it might seeme temperate, was indeed very pestilent; and serued onely to hinder the performance of a noble resolution. For it was concluded by a maine consent of the Senate, that forty thousand *Numidians*, forty Elephants, and great abundance of *siluer*, should be sent ouer to *Hannibal*; and that besides these, twenty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, should be landed in *Spain*; not onely to supply, as need should require, the Armies in that Prouince, but to be transported into *Italy*.

This great aide, had it beene as carefully sent, as it was readily decreed, the *Roman* Historians would not haue found cause, to taxe the reckless improuidence of *Hannibal*, in forbearing to march directly from *Cannae* to *Rome*, or in refreshing his Army among the delights of *Capua*: the next yeeres worke would haue finished the businesse, with lesse dangerous aduenture; and the pleasures, which his men enjoyed among the *Companes*, would haue been commended, as rewards by him well thought vpon, wherewith to animate both them and others, that were to be employed in the following Warre. But either the too much carelesnesse of those, that were loth to make haste in laying out their money, before extreame necessity required it; or the crafty malice of *Hanno*, and his fellows, working vpon the priuate humours of men, that had more feeling of their owne commodity, than sense of the publike neede; utterly peruerred, and made vprofitable in the performance, the order that had beene so well set downe. The Elephants were sent: and some money peraduenture, vncertaine it is, how long after. But those great forces of threescore thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, came not into *Italy*, till much was lost of that which already had been gotten, and a great part of the old *Carthaginian* Army, was first consumed by time, and sundry accidents of warre. Onely some small numbers, no way answering vnto the proportion decreed, were sent into *Spain*; and the iourney of *Asdrubal* thence through *France* into *Italie* much talked of, but he not enabled therunto, till many yeeres were past, and the *Romans* had recouered their strength.

Here we may note, what great riches the *Carthaginians* drew into their Citie, both

by the Tributes received from their subiects, and by their wealthy Trade of Merchandize. For it is not long, since the Warre of the Mercenaries; and the perfidious tyranny of the *Romans*, extorting in time of greatest necessity twelve hundred talents, had exceedingly impoverished *Carthage*: which was before brought into great want, euen by the expence of so much money, as was to be disbursed for redeming of peace, after the losse at *Agates*. Yet wee see, what great Armies of *Numidians* and *Spaniards*, besides those already on foote, are appointed to the seruice in *Italy*; and how little the *Carthaginians* fear the want of money in these chargeable vndertakings: whereas the *Romans*, on the other side, hauing three or foure yeeres together beene forced to some extraordinary costs, are faine to goe vpon credit, euen for the price of those slaues, which they bought of their owne Citizens to arme for their defence. Such advantage, in waies to enrich their Treasury; had the weakly Merchants of *Carthage*, trading in all parts of the *Mediterranean* Sea, euen from *Tyrrus* their Mother-Citie in the bosome of the streights vnto the great Ocean, about the *Romans*: who liued on the fruites of their ground and receiued their Tributes from people following the same course of life. When time therefore was come, that the hatred of *Rome* found leisure to shew it selfe, in the destruction of *Carthage*; the impudence of *Roman* fallshood, in seeking an honest colour wherewith to shadow the intended breach of faith, discovered plainly whence the malice was bred, that this mighty City would againe rebell. For the *Carthaginians*, hauing giuen vp hostages, euen before the *Roman* Army did set forth, to performe whatsoever should be enjoyed them, with condition that their City might not bee destroyed; and hauing accordingly, when they were so required, yielded vp all their weapons, and engines of Warre, the *Romans* told them plainly, That the Citie of *Carthage*, which was the body of the Citizens, should be friendly dealt withall, but the Townemust needs be demolished, and removed into some other place, that should be twelue miles distant from the Sea. For (said the *Romans*) this Trade of Merchandize, by which yee now liue, is not so fit for peaceable men, such as yee promise to become hereafter, as is the Trade of Husbandry; an wholesome kind of life, and enduing men with many laudable qualities, which enable their bodies; and make them very apt for conseruation. This villainous dealing of the *Romans*, though sugred with glossing words plainly shewes, what good obseruation the elder *Cato* had made of the hasty growth of *Carthage* in riches. For when, being demanded his opinion in the Senate about any matter whatsoever it were, he added still this conclusion, *Thou Tiburke, and the Carthage should be destroyed*; Hee may seeme, not onely to haue had regard vnto their present wealth, which at his being there hee had found in the City, but much more vnto these times, and the great height wherunto it rose, euen suddenly as wee see, one of many calamities, whilest the *Romans* thought, that it had not been in case to dare terrible a Warre.

But as the *Carthaginians*, in gathering wealth, were more industrious and skillfull than the *Romans*; so came they farre short of them, in the honourable care of the publike good: hauing euery one, or most of them, a more principall regard of his owne priuate benefit. This made them (besides the negligence commonly found in victors) when the first heate of their affection (wherein they concluded to pursue the warre strongly) was ouer-past, goe more leisurely to worke, than had been requisite in the execution. It was easie for *Hanno* to perswade couctous men, that they should first of all defend their owne in *Spain*. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that Prouince was secured, they might send an Army into *Italie*, so going to worke orderly by degrees. For it were no wildeome, to commit all the strength of the Common-wealth to one hazard of fortune, against the enemies; or (which perhaps were worse) to the Government of an ambitious man, and his brethren, who hauing once (if they could so do) finished the warre, might easily make *Hannibal* a King, and subdue *Carthage*, with the forces that he had giuen them to the conquest of *Rome*.

By such malicious working of *Hanno*, and by their owne slacknesse, incredulity, dulnes, or nigardize, the *Carthaginians* were perswaded rather to make small disbursements in *Spain*, than to set vp all their rest at once in *Italy*. Yet was it indeed impossible, to hold a Countrey of so large extent, and so open a coast as that of *Spain*, free from all incursions of the Enemy: especially the affection of the Nature being (as in a new Conquest) ill established. A better way therefore it had beene to make a running Warre, by

Of such ambition *Hanno* directly accused *Hannibal*, saying that he made warre that so hee might liue compassed with Legions, as knowing no other way to make himselfe a King. *Lin.* 1. 26.

*Lin.* 1. 26.

*Lin.* 1. 26.

Which the *Romans* might have bin found occupied, even vwith the ordinary *Carthaginian* Garrisons, or some little addition therunto. For if it were thought meet, to defer the prosecution of their maine intendment against *Rome* vntill such time as quere little thorne were pulled out of the sides of so great a Prouince, than must *Emporia* haue bin besieged and forced: vvhich by reason of alliance with the *Masilians*, gaue vnto the *Romans* at all times wheare they pleased, a ready and secure Harbour. But the towne of *Emporia* was too strong to be wonne in halfe: it had long defended it selfe against the *Barbarians*, hauing not aboue four hundred paces of wall to the main Land, and exceedingly well fortified, as great *Spanish* Towne of the same name, lying without it, that was three miles, in compass, very strong likewise, and friend vnto the *Carthaginians*, though not ouer-much trusted. Wherefore to force this towne of *Emporia*, that was, besides the proper strength, like to be so well assisted by the *Masilians*, *Romans*, and some *Spaniards*, would haue bin a worke of little lesse difficulty, than vvas the *Roman* warre (in appearance) after the battaile at *Cannæ*: yea it had bin in effect none other, than to alter the face of the vvarre, which *Hannibal* had already fixed, with better iudgement, neere vnto the gates of *Rome*. The difficulty of this attempt, being such as caused it altogether to be forborne, great folly it was, to be much troubled about expelling the *Romans* vnto out of *Spaine*: vvhom they might more easily haue diuerted thence, and drawn home to their own doores, by making strong vvar vpon their City. For euen to the *Romans* afterwards remoued *Hannibal* into *Africk*, by sending an Army to *Carthage*; and by taking the like course, they now endeouored to change the seat of the vvar, transferring it out of *Italie* into *Spaine*. But the private affections of men, regarding the common good no otherwise, than as it is necessary to their owne purposes, did make them easily winke at opportunities, and hope, that somewhat would fall out well of it selfe, though they set not to their helping hands. *Hannibal* vvas a malicious wretch: yet they that thought him so, were well enough contented to hearken vnto his discourses, as long as they were plausible, and tended to keepe the purse full. In the meane vvhile they suffered *Hannibal*, & all the noble house of *Amilcar*, to weary themselves in trauailes for the Common-wealth: vvhich all *Carthage* in general highly commended, but weakly assisted, as if the industry of those *Barbarians* had bin somewhat more than needfull. Surely the *Carthaginians*, in general, were far lesse honourable than the people of *Rome*: not only in government of their subiect Prouinces, but in administration of their own Estate, few of them preferring the respect of the Weale publike about their private intrest. But as they thriued little in the end, by their parsimony vied toward their own Mercenaries, vvhon the former *Roman* war was finished: so the conclusion of this vvar present, will make them complain, with feeling sighes, of their negligence in supplying *Hannibal* after the victory at *Cannæ*; vvhon gladly they vould giue all their Treasures, to redeme the opportunity, that now they let passe, as if it were cost enough to send a few hundred

into *Spaine*. That both the *Spanish* business, and the state of *Africk* it selfe, depended wholly, or for the most part, vpon successe of things in *Italie*, the course of actions following will make manifest. Particularly how matters were ordered in *Spaine* by the *Carthaginian* Gouvernours, it is very hard, and almost impossible, to set downe. For though we must not rephend, in that worthy Historian *Lince*, the tender loue of his own Country, vvhich made him giue credit vnto *Fabius* & others: yet must we not, for his sake, beleue those lies, which the vnparall judgement of *Polybius* hath condemned, in the Writers, that gaue them originall. It were needlesse to rehearse all that may be found in *Polybius* concerning the vntuth of that *Roman* Historian *Fabius*. One example may suffice. He faith of *Amilcar* and his men at *Eryx*, in the former vvar, That hauing cleane spent their strength, and being euen broken with many miseries, they were glad to submit themselves vnto the *Romans*. Contrary hereunto we find in the life of *Amilcar*, set downe by *Emilius Probus*, That *Eryx* vvas in such sort hold by the *Carthaginians*, that it seemed to be in as good condition, as if in those parts there had not bin any vvar. These words, being referred to the braue resolution of the *Carthaginian* souldiers, and the singular vertue of their Generall infusing such spirit into them; may be taken as not ouer liberal. For in the treaty of peace between *Amilcar* and *Catalus* when the *Roman* first of all required, that this Garrison of *Eryx* should lay downe their Armes and forsake *Sicily*, threatening, that otherwise he vould not take of any composition:

*Amilcar*

*Amilcar* boldly had bin shew whether he vould take of it, or no; for that the *Armenians*, which his Country had put into his hands to vse against her Enemies, it was not his purpose to yield vp vnto them. Now since the *Romans*, contrary to their custome vpon like shewings, were contented to let *Amilcar* haue his wil, & not to stand with him vpon point of blood, whilst otherwise they might quickly rid their hands of him; plaine enough it is, that they were faine from thinking him a man conformed with miseries, as *Fabius* would haue him seeme. Hereunto agrees the relation of *Polybius*: who flarily, & by name, charged *Fabius* with vntuth, saying, that howsoeuer *Amilcar*, & his Souldiers, had endured such extremities, yet they behaued themselves as men that had no sence thereof; and were far from being either vanquished, or tired, as were their Enemies. Such being the difference between *Fabius* (as also perhaps between other old Writers of the *Roman* Age) & those that had more regard of truth, than of flattering the mighty City of *Rome*: we must take it in good part, that howsoeuer *Lince* intenderth *Hannibal* in one place, ioyning him foolishly his own shamefull overthrow at the Ilands, *Egates*, vwith the great number of *Amilcar* at *Eryx*, as if both of them had had a like euent; yet elsewhere he forsooke not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his own happy conduct) into the same *Hannibal* his mouth, making him say, That the affaires of *Carthage* went neuer better, than a little before the losse of their Fleet in that battaile at *Saguntum*, wherein himselfe was Generall. Now, concerning the doings of the *Scipios* in *Spaine*, there is cause to wish, that this *Fabius*, vwith *Val. Antius*, & others of the like stamp, had bin written (if they could not write more temperately) nothing at all; or that the relation of *Lince* to his *Romans*, had not caused him to thinke too well of their relations, which are such as follow.

# 6. XI.

Reports of the *Roman* Gallies in *Spaine*, before *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar* sent thence his brother *Hannibal* into *Italie*.

It hath bin shewed already, how *P. Cornelius Scipio* the Consul, returning from *Gallie* into *Italie*, to encounter with *Hannibal* at his descent from the *Alpes*, sent before him his brother *Cneus*, with part of his Fleet and Army, into *Spaine*. Two *Roman* Legions, vwith foureteepe thousand foot of the Confederates, and twelve hundred horse, had bin allotted vnto the Consul, therewith to make war in *Spaine* against *Hannibal*: who since he vvas marching into *Italie* with the strength of his Army, *P. Scipio* beleued, that a good part of these his own forces might well be spared from the *Spanish* Expedition; & therefore made bold to carry some of the number backe with him, sending on his brother with the rest, as his Lieutenant. *Publius* himselfe remained in *Italie* all the time of his Consulship: which being expired, He was sent Proconsul into *Spaine* by the Senate, with an Armie of eight thousand men, and a Fleet of thirty Gallies.

The Acts of these two Brethren in their Prouince, were very great; and, as they are reported, somewhat marvellous. For they continually preuailed in *Spaine*, against the *Carthaginians*: whom they vanquished in so many battailes, and with-drew from their Alliance so many of the *Spaniards* their Confederates; that we haue cause to wonder, how the enemy could so often find meanes to reapeir his forces, and returne strong into the field. But as the *Romans*, by pretending to deliuer the Country from the tyranny of *Carthage*, might easily win vnto their Confederacy, as many as were galled with the *Carthaginian* yoke, and durst aduenture to breake it: so the ancient reputation of the first Conquerors might serue to arme the Naturals against these Inuaders; and to reclaime those, that had reuoluted vnto the *Romans*; were it only by the memory of such ill success, as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may be added the *Carthaginian* Treasure: which easily raised Souldiers, among those valiant, but (in that Age) poor and gold-thirsty Nations. Neither was it of small importance, that so many of the *Spaniards* had their children, kinsmen, and friends, abroad with *Hannibal* in his *Italian* Wars, forsaking the *Carthaginians* in *Africk*. And peraduenture, if we durst be bold to say it, the victories of the *Scipio* were neither so many, nor so great as they are set out by *Lince*. This we may be bold to say, That the great Captaine *Fabius*, or *Lince* in his person, maketh an obidction, vnto *Scipio*, vvhich neither *Scipio*, nor *Lince* for him, doth

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doth answer, That if Asdrubal were vanquished, as Scipio would say, by him in Spain: strange it was, and a little to be wonder, as it had beene dangerously dangerous to Rome, that the same vanquished man should invade Italie. And it is indeede an incredible conceits, That Asdrubal being enclosed on all sides, and not knowing how to escape out of his talle, saue onely by the steepe descent of Rocks, ouer a great Riuert that lay at his backe, ran away with all his money, Elephants, & broken troups, ouer *Tages*, directly towards the *Pyrenees*, and so toward *Italy*; vpon which he fell with more than three hundred thousand armed souldiers. Neither doe I see, how it hangs well together, That he should a piece of ground very defensible, but most incommodious for his retreat, if he should happen to be vanquished; and yet, that he sent all his money and Elephants along before him, as not intending to abide the Enemy: Or how it could be true, that thus his Elephants, being so sent before, could hinder the *Romans*, for so much they said to have done in the last battaile between him & *Scipio* from breaking into his Camp. Therefore we can no more than be forry, that all *Carthaginian* records of this Warre, and the *Pyrenees*, (if there were any) being utterly lost, we can know no more thereof, than what hath pleased the *Romans* to tell vs: vnto whom it were no wisdome to giue much credit. In this regard, I will summarily run ouer the doings of the *Scipio* in *Spain*; not greatly insisting on particulars, whereof there is no great certainty.

Cn. Cornelius landed at *Emporia*, an Haueu towne, not farre within the *Pyrenees*, retaining still the same name with little infection. That by the fame of his clemency, he allured many Nations to become subiect vnto Rome, as the storie begins of him, I would easily beleue, if I vnderstood by what occasion they had need to vfe his clemency, or he to giue such famous example thereof, being a meere stranger, and hauing no infection in the Country. Yet is it certaine, that he was a man very courteous, and one that could well insinuate himselfe into the loue of the *Barbarians*; among whom, his demerity in practice had the better successe, for that he seemed to haue none other end, than setting them at liberty. This pretext auailed with some: others were to be lured with money: and some he compelled to yeeld by force or feare, especially, when he had won a battaile against *Hanno*. Into all Treaties of accord, made with these people, likely it is that he remembered to insert this Article, which the *Romans* in their *Alliances* neuer forgate, ynelle in long times past, and when they dealt with the *Carthaginians*, or their Superiours; *Maiestatem Pop. Rom. semper conseruent*, which is, as *Tullio* interprets it, That they should gently (or kindly) uphold the Maiestie of the People of Rome. This was in appearance nothing troublesome: yet implied it indeede an oblique couenant of infection. And in this respect it may be true, That the *Spaniards* became *disinimici* *Romae*; of the *Romane* iurisdiction; though hereafter they will say, they had no such meaning. That part of the Country wherein *Scipio* landed, was newly subdued by *Hannibal* in his passage toward *Italy*; and therefore the more easily shaken out of obedience. Particularly in the *Burguntians*; *Hannibal* had found, at his comming among them, such an apprehension of the *Roman* greatnesse, as made him suspect, that any light occasion would makethem start from the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore he not only appointed *Hanno* Gouvernour ouer them, as ouer the rest of the Prouince between *Iberna* and the *Pyrenees*, but made him also their Lord; that is, (as I conceiue it; for I doe not thinke he gaue the Principality of their Country vnto *Hanno* and his Heires,) He made him not only Lieutenant generall ouer them, in matters of Warre, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to *Carthage*; but tooke from them all Inferiour Officers of their own, leaving them to be gouerned by *Hanno* at his discretion. These therefore had good cause to reioyce at the comming of *Scipio*: with whom, others also (no doubt) found reasons to ioyne, it being the custome of all conquered Nations, in hatred of their present Lords, to throw themselves indiscreetly into the protection of others, that many times proue worse than the former. So were the *Neapolitans*, and *Milanous*, in the age of our Grand-fathers, weary by turnes of the *Spaniards*, and *French*; as more sensible still of the present euill which they felt, than regardfull of the greater mischiefe, wherinto they ran by seeking to auoid it. This bad affection of his Prouince, would not suffer *Hanno* to temporize. Ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, *Hannibal* had left vnto him: besides which it is like, that some forces he was able to raise out of his Prouince. Therefore he aduentured a battaile with *Scipio*, wherein he was ouerthrowne and taken. Following this victory, *Scipio* besieged *Stisium*, a Towne hard by, and wonne it.

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Lib. 1.

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Asdrubal hauing passed *Iberna*, and comming too late, to the reliefe of *Hanno*, with eight thousand foot, and a thousand horse, fell vpon the *Roman* Sea-forces, that lay not farre about *Tarraco*, whom he found carelesse, as after a victory, rousing abroad in the conuoy; and with great slaughter draue them aboard their ships. This done, hee ranne vp into the Country, where he withdrew the *Ibergetes* from the *Roman* partie, though they had giuen Hostages to *Scipio*. *Scipio* in the meane season was gone to visit and aide his Fleet: where hauing set things in order, he returned backe, and made toward Asdrubal; who durst not abide his comming, but withdrew himselfe againe ouer *Iberna*. So the *Ibergetes* were compelled by force; hauing lost *Ahanagia* their chiefe Cite, to pay a fine to the *Romans*, and increafe the number of their Hostages. The *Astolites* likewise, Confederates of the *Carthaginians*, were besieged in their chiefe Towne: which they defended thirty dayes; hoping, in vaine, that the sharpe Winter, and great abundance of Snow that fell, would haue made the *Romans* to dislodge. But they were laine so length to yeeld: and for this their obstinacy, they were amerced twenty talents of Silver. During the siege, the *Lacetani* came to helpe their distressed Neighbours; and were beaten home by *Scipio*, leaving twelue thousand of their Company dead behinde them. I cannot but wonder, how these *Lacetani*, that are said to be the first which embraced the friendship of *Scipio*, should without any cause remembred, become *Carthaginians* on the sudden, in the next newes that we heare of them. As also it is strange, that all the Sea-coast Northward of *Iberna*, hauing lately become voluntarily *disinimici* *Romae*, should in continuance of the Story, after a few lines, hold Warre against *Scipio*, without any resistance of the *Carthaginians*. Neither can I beleue, that Asdrubal, as it were by a charme, stirred vp the *Ibergetes*, making them lay aside all care of their Hostages, and take Armes in his quarrell, whilst himselfe had not the daring to stand against *Scipio*, but ranne away, and saued himselfe beyond *Iberna*. *Philinus* perhaps, or some *Carthaginian* Writer, would haue told it thus: That *Scipio* aduenturing too farre into the Country, was beaten by Asdrubal backe to his ships, whence he did not stirre, vntill Winter came on: at what time the *Carthaginian* returned into the leas of his Prouince, leauing some few Garrisons to defend those places, that after *Scipio* was gone, by returning vpon them, vnlooked for through a deepe snow. As for the *Lacetani*, *Ibergetes*, and the rest, we may reasonably thinke, that they fought their owne battles: helping themselves once while by the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*; and contrariwise, vpon sense of injuries receiued, or apprehension of more grievous tyranny, vnder which they feared to be brought by these new Masters, harkening againe vnto the comfortable promises of those, that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to liue vnder their owne Country Lawes, and not vnder Gouvernours sent from Rome or *Carthage*, their demeanour in all Ages following may testifie: euen from hencefoorth vnto the dayes of *Augustus Caesar*; till when they were neuer thoroughly conquered.

They were following this, Cn. *Scipio* had a victorie against the *Carthaginians* in fight at Sea, or rather came vpon them vnlooked for, while they rode at Anchor, most of their men being on shore. All their ships, that ranne not too farre on ground, he took: and thereby grew Master of the whole coast, landing at pleasure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defended. After this victory, about one hundred and twenty Nations, or petty Estates, in *Spain*, are said to haue submitted themselves vnto the *Romans*, or giuen Hostages: whereby Asdrubal was compelled to flie into the utmost corners of the land, and hide himselfe in *Luciania*. Yet it followes, that the *Ibergetes* did againe rebell; that Asdrubal thereupon came ouer *Iberna*; and that *Scipio* (though hauing only vanquished the *Ibergetes*) went not forth to meete him, but stirred vp against him the *Celtiberians*, that lately were become his subiects, and had giuen him Hostages. These hee drave from the *Carthaginian* three Townes, and vanquished him in two battailes, where they slew fiftene thousand of his men, and tooke foure thousand Prisoners. Then assisted *Scipio*, with the supply before mentioned: and henceforward the two becthen largely administered the businesse in *Spain*.

The *Carthaginians* being occupied in the *Celtiberian* warre; the two *Scipio*, did band together, without both feare or doubt, passe ouer *Iberna*, and besieged *Saguntum*. Little can be doubt had they, if Cn. had already subdued many Nations beyond it, and among many others, the same *Celtiberians*, that with their proper forces were able to vanquish Asdrubal.

Lib. 1.

*Asdrubal*, after the Governor of *Sardinia*, a simple man, suffered himself to be persuaded by one *Acidamas*, a Spaniard, that the only way to get the favour of heavy goods will of the Country, was by freely restoring unto them their *Hollands*, & *Spain* in good will any pledge, assured of their faith. But the traitor *Asdrubal*, being troubled with the message & restitution of the *Hollands*, carried them all to the *Generals*, & perceiving them, as he had done *Asdrubal*, to make the *Liberality* their own: *Holdfasting* a *Kanony* purchased much love, if the tale were true; & if it were not rather true, as afterward, and here this we find, that all the *Spaniards* lost their way to make resistance; but in a way of retreating to many particularities, whereof I can believe so few. But since we have no better certainties, we must content our selves with these.

The year following was like unto this: *Asdrubal* must be beaten again; *Thereto* *Scipio* divide their forces: *Cn.* makes war by Land; *P.* by Sea: *Asdrubal*, with much labour and entreaty, having gotten four thousand foot, & five hundred horse, & a frigate: He repairs his Fleet; and provides every way to make resistance; but in his chief Sea-men, and Masters of his ships, revolt unto the *Kanony*; because they had been children the last year for their negligence, which had betrayed the Navy. The revolt of these ship-masters animates to rebellion the *Carpetians*, or *Campanians*, an Inland people about *Toledo*, in the very Center of *Spain*: These do much mischief; so that *Asdrubal* is fain to make a journey to them. His sudden coming cuts off some of them, that were found scattered abroad in the fields: But they making head, so valiantly assail him, that they drive him, for very feare, to encampe himselfe strongly on an high piece of ground; whence he dares not come forth to give them battaile. So they take a Town by force, wherein he had laid up all his provisions; and shortly make themselves Masters of the Country round about. This good successe breeds negligence; for which they dearly pay. *Asdrubal* comes upon them, takes them vnprepared, beats them, kills the most of them, and disperseth the rest; so that the whole Nation yeeldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from *Carthage*; that *Asdrubal* should leade his Army forth into *Italy*: which we may wonder, why the *Carthaginians* would appoint him to do; if they had bin informed by his letters in what hard case he was; and had so weakly supplied him; as is shewed before. But thus we find it reported: and that upon the very vtomour of this his journey, almost all *Spain* was ready to fall to the *Romans*. *Asdrubal* therefore sends word presently to *Carthage*, That this must not be so; or, if they will needs haue it so, that then they must send him a Successor, and well attended with a strong Army, which to imploy they should find worke more than enough; such notable men were the *Roman* Generals. But the Senate of *Carthage* is not much moued with this excuse: *Asdrubal* must needs be gone; *Himiles*, with such forces, as are thought expedient for that service both by Land & Sea, is sent to take the charge of *Spain*. Wherefore *Asdrubal* hath now no more to do, than to furnish himselfe with store of money, that he might haue wherewithall to win the friendship of the *Gauls*; through whose Countreies he must passe, as *Hannibal* had done before him. The *Carthaginians* were greatly to blame, for not remembering to ease him of this care. But since it can be no better, he layes great Impositions vpon all the *Spaniards* his subjects: and having gotten together as much treasure as he could, on ward he marcheth toward *Iberus*. The *Spaniards* hearing these news; are careful how to arrest him on the way. They besiege him (so called of the *Rivers* name running by it) the richest towne in all those quarters; that was confederate with *Asdrubal*: who the upon steps aside to relieve it. The *Romans* meet him, and fight a battaile with him: which they winne the more easily, for that the *Spaniards*, his followers, had rather be vanquished at home; than get the victory, and afterwards be haled into *Italy*. Great numbers are slaine; and few should haue escaped; but that the *Spaniards* ranne away, ere the battailes were fully ioyned. Their Camp the *Romans* take, and spoile: whereby (questionlesse) they are maruellously enriched; all the money that could be raked together in *Spain*, being carried along in this *Italian* expedition. This dayes event ioyneth the *Spaniards* to the *Romans*; if any part of the Country stood in doubt before, and puts *Asdrubal* so far from all thought of traueilling into *Italy*, where he leaves him small hope of keeping himselfe safe in *Spain*: Of these exploits advertisement is sent to *Rome*; and Letters to the Senate, from *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, whereof the Contents are; That they haue neither money apparrell nor bread, wherewith to furnish their Army and Fleet; That all is waiting for as vnlesse they may be supplied with

which they can neither hold their forces together, nor stay any longer in the Province. The *Generals* come to *Rome* in an euill season; the State being scarcely able, after the late *Cannae*, to helpe itselfe at home. Yet reueise is felt; how hardly, and how much the commendations of that bold and care, which the private Citizens of *Rome* bare vnto the Common weale, shall be inserted else where; into the relation of things whereof the truth is less questionable. At the coming of this supply, the two *Scipios* pursue *Asdrubal*, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What else can we thinke, that remember the last newes of him, and how fearfully he mistruied his own safeties? They find him, and *Mago* & *Amilcar* the sonne of *Bomilcar*, with an Army of threescore thousand men, besieging *Illiturgi*: (which the learned *Strabo*, and others, probably conclude to haue stood, where *Carinena* is now, in the Kingdome of *Aragon*; for there was *Illiturgi*; afterward called *Forum Iulij*, quite another way) a Towne of the *Illegetes* their nearest Neighbours, for having revolted vnto the *Romans*. The towne is greatly distressed; but most of all, for want of victuals: The *Romans* therefore brake through the Enemys Campes, with terrible slaughter of all that resist them; and having assaulted the place, encourage the towne-men to defend their walls as stoutly, as they should haue beheld them fighting manfully with the besiegers, in their behalfe. So they fight forth, about sixteen thousand against threescore thousand; and killing more of the Enemys, than themselves were in number, draue all the three *Carthaginian* Commanders, every one out of his quarter, and tooke that day, besides prisoners and other spoils, fiftie and eight Ensignes.

The *Carthaginian* Army, being thus beaten from *Illiturgi*, fall vpon *Incibili*, that stood a little Southward from the mouth of *Iberus*. The *Spaniards* are slaine, as they greedily of earning money by warre, for thus re-inforcing the broken *Carthaginians*. But it was to be wondered, whence the *Carthaginians* had money to pay them: since *Asdrubal* was lately driven to poll the Country, wanting money of his owne; and being beaten in this iourney, had lost his wealthy carriages, when his Campe was taken after the battaile. Howsoever it happens, the *Carthaginians* (according to their custome) are beaten againe at *Incibili*: where there were of them about thirteen thousand slaine, and about three thousand taken; besides two and forty Ensignes, and nine Elephants. After this, (in a manner) all the people of *Spain* fell from them vnto the *Romans*. Thus could *Publius*, *Valerius*, *Antius*, or some other Historian, to whom *Linus* gaue credit, conquer all *Spain* twice in one yeere, by winning famous victories, whereof these good Captaines, *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, perhaps were not aware.

The *Romans*, notwithstanding this large access of Dominion, winter on their owne side of *Iberus*. In the beginning of the next yere, great Armies of the *Spaniards* rise against *Asdrubal*; and are buerthrowne by him: *P. Scipio*, to helpe these his friends, is sent to make great haist ouer the River. At *Carthrum* altum, a place in the mid-way between new *Carthage* and *Saguntum*, famous by the death of the great *Amilcar*, *Publius Scipio* in campe: and stores the place with victuals, being strong and defensible, intending to make it his seate for a while. But the Country round about is too full for Enemys: the *Carthaginian* horse haue charged the *Romans* in their march, & are gotten off close; falling also vpon some stragglers, of such as lagged behind their fellows; so much, they haue cut off two thousand of them. Hereupon it is thought behooufull, to retire vnto some place more assured. So *Publ.* withdraws himselfe vnto *Mons victorius*, a hill standing somewhat Eastward from *Incibili*, ouer-looketh the Southerne Our-let of *Iberus*. Thither the *Carthaginians* pursue him: His brother *Cn.* repairs vnto him; & *Asdrubal* (the sonne of *Gisco*, with a full Army, arrives to help his Companions. As they lie, thus incamped together, *P. Scipio*, with some light-armed, going closely to view the places thereabouts, is discovered by the Enemys: who are like to take him, but that he withdraws himselfe to an high piece of ground, where they besiege him, vntill his brother *Cn.* fetch him off. After this (but I know not why) *Cassio*, a great City of *Spain*, where *Hannibal* had taken him a wife, ioyneth with the *Romans*, though being late chased from them, and seated on the head of the River *Bortis*. Neuertheless the *Carthaginians* go on ouer *Iberus*, to besiege *Illiturgi* again, wherein together a *Roman* Garrison, hoping to win it by famine. We may iustly wonder, what should moue them to neglect the rebellion of *Cassio*, yea, and the *Roman* Army lying so close by them, and to seek the rebelling further off, than that very place, wherein they had been so grievously beaten.



the year before. But thither they goe, and thither followes them *Cn. Scipio* with one Legion: who enters the Towne by force, breakes out vpon them the next day, and in two battels kills about twelue thousand, and takes more than a thousand of them prisoners, with sixe and thirty Ensignes. This victorie (doublelesse) is remarkable: considering that the greatest Roman Legion at this time, consisted of no more than five thousand men. The vanquished Carthaginians besiege Bigarra: but that siege is also raised by *Cn. Scipio*. Thence the Carthaginians remoue to Manda, where the Romans are soone at their heeles. There is a great battaile fought, that lasteth foure houres, wherein the Romans get a notable victory; and a more notable would haue gotten, had not *Cn. Scipio* bene wounded. Thirty nine Elephants are killed, & twelue thousand men, three thousand prisoners taken, and seuen and fifty Ensignes. The Carthaginians flee to Auriges; and the Romans pursue them. *Cn. Scipio* in a Litter is carried into the field, and vanquisheth the Carthaginians againe: but kills not halfe so many of them, as before, good cause why, for there are fewer of them left to fight. Notwithstanding all these overthrowes, the Spaniards, a people framed euen by nature to set warre on foot, quickly fill vp the broken troups of *Asdrubal*, who hauing also hired some of the Gauls, adventures once more to trie his fortune with the Romans. But he is beaten againe: and loseth eight thousand of his men; besides Prisoners, Elephants, Ensignes, and other appurtenances. After so many victories, the Romans are euen ashamed, to leaue Saguntum entrhalld vnto the Carthaginians; since, in behalfe of that Citie, they had at first entered into this warre. And well may we thinke it strange, that they had not recovered it long before, since we may remember, that long before this they had wonne all the Country once and againe. But it must not be forgotten, that they had ere now besieged Saguntum; and were faine (as appeares) to goe their way without it: so as they need not blush, for hauing so long forborne to doe that, which ere now they had attempted, but were vnable to performe. At the present they wonne Saguntum: and restored the possession thereof vnto such of the poore disperfed Citizens, as they can finde out. They also waste and destroy the country of the Turdetani, that had ministred vnto *Hannibal* matter of quarrell against the Saguntines. This last action (questionlesse) was much to their honour; and wherein we may be assured, that the Carthaginians would haue disturbed them, if they had been able.

But ouer-looking now this long continuance of great victories, which the Romans haue gotten in Spain, other print or token of all their braue exploits, we can perceiue none, than this recovery of Saguntum: excepting the stopping of *Asdrubals* iourney; which was indeed of greatest importance, but appertaining to their owne defence. For they haue landed at Emporia, an Haven towne, built and peopled by a Coldeue of the Phœceans, kinne to the Massilians, friends to the Romans; They haue easily wonne to their party, lost, recovered, and lost againe, some petty bordering Nations of the Spaniards, that are carried one while by perswasion; other-whiles by force, and sometimes by their owne vnsettled passions; and now finally they haue won a town, whereof the Carthaginians held intire possession, who had rooted out the old inhabitants. Wherefore we may easily beleue, that when they took Saguntum (if they tooke it not by surprise, which is to be suspected, since in this Action we finde no particulars remembered, as when the same place was taken by *Hannibal*) they had gotten the better of their Enemies in some notable fight. In like sort also must we thinke, that all those battailes lately remembered, after euery one of which *Asdrubal* fate down before some place, that had rebelled, or seemed ready to rebell, were prosperous vnto the Carthaginians. For it is not the custome of Armies vanquished, to carry the warre from Town to Towne, and beleaguer Cities of their Enemies; but to fortifie themselves within their owne places of strength, and therein to attend the leuie and arriual of new supplies. And surely, if the Romans had been absolute Masters of the field, when they won Saguntum, they would not haue consumed a whole yeere following, in praesiding onely with the Celtiberians the next adioyning people. Yet made they this, little lesse than two yeers businesse. Of these Celtiberians we heare before, That they haue yielded vnto themselves vnto the Romans; for securitie of their faith, giuen Hostages to *Scipio*; and, at his appointment, made warre against the Carthaginians, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is strange, that they are now thus hardly wrought, and not without expresse condition of a great summe, hired to serue in the Roman camp. How this may hold together I cannot perceiue;

nor can; whilst perhaps in those daies it were the Roman custome, whether the custome of some bad Author whom I followe, to call euery messenger, or stranger, that entered their campe, an Hostage of that people from whome he came, and without more.

The Celtiberians at length, hired with great rewards, sent an Army of thirty thousand to helpe the Romans: out of which, three hundred the first were chosen, and sent into Italy, there to deale with their Country-men that followe *Hannibal* in his warres. But if any of these three hundred returne backe into Spain, it is to be feared, that he bringe with him such news of the riches and victuall of *Hannibals* men, that all his followers at home are the lesse vnwilling to followe *Asdrubal*, whome they shall haue to direct to lead them into Italy. Hereof we finde more than probability; when these mercenary Celtiberians meete the Carthaginian Army in the field. The two *Scipios*, pre-eminently this act of strength, diuide their forces, and seeke out the Enemies; who being met with three Armies. *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar*, is nearest at hand, euen amonge the Celtiberians, at Anitorgis. With him *Cn. Scipio* doubts not to take good heed; but the feare is, that this one part of the Carthaginian forces being destroyed, the sonne of *Gesal* hearing how the newes, will make vie of their distance, which is his dayes march, and, bygunning into the furthest parts of the Country, saue themselves from being ouer-taken. *Publius* therefore must make the more haste, and take with him the better souldiers, that is, two parts of the old Roman Army, leaving the third part, and all the Celtiberians, to his brother. He that hath the longer iourney to make, doubts somewhat the sooner to his liues end; *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gesal* are not studying how to runne away: they finde no such necessity. They ioyned their forces together, meet vith *Publius Scipio*, and lay at him so hardly, that he is driven to keepe himselfe close within his trenches: wherein he thinks himselfe not well assured. Especially he is vexed by *Mafinasa*, Prince of the Mallians, Numidians belonging vpon Mauritania; in the Region called now Tremizani to whom the chiefe ioynt of this seruice is ascribed, for that he becomes afterward Confederate with the Romans. In this dangerous case, *P. Scipio* gets intelligence, that *Indibilis* Spanish Prince, commanding with seuen thousand & fifti hundred of the Suesetani, to loyne with his Enemies. Fearing therefore to be streight shut vp, and besieged, he issues forth by night, to meet with *Indibilis* vpon the way, leaving *T. P. Fomens* his Lieutenant, with a small company to defend the camp. He meets with *Indibilis*, but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the first encounter. The fight continues so long, that the Numidian horse appeare (whom he thought to haue been ignorant of his departure) and fall vpon the Romans on all sides: neither are the Carthaginians farre behinde; but come so fast vpon him in Reare, that *P. Scipio*, vn certaine which way to turne, yet fighting, and animating his men; where need most requiteth, is strucke through with a lance, and slaine: very few of his Army escaping the same destinie, through benefit of the darke night. The liued hath *Cn. Scipio* within nine and twenty dayes after. At his meeting vith *Asdrubal* the Celtiberian Mercenaries all forsake him; pretending that they had warre in their owne Country. If Anitorgis, where *Asdrubal* then lay, were, as *Ortelius* following *Strabo* takes it, a Celtiberian towne, this was no vaine pretence, but an apparant truth. There may iustly beleeue, that they were wonne by *Asdrubal*, and easily perswaded to take as much money for not fighting, as they should haue had for hazarding their liues. *Cn. Scipio* therefore being vnable to stay them, and no lesse vnable, without their helpe, to resist the enimie, or to loyne with his brother, maketh a very violent retreat, herein only differing from plaine flight, that he keeps his men together. *Asdrubal* pressed hard vpon him: and *Mago*, with *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gesal*, hauing made an end of *Publius*, hasten to dispatch his brother after him. *Scipio* steals from them all, by night, and is ouertaken the next day by their horse, and arrested in an open place of hard stony ground, where growes not so much as a shrubbe; vnfit for defence of his Legions against such enemies. Yet a little Hill he findes of easie ascent on euery side, which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies with packe-saddles, and other luggage, for default of a better Pallisado. These weak defenses the Carthaginians doe not see in sunders; and, breaking in on all hand, leaue very few of them alive, and sauing themselves; I knowe not how, within some woods adioyning, escape with *Publius*; whom *Publius* had left in his campe, as before said. It is terrible to thinke, that they say, out of which woman escaped *Publius*, how they that were thus hemmed in on euery



every side, in so bare a ground as afforded not a shrub to cover them, could breake out, and throwd themselves within woods adioyning, I should much wonder, did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. *T. Pontellus* is in *P. Scipio's* campe, on the North side of Iberus, fearefull (as may be supposed) of his owne life; since his Generall, with two parts of the Roman Armie, had little hope to remaine long safe within it. Whither comes *L. Martius*, a young Roman Gentleman of a notable spirit: who having gathered together the scattered Souldiers, and drawne some Companies out of their Garrisons, makes a prettie Armie. The Souldiers, being to choose a Generall by most voices, preferre this *L. Martius* before *Pontellus* the Lieutenant, as well they may. For *Afrubal*, the sonne of *Gesio* coming vpon them; this *L. Martius* so incourageh his men, (fondly weeping when he led them forth, vpon remembrance of their more honourable Generalls lately slaine) and admonisheth them of their present necessity, that he beates the Carthaginians into their Trenches. A notable victory perhaps he might have gotten but that he wisely founds the retreat, reseruing the fury of his Souldiers to a greater occasion. The Carthaginians are at first amazed, and wonder whence this new boldnesse growes, in enemies lately vanquished, and now againe little better than taken: but when they see, that the Roman dares not follow his aduantage, they returne to their former security; and vtterly despising him, set neither Corps d'agard, nor Sentinell, but rest secure, as if no enemy were neere. *Martius* therefore animates his souldiers with lively words; and tels them, That there is no aduenture more safe, than that which is sure, theft from suspicion of being vnder-taken. They are soone perswaded to follow him, in any desperate piece of seruice. So he leades them forth by night, and steales vpon the Campe of *Afrubal*: vvhether finding no guard, but the enemies fast asleep, or very drowzie, He enters without resistance, fires their Cabines, and giues a terrible alarme, so that all affrighted, the Carthaginians run head-long one vpon another, they know not which way. All passages out of their Campe, *Martius* hath preposseled, so that there is no way to escape, saue by leaping downe the Rampart: which as many doe, as can thinke vpon it, and run away toward the Campe of *Afrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar*, that lay fixe miles off. But *Martius* hath way-led them. In a Valley, betwene the two campes he hath bestowd a Roman cohort, and I know not what number of Horse, so that into this Ambush they fall every one, and are cut in pieces. But lest perchance any should haue escaped, and giue the alarme before his coming; *Martius* hastens to be there as soone as they. By which diligent speed, He comes early in the morning vpon this further campe: which with no great difficulty he enters, and partly by apprehension of danger which the Enemies conceiued, when they beheld the Roman shields, foule, and bloudied vvith their former execution, He driues head-long into flight, all that can saue themselves from the fury of the sword. Thirty seuen thousand of the enemies perish in this nights worke; besides a thousand eight hundred and thirye, taken prisoners. Hercunto *Valerius Antius* adds, that the campe of *Mago* was also taken, and seuen thousand slaine: and that in another battaile with *Afrubal*, there were slaine ten thousand more; besides foure thousand three hundred and thirte taken prisoners. Such is the power of some Historians. *Linie* therefore hath else where vvell obserued, That there is none so intemperate, as *Valerius Antius*, in multiplying the numbers that haue fallen in battailes. That, whilst *Martius* was making an Oracion to his Souldiers, a flame of fire shone about his head, *Linie* reporteth as a common tale, not giuing thereto any credit: and temperately concludeth. That this Captaine *Martius* got a great name; which he might well doe, if with so small forces, and in such distresse, He could cleerly get off from the Enemies; & giue them any paring blow, though it were farre lesse than that which is here set downe.

Of these occurrents *L. Martius* sent word to Rome, not forgetting his owne good seruice, whatsoever it was, but setting it out in such wise, as the Senate might iudge him worthy to hold the place of their Vicegerent in Spaine: which the better to intimate vnto them, He stiled himselfe Propretor. The Fathers were no lesse moued vvith the tidings, than the case required: and therefore took such carefull order, for supplying their forces in Spaine, that although *Hannibal* came to the gates of Rome, ere the companies leuied to serue in that Prouince, could be sent away; yet would they not stay: a side for defence of the Citie it selfe, but shipped them in all haste for Spaine. As for that title of Propretor, which *Martius* had assumed, they thought it too great for him, and were

offended at his presumption in vsurping in a soe secret way, that it was a matter of ill consequence, to haue the souldiers abroad make choise among themselves, for holding that should command Armies and Prouinces. Therefore *C. Claudius*, *Nervus* dispatched away with all convenient haste into Spaine, carrying with him about five thousand of the Roman foot, and as many of the Latines; with three hundred Roman horse, & of the Latines eight hundred. It happened well, that about these times, the affaires of Rome began to prosper in Italy, & afforded means of retiding abroad such a strong supply: otherwise, the victories of *Martius* would ill haue serued, either to keep rooting in Spaine, or to stop the Carthaginian Armies from marching towards the Alpes. For when *Claudius*, landing with his new forces, took charge of that remanence of the Army, which was vnder *Martius* and *Pontellus*, he found stronger tokens of the ouerthrowes receiued, than of those marcadulous victories, whereof *Martius* had made his vaunts vnto the Senate. The Roman party was forsaken by most of the Spanish friends: whom how to reclaim, it would not easily be demed. Yet *Claudius* advanced boldly towards *Afrubal* the brother of *Hannibal*: whom he found among the Aufetani, neer enough at hand, incamped in a place called *Lapides*, vnto, out of which there was no issue, but onely through a freight, whereon the Roman seized at his first coming. What should haue tempted any man of vnderstanding, to incampe in such a place, I doe not finde: and as little reason can I find in that which followed. For it is said, That *Afrubal*, seeing himselfe thus lockt vpp, made offer to depart forth with out of all Spaine, and quit the Prouince to the Romans, vpon condition, that he and his Armie might be thence dismissed; That he spent many dayes, in entertaining parlee with *Claudius* about this businesse; That night by night he conueighed his footmen (a few at a time) through very difficult passages, out of the danger; and that finally taking aduantage of a misty day, He stole away with all his Horse and Elephants, leauing his Camp empty. If we consider, that there were at the same time, besides this *Afrubal*, two other Carthaginian Generals in Spaine; we shall finde no lesse cause to wonder at the simplicity of *Claudius*, who hoped to conclude a bargain for so great a Country, with one of these three Chieftaines, than at the strange nature of those passages, through which the footmen could hardly creepe out by night; the Horse and Elephants easily following them in a darke misty day. Wherefore in giuing beliefe to such a tale, it is needfull that we suppose, both the danger wherein the Carthaginians were, and the conditions offered for their safe departure, to haue been of far lesse value. Howeuer it was, neither this, nor ought else that the Romans could doe, serued to purchase any new friends in Spaine, or to recover the old which they had lost. Like enough it is, that the old Souldiers, which had chosen *Martius* their Propretor, tooke it not well, that the Senate, regardlesse of their good deserts, had repealed their election, and sent a Propretor whom they fancied not so well. Some such occasion may haue moued them to desire a Proconful, and (perhaps) young *Scipio* by name: as if a title of greater dignity; were needfull to worke regard in the Barbarians, and the beloued memory of *Cn.* and *Publius*, likely to doe good, were it reuiued in one of the same family. Whether vpon these, or vpon other reasons, *C. Claudius* was recalled out of the Prouince; and *Publius* the sonne of *P. Scipio* sent Proconful into Spaine.

This is that *Scipio*, who after ward transferred the warre into Africk: where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Country. He was a man of goodly presence, & singularly well conditioned: especially he excelled in Temperance, Continency, Bounty, and other vertues that purchase loue, of which qualities what great vse he made, shall appeare in the tenour of his Actions following. As for those things that he reported of him, fauouring a little too much of the great *Alexanders* vanity, How he used to walke alone in the Capitoll, as one that had some secret conference vvith *Iupiter*; How a Dragon (which must haue been one of the gods; and, in likelihood, *Iupiter* himselfe) was thought to haue conuerfed with his Mother, entering her Chamber often, & vanishing away at the coming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour, by doubtful answers; I hold them no better than fables, deuised by Historians, who thought thereby to adde vnto the glory of Rome: that this noble Citie might seeme, not onely to haue surpassed other Nations in vertue of the generality, but also in great worth of one single man: To this end nothing is left out, that might serue to adorne this Roman Champion. For it is confidently written, as matter

of unquestionable truth, That when a Proconfull was to be chosen for Spaine, there durst not any Captaine of the principall Citizens offer himselfe as Petitioner, for that honourable, but dangerous charge; That the people of Rome were much astonished thereat; That when the day of Election came, all the Princes of the Citie stood looking one another in the face, no one of them having the heart, to adventure himselfe in such a desperate service; and finally, That this *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being then about foure and twentie yeeres of age, getting vp on an high place where he might be seen of all the multitude, requested, and obtained, that the Office might be conferred vpon him. If this were true, then, were all the victories of *L. Martius* no better than dreames: and either very vnreasonable was the feare of all the Roman Captains, who durst not follow *Claudius Nero*, that not long before was gone into Spain Propretor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Prouince, which *Asdrubal* the Carthaginian, as we heard euen now, was ready to abandon. But vpon these incoherences, which I finde in the two partiall Roman Historians, I doe not willingly insist.

*P. Scipio* was sent Proconfull into Spaine; and with him was ioyned *M. Iunius Silanus*, as Propretor, and his Coadiutor. They carried with them tenne thousand foot, and a thousand horse, in thirty *Quingureme* Gallies. With these they landed at Emporiz, and marched from thence to Tarracon along the Sea-coast. At the fame of *Scipio's* arrival, it is said, that Embassages came to him apace from all quarters of the Prouince: which he entertained with such a maiesticke, as bred a wonderfull opinion of him. As for the enemies, they were greatly affraid of him: and so much the greater was their feare, by so how much the lesse they could giue any reason of it. If we must beleeue this, then must we needs beleeue, that their feare was euen as great as could be: for very little cause there was, to be terrified with the fame of so young a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the Winter following (or, as some thinke, all the next yeare) hee did nothing, but spent the time perhaps, as his foregoers had done, in treating with the Spaniards. His first enterprise was against new Carthage: vpon which he came vnexpected, with five and twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; his Sea forces coasting him, and moderating their course in such wise, that they arrived theretogether with him. He assailed the Towne by Land and Sea; and wonne it by assault the first day. The Carthaginians lost it, by their too much confidence vpon the strength of it: which caused them to man it more slenderly, than was requisite. Yet it might haue beene well enough defended, if some Fisher-men of Tarracon had not discovered vnto *Scipio*, a secret passage vnto the walles, whereof the Townsmen themselves were either ignorant, or thought (at least) that their enemies could haue no notice. This Citie of new Carthage, resembled the old and great Carthage in situation; standing vpon a demi-Iland, betwene an Hauen and a great Lake. All the Westerne side of the walls, and somewhat of the North, was fenced with this Lake: which the Fisher-men of Tarracon had sounded; and finding some part thereof a shelte, whereon at low water men might passe knee-deep, or (at most) wading vp to the Nauill, *Scipio* thrust therinto some Companies of his men; who recovered the top of the walles without resistance: the place being left without guard, as able to defend it selfe by the naturall strength. These falling suddenly vpon the backs of the Carthaginians within the Citie, easily forced a gate, and gaue free entrance to the Roman Army. What booty was found within the Towne, *Linie* himselfe cannot certainly affirme; but is faine to say, That some Roman Historians told lies without measure, in way of amplification. By that small proportion of riches, which was afterward carried by *Scipio* into the Roman Treasury, we may easily perceiue, how great a vanity it was to say, That all the wealth of Africk & Spaine, was heaped vp in that one Towne. But therein were bestowed all the Spanish Hostages: (or at least of the adioyning Prouinces) whom *Scipio* intreated with singular courtesie, restoring them vnto their kindred and friends, in such gracious manner, as doubled the thanks due to so great a benefite. Here vpon a Prince of the Celtiberians, and two petty Kings of the Illegetes & Lacetani, neere Neighboursto Tarracon, and dwelling on the North-side of Iberus, forsook the Carthaginian party, & ioyned with the Romans. The speech of *Indibila*, King of the Illegetes, is much commended: for that he did not vaunt himselfe, as commonly fugitiues vse, of the pleasure which he did vnto the Romans, in reuolting from their enemies, but rather excused this his changing side, as being thereto compelled by iniuries of the Carthaginians, & invited by the honourable dealing of

*Scipio.*

*Scipio*. This temperate estimation of his new professed friendship, was indeed no vsure token, that it should be long-lasting. But if the Illegetes had long ere this (as wee haue heard before) forsaken the Carthaginian party, and stoutly held themselves as friends to *Scipio*; then could nothing haue bin deuised more vaine, than this Oration of *Indibila* their King; excusing, as new, his taking part with the same, when hee should haue rather craued pardon for his breach of Alliance, formerly contracted with the Father and the Vncle. Most likely therefore it is, that howsoever the two elder *Scipio's* had gotten some few places among these their Neighboursto, & held them by strength; yet were the Romans neuer masters of the Countrey, till this worthy Commander, by recovering their Hostages from the Carthaginians, and by his great munificence in sending them home, won vnto himselfe the assured loue and assistance of these Princes. The Carthaginian Generals, when they heard of this losse, were very sorry: yet neuertheless they set a good face on the matter; saying, That a young man, hauing stolne a Towne by surprise, was too farre transported, and ouer-joyed, but that shortly they would meet with him, and put him in minde of his Father and Vncle; which would alter his moode, and bring him to a more conuenient temper.

Now if I should here interpose mine owne coniecture; I should be bold to say, That the Carthaginians were at this time busie, in setting forth toward Italy; and that *Scipio*, to diuert them, vnder-tooke new Carthage, as his Father and Vncle, vpon the like occasion, had done before Ibera. And in this respect I would suppose, that it had not been much amiss, if the passage over the Lake had bene vndiscovered, and the Towne held out some longer while. For howsoever that particular Action was the more fortunate, in coming to such good issue vpon the first day: yet in the generality of the business, between Rome and Carthage, it was more to be wished, that *Asdrubal* should be stayed from going into Italy, than that halfe of Spaine should be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to doe, that should hinder his iourney, *Mago*, and *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gisco*, were thought sufficient to hold *Scipio* worke, in that lingering warre of taking and retaking Townes, whilst the maine of the Carthaginian forces, vnder *Asdrubal* the son of *Amilcar*, went to a greater enterprise: euen to fight in tryall of the Empire. But the Roman Historians tell this after another fauision; and say, That *Asdrubal* was beaten into Italy: whither he ran for feare, as thinking himselfe ill assured of the Spaniards, as long as they might but heare the name of *Scipio*. *Scipio*, say they, coming vpon *Asdrubal*, his Vancurers charged so lustily the Carthaginian host, that they drove him into their Trenches: and made it apparant, euen by that small peece of seruice, how full of spirit the Roman Armie was, and how dejected the Enemy. *Asdrubal* therefore by night retired out of that euen ground, and occupied an Hill, compassed on three sides with the Riuer, very steepe of ascent, and not easie of access on the fore-side; by which himselfe got vp, and was to be followed by the Romans. On the top of it there was a Plaine, whereon he strongly encamped himselfe: and in the mid-way, betwene the top and root of the Hill, was also another Plaine; into which he descended, more vpon brauery, that he might not seeme to hide himselfe within the Trenches, than for that he durst adventure his Army to the hazard of a battaile, for which this was no equal ground. But such advantage of place could not saue him from the Romans. They climbed vp the Hill to him; they recovered euen footing with him; drove him out of this lower Plaine, vp into his Campe on the Hill top: whither although the ascent were very difficult, and his Elephants bestowed in the smoothest places to hinder their approach; yet compassing about, and seeking passage where it was hardest to be found; but much more strongly breaking their way, where the Carthaginians had got vp before them, they draue both Men and Elephants head-long, I know not whither: for it is said, that there was no way to flee. Out of such a battaile, wherein hee had lost eight thousand men, *Asdrubal* is said to haue escaped; and gathering together his dispersed troupes, to haue marched towards the Pyrenes, hauing sent away his Elephants ere the fight began. Neuertheless, *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, are reported after this, to haue consailed with him about this Warre; and finally to haue concluded, that goe hee needs must, were it but to carry all the Spaniards as far as might be, from the name of *Scipio*. How likely this was to haue bin true, it shall appeare at his coming into Italy; whence these incoherent relations of the Spanish affaires, haue too long detained vs.

## S. XII.

The great troubles that Hannibal raised in all quarters, to the Citie of Rome. Posthumius the Roman Generall, with his whole Army, is slain by the Gauls. Philip King of Macedon, enters into a League with Hannibal, against the Romans. The Romans joining with the Aetolians, make warre upon Philip in Greece: and afterwards conclude a peace with him; the better to intend their businesse against the Carthaginians.

**W**He left Hannibal wintering at Capua: where he and his new Confederates reioyced (as may be thought) not a little, to heare the good news from Carthage of such mighty aide, as was decreed to be sent thence vnto him. In former times he had found worke enough, to carry the Romans come into his owne barnes, and to driue away their Cattell to Geryon: his victories affording him little other profit, than sustenance for his Armie; by making him Master of the open field. He might perhaps haue forced some walled townes; in like sort as he did Geryon, and the Cattle of Cannæ: but had he spent much time, about the getting of any one place well defended, the hunger, that his Army must haue endured the Winter and Spring following, vntill come were tyme, would haue grievously punished him for such employment of the Summer. This may haue been the reason, why he forbore to aduenture vpon Rome, after his victorie at Cannæ. For had he failed: (as it was a matter of no certaintie) to carry the Citie at his first coming; want of victuals would haue compelled him to quit the enterprife. Yea, many of the people that opened so hastily their gates vnto him, vpon the fresh bruit of his glorious successe, would haue taken time of deliberation, and waited perhaps the euent of another battaile: if being, either for want of means to force the Citie, or of necessaries to continue a siege before it, repelled (as might seeme) from the walles of Rome, he had presented himselfe vnto them with a lessened reputation, somewhat later in the yeere; when time to force their obedience was wanting, vnlesse they would freely yeeld it. But this great part of the care and trouble was past, when so many States of Italy were become his: the yeere following, the Samnites, and other old enemies of Rome, were like to receiue a notable pleasure of their new alliance with Carthage, by helping to lay siege vnto that proud Citie, which so long had held them in subiection. Thus the Winter was passed ouer ioyfully, sauing that there came not any tydings of the preparations, to second the welcome report of those mighty forces, that were decreed and expected. The Spring drew on: and of the promised supply there arrived no more, than onely the Elephants. How late it was ere those came, I finde not: onely we finde, that after this he had about thirty of them; whereas all, saue one, that he brought ouer the Alpes, had bin lost in his journey through the Marishes of Hetruria. Very bad excuse of this exceeding negligence, they that brought the Elephants could make vnto Hannibal. If they were his friends, they told him truly, what mischiefs the perswasion of Hanno wrought among the too niggardly Carthaginians. Otherwise, they might perhaps informe him, that it was thought a safer, though a farther way about, to passe along through Spaine and Gaule; as he himselfe had done; and increase the Army, by hyring the Barbarians in the iourney, than to commit the maine strength of their Citie, to the hazzard of the Seas: especially wanting a commodious Haven, to receiue the Fleet that should carry such a number of Men, Horses, and Elephants, with all needfull provisions. With these allegations Hannibal must rest content; and seeke, as well as he can, to satisfie his Italian Confederates. Therefore when time of the yeere serued, He took the field: and hauing finished what rested to be done at Castilinum, sought to make himselfe Master of some good Huetowne therabout, that might serue to entertaine the Carthaginian Fleet, or take from his Enemies at home all excuse, which they might pretend by want thereof. To the same purpose, and to doe what else was needfull, he sent Himilco vnto the Locrians, and Hanno to the Lucans: not forgetting at once to asslay all quarters of Italy, yea, the Isles of Sicily & Sardinia; since the siege of Rome, must needs be deferred vnto another yeere. Hanno made an ill iourney of it, being met, or ouer-taken, by T. Sempronius Longus: who slew about two thousand of his men; with the losse of fewer, than three hundred Romans. But Himilco sped farre better. By helpe of the Brutians, his good friends, he won Petellia or Petilia by force; after it had held out some moneths. He won likewise Consentia; and Croton, that was forsaken by the Inhabitants. Also the City of Locri, which

was of great importance, yeelded vnto him; as did all other places therabout, except onely the Towne of Rhegium, bene against Sicily. The great faith of the Petilians is worthy to be recorded; as a notable testimony of the good gouernment, vnder which the Roman subiects liued. As for the Samnites, Campanians, and others, whose carnest studie in rebellion may seduce to proue the contrary; we need not consider, that they had lately contended with Rome for Souerainity, and were now transported with ambition; which reason can hardly moderate, or beneuolently allay. The Petilians, in the very beginning of their danger, did send to Rome for helpe: where their Messengers receiued answer from the Senate, That the public misfortunes had not so many reasons, to relieue their Associates that were so farre distant. The Petilian Messengers (Embassadours they are termed) as were all others, publicly sent from Cities of the Roman subiection, that had a priuate iurisdiction within themselves) fell down to the ground, and humbly besought the Fathers, not to giue them away: promising to do and suffer whatsoever was possible, in defence of their Towne, against the Carthaginians. Whereupon the Senate fell to consultation againe: and hauing thoroughly considered all their forces remaining, plainly confessed, that it was not in their power to giue any reliefe. Wherefore these Embassadours were willed to returne home, and to bid their Citizens provide hereafter for their owne safetie, as hauing already discharged their faith to the utmost. All this notwithstanding, the Petilians (as was said) held out some moneths; and hauing striven in vaine to defend themselves, when there was no apparant subditiue, gaue to the Carthaginians a bloody victorie ouer them; being vanquished as much by famine, as by any violence of the Assaults.

The Romans at this time were indeed in such ill case, that Hannibal, with a little helpe from Carthage, might haue reduced them into termes of great extremitie. For whereas, in a great brauerie, before their losse at Cannæ, they had shewed their high mindes, by entertaining the care of things farre off, notwithstanding the great warre that lay vpon them, so neere at hand: it now fell out miserably all at once, that their fortune abroad was no whit better than at home. L. Posthumius, Albinus their Praetor they had sent, with an Armie of five and twenty thousand, into Gaule; to the Illyrian king Pinarus they had sent for their tribute due, whereof the pay-day was past, willing him, if he desired forbearance, to deliuer hostages for his performance of what was due; and to Philip king of Macedon they had sent, to require, that he should deliuer vp vnto them Demetrius Phariaris, their Subiect and Rebel, whom he had receiued. But now from all quarters they heare tidings, little suitable to their former glorious conceits. Posthumius, with all his Armie was cut in pieces by the Gauls; in such sort, that scarce ten men escaped. The manner of this overthrow was very strange. There was a great Wood, called by the Gauls, *Litana*; through which he was to passe. Against his coming, the Enemies had felled the Trees so far, that a little force would serue to cast them downe. When therefore Posthumius, with his whole Armie, was entered into this dangerous passage, the Gauls, that lay about the wood, began to cast downe the Trees: which falling one against another, bore all downe so fast, that the Romans were ouerwhelmed. Men and Horses, in such wise, that no more escaped, than is said before. How this tedious worke of felling so many Trees, could rake desired effect, and neither be perceiued, nor made frustrate, either by some winde, that might haue blowne all downe before the Romans came, or by some other of those many accidents, whereto the deuce was subiect; I do not well conceiue. Yet some such thing may haue bene done: and what failed in the stratagem, supplied with the Enemies sword. It is not perhaps worthy to be omitted, as a monument of the sauage condition, wherewith Lombardie, a Spunitie, now so ciuill, was infected in elder times, That of Posthumius his skull, being cleaned, and trimmed vp with gold, a drinking cup was made, and consecrated in their principal Temple, as a holy vessel, for the vse of the Priest in their solemnities. Of this great overthrow, when word was brought to Rome; the amazement was no lesse than the calamity. But sorrow could giue no remedie to the mischiefe: and anger was vaine, where there wanted force to reuenge. Tribute from the Illyrians there came none: neither do I finde, that any was a second time demanded; this we finde, That with Pinarus, and Suerdulus an Illyrian king, as also with Geminus, who reigned within a few years following, the Romans dealt vpon euery term, entreating their assistance against Rhodius and Persens; not continuing their dutie, as Vassals. The Macedonians troubled them yet a little further. For

Having assured his affaires in Greece, & enjoying leisure to looke into the doings abroad, He sent Embassadors to *Hannibal*: with whom he made a league; vpon these conditions: That the King in person should come into Italy; and with all his forces, by Land and Sea, against the Carthaginians in the Roman war; untill it were finished; That Rome, and all Italy, together with all the spoils therein to be gotten, should be left entire vnto the State of Carthage; And that afterwards *Hannibal* with his Armie should passe into Greece, and there assist *Philip*, untill hee had subdued all his Enemies: (which were the *Ætolians*, *Thracians*, King *Antiochus*, and others) leaving semblably vnto him the full possession of that country, and the Iles adjoining. But such predisposition of Kingdoms and Princes, is lightly controlled by the diuine Providence; which therein turned to his selfe, as *Virgil* in his *Æneid* termes it, and like an *Antestus* envious, or malicious, but very iust and iudiciall, in vp-holding that vnspokeable greater Ro of Soueraignty, by which it rules the whole World, and all that therein is.

The first Embassadors that *Philip* sent, fell into the Romans hands, in their journey towards *Hannibal*: & being examined what they were, & returned vpon a bold lying. That they were sent from the King of Macedonia to Rome, there to make a league with the Senate and People, and offer his helpe in this time of great necessitie. These newes were so welcome, that the ioy thereof tooke away all care of making better inquiry. So they were longly feasted and freely furnished with guides that should lead them the way; and shew them how to amaine the Carthaginians: But they being thus instructed concerning their journey, fell withally into the snare of *Hannibal*: who entertained them after a better fashion; and concluded the businesse; about which they came, vpon the points before remembred: In their returne homeward, they happened againe vnlooktly to bee detried by the Roman flette; which, mistrusting them to be of the Carthaginian party; gaue them chase: They did their best to haue escaped; but being ouer-taken, they suffered the Romans to come aboard; and trusting to the lie that once had serued them, said it againe, That hauing bene sent from King *Philip*, to make a league with the People of Rome, they were norable, by reason of the Carthaginians lying between, to get any farther than to *M. Valerius* the Pretor, vnto whom they had signified the good affection of the King their Master. The tale was now lesse credible than before: and (which marred all) *Gesco*, *Buslar*, and *Mago*, with their followers, Cartha-  
ginians that were sent with them from *Hannibal* to ratifie the agreement, being presently detected, made the matter apparant. Wherefore a little inquisition serued to finde all out: so that at length *Hannibals* owne letters to King *Philip* were deliuered vp, and the whole businesse confessed. The Embassadors and their followers were sent close prisoners to Rome: where the chiefe of them were cast into prison; and the rest sold for bond-slaves: Yet one of their ships that escaped, carried word into Macedonia of all that had happened. Whereupon new Embassage was sent, that went and returned with better speed; concluding, as was agreed before, onely with some losse of time.

The Romans were exceedingly perplexed: thinking with what heavy weight this Macedonian warre, in an euill houre, was likely to fall vpon them, when their shoulders were ouer-burdened with the load of the Carthaginian. Yet they took a noble resolution; and sutable vnto that, whereby they kept off the storme, that else would haue beate vpon them from Spaine. They iudged it more easie, with small forces to detain *Philip* in Greece, than with all their strength to resist him in Italy. And herein they were in the right. For, that the very reputation of a King of Macedonia, ioyning with *Hannibal* in such a time, would haue sufficed to shake the allegiance, not onely of the Latines, and other their most faithfull Subiects, but euen of the Roman Colonies that held all priuiledges of the City: it will appeare by the following successe of things. *M. Valerius* the Pretor, with twenty thousand Gallies, was appointed to attend vpon the Macedonian, and to set on foot some commotion in Greece; or to nourish the troubles already therein begunne. *Philip* was busie about the Sea-townes, that looked towards Italy, setting vpon *Apollonia*; and thence falling vpon *Oricum*; which he won, and so returned to *Apollonia* againe. The Epirots craued helpe of *M. Valerius* (or rather accepted his kinde offers; who had none other businesse to doe. The Garrison that *Philip* had left in *Oricum*, was strong enough to hold the Towne men in good order, but not to keep out the Romans: of whose daring to attempt any thing against him, on that side the Sea, *Philip* was then had no suspicion. *Valerius* therefore easily regained the Towne; and sent thence a thousand

thousand men, vnder *Nomius Grifus*, an vnder-taking and expert Captaine; which got by night into *Apollonia*. They made a notable sallie; and brake into *Philip* Trenches with so great slaughter, that they forced him to forsake his campe, and raise the siege. The King purposed (as it is said) to haue departed thence by Sea: but *Valerius*, coming with his flect from *Oricum*, stopped vp the mouth of the Riuer, so that he was faine to burn his ships, (which belike were no better than long boates) and depart ill furnished of carriages, by Land. After this *Valerius* dealt with the *Ætolians*, a Nation alwayes enemy to the Crowne of Macedonia; and easily perswaded them, being so affected, as hath else where bene shewed) to make strong warre on *Philip*; wherein he promised them great assistance from the Romans. That which most moued the troublesome spirits of the *Ætolians*, was the hope of getting *Acarnania*; after which they had baped long; and whereof the Roman was as liberrall in making promise, as if already it had bin his owne. So a league was made betwene them: and afterward solemnely published at Olympia, by the *Ætolians*; and by the Romans, in their Capitall. The conditions were, That from *Ætolia* to *Coryra*, in which space *Acarnania* was contained, all the Country should be subdued, and left vnto the *Ætolians*, the pillage onely to be given to the Romans: And that if the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*, it should bee with Prouision, to hold no longer than whilst hee abstained from doing iniurie to the Romans, or their Associates. This was indeed the onely point, whereat *Valerius* aimed, who promised as much on the Romans behalfe. That they should not make peace with the Macedonian, vnlesse it were with like condition of including the *Ætolians*. Into this league was place reserved for the *Lacedæmonians* and *Eleans*, as to those that had made or fauoured the side of *Cleomenes* against the Macedonian, to enter at their pleasure. The like regard was had of *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus*: the first of which reigned at *Perigamus*, in Asia the lesse, a Prince hereafter much to be spoken of; the other two held some part of *Illyria*; about which the Romans were so farre from contending with them, that gladly they sought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of these Associates, are thrust into the Treatie; rather to giue it countenance, than for any readinesse which they disclosed to enter thereinto. The *Ætolians* alone, and chiefly *Scopas* their Pretor, with *Demetrius* and others, are yet a while the onely men, of whom the Roman Generals must make much; as the late French King, *Henry* the fourth, when he had onely the title of *Nauarre*, was said to court the Maiors of *Rochel*. *Philip* was not idle, when hee heard whereunto the *Ætolians* tended. He repaired his Armie; made a countenance of warre vpon the *Illyrians*, and other his borderers, that were wont in times of danger to infect the kingdom of Macedonia, wasted the Countrie about *Oricum* & *Apollonia*; and ouer-running the *Pelagonians*, *Dardanians*, and others, whom he held suspected, came downe into *Thessaly*, whence he made shew as if he would invade *Ætolia*. By the fame of this Expedition, He thought to stir vp all the Greeks adioyning, against the *Ætolians*; whom they generally detested as a nest of Robbers, troublesome to all the Countrie. To which purpose, and to hinder the *Ætolians* from breaking into Greece, He left *Perseus*, his son and heire, with foure thousand men, vpon their borders: with the rest of his Armie, before greater businesse should ouer-take and entangle him. Hee made a long journey into *Thrace*, against a people called the *Medes*, that were wont to fall vpon Macedonia, whensoeuer the King was absent. The *Ætolians*, hearing of his departure, armed as many as they could against the *Acarnanians*; in hope to subdue those their daily enemies, and winne their little Countrie, ere he should be able to returne. Hereto it much auailed, that the Romans had already taken *Oeniade* and *Naxos*, *Acarnanian* Townes conveniently situated to let in an Armie; and consigned them vnto the *Ætolians*, according to the tenor of the contract lately made with them. But the stout resolution of the *Acarnanians*, to die (as we say) every Mothers sonne of them, in defence of their Countrie; together with the great hate of the Macedonian (who layed aside all other businesse) to succour these his friends; caused the *Ætolians* to forsake their enterprife. When this Expedition was giuen over, the Romans and *Ætolians* fell vpon *Ancyra*, which they took: the Romans assailing it by Sea, the *Ætolians* by Land. The *Ætolians* had the Towne; and the Romans the spoile.

For these good seruices *M. Valerius* was chosen Consul at Rome; and *P. Salpinius* sent into his stead, to keepe the warre on foot in Greece. But besides the Roman helpe, *Antiochus* of Asia came over to assist the *Ætolians*. Hee was chiefly moued by his owne iea-  
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house of *Philip* greatness: though somewhat also tickled with the vanity of being chosen by the *Ætolians* their principall Magistrare; which honour, though so better than titulare, he tooke in very louing part. Against the sort of which *Attilus* and the *Romans* had sent, being loyned with the maine power of *Ætolia*, *Philip* tried the fortune of two battailes: and was victorious in each of them. Herewith, these his publicke neighbours desired peace of him; and vsed their best meanes to get it. But when the day appointed for the conclusion thereof, was come: their Embassadours, in stead of making submission, proposed vnto him such intolerable conditions; as ill becomed vanquished men to offer: and might therefore well testifie, that their minds were altered. It was not any loue of peace, but feare of being besieged in their owne Towns, that had made them desirous of composition. This feare being taken away, by the encouragements of *Attilus* and the *Romans*, they were as fierce as euer: and thrust a garrison of their owne, and some Roman friends, into Elis, which threatened Achaia, wherein *Philip* dwelt. The *Romans*, making a cut ouer the streight from *Napactus*, wasted the country in a terrible brauery: wherein *Philip* requited them; comming vpon them in great hast from the *Nemeian Games* (which he was then celebrating) and sending them faster away, but nothing richer, than they came.

In the heate of this contention, *Prusias* King of Bithymia, fearing the growth of *Attilus*, no lesse than *Attilus* held suspected the power of *Philip*, sent a Nautic into Greece, to assist the Macedonian party. The like did the Carthaginians: and vpon greater reason, as being more interessed in the successe of his affaires. *Philip* was too weak by Sea: and though he could man some two hundred ships, yet the vessels were such, as could not hold out against the Roman *Quinqueremes*. Wherefore it behoued him, to vse the helpe of his good friends the Carthaginians. But their aide came somewhat too late: which might better at first haue kept those Enemies from fastening vpon any part of Greece, than afterward it could serue to driue them out, when they had pierced into the bowels of that country. Ere *Philip* could attempt any thing by Sea, it was needfull that he should correct the Eleans, bad neighbours to the Achaians his principall Confederates. But in assailing their Town, he was encountered by the *Ætolian* and Roman garrison, which drate him backe with some losse. In such cases, especially where God intendeth a great conuersion of Empire, Fame is very powerfull in working. The King had receiued no great detriment, in his retreat from Elis: rather he had given testimonie of his personall valour, in fighting well on foot, when his horse was slaine vnder him. He had also sone after taken a great multitude of the Eleans, to the number of foure thousand; with some twenty thousand head of Cattaile, which they had brought together into a place of safety, as they thought, when their Country was invaded. But it had happened, that in his pursuit of the Roman foragers about *Sicyon*, his horse running hastily vnder a low tree, had torne off one of the hornes, which (after the fashion of those times) the King wore in his Crest. This was gathered vp by an *Ætolian*, who carried it home, and shewed it as a token of *Philip*'s death. The horne was well knowne, and the tale belieued. *Attilus* and the *Romans* were in an uproare: and not only the Borderers, ready to fall vpon the Country, but some Captains of *Philip*, easily corrupted; who thinking to make themselves a fortune in this change of things, ranne into such treason, as they might better hope to make good, than to excuse. Herupon the King returned home, leaving but three thousand men, to assist his friends the Achaians. He also tooke order, to haue Beacones erected, that might giue him notice of the Enemies doings, vpon whom he might shortly retaine. The affaires of Macedonia, his presence quickly established. But in Greece all went ill, fauorably especially in the Ile of Euboea, where one *Plator* betrayed to *Attilus* and the *Romans*, the Town of *Orcum*, ere *Philip* could arrive to helpe it: where also the strong Citie of *Chalcis* was likely to haue been lost, if he had not come the sooner. He made such hastie marches, that he had almost taken *Attilus* in the Citie of *Opus*: This Citie, lying ouer against *Euboea*, *Attilus* had wonne more through the cowardize of the people, than any great force that he had vsed: now because the Roman soldiers had defrauded him in the sacke of *Orcum*, and taken all to themselves: It was agreed, that *Attilus* should make his best profit of the *Opuntians*, without admitting the *Romans* to be his sharers. But whilst he was busie, in drawing as much money as he could out of the Citizens, the sudden tidings of *Philip*'s arrivall, made him leave all behinde him, and ranne away to the Sea side, where he got aboard his ships, hiding the *Romans*

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gone before, vpon the like feare. Either the indignity of this misadventure, or tydings of *Prusias* the Bithymian his invasion vpon the kingdome of *Pergamus*, made *Attilus* returne home, without staying to make leaue of his friends. So *Philip* recovered *Opus*, wanne *Torone*, *Tritonos*, *Drymon*, and many small townes in those parts; performing likewise some actions, of more brauerie than importance, against the *Ætolians*. In the meanes season, *Machinidas*, the tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, had bene busie in *Poloponnesus*, but hearing of *Philip*'s arrivall, was returned home.

The *Lacedæmonians*, hearing certaine report of *Cleomenes* his death in *Egypt*, went about so choole two new Kings, and to conforme themselves to their old manner of government. But their Estate was so farr out of tune, that their hope of redressing things within the Citie, proued no lesse vnsuortunate, than had bene their attempts of recovering a large dominion abroad. *Lycurgus* a tyrant rose vp among them: vpon whom succeeded this *Machinidas*; & shortly after came *Nabis*, that was worse than both of them. They held on the *Ætolian* & Roman side, for feare of the Achaians, that were the chiefe Confederates of *Philip*, and hated extremely the name both of Tyrant, and *Lacedæmonian*. But of these we shall speake more hereafter.

*Philip* entering into Achaia, and seeing his presence had brought the contentment of assurance to that Country; spake braue words to the Assembly of their States, saying, That he had to doe with an Enemie, that was very nimble, and made warre by running away. He told how he had followed them to *Chalcis*, to *Orcum*, to *Opus*, and now into Achaia: but could no where finde them, such hath they made, for feare of being overtake. But flight, hee saide, was not alwayes prosperous: hee should one day fight vpon them, as ere this he sundry times had done, and kill to their losse. The Achaians were glad to heare these words; and much the more glad, in regard of his good deeds accompanying them. For hee restored vnto their Nation some Townes that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewise to the *Megalopolitans* their Confederates, he rendered *Aliphera*. The *Dymeans*, that had bene taken by the *Romans*, and sold for slaves, he sought out, ransomed, and put in quiet possession of their owne Citie. Further, passing ouer the *Corinthian Gulfe*, he fell vpon the *Ætolians*: whom hee drave into the mountaines and woods, or other their strongest holds; and wasted their Country. This done, he tooke leaue of the Achaians: and returned home by Sea, visited the people that were his subiects, or dependants: and animated them so well, that they rested carelesse of any threatening danger. Then had he leisure to make warre vpon the *Dardaniens*, all neighbours to Macedonia: with whom neuer thelesse he was not so far occupied, but that he could goe in hand with preparing a fleet of an hundred gallies, whereby to make himselfe Master of the Sea; the *Romans* (since the departure of *Attilus*) hauing not dared to meet or pursue him, when he lately ranne along the coast of Greece, fast by them where they lay.

This good successe added much reputation to the Macedonian, and emboldned him to make strong warre vpon the *Ætolians*, at their owne doores. As for the *Romans*, either some displeasure, conceiued against their Confederates, or some feare of danger at home, when *Asdrubal* was ready to fall vpon Italy; caused them to giue ouer the care of things in Greece, and leaue their friends there to their owne fortunes. The *Ætolians* therefore, being driuen to great extremitie, were faine to sue for peace vnto *Philip*; and accept it, vpon what euer conditions it best pleased him. The agreement was no sooner made, than *P. Sempronius* with ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirtie fise gallies, came ouer in great haste (though somewhat too late) to trouble it. Hearing how things went in *Ætolia*, he turned aside to *Dyrachium*, & *Apollonia*, making a great noise as if with these his owne forces he would worke wonders. But it was not long ere *Philip* came to visit him, and found him tame enough. The King presented him battell; but he refused it: and suffering the Macedonians to waste the Country round about, before hee kept himselfe close within the wals of *Apollonia*, making some Overtures of peace; which caused *Philip* to return home quietly. The *Romans* had not so great cause to be displeased with the *Ætolians*, as had *Philip*, to take in euil part the demeanor of the *Carthaginians*. For notwithstanding the royall offer that he made them, to serue their turne in Italy, and assist them, in getting their hearts desire, before he would expect any requital; they had not sent any fleet, as in reason they ought, and as (considering his want of sufficient abilitie by Sea) it is likely they were bound, either to secure the transportation

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of his Armie, or to fetch his dole from the Roman and Aetolian Pyracies. Oneh once they came to his helpe, which was, as his last journey into Achaia. But they were gone againe before his arrival: hauling down nothing, and depending feare of being taken by the Romans, quen at subliming as *Philip*, with his own hand, durst boldly passe by sea, and found none that durst oppose him. At his withdrawal, dealing of the Carthaginians, may therefore seeme to haue had one of *Hannibal*'s tricks, who had attempted so bitterly complained. For it could not but grieve this malicious spirit exceedingly, to see that so great a King made offer to serve in person under *Hannibal*, and requested the assistance of the same *Hannibal*, as if it were likely to make Monarchs, and alter the affayres of the world at pleasure. There was behid reason, such as one could suggest, to perswade the Carthaginians vnto a false and litle profit: which was, not to aduise into the follow-  
 ship of their Italian wares to mighty a Prince, who by change of situation might beke dangerous to their Empire; on his much affection with *Hannibal*, more dangerous to their liberties. Rather they should haue welken saue charges, and faced the Macedonian with hopes; by making many promises of sending souldiers and some other succours. This would cost nothing, yet would it serue to terrifie the Romans; & compell them to send part of their forces from home, that might hinder this Enemie work abroad. So should the Roman Armies be lessened in Italy, and *Philip*, when once he was engaged in the warre, be urged vnto the prosecution, by his own necessity: putting the Carthaginians to litle or no charges, yea, (as to the labour of giving him thanks). Now, if it might cometo passe, as *Hannibal* every day did promise, that Rome and all Italy should within a while be at the deuotion of Carthage: better it were that the Cite should be free, so as the troublesome Greeks might aduise their complaints vnto the Carthaginians, as competent Iudges betwixt them and the Macedonians; than that *Hannibal*, with the power of Africa, should waite vpon *Philip*, as his Executacioner, to fulfill his will and pleasure, in doing such injuries, as would both make the name of a Carthaginian hateful in Greece, and oblige *Philip* to be no lesse independent, in fulfilling all requests of *Hannibal*. Whether the counsaile of *Quintus* and his fellows, were such as this; or whether the Carthaginians, of their owne disposition, without his aduice, were to spare, and carelesse, the matter (as farre as concerned *Philip*) came to this reckoning. For they did him no manner of good: but rather dodged with him; euen in their litle civillie which they most pretended. And this perhaps was part of the reason, why he began the building of an hundred Gallies; as if hee would let them and others know, where to his proper strength would haue reached, had hee not vainely giuen credite to his litle promises. When therefore the Aetolians had submitted themselves already; and when the Romans desired his friendship, as might be thought, for very feare of him, with reputation enough, and not as a forsaken Client of the Carthaginians; but a Prince able to haue succoured them in their need, he might giue over the warre, and without reprehension, leaue them to themselves. For he had wilfully entred into trouble for their sakes; but they despised him, as if the quarrell were merely his owne, and he unable to manage it.

The vanity of which their conceits would appeare vnto them: when they should see, that with his proper strength he had finished the warre, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the yere following it was agreed, by mediation of the Epirots, Acarnanians, and others, that the Romans should retaine three or foure Townes of Illyria, which they had recovered in this warre, being part of their old Illyrian conquest: Places no way belonging to the Macedonians; and therefore perhaps inserted into the covenants, by some what might seeme to haue bene gotten. On the other side, the Attinians were appointed to retaine under the obedience of *Philip*: who, if they were (as *Orontius* probably conceiues) the people of the Countrey about Apollonia; then did the Romans abandon part of their gettings; whereby it appeares, that they did not giue peace, as they would seeme to haue done; but accepted it, vpon conditions somewhat to the disadvantage.

The Confederates and Dependents of the Macedonian, comprehended in this Peace, were *King* of Bithynia; the Achaens, Boeotians, Thessalians, Acarnanians, & Epirots. On the Roman side were named first, the people of Ilium, as an honourable remembrance of the Romans descent from *Troy*; then, *Attalus* king of Pergamus; *Antiochus*, an Illyrian Prince; & *Nabis*, the tyrant of Laedamon; together with the Eleans, Messenians, and

and Athenians. The Aetolians were omitted, belike, as hauing agreed for themselves before. But the Eleans and Messenians, followers of the Aetolians, (and by them, as is most likely, comprised in their League with *Philip*) were also inserted by the Romans; that were neuer slow in offering their friendship to small and feeble Nations. As for the Achaens: they stood much vpon their old honour; and loued to beare a part, though they did nothing, in all great actions. Yet the setting downe of their names in this Treaty, serued the Romans to good purpose: forasmuch as they were a buisie people, and admitted occasion to renew the warre, when means did better serue to follow it.

## S. XIII.

How the Romans began to recover their strength by degrees. The noble affection of the Romans, in relieuing the publike necessities of their Common-wealth.

IT was a great fault in the Carthaginians, that embracing so many Enterprises at once, they followed all by the halues: and waited more men and money to no purpose, than would haue serued (if good order had bene taken) to finish the whole warre, in farre shorter space; and make themselves Lords of all that the Romans held. This error had become the lesse harmful, if their care of Italy had bin such as it ought. But they suffered *Hannibal*, to wearie himselfe with expectation of their promised supplies: which being still deferred from yere to yere, caused as great opportunities to be lost, as a Conquerour could haue desired. The death of *Pothinus*, and destruction of his whole Armie in Gaule; the begun rebellion of the Sardinians; the death of *Hiero* their friend in Syracuse; with great alterations, much to their preiudice, in the whole Isle of Sicily; as also that warre, of which we last spake, threatened from Macedon; happening all at one time; and that so neerely after their terrible ouerthrow at Cannae, among so many reuolts of their Italian Confederates, would verily haue sunke the Roman State, had the Carthaginians, if not the first yere, yet at least the second, sent ouer to *Hannibal* the forces that were decreed. It is not to be doubted, that euen this diuersitie of great hopes, appearing from all parts, administered matter vnto *Hanno*, or such as *Hanno* was, whereupon to worke. For though it were in the power of Carthage, to performe all that was decreed for Italy: yet could not that proportion hold, when so many new occurrences brought each along with them their new care; and required their seuerall Armies. This had not bene a very bad excuse, if any one of the many occasions offered had bene thoroughly prosecuted: though it stood with best reason, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the prosperitie of *Hannibal* in his Italian warre, should haue bene strengthened; whatsoever had become of the rest. But the slender troups, wherewith the Carthaginians fed the warre in Spaine; the lingring aide which they sent to vp-hold the Sardinian rebellion, when it was already well-neere beaten downe; their trifling with *Philip*; and (amongst all these their attempts) their hastic catching at Sicily: little deferred to bee thought good reasons of neglecting the maine point, whereto all the rest had reference. Rather euery one of these Actions, considered a part by it selfe, was no otherwise to be allowed as discreetly ynder-taken, or substantially followed; than by making supposition, That the care of Italy, made the Carthaginians more negligent in all things else. Yet if these allegations would not serue to content *Hannibal*, then must hee patiently endure to know, that his owne Citizens were ialous of his Greatnesse, and durst not trust him with so much power, as should enable him to wrong the State at home.

Whatsoever he heard or thought, *Hannibal* was glad to apply himselfe to Necessity; to feed his Italian friends with hopes; & to trifle away the time about Nola, Naples, Cumae, and other places: being loth to spend his Armie in an hard siege, that was to be reserved for a worke of more importance. Many offers he made vpon Nola, but alwayes with bad successe. Once *Marcellus* fought a battell with him there: yet vnder the very walls of the Towne; hauing the assistance of the Citizens, that were growne better affected to the Roman side, since the Heads that inclined them to rebellion, were cut off. About a thousand men *Hannibal* in that fight lost: which was no great maruaile; his forces being then diuided, and employed in sundry parts of Italy: as once. Naples was, euen in those dayes, a strong City, and required a yere to haue taken it by force.



Whereby the earnest desire of *Hannibal* to get in, was alwaies frustrate. Vpon the town of *Capua* they of *Capua* had their plot, & were in hope to take it by cunning. They sent to the chief Magistrates of the *Cumans*, desiring them (as being also *Campans*) to be present at a solemn sacrifice of the Nation, where they would consult about their generall good: promising to bring thither a sufficient guard, to assure the whole Assembly from any danger that might come by the *Romans*. This motion the *Cumans* made shew to entertaine; but priuily sent word of all to *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the Roman Consul.

*Gracchus* was a very good man of warre, & happily chosen Consul in so dangerous a time. His Colleague should haue beene *Posthumus Albinus*, that was lately slaine by the *Gauls*: after whose death *Marcellus* was chosen, as being iudged the fittest man to encounter with *Hannibal*. But the Roman Augures either found some religious impediment that nullified the election of *Marcellus*; or at least they fained so to haue done, because this was the first time, that euer two Plebeian Consuls were chosen together. *Marcellus* therefore gaue ouer the place: and *Q. Fabius Maximus* the late famous Dictator, was substituted in his roome. But *Fabius* was detained in the City about matters of Religion, or Superstition: wherewith Rome was commonly, especially in times of danger, very much troubled. So *Gracchus* alone, with a Consular Army, waited vpon *Hannibal* among the *Campans*: not able to meete the Enemy in field; yet intinctiue to all occasions, that should be presented. The Volones, or *Slaues*, that lately had beene armed, were no small part of his followers. These, and the rest of his men, he continually trained: and had not a greater care, to make his Army skillfull in the exercises of warre, than to keepe it from quarrels, that might arise by vpbraiding one another with their base conditions.

Whilest the Consul was thus busied at *Linternum*; the Senators of *Cumæ* sent him word of all that had passed betwene them and the *Capuans*. It was a good occasion to flesh his men, and make them confident against the Enemy; of whom hitherto they had bad experience. *Gracchus* therefore put himselfe into *Cumæ*: whence hee issued at such time, as the Magistrates of that Citie were expected by the *Campans*. The Sacrifice was to be performed by night, at a place called *Hamæ*, three miles from *Cumæ*. There lay *Marius Alfius* the chief Magistrate of *Capua*, with foureteene thousand men; not wholly intent either to the Sacrifice, or to any danger that might interrupt it; but rather deuising how to surpriue others, than fearing himselfe to be assailed. The Consul therefore suffering none to goe forth of *Cumæ*, that might heare word of him to the Enemy, issued out of the towne when it grew darke: his men being well refreshed with meate and sleepe, the day before, that they might hold out the better in this nights seruice. So he came vpon the *Capuans* vnawares: and slew more than two thousand of them, together with their Commander; losing not about a hundred of his owne men. Their campe he tooke: but tarried not long to rise it, for feare of *Hannibal*, who lay not farre off. By this his prouidence, he escaped a greater losse, than he had brought vpon the Enemies. For when *Hannibal* was informed how things went at *Hamæ*, forthwith he marched thither: hoping to finde those young souldiers, and *Slaues*, busied in making spoile, and loading themselves with the bootie. But they were all gotten safe within *Cumæ*; which partly for anger, partly for desire of gaining it, and partly at the vrgent entreatie of the *Capuans*, *Hannibal* assailed the next day. Much labour, and with ill successe, the Carthaginians and their fellowes spent, about this towne. They raised a wooden Tower against it; which they brought close vnto the walls, thinking thereby to force an Entry. But the Defendants, on the inside of the wall, raised against this an high Tower: whence they made resistance; and found meanes at length, to consume with fire the worke of their Enemies. While the Carthaginians were busied in quenching the fire; the Romans, falling out of the towne at two gates, charged them valiantly, and draue them to their trenches, with the slaughter of about foureteene hundred. The Consul wisely sounded the Retreat: for his men were too farre engaged, and *Hannibal* in readiness to requite their seruice. Neither would he, in the pride of his good successe, adventure forth against the Enemy, who presented him battell the day following, nere vnto the walls. *Hannibal* therefore, seeing no likelihood to preuaile in that which he had taken in hand, brake vp the siege; and returned to his old campe at *Tifata*. About these times, and shortly after, when *Fabius* the other Consul had taken the field; some small towns were recovered by the Romans, and the people severely punished for their revolt.

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The Carthaginian Army was too small, to fill with garrisons all places that had yeelded; and unwilling to abide (as it must doe) strong in the field. Wherefore *Hannibal*, attending the supply from home, that should enable him to strike at Rome it selfe, was driven in the meane time to alter his course of war: and, in stead of making (as formerly he had done) a generall intiaction vpon the whole Countrey, to passe from place to place; and wait vpon occasions, that grew daily more commodious to the enemy, than to him. The Countrey of the *Himines* and *Sannites*, was grievously wasted by *Marcellus*, in the absence of *Hannibal*; as also was *Campania*, by *Fabius* the Consul, when *Hannibal* hauing followed *Marcellus* to *Nola*, and receiued there the losse before mentioned, was gone to winter in *Apulia*. These people shewed not the like spirit in defending their lands, and fighting for the Carthaginian Empire, as in former times they had done; when they contended with the Romans, in their owne behalf, to get the Soueraignty. They held it realon, that they should be protected, by such as thought to haue dominion ouer them: wherby at once they ouerburdened their new Lords; and gaue vnto their old, the more easie meanes, to take teuchage of their defection.

The people of Rome were very inrentiue, as necessitie constrained them, to the worke that they had in hand. They continued *Fabius* in his Consulship: and ioyned with him *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*; whom they had appointed vnto that honour the yere before. Of these two, *Fabius* was called the Shield: and *Marcellus* the Roman Sword. In *Fabius* it was highly, and vpon iust reason, commended, That being himselfe Consul, and holding the Election, he did not stand vpon nice points of formality, or regard what men might thinke of his ambition, but caused himselfe to bee chosen with *Marcellus*; knowing in what need the City stood of able Commanders. The great name of these Consuls, & the great preparations which the Romans made, serued to put the *Campans* in feare, that *Capua* it selfe should be besieged. To prevent this, *Hannibal*, at their earnest entreaty, came from *Arpi*: (where he lay, hearkening after newes from *Tarentum*) and, hauing with his presence comforted these his friends, fell on the sudden vpon *Puteoli*, a Sea-towne of *Campania*; about which he spent three dayes in vaine, hoping to haue wonne it. The garrison in *Puteoli* was fixe thousand strong; and did their dutie so well, that the Carthaginian, finding no hope of good successe, could onely shew his anger vpon the fields there, and about *Naples*; which hauing done, and once more (with as ill successe as before) assailed *Nola*, he bent his course to *Tarentum*: wherein hee had very great intelligence. Whilest hee was in his progresse thither; *Hanno* made a iourney against *Beneuentum*; and *T. Gracchus* the last yeeres Consul, hasting from *Nuceria*, met him there; and fought with him a battell. *Hanno* had with him about fouenteene thousand foot, *Brutius* and *Lucius* for the most part: besides twelue hundred horse; very few of which were Italians, all the rest, *Numidians* and *Moors*. Hee held the Roman worke foure houres, ere it could be perceived to which side the victory would incline. But *Gracchus* his souldiers, which were all (in a manner) the late armed *Slaues*, had receiued from their Generall a peremptory denunciation, That this day, or neuer, they must purchase their liberty, bringing euery man, for price thereof, an Enemies head. The sweet reward of liberty was so greatly desired, that none of them feared any danger in earning it: howbeit that vaine labour, imposed by their Generall, of cutting off the slaine enemies heads, troubled them exceedingly; and hindered the seruice, by imployment of so many hands, in a worke so little concerning the victorie. *Gracchus* therefore finding his owne error, wisely corrected it: proclaiming aloud, That they should cast away the heads, and spare the trouble of cutting off any more; for that all should haue libertie immediately after the battell, if they wonne the day. This encouragement made them runne headlong vpon the Enemy; whom their desperate furie had soone ouerthrowne; if the Roman Horse could haue made their part good against the *Numidian*. But though *Hanno* did what he could, and pressed so hard vpon the Romans battell, that foure thousand of the *Slaues*, (for feare either of him, or of the punishment which *Gracchus* had, threatened before the battell, vnto those that should not valiantly behaue themselves) retired vnto a ground of strength; yet was he glad at length to saue himselfe by flight, when the Grosse of his Army was broken; being vnable to remedy the losse. Leaving the field, hee was accompanied by no more than two thousand: most of which were horse; all the rest were either slaine or taken. The Roman Generall gaue vnto all his souldiers that reward of liberty which he had promised: but vnto those foure thousand, which had recoiled

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vnto the Hill, he added this light punishment; That as long as they serued in the wars, they should neither eat nor drink otherwise than standing, vnlesse sicknesse forced them to breake his order. So the victorious Armie returned to Beneuentum: where the newly enfranchised souldiers were feasted in publike by the townsmen; some sitting, some standing, and all of them hauing their heads couered (as was the custome of slaues manumitted) with Caps of white wooll. The picture of this Feast (as a thing worthy of remembrance) was afterward hung vp in a Table by *Gracchus*, in the Temple of Libertie, which his father had built and dedicated. This was indeed the first Battell, worthy of great note, which the Carthaginians had lost since the coming of *Hannibal* into Italy: the victories of *Marcellus* at Nola, and of this *Gracchus* before at Hama; being things of small importance.

Thus the Romans through industry, by little and little, repaired that great Breach in their Estate, which *Hannibal* had made at Cannæ. But all this while, and long after this, their Treasurie was so poore, that no industrie nor art could serue to helpe it. The fruits of their grounds did onely (and perhaps hardly) serue, to feed their Townes and Armies, without any surplussage, that might be exchanged for other needfull commodities. Few they were in Italy, that continued to pay them tribute: which also they could worse doe than before; as liuing vpon the same trade; and subiect to the same inconveniences, which enfeebled Rome it selfe. Sicil & Sardinia, that were wont to yeeld great profit, hardly now maintained the Roman Armies, that lay in those Provinces, to hold them safe, and in good order. As for the Citizens of Rome, every one of them suffered his part of the detriment, which the Common-wealth sustained, and could now doe least for his Countrey, when most need was: as also the number of them was much decreased; so as if money should be raised vpon them by the *Pol*, yet must it be farre lesse, than in former times. The Senate therefore, diligently considering the greatnesse of the warre within the bowels of Italy, that could not be thence expelled, without the exceeding charge of many good Armies; the perill, wherein Sicil and Sardinia stood, both of the Carthaginians, and of many among the Naturalls declining from the friendship or subiection of Rome; the threats of the Macedonian, ready to land in the Easterne parts of Italy, if they were not at the cost to finde him worke at home; the greater threats of *Asdrubal*, to follow his brother ouer the Alpes, as soone as he could rid himselfe of the *Scipio's* in Spaine; and the pouertie of the Common-wealth, which had not money for any one of these mortall dangers, were driuen almost euen to extreme want of counsell. But being vrged by the violence of swift necessitie, signified in the letters of the two *Scipio's* from Spaine; they resolu'd vpon the onely course, without the which the Citie could not haue subsisted.

They called the people to assembly: wherein *Quintus Fuluius* the Pretor laid open the publique wants; and plainly said, That in this exigent, there must be no taking of money for victuall, weapons, apparell, or the like things needfull to the Souldiers; but that such as had stuffe, or were Artificers, must trust the Common-wealth with the Loane of their commodities, and labours vntill the warre were ended. Herunto he so effectually exhorted all men, especially the Publicans or Customers, and those which in former times had liued vpon their dealing in the common Reuenues, that the charge was vnderaken by priuate men; and the Armie in Spaine as well supplied, as if the Treasurie had bene full. Shortly after this, *Marcus Atilius Regulus*, and *Publius Furius Philus* the Roman Censors, taking in hand the redresse of disorders within the Citie, were chiefly intentiue to the correction of those, that had mis-behaued themselves in this present warre. They began with *L. Cecilius Metellus*: who, after the battell at Cannæ, had held discourse with some of his Companions, about flying beyond the Seas; as if Rome, and all Italy, had bene no better than lost. After him they tooke in hand those, that hauing brought to Rome the message of their fellowes made prisoners at Cannæ, returned not backe to *Hannibal*, as they were bound by oath; but thought themselves thereof sufficiently discharged, in that they had stepped once backe into his Campe; with pretence of taking better notice of the Captiues names. All these were now pronounced infamous by the Censors: as also were a great many more; euen whosoeuer had not serued in the warres, after the terme which the Lawes appointed: Neither was the note of the Censors at this time (as otherwise it had vsed to be) hurtfull onely in reputation: but greater weight was added thereunto, by this Decree of the Senate,

Senate, following; That all such as were noted with infamie by these Censors, should be transported into Sicil, there to serue vntill the end of the warre, under the same hard conditions, that were imposed vpon the Remainer of the Armie beaten at Cannæ. The office of the Censors was, to take the List and account of the Citizens; to chooſe or displace the Senators; and to set notes of disgrace (without further punishment) vpon those, whose vn honest or vnseemly behaviour fell not within the compasse of the Law. They tooke also an account of the Roman Gentlemen: amongst whom they distributed the publique Horles of seruice, vnto such as they thought meet; or took them away for their misbehaviour. Generally, they had the ouer-sight of mens liues and manners: and their censure was much reuerenced and feared; though it extended no further, than to putting men out of rancke; or making them change their Tribe; or (vvhich was the most that they could doe) causing them to pay some Duties to the Treasurie, from which others were exempted. But besides the care of this generall Taxe, and matters of Moraltie, they had the charge of all publique Workes; as mending of High-ways, Bridges, and Water-courses; the reparations of Temples, Porches, and such other buildings. If any man inroached vpon the streets, High-ways, or other places that ought to be common; the Censors compelled him to make amends. They had also the letting out of Lands, Customes, and other publike Reuenues, to farme: so that most of the Citizens of Rome were beholding vnto this Office; as maintaining themselves by some of the Trades thereto belonging. And this was no small helpe to conserve the dignitie of the Senate: the commonalty being obnoxious vnto the Censors, which were alwaies of that Order, and carefull to vp-hold the reputation thereof. But the Common-wealth being now impouerished by warre, and hauing small store of lands to let, or of customes that were worth the farming, *Regulus* and *Philus* troubled not themselves much with putting the Temples, or other decayed places, that needed reparations: or if they took a view of what was requisite to be done in this kinde; yet forbore they to set any thing in hand, because they had not wherewith to pay. Herein againe appeared a notable generositie of the Romans. They that had been accustomed, in more happy times, to vndertake such pieces of worke, offered now themselves as willingly to the Censors, as if there had been no such want: promising liberally their cost and trauell; without expectation of any payment, before the end of the warre. In like sort, the Masters of those slaues, that lately had been enfranchised by *Gracchus*, were very well contented to forbear the price of them, vntill the Citie were in better case to pay. In this generall inclination of the Multitude, to relieue, as farre forth as euerie one was able, the common necessity; all the goods of Orphans, and of Widowes liuing vnder Patronage, were brought into the Treasurie; and there the Quæstor kept a Booke of all that was layed out for the sustentance of these Widowes and Orphans: whilst the whole stocke was vsed by the Citie. This good example of those which remained in the Towne, preuailed with the Souldiers abroad: so that (the poorer sort excepted) they refused to take pay; and called those *Mercenaries*, that did accept it, when their country was in so great want.

The twelue hundred Talents, wrongfully extorted from the Carthaginians, nor any injuries following, done by the Romans in the height of their pride; yeelded halfe so much commoditie, as might be laid in ballance against these miseries, wherinto their Estate was now reduced. Neuerthelesse, if we consider things aright, the calamities of this Warre did rather inable Rome to deale with those Enemies, whom she forthwith vnder-tooke, than abate or slacken the growth of that large Dominion, whereto she attained, ere the youngest of those men was dead, whose names we haue already mentioned. For by this hammering, the Roman mettall grew more hard and solide: and by paring the branches of priuate fortunes, the Root and Heart of the Common-wealth was corroborated. So grew the Citie of Athens; when *Xerxes* had burnt the Towne to ashes, and taken from every particular Citizen, all hope of other felicity, than that which rested in the common happinesse of the vniuersality. Certaine it is, (as *Sir Francis Bacon* hath iudiciously obserued) That a State, whose dimention or stamme is small, may aptly serue to be foundation of a great Monarchie: which chiefly comes to passe, where all regard of domestickall prosperity is laid aside; and euerie mans care addressed to the benefit of his Country. Hereof I might say, that our Age hath seen a great example, in the vniited Provinces in the Netherlands, whose present riches

and strength grew chiefly from that ill assurance, which each of their Towns, almost of their Families, perceived it selfe to hold, whilest the generality was oppressed by the Duke of Alua; were it so, that the people had thereby growne as warlike, as by extreme industrie, and straining themselves to fill their publike Treasuries, they are all growne wealthy, strong at Sea, and able to wage great Armies for their seruices by Land. Wherefore if we value at such a rate as we ought, the patient resolution, conformitie to good Order, obedience to Magistrates, with many other Vertues, and above all other, the great loue of the Common-weale, which was found in Rome in these dangerous times: we may truly say, That the Citie was neuer in greater likelihood to prosper. Neither can it be deemed otherwise, than that if the same affections of the people had lasted, when their Empire, being grown more large and beautifull, should in all reason haue been more deare vnto them, if the riches and delicacies of Asia had not infected them with sensualityte, and carried their appetites mainly to those pleasures, wherein they thought their well-being to consist; if all the Citizens, and Subiects of Rome could haue beleued their owne interest to be as great, in those vvarres, which these later Emperours made for their defence, as in these which were managed by the Consuls: the Empire, founded vpon so great vertue, could not haue been throwne downe by the hands of rude Barbarians, were they neuer so many. But vnto all Dominions God hath set their periods: Who, though he hath giuen vnto Man the knowledge of those waies, by which kingdomes rise and fall; yet hath left him subiect vnto the affections, which draw on these fatall changes, in their times appointed.

## §.XIIII.

*The Romans winne some Townes backe from Hannibal. Hannibal winnes Tarentum. The siege of Capua. Two victories of Hannibal. The journey of Hannibal to the gates of Rome. Capua taken by the Romans.*

As the People of Rome strained themselves to the utmost, for maintaining the warre: so their Generals abroad omitted no part of industrie, in seeking to recover what had been lost. The towne of Casilina, *Fabius* besieged. It was well defended by the Carthaginian garrison; and likely to haue been relieved by those of Capua, if *Marcellus* from Nola had not come to the assistance of his Colleague. Nevertheless the place held out so obstinately, that *Fabius* was purposed to giue it over: saying, that the enterprise was not great; yet as difficult, as a thing of more importance. But *Marcellus* was of a contrary opinion. He said, That many such things, as were not at first to haue been vnder-taken by great Commanders, ought yet, when once they were taken in hand, to be prosecuted vnto the best effect. So the siege held on: and the towne was pressed so hard, that the Campains dwelling therein grew fearful, and craved parlee; offering to giue it vp, so as all might haue leaue to depart in safety, whither they pleased. Whilest they were thus treating of conditions: or whilest they were issuing forth, according to the composition already made; (for it is diuersly reported) *Marcellus* seizing vpon a Gate, entred with his Armie, and put all to sword that came in their way. Fifte of those that were first gotten out, ran to *Fabius* the Consul: who saved them, and sent them to Capua in safety; all the rest were either slaine, or made prisoners. If *Fabius* deferred commendations, by holding his vvorde good vnto these fifty, I know not how the slaughter of the rest, or imprisonment afterward of such, as escaped the heat of execution, could be excused by *Marcellus*. It may be that he helped himselfe, after the Roman fashion, with some auquiuocation, but he shall pay for it hereafter. In like sort was Mount Marfian in Gascoigne taken by the Marshall *Atolus*, when I was a young man in France. For whilest he entertained parlee about composition, the besieged ranne all from their severall guards, vpon hasty desire of being acquainted with the conditions proposed. The Marshall therefore discouraging a part of the vvaile vnguarded, entred by *Scalado*, and put all saue the Gouvernour vnto the sword. Herein that Gouvernour of Mount Marfian committed two grosse errors; the one, in that he gaue no order for the Captaines and Companies, to hold themselves in their places; the other, in that he was content to parlee, without pledges for assurance giuen and receiued. Some such over-sight, the Gouvernour of Casilina seemeth to haue committed; yet neither the advantage taken by *Marcellus*, or by *Atolus*, was very honorable.

table. When this Worke was ended, many small townes of the Samnites, and some of the Lucians and Apulians, were recouered: whereof were taken, or slaine, about five and twenty thousand of the Enemies; and the country grievously wasted by *Fabius*, *Marcellus* lying sicke at Nola.

*Hannibal* in the meane while was about Tarentum, waiting to heare from those, that had promised to giue vp the towne. But *M. Valerius* the Roman Proprietor had thrust so many men into it, that the traitours durst not stirre. Wherefore the Carthaginian was faine to depart, hauing vncertained himselfe in vaine with expectation. Yet he vvailed not the country, but contented himselfe with hope, that they would please him better in time following. So he departed thence toward Salapia: which he chose for his vviuing place; and began to victuall it, when Summer was but halfe past. It is said, that he was in loue with a yong Wench in that towne, in which regard if he began his vviuer more timely, than otherwife he required, He did not like the Romans; whom necessity enforced, to make their Summer last as long as they were able to trauell vp & down the country.

About this time began great troubles in Sicily, whither *Marcellus* the Consul was sent, to take such order for the Province, as need should require. Of the doings there, which wore out more time than his Consulship, we will speake hereafter.

The new Consuls, chosen at Rome, were *Q. Fabius* the sonne of the present Consul, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time. The Romans found it needfull for the publike seruice, to employ oftentimes their best able men: and therefore made it lawfull, during the vvarre, to recontinue their Officers, and choose such, as had lately held their places before; without regarding any distance of time, which was otherwise required. The old *Fabius* became Lieutenant vnto his sonne: which was perhaps the respect, that most commended his sonne vnto the place. It is noted, That when the old man came into the campe, and his sonne rode forth to meet him: eleven of the twelve Licitors, which carried an axe with a bundle of rods before the Consul, suffered him, in regard of due reverence, to passe by them on horse-backe, which was against the custome. But the sonne perceiuing this, commanded the last of his Licitors to note it; who therupon bade the old *Fabius* alight, and came to the Consul on his feete. The father cheerfully did so, saying, *It was my minde, sonne, to make triall; whether thou diddest vnderstand thy selfe the Consul.* *Cassius Albinus* a wealthy Citizen of Arpi, who, after the battell at Cannae, had holpen the Carthaginian into that towne, (seeing now the fortune of the Romans to amend) came priuily to this Consul *Fabius*, and offered to render it backe vnto him, if he might be therfore well rewarded. The Consul purposed to follow old examples: and to make this *Albinus* a patterne to all traitors; vsing him, as *Candulus* and *Fabritius* had done those, that offered their faithfull seruice against the Faliscis, and King *Pyrrius*. But *Q. Fabius* the father, was of another opinion: and said, it was a matter of dangerous consequence, That it should be thought more safe to revolt from the Romans than to torture vnto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that he should be sent to the towne of Cales; and there kept as prisoner; vntill they could better resolve what to doe with him, or what use to make of him. *Hannibal*, vnderstanding that *Albinus* was gone, and among the Romans, took it not sorrowfully, but thought this a good occasion, to seize vpon all the mans riches, which were great. Yet that he might seeme rather seuerer, than courteous, he sent for the wife and children of *Albinus* into his campe: where hauing examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intentions of this fugitive, partly and more strictly, about his riches, what they were, and where they lay, he condemned them, as partakers of the treason, to be burnt alive; and tooke all their goods vnto himselfe. *Fabius* the Consul shortly after came to Arpi: which he wonne by *Scalado*, in a stormy and rainy night. Five thousand of *Hannibal's* Soldiers lay in the towne; and of the Arpines themselves, there were about three thousand. These were trust for most by the Carthaginian Garrison, when it was vnderstood, that the Romans had gotten ouer the wall, and broken open a Gate. For the Soldiers held the town-men suspected; and therefore thought it no wisdom, to trust them at their backs. But after some little resistance, the Arpines gaue ouer fight, and entertained parlee with the Romans; protesting, that they had been betrayed by their Princes; and were become subiect to the Carthaginians, against their wills. In proceesse of this discourse, the Arpine Pretor went vnto the Roman Consul, and receiuing his faith for security of the Town, presently

presently made head against the garrison. This notwithstanding, like it is, that *Hannibal* men continued to make good resistance. For when almost a thousand of them, that were Spaniards, offered to letue their campahions, and serue on the Roman side, it was yet couenanted, that the Carthaginians should be suffered to passe forth quietly, & returne to *Hannibal*. This was performed: and so Arpi became Roman againe, with little other losse, than of him that had betrayed it. About the same time, Cliternum was taken by *Sempronius Tuditanus*, one of the Pretors: and vnto *Cnem Fulvius*; another of the Pretors, an hundred & twelue Gentlemen of Capua offered their seruice, vpon no other condition, than to haue their goods restored vnto them, when their citie should be recovered by the Romans. This was a thing of small importance: but considering the generall hatred of the Campanians toward Rome, it serued to discouer the inclination of the Italians in those times; and how their affections recoiled from *Hannibal*, when there was no appearance of those mighty succours, that had been promised from Carthage. The Consentes also, and the Thurines, people of the Brutians, which had yielded themselves to *Hannibal*, returned againe to their old allegiance. Others would haue followed their example; but that one *L. Pomponius*, who of a Publican had made himselfe a Captaine, and gotten reputation by some petty exploits in foraging the Countrey, was slaine by *Hanno*; with a great multitude of those that followed him. *Hannibal* in the meane while had all his care bent vpon Tarentum; which if he could take, it seemed that it would stand him in good stead, for drawing ouer that helpe out of Macedon, to which his Carthaginians failed to send. Long he waited, ere he could bring his desire to passe: & being loth to hazard his forces, where he hoped to preuaile by intelligence, He contented himselfe, with taking in some poore townes of the Salentines. At length, his Agents within Tarentum, found meanes to accomplish their purpose, and his will. One *Phileas*, that was of their conspiracie, vvhio lay at Rome as Embassadour, practising with the Hostages of the Tarentines, and such as had the keeping of them, conueighed them by night out of the Citie. But he and his company were the next day soldeely pursued, that all of them were taken, and brought backe to Rome, vvhether they suffered death as traitors. By reason of this cruelty, or severity, the people of Tarentum grew to hate the Romans, more generally and earnestly than before. As for the Conspirators, they followed their businesse the more diligently, as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention should happen to be discouered. Wherefore they sent againe to *Hannibal*: and acquainting him with the manner of their plot, made the same communication with him for the Tarentines, which they of Capua had made before. *Nice* and *Philomenus*, two the chiefe among them, vfed much to goe forth of the towne on hunting by night; as if they durst not take their pleasure by day, for fear of the Carthaginians. Seldome or neuer they missed of their game: for the Carthaginians prepared it readie for their hands, that they might not seeme to haue bene abroad vpon other occasion. From the campe of *Hannibal*, it was about three dayes iourney to Tarentum, if he should haue marched thither with his whole Armie. This caused his long abode in one place: the lesse to be suspected: as also to make his Enemies the more secure. He caused it to be giuen out, that he was sicke. But when the Romans within Tarentum, were growne carelesse of such his neighbourhood, and the Conspirators had set their businesse in order, He took with him ten thousand the most expedite of his horse and foot, and long before breake of day, made all speed thitherward. Fourescore light horse of the Numidians ran a great way before him, beating all the wayes, and killing any that they met, for feare lest he and his troupe following him, should be discouered. It had bene often the manner of some few Numidian horse, to doe the like in former times: Wherefore the Roman Governour, when he heard tell in the evening, that some Numidians were abroad in the fields, took it for a signe, that *Hannibal* was not as yet dislodged; and gaue order, that some companies should be sent out the next morning, to strip them of their bootie, and send them gone. But when it grew darke night, *Hannibal* guided by *Phileas*, came close to the towne: where, according to the tokens agreed vpon, making a light to shew his arrival; *Nice*, that was within the towne, answered him with another light, in signe that he was ready. Presently *Nice* beganne to set vpon one of the Gates, and to kill the watchmen. *Philomenus* went toward another gate: and whistling (as was his manner) called vpon the Porter, bidding him make haste, for that he had killed a great Bore, so heauy, that scarce two men could stand vnder it. So the Porter opened the wicket, and forthwith

forthwith burst two yong men, laden with the Boares, which *Hannibal* had prepared long enough, to be worthy able looking on. Whiche did portend wondrous at the largenesse of the beast, & *Phileas* was a lunt through with his Boare: *Phileas* and letting in some thirty armed men, fell vpon the watch, whom when he had slaine, he burst the gate, and so the gold of *Hannibal*; leaueing the remainder of the watch, went quickly toward the wicket place, where both parts met. Thence they were distributed by their Generall, and so into all quarters of this Citie, with Tarentines to be their guides: They were commanded to kill all the Romans, and not to hurt the Citizens. For better perswasion hereof, *Hannibal* would thinke, that when any of their friends appeared in fight, they should bid him be quiet, and of good cheare: All the towne was in uprore, and all could not but haue the matter in mind. A Roman trumpet was vnkindly sounded by a Greek in the Theatre: which helped the insuspicion, both of the Tarentines, and the Romans, who were about to spy the Towne, and of the Romans, that the Citizens were in communication. The Governour fled into the Port: and taking boat, got into the Sea, and fled in the mouth of the Hauens; whence he might easily be perceived the next morning, when all had passed. *Hannibal*, as blowing the Tarentines, came whod stand, what good affusion he bore them; imbraght bitterly against the Romans, as tyrannous oppressors, and spake what else he thought fit for the present. This done, and having gotten such booty as was to be had of the Soukiers goods in the Towne, he adressed himselfe against the Citadell, hoping that if the Garrison would fall out, he might give them such a blow, as should make them vnable to defend the place. According to his expectation, it partly did loose, when he beganne to make his approaches, the Romans in a brauery, adding two watchtowers, charge vpon him: who fell backe of purpose according to direction; sithen had deawit on as many as they could, and so farre from their strength, as they durst adventure. Then *Hannibal* a signe to his Carthaginians, who lay prepared ready for this purpose: and fiercely falling vpon the Enemy, slaine him backe with great slaughter; as fast as he could turne, to the afterwards he durst not flie forth: The Citadell stood vpon a Downland, that was plaine ground, and fortified onely with a ditch and wall against the Towne, whereunto it was ioyned by a cawley. This cawley *Hannibal* intended to lay in like for against the Citadell, to the end that the Tarentines might be able without his helpe, to keepe themselves from all danger the next. His worke in few dayes went so well forward, without impediment from the besieged, that he conceived hope of winning the Place it selfe, by taking a little more paine. Wherefore he made ready all sorts of engines, to force the place; But while he was busied in his workes, there came by sea a strong supply from Metaportum, which took away all hope of promising, & made him returne to his former counsaile. Now forasmuch as the Tarentine fleet lay within the Hauens, and could not passe forth, whilst the Romans held the Citadell, it seemed likely, that the towne would suffer want, being debayred of accustomed trade, and provisions by Sea: whilst the Roman garrison, by help of their shipping, might easily be supplied, and enabled to hold out. Against this indonuenience, it was rather wished by the Tarentines, than any way hoped, that their fleet could get out of the haven, to guard the mouth of it, and cut off all supply from the Enemy. *Hannibal* told them, that this might be done: for that their Towne standing in plaine ground, and their streets long, sure and broad, it would be no hard matter, to draw the Gallies over land, and to bring them into the Sea without. This he undertooke, and effected: wherby the Roman garrison was reduced into great necessity; though, with much patience it held out, and *Hannibal* often times otherwise busied, than his affaires required. At length, with mutual losse on both sides, the time passed: and the Roman forces growed daily stronger. *L. Fulvius Flaccus*, with *Appius Claudius*, lately chosen Consuls, prepared to besiege the great Citie of Capua. There and twenty Legions the Romans now armed. This was a great and huffie growth from the want of men, and of all necessities, wherinto the losse at Cannae had reduced them. But as full ynto these Legions, they were faine to take yong Boyes, that were under sixteen years of age, and to send Commissioners about fifty miles round, for the seeking out of such Lads as might be faine to be sold, and selling them to the wars, making yet a Law, That their yeeres should be no more than sixteen, and that they were bound by order of the Citie, should be reckoned, for their benefite, from this time, as being so young, as if they had bene of full age.

Before the Roman Armie drew neere, the Campani felt great want of victuall as if they had already been besieged. This happened partly by sloth of the Nation, partly by the great waste and spoyle, which the Romans had in fore-going yeers made vpon their grounds. They sent therefore Embassadors to *Hannibal*, desiring him to succour them ere they were closed vp, as they feared to be shortly. He gaue them comfortable words: and sent *Hanno* with an Armie to supply their wants. *Hanno* appointed them a day; against which they should be ready with all manner of carriages, to store themselves with victuall, that he would prouide. Neither did he promise more than he performed. For he caused great quantitie of graine, that had been laid vp in Cities round about, to be brought into his campe, three miles from Beneuentum. Thither at the time appointed came no more than fortie Carts or Wagons, with a few packe-horses; as if this had been enough to victuall Capua. Such was the retchlesnesse of the Campani. *Hanno* was exceeding angry hereat: and told them they were worse than very beasts; since hunger could not teach them to haue greater care. Wherefore he gaue them a longer day, against which he made prouision to store them throughly. Of all these doings word was sent to the Roman Consuls, from the Citizens of Beneuentum. Therefore *Fulvius* the Consul, taking with him such strength as he thought needfull for the service, came into Beneuentum by night, where with diligence he made inquirie into the Behaviour of the Enemy. He learned, that *Hanno* with part of his Armie was gone abroad to make prouisions; that some two thousand Wagons, with a great rabble of Carts and other Varlets lay among the Carthaginians in their campe; so that little good order was kept: all thought being set vpon a great harvest. Hereupon the Consuls bade his men prepare themselves to assaile the Enemies campe: and leaving all his impediments within Beneuentum, he marched thitherward so early in the morning, that hee was there with the first breake of day. By coming so vnexpected, he had well-neere forced the Campe on the sudden. But it was very strong and very well defended: so that the longer the fight continued, the lesse desire had *Fulvius* to lose more off his men in the attempt; seeing many of them cast away, and yet little hope of doing good. Therefore he said, that it were better to goe more leisurely and substantially to worke; to send for his fellow-Consul with the rest of their Armie; and to lye between *Hanno* and home; that neither the Campani should depart thence, nor the Carthaginians be able to relieue them. Being thus discouraging, and about to sound the retreat; hee saw, that some of his men had gotten ouer the Enemies Rampart. There was great boote; or (which was all one to the souldier) an opinion of much that might be gotten in that Campe. Wherefore some Ensigne-bearers threw their Ensignes ouer the Rampart, willing their men to fetch them out, vnlesse they would indure the shame and dishonour following such a losse. Feare of such ignominy, than which nothing could be greater, made the Souldiers aduenture so desperately; that *Fulvius*, perceiving the heat of his men, changed his purpose, and encouraged those that were somewhat backward, to follow the example of them, that had already gotten ouer the Trenches. Thus the Campe was wonne: in which were slaine aboue fixe thousand; and taken, aboue fifteen thousand, besides all the store of victualls, and carriages, with abundance of bootie, that *Hanno* had lately gotten from the Roman Confederates. This misaduenture, and the neerer approach of both the Consuls, made them of Capua send a pittifull Embassage to *Hannibal*: putting him in minde of all the loue, that he was wont to protest vnto their Citie, and how he had made shew, to affect it no lesse than Carthage. But now, they said, it would be lost, as Arpi was lately, if he gaue not strong and speedy succour. *Hannibal* answered with comfortable words: and sent away two thousand horse, to keep their grounds from spoile, whilst he himselfe was detained about Tarentum, partly by hope of winning the Citadell, partly by the disposition, which he saw in many townes adioyning, to yeeld vnto him. Among the hostages of the Tarentines, that lately had fled out of Rome, and being ouer-taken, suffered death for their attempt; were some of the Metapontines, and other cities of the Greeks, inhabiting that Easterne part of Italy, which was called of old *Magna Graecia*. These people took to hart the death of their hostages, and thought the punishment greater than the offence. Wherefore the Metapontines, as soon as the Roman garrison was taken from them, to defend the Citadell of Tarentum, made no more adoe, but opened their gates to *Hannibal*. The Thurines would haue done the like, vpon the like reason, had not some companies lye in their

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Towne, which they feared that they should not be able to master. Neuertheless, they helped themselves by cunning: inuading to their gates *Hanno* and *Mago*, that were neere hand; against whom whilst they proffered their seruice to *Hannibal*, the Roman Capitaine, they drew him forth to fight, and recoyling from him, closed vp their gates. A little formally they vied in pretending feare, lest the Enemy should breake in together with the Romans, in saying, *Hannibal* himselfe, and sending him away by Sea; as also in consulting a small while, because perhaps many of their chiefe men were vnacquainted with the practice: whether they should yeeld to the Carthaginian, or no. But this disposition lasted not long: for they that had remoued the chiefe impediment, easily prevailed in the rest, and deliuered vp the towne to *Hanno* and *Mago*. This good successe, and hope of the like, detained *Hannibal* in those quarters, whilst the Consuls fortifying Beneuentum to secure their backs, addressed themselves vnto the siege of Capua. Many disasters befell the Romans, in the beginning of this great enterprize. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very good man of warre, that had of late been twice Consul, was slaine, either by treachery of some Lucans, that drew him into ambush, or by some Carthaginian stragglers, among whom he felt vnawares. His body, or his head, was very honourably interred, either by *Hannibal* himselfe, or for the reports agree not by the Romans, to whom *Hannibal* lent it. He was appointed to lie in Beneuentum, there to secure the backs of the Army that should besiege Capua. But his death happened in an ill time, to the great hinderance of that busines. The Volones or Slaues lately manumitted, forsook their labours, and went euery one whither he thought good, as if they had been discharged by the decease of their Leader; so that it asked some labour to seeke them out, and bring them backe into their camp. Neuertheless, the Consuls went forward with their work, and drawing neer to Capua, did all acts of hostility which they could. *Mago* the Carthaginian, and the citizens of Capua, gaue them an hard welcome, wherein aboue fifteen hundred Romans were lost. Neither was it long ere *Hannibal* came thither, who fought with the Consuls, and had the better; insomuch that he caused them to dislodge. They remoued by night, and went severall waies: *Fulvius* towards Cannae, *Claudius* into Lucania. *Hannibal* followed after *Claudius*, who hauing led him a great walke; fetcht a piteous labour, and returned to Capua. It so fell out, that one *Marcus Centenius Penula*, stout man, and one that with good commendations had discharged the place of a Centurion, lay with an Army not far from thence, where *Hannibal* rested, when he was weary of hunting after *Claudius*. This *Penula* had made great vaunts to the Roman Senate, of wonders which he would worke, if he might be trusted with the leading of five thousand men. The Fathers were vnwilling in such a time, to reiect the vertue of any good Souldier, how meane soeuer his condition were. Wherefore they gaue him the charge of eight thousand: and he himselfe being a proper man, and talking brauely, gathered vp so many voluntaries, as almost doubled his number. But meeting thus with *Hannibal*, he gaue proofe of the difference, between a stout Centurion, and one able to command in chiefe. He and his fellowes were all (in a manner) slaine, scarce a thousand of them escaping. Soone after this, *Hannibal* had word, that *Cneus Fulvius*, a Roman Pretor with eighteen thousand men, was in Apulia, very careless, and a man insufficient for the charge which he held. Thither therefore he hastened to visit him: hoping to deale the better with the maine strength of Rome, which pointed at Capua, when he should haue cut off those forces, that lay in the Prouinces about, vnder men of small ability. Coming vpon *Fulvius*, he found him and his men so jolly, that needs they would haue fought the first night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what would happen the day following. So he bestowed *Mago* with three thousand of his lightest armed, in places thereabout most fit for ambush. Then offering battell to *Fulvius*, hee soone had him in the trap: whence he made him glad to escape aliuie; leaving all, save two thousand of his followers, dead behind him.

These two great blowes, receiued the one presently after the other, much astonished the Romans. Neuertheless, all care was taken, to gather vp the small reliques of the broken Armies: and that the Consuls should goe substantially forwards with the siege of Capua; which was of great consequence, both in matter of reputation, and in many other respects. The two Consuls sat down before the towne, and *C. Claudius Nero*, one of the Pretors, came with his Army from *Succella* to their assistance. They made Proclamation, That whosoever would issue out of Capua before a certain day prefixed, should

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haue his pardon, and be suffered to inioy all that vnto him belonged: which day being past, there should be no grace expected. This offer was conuincitiously reiected, the Capuans relying on their owne strength, and the succours attended from *Hannibal*. Before the City was closed vp, they sent Messengers to the Carthaginian; which found him at Brundisium. He had made a long iourney, in hope of gaining the Tarentine Citadell: of which expectation failing, he turned to Brundisium, vpon aduertisement that he should be let in. Thiere the Capuans met him, told him of their danger with earnest words; and were with words but brately re-comforted. He bade them consider, how a few dayes since he had chased the Consuls out of their fields; and told them, that he would presently come thither again, and send the Romans going, as fast as before. With this good answer the Messengers returned, and hardly could get backe into the City; which the Romans had almost intrenched round. As for *Hannibal* himselfe, he was of opinion, that Capua, being very wel manned, and heartily deuoted vnto his friendship, would hold out a long time, and thereby giue him leisure, to doe what he thought requisite among the Tarentines, and in those Easterne parts of Italy; whilst the Roman Army spent ittselfe in a tedious siege. Thus he lingered, and thereby gaue the Consuls time, both to fortifie themselves at Capua, & to dispatch the election of new Magistrates in Rome; whilst he him selfe pursued hopes, that neuer found successe.

*Claudius* and *Fulvius*, when their terme of office was expired, were appointed to continue the siege at Capua; retaining the same Armies as Proconsuls. The towne-men often sallied out; rather in a brauery, than likelihood to vvorke any matter of effect; the Enemy lying close within his Trenches, as intending, without other violence, to subdue them by famine. Yet against the Campan hoise (for their foot was easily beaten) the Romans vsed to thrust out some troupes, that should hold them skitish. In these exercises the Campans vsually had the better, to the great griefe of their proud Enemy, who scorned to take foile at the hands of such Rebels. It was therefore deuised, that some active and couragious young men, should learne to ride behind the Roman men at armes, leaping vp, and against dismounting lightly, as occasion serued. These were furnished like the Velites, hauing each of them three or foure small darts: which, alighting in time of conflict, they discharged thicke vpon the Enemys hoise; whom vanquishing in this kinde of seruice, they much disheartened in the maine. The time thus passing, and famine daily increasing within the City, *Hannibal* came at length, not expected by the Romans: and taking a Fort of theirs, called Galaria, fell vpon their Campe. At the same time the Capuans issued with their whole power, in as terrible manner as they could deuise: setting all their multitude of vnseruiceable people on the wals, which with a loud noyse of Pans and Bassons, troubled those that were occupied in fight. *Appius Claudius* opposing himselfe to the Campans, easily defended his Trenches against them; & so wel repressed them, that he draue them at length backe into their City. Neuertheles, in pursuing them to their gates, He received a wound, that accompanied him in short space after to his graue. *Q. Fulvius* was held harder to his taske, by *Hannibal* and the Carthaginian army. The Roman camp was euen at point to haue bin lost; and *Hannibal* his Elephanes, of which he brought three & thirty, were either gotten within the rampart, or else (for the report varies) being some of them slaine vpon it, fell into the ditch, & filled it vp in such sort, that their bodies serued as a bridge vnto the Assaults. It is said, that *Hannibal* in this tumult caused some fugitiues, that could speake Latine wel, to proclaim aloud, as it were in the Consuls name, That euery one of the Souldiers should shift for himselfe, and flie betimes vnto the next hills, forasmuch as the Camp was already lost. But all would not serue. The fraud was detected: and the Army, hauing sitten there so long, had at good leisure strongly intrenched ittselfe, so as little hope there was to raise the siege by force.

This did extremely perplex the Carthaginian. The purchase of Capua had (as was thought) withheld him from taking Rome ittselfe: & now his desire of winning the Tarentine Citadell, had wel-neer lost Capua; in respect of which, neither the Citadell, nor the City of Tarentum, were to haue bin much regarded. Falling therefore into a desperate anger with himselfe and his hard fortune, that of so many great victories he had made no greater vfe: on the sudden he entertained an haughty resolution, euen to set vpon Rome; and carry to the walls of that proud City, the danger of waire that threatened Capua. This he thought would be a meane, to draw the Roman Generals, or

one of them at least, vnto the defence of their owne home. If they rose from the siege with their whole Army, then had he his desire: If they diuided their forces, then was it likely, that either he, or the Campans, should well enough deale with them apart. Neither did he despair, that the terror of his coming might so astonish the multitude within Rome, as he might enter some part or other of the City. His onely feare was, lest the Campans, being ignorant of his purpose, should thinke he had forsaken them; and thereupon forthwith yeeld themselves to the Enemy. To prevent this danger, he sent letters to Capua by a subtle Numidian: who running as a fugitiue into the Roman Camp, conuincit himselfe thence ouer the innermost Trenches into the Citie. The iourney to Rome, was to be performed with great celerity: no small hope of good successe, resting in the suddennesse of his arriuall there. Wherefore he caused his men, to haue in a readinesse ten dayes victuals; and prepared as many boates, as might in one night transport his Armie ouer the Riuer of Vulturius. This could not be done so closely, but that the Roman Generals by some fugitiues had notice of his purpose. With this danger chartered they acquainted the Senate; which was therewith affected, according to the diuersitie of mens opinions, in a case of such importance. Some gaue counsell to let alone Capua, yea and all places else, rather than to put the towne of Rome into perill of being taken by the enemy. Others were so farre from allowing of this, as they wondered how any man could thinke, that *Hannibal*, being vnable to relieue Capua, should iudge himselfe strong enough to winne Rome; and therefore stoutly said, That those Legions, which were kept at home for defence of the City, would serue the turne well enough, to keepe him out, and send him thence, if he were so vnwise, as to come thither. But it was finally concluded, that Letters should be sent to *Fulvius* and *Claudius*, acquainting them perfectly with the forces, that at the present were in Rome: who, since they knew best, what the strength was which *Hannibal* could bring along with him, were best able to iudge, what was needfull to oppose him. So it was referred vnto the discretion of these Generals at Capua, to do as they thought behouefull: & if it might conueniently be, neither to raise their siege, nor yet to put the city of Rome into much aduerture. According to this Decree of the Senate, *Q. Fulvius* took fifteen thousand foot, and a thousand horse, the choise of his whole Army: with which he hastened toward Rome, leauing *App. Claudius*, who could not trauell by reason of his wound, to continue the siege at Capua.

*Hannibal*, hauing passed ouer Vulturius, burnt vp all his boats; and left nothing that might transport the Enemy, in case he should offer to pursue or coast him. Then hastened he away toward Rome, staying no longer in any one place, than he needs must. Yet found he the Bridges ouer Liris broken down, by the people of Fregellæ: which as it stopped him a little on his vway; so it made him the more grieuouly to spoyle their lands, whilst the Bridges were in mending. The nearer that he drew to Rome, the greater wast he made: his Numidians running before him; druing the Countrey, and killing or taking multitudes of all sorts and ages, that fled out of all parts round about. The messengers of these newes came apace, one after another into the Citie, some few bringing true aduertisements; but the most of them reporting the conceits of their own feare. All the streets, and Temples in Rome, were pestered with women, crying, and praying, and rubbing the Altars with their haire, because they could doe none other good. The Senators were all in the great market, or place of Assembly; ready to giue their aduice, if it were asked, or to take directions giuen by the Magistrates. All places of most importance were stuffed with souldiers: it being vncertaine, vpon vvhich part *Hannibal* would fall. In the midst of this trepidation, there came news that *Quintus Fulvius*, with part of the Army from Capua, was hastening to the defence of the city. The Office of a Proconsul did expire, at his returne home, and entry into the Gates of Rome. Wherefore, that *Fulvius* might lose nothing by coming into the city in time of such need, an Act was passed, That he should haue equall power with the Consuls during his abode there. He and *Hannibal* arriued at Rome, one soone after another: *Fulvius* hauing been long held occupied in passing ouer Vulturius, and *Hannibal* receiving impediment in his iourney, as much as the Countrey was able to giue. The Consuls, and *Fulvius*, incamped without the Gates of Rome, attending the Carthaginian. Thither they called the Senate: and as the danger grew nearer and greater, so took they more carefull and especiall order against all occurrences. *Hannibal* came to the Riuer Anio, or Anien, three miles from the Towne; whence he aduanced with two thousand horse,

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and rode along a great way vnder the walls, viewing the site thereof, and considering how he might best approach it. But he either went, or (as the Roman Story saith) was driven away, without doing or receiving any hurt. Many tumults rose in this while among the people; but were suppressed by care and diligence of the Senators. Above the rest one accident was both troublesome, and not without perill. Of Numidians that had shifted side, and fallen (upon some displeasures) from Hannibal to the Romans, there were some twelve hundred then in Rome: which were appointed by the Consuls, to passe through the Towne, from the Mount Auentine to the Gate Collina, where it was thought that their service might be usefull, among broken wayes, and Garden walls lying in the suburbs. The faces of these men, and their furniture, wherein they differed to not from the followers of Hannibal, bred such mistaking, as caused a great uproare, among the people: all crying out, that Auentine was taken, and the enemy gotten within the walls. The noyse was such, that men could not be informed of the truth: and the streets were so full of cartell, and husbandmen, which were fled thither out of the Villages adjoining, that the passage was stopp'd vp: and the poore Numidians piteously beaten from the house toppes, with stones and other weapons that came next to hand, by the desperate multitude, that would haue run out at the gates, had it not been certaine who lay vnder the walls. To remedy the like inconueniences, it was ordained, That all which had bene Dictators, Consuls, or Censors, should haue authority as Magistrates, till the Enemy departed. The day following Hannibal passed ouer Anien, and presented battle to the Romans, who did not wisely if they vndertook it. It is said, that a terrible shewre of raine, caused both Romans and Carthaginians to returne into their severall Camps: and that this happened two dayes together, the weather breaking vp & clearing as soone as they were departed asunder: certain it is, that Hannibal, who had brought along with him no more than ten dayes provision, could not indure to stay there, vntill his victuals were all spent. In which regard the Romans, if they suffered him to waite his time and provisions, knowing that he could not abide there long, did as became well aduised men: if they offered to fight with him, and either had the better, or were parted (as is said) by some accident of weather, the commendations must be giuen to their fortune. The terror of Hannibals coming to the City, how great soeuer it was at the first, yet after some leisure, and better notice taken of their forces, which appeared lesse than the first apprehension had formed them, was much and soone abated. Hereunto it helped well, that at the same time, the supply appointed for Spain, after the death of the two Scipio's, was sent out of the town, & went forth at the gate, whilst one Carthaginian lay before another. In all *Punic terrors*, as they are called, whereof there is either no cause knowne, or no cause answerable to the greatness of the sudden consternation: it is a good remedy to doe somewhat quite contrary to that which the danger would require, were it such as men haue fashioned it in their amazed conceits. Thus did Alexander cause his souldiers to disarm themselves, when they were all on a sudden in a great feare of they wist not what. And thus did Clearchus pacifie a foolish uproare in his Army, by proclaiming a reward vnto him, that could tell who had sent the Asse into the camp. But in this present example of the Romans, appears withall a great magnanimity: whereby they sustained their reputation, & augmented it no lesse, than by this bold attempt of Hannibal it might seeme to haue bin diminished. Neither could they more finely haue checked the glorious conceits of their enemies, and taken away the disgrace of that feare, which clouded their valour at this first coming: than by making such demonstrations, when once they had recovered spirit, how little they esteemed him. To this purpose therefore that very piece of ground, on which the Carthaginian lay incamped, was sold in Rome: and sold it was nothing vnder the value, but at as good a rate, as if it had bin in time of peace. This indignity comming to his eare, incensed Hannibal so much, that he made port-fale of the Siluer-smiths shoppes, which were neer about the Market or Common place in Rome, as if his owne title to the houses within the Town were no whit worse, than any Roman Citizens could be vnto that piece of ground, vvhich he raised his Tent. But this counter-practise was nothing vorth. The Romans did seeke to manifest that assurance, which they iustly had conceiued, Hannibal, to make shew of continuing in an hope, which was already past. His victuals were almost spent: and of those ends, that he had proposed vnto himself, this iourney had brought forth none other, than the same of his much daring. Wherefore he brake vp his Campe: and doing what

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spoil he could in the Roman Territories, without sparing religious places, wherein wealth was to be gotten, he passed like a tempest ouer the Country, and ran toward the Easterne Sea so fast, that he had almost taken the Citie of Rhegium before his arrival was feared or suspected. As for Capua, he gaue it to strand is likely to haue cursed the whole faction of Hannu, which thus disabled him to relieve that faire Citie, since he had no other way to vent his griefe.

2. Fulvius returning backe to Capua, made Proclamation anew, that who so would yeeld, before a certaine day, might safely doe it. This, and the very returne of Fulvius, without any more appearance of Hannibal, gaue the Capuans to vnderstand, that they were abandoned, and their case desperate. To trust the Roman pardon proclaimed, euery mans conscience of his owne euill deserts, told him, that it was a vanity: and some faint hope was giuen, by Hanno and Belsar, Captaines of the Carthaginian Garrison within the Towne, that Hannibal should come againe; if meanes could onely be found, how to conuey such Letters vnto him, as they would write. The carriage of the Letters was vnderaken, by some Numidians: who running, as fugitiues, out of the Towne into the Roman camp, waited fit opportunity to make an escape thence with their packets. But it hapned ere they could conueigh themselves away, that one of them was detected by an harlot following him out of the Towne; and the Letters of Belsar and Hanno were taken and opened, containing a vehement intreatie vnto Hannibal, that he would not thus forsake the Capuans and them. For (said they) we came not hither to make warre against Rhegium & Tarentum, but against the Romans: whose Legions whetsoeuer they lye, there also should the Carthaginian Armie be ready to attend them; and by taking of such course, haue we gotten those victories at Trebia, Thrasymene, and Cannae. In fine, they besought him, that he would not dishonour himselfe, and betray them to their enemies, by turning another way; as if it were his onely care, that the Citie should not be taken in his full view: promising to make a desperate fall, if he would once more adventure to set vpon the Roman Campe. Such were the hopes of Belsar and his fellow.

But Hannibal had already done his best: and now beganne to faint vnder the burden of that warre, wherein (as afterward he protested) he was vanquished by Hannibal and his Partisans in the Carthaginian Senate, rather than by any force of Rome. It may well be, as a thing incident in like cases, that some of those which were besieged in Capua, had bin sent ouer by the Hannonians, to obserue the doings of Hannibal, and to checke his proceedings. If this were so, iustly might they curse their owne malice, which had cast them into this remediless necessitie. Howsoeuer it were, the Letters directed vnto Hannibal, fell (as is shewed) into the Roman Proconsuls hands; who cutting off the hands of all such counterfeited fugitiues, as carried such messages, whipt them backe into the Town. This miserable spectacle brake the hearts of the Campans, so that the multitude crying out vpon the Senate, with menacing termes, caused them to assemble, and consult, about the yeelding vp of Capua vnto the Romans. The brauest of the Senators, and such as a few years since had been most forward in ioyning with Hannibal, vnderstood well enough wherunto the matter tended. Wherefore one of them invited the rest home to supper: telling them, that when they had made good cheate, he would drinke to them such an health, as should set them free from that cruell reuenge, which the Enemies sought vpon their bodies. About seuen and twenty of the Senators there were, that liking well of this motion, ended their liues together, by drinking poyson. All the rest hoping for more mercy than they had deserved, yeelded simply to discretion. So one of the Town-gates was set open, whereat a Roman Legion with some other companies, entring, disarmed the Citizens; apprehended the Carthaginian garrison; & commanded all the Senators of Capua to goe forth into the Roman campe: at their coming thither, the Proconsuls laid yrons vpon them all; and commanding them to tell what store of gold and siluer they had at home, sent them into safe custodie; some to Cales, others to Theanum. Touching the general multitude, they were referred vnto the discretion of the Senate: yet so hardly vied by Fulvius in the meane while, that they had little cause of hope or comfort in this aduersity. Ap. Glandius was brought euen to the point of death, by the wound which he had lately received: yet was he not inexorable to the Campans; as hauing loued them well in former times, & hauing giuen his daughter in marriage to that Pacinnus, of whom we spake before. But this facility

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of his Colleague, made *Fulvius* the more hasty in taking vengeance: for feare, lest upon the like respects, the Roman Senate might proceed more gently, than he thought becomfull to the common safety, and honour of their State. Wherefore he took the paines, to ride by night vnto Theanum, & from thence to Cales: where he caused all the Campan prisoners to suffer death, binding them to stakes, and scourging them first a good while with rods, after which he struck off their heads.

This terrible example of vengeance, which the Carthaginians could not hinder, made all to wnes of Italy the lesse apt to follow the vaine hope of the Campans; & bred a general inclination, to return vpon good conditions to the Roman side. The Atellans, Calatines, & Sabatines, people of the Campans, that in the former change had followed the fortune of Capua, made also now the like submission, for very feare, & want of ability to resist. They were therefore vsed with the like rigour, by *Fulvius*: who dealt so extremely with them all, that he brought them into desperation. Wherefore some of their yong Gentlemen, burning with fire of reuenge, got into Rome: where they found means by night-time, to set on fire so many houses, that a great part of the city was like to haue bin consumed. The beginning of the fire in diuers places at once, argued that it was no casualtie. Where re liberty was proclaimed vnto any slaue, and other sufficient reward to any free man, that should discouer who those Incendiaries were. Thus all came out; and the Campans being detected by a slaue of their own (to whom, about his liberty promised, was giuen about the sum of an hundred markes) had the punishment answerable to their defects. *Fulvius* hereby being more & more incensed against this wretched people, held them in a manner as prisoners within their wals: and this extreme severity caused them at length to become Suppliants vnto the Roman Senate; that some period might be set vnto their miseries. That whereupon the Senators resolved in the end, was worse than all that which they had suffered before. Onely two poor women in Capua (of which once had been an harlot) were found not guilty of the late rebellion. The rest were, some of them, with their wiues and children sold for slaues, and their goods confiscated; others laid in prison, and referred to further deliberation: but the generality of them, commanded to depart out of Campania by a certaine day, and confined vnto seuerall places, as best liked the angry victors. As for the town of Capua, it was suffered to stand, in regard of the beauty and commodious site: but no corporation or forme of politic, was allowed to be therein; onely a Roman Prouost was euery yeer sent to gouerne ouer those that should inhabit it, and to doe iustice. This was the greatest act, and most important, hitherto done by the people of Rome, after many great losses in the present warre. After this, the glory of *Hannibal* began to shine with a more dimme light, than before: his oile being farre spent; and that which should haue reuiued his flame, being vnf Fortunately shed; as shall be told in place conuenient.

## §. XV.

*How the Carthaginians, making a partie in Sardinia and Sicill, held warre against the Romans in those Islands, and were overcome.*

**W**Hilst things passed thus in Italy, the commotions raised in Sardinia & Sicill by the Carthaginians & their friends, were brought to a quiet & happy end by the industrious valour of the Romans. The Sardinian rebellion was great & sudden: about thirty thousand being vp in armes, ere the Roman forces could arrive there to suppress it. One *Hariscoras* with his son *Hyosius*, mighty men in that Island, were the Ring-leaders; being incited by *Hanno* a Carthaginian, that promised the assistance of his country. Neither were the Carthaginians in this enterprife so carelesse, as in the rest of their maine undertakings, about the same time. Yet it had been better, if their care had bin directed vnto the prosecution of that maine businesse in Italy; whereon this and all other hopes depended. For it would haue sufficed, if they could haue hindered the Romans from sending an Army into Sardinia. *Hariscoras* with his followers might well enough haue serued to driue out *Quintus Marcius* the Prætor: who lay sicke in the Prouince; and not more weake in his owne body, than in his traine. But whilst they sought reuenge of that particular iniurie, whereof the sense was most grievous; they neglected the opportunity of requiting those that had done them wrong, and of the securing themselves from all iniuries in the future. Their fortune also in this enterprife

enterprife was such; as may seeme to haue encouraged them from being at the like charge, in cases of more importance. For whereas they sent ouer *Asdrubal*, surnamed, *the Bold*, with a competent fleet and armie, assisted in this expedition by *Hanno* the Author of the rebellion, and by *Marga* a Gentleman of the Barchine house, and neere kinsman to *Hannibal*: it so fell out, that the whole fleet by extremity of foule weather, was cast vpon the Baleares: so beaten and in such euill plight, that the Sardinians had euen spent their hearts, and were in a manner quite vanquished, ere these their friends could arrive to succour them.

*Titus Manlius* was sent from Rome with two and twenty thousand foot, and twelue hundred horse, to settle the estate of that Island, which he had taken in, and annexed vnto the Roman dominion, long before this, in his Consulship. It was a laudable custome of the Romans, to preserve and vp-hold in their feuerall Prouinces, the greatnesse and reputation of those men, and their families, by whom each Prouince had bene first subdued vnto their Empire. If any iniurie were done vnto the Prouincials; if any grace were to be obtained from the Senate; or whatsoeuer accident required the assistance of a Patron: the first Considerour, and his race after him, were the most readie and best approved means, to procure the benefit of the people subdued. Hereby the Romans held very close Intelligence, in euery Prouince, and had alwayes in readinesse fit men to reclaim their Subiects, if they fell into any such disorder, as would otherwise haue required a greater charge and trouble. The coming of *Manlius*, retayned in obedience all that were not already broken too farre out. Yet was *Hariscoras* so strong in field, that *Manlius* was compelled to arme his Mariners: without whom he could not haue made vp that number of two and twenty thousand, whereof we haue spoken before: he landed at Calaris or Carallis, where mooring his ships, he passed vp into the Countrey, and sought out the Enemy. *Hyosius*, the sonne of *Hariscoras*, had then the command of the Sardinian Army left vnto him by his father, who was gone abroad into the Countrey, to draw in more friends to their side. This young Gentleman would needs aduenture to get honour, by giuing battell to the Romans at his owne discretion. So he rashly aduentured to fight with an old Souldier: by whom hee received a terrible ouerthrow; and lost in one day about thirtie thousand of his followers. *Hyosius* himselfe, with the rest of his broken troups, got into Cornus, the chiefe Towne of the Island: whither *Manlius* pursued them. Very soone after this defeat came *Asdrubal* with his Carthaginians: too late to winne all Sardinia in such haste as he might haue done, if the tempest had not hindered his voyage; yet soone enough, and strong enough to saue the Towne of Cornus, and to put a new spirit into the Rebels. *Manlius* hereupon withdrew himselfe backe to Calaris: where he had not stayed long, ere the Sardinians (such of them as adhered to the Roman party) craved his assistance; their Countrey being wasted by the Carthaginians, and the Rebels, with whom they had refused to ioyne. This drew *Manlius* forth of Calaris: where if hee had stayed a little longer, *Asdrubal* would haue sought him out with some blemish to his reputation. But the fame of *Asdrubal* and his company, appears to haue bin greater than was their strength. For after some triall made of them in a few skirmishes, *Manlius* aduentured all to the hazard of a battaile; wherein he slew twelue thousand of the enemies; and tooke of the Sardinians and Carthaginians, three thousand. Foure houres the battell lasted; and victory at length fell to the Romans, by the sight of the Islanders, whose courages had bene broken in their vnprosperous fight, not many dayes before. The death of yong *Hyosius*, and of his father *Hariscoras*, that slew himselfe for griefe, together with the captiuitie of *Asdrubal* himselfe, with *Maga* and *Hanno* the Carthaginians, made the victory the more famous. The vanquished Armie fled into Cornus; whither *Manlius* followed them, and in short space wonne the Towne. All other Cities of the Isle that had rebelled, followed the example of *Cornus*, and yielded vnto the Roman; who imposing vpon them such increase of tribute, or other punishment, as best suited with the nature of their feuerall offences, or their ability to pay, returned back to Calaris with a great bootie, and from thence to Rome, leauing Sardinia in quiet.

The warre in Sicill was of greater length, and euery way more burdnesome to Rome: as also the victorie brought more honour and profit, for that the Romans became thereby, not onely sauers of their owne, as in Sardinia; but Lords of the whole Countrey, by annexing the City and dominion of Syracuse, to that which they enjoyed before. Soone after

after the battell of Cannæ, the old king of Syracuse died; who had continued long a steadfast friend vnto the Romans, and greatly relieued them in this present warre. He left his kingdome to *Hieronymus* his grand-child, that was about fifteene yeeres of age; *Gelo* his sonne, that should haue bin his heire, being dead before. To this young King his successour, *Hiero* appointed fifteene tutors: of which the principall were *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and *Themistius*, who had married his daughters, or the daughters of *Gelo*. The rest were such, as he iudged most likely to preferue the kingdome, by the same art, whereby himselfe had gotten and so long kept it. But within a litle while, *Andronodorus* waxing wearie of so many coadiutors, began to commend the sufficiency of the young Prince, as extraordinary in one of his yeeres; and said, that he was able to rule the kingdome without help of any Protector. Thus by giuing ouer his owne charge, he caused others to do the like: hoping thereby to get the king wholly into his hands, which came to passe, in a sort, as he desired. For *Hieronymus*, laying aside all care of gouernment, gaue himselfe wholly ouer to his pleasures: or if he had any regard of his Royall dignitie, it was onely in matter of exterior shew, as wearing a Diadem with ornaments of purple, and being attended by an armed guard. Hereby hee offended the eyes of his people, that had neuer seene the like in *Hiero*, or in *Gelo* his sonne. But much more hee offended them, when by his insolent behauiour, suitable to his outward pompe, he gaue prooffe, that in course of life, he would reuiue the memory of Tyrants dead long since, from whom he tooke the pattered of his habit. He grew proud, lustfull, cruell, and dangerous to all that were about him: so that such of his late tutors as could escape him by flight, were glad to liue in banishment: the rest, being most of them put to death by the Tyrant; many of them dying by their owne hands, to auoide the danger of his displeasure, that seemed worse than death it selfe. Onely *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and one *Thraso* continued in grace with him, and were his Counsaillers, but not of his Cabinet. These, howsoeuer they agreed in other points, were at some dissension about the maine point of adhering, either to the Romans, or to the Carthaginians. The two former of them, were wholly for the Kings pleasures, which was set on change: but *Thraso*, hauing more regard of his honour and profit, was very earnest to continue the amitie with Rome. Whilst as yet it remained somewhat doubtfull, which way the King would incline: a conspiracie against his person, was detected by a Groom of his; to whom *one Theodorus* had broken the matter. *Theodorus* hereupon was apprehended, and tormented; ther-by to wring out of him the whole practice, and the names of the vnder-takers. Long it was ere he would speake any thing: but yeelding (as it seemed) in the end, vnto the extremities of the torture; he confessed, that he had bene set on by *Thraso*; whom he appeached of the treason, together with many more, that were neere in loue or place vnto *Hieronymus*. All these therefore were put to death, being innocent of the crime wherewith they were charged. But they that were indeed the Conspirators, walked boldly in the streetes, and neuer shrunke for the matter: assuring themselves, that the resolution of *Theodorus* would yeeld to no extremities. Thus they all escaped, and soone after found meanes to execute their purpose. The King himselfe, when *Thraso* was taken out of the way, quickly resolved vpon siding with the Carthaginians, whereto he was very inclinable before. Young men, when first they grow Masters of themselves, loue to seeme wiser than their fathers, by taking different courses. And the liberality of *Hiero* to the Romans, in their great necessitie, had of late been such, as might haue bene termed excelliue, were it not in regard of his prouidence; wherein he tooke order for his owne Estate, that depended vpon theirs. But the young Nephew, taking litle heed of dangers farre off, regarded onely the things present; the weaknesse of Rome, the preualent fortunes of Carthage, and the much money that his grand-father had layed out in vaine, to shoulder vp a falling house. Wherefore he dealt with *Hannibal*: who readily entred into good correspondence with him; that was maintained by *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, Carthaginians borne, but grand-children of a banished Syracusan. These grew into such fauour with *Hieronymus*, that they drew him whither they listed. So that when *App. Claudius* the Roman Pretor, hearing what was towards, made a motion of renewing the Confederacie, betweene the people of Rome, and the King of Syracuse; his Messengers were dismissed with an open scoffe. For *Hieronymus* would needs haue them tell him the order of the fight at Cannæ, that he might thereby learne how to accomodate himselfe, saying, That he could hardly beleue the Carthaginians;

so wonderfull was the victory as they reported it. Having thus dismissed the Romans, he sent Embassadors to Carthage, where he concluded a league: with condition, at first, that a great part of the Island should be annexed to his Dominion; but afterward, that he should reigne ouer all Sicily; and the Carthaginians rest satisfied, with what they could get in Italy. At these doings *Appius Claudius* did not greatly stirre: partly for the indignities that were offered; partly for that it behoued not the Romans, to entertaine more quarrells, than were enforced vpon them by necessity; and partly (as may seeme) for that the reputation, both of himselfe, and of his Citie, had receiued such blemish, by that which hapned vnto him in his iourney, as much discouraged him when hee came into Sicily, and forbade him to looke bigger. The money that *Hiero* had bestowed formerly vpon the Romans, wherewith to relieue them in their necessitie, this *Appius* was to carry backe vnto him: it being refused by the Roman Senate, with greater brauerie than their present fortune would allow. But in stead of returning the money with thanks, as he had bin directed, and as it had bin noised abroad that he should doe: the warre against *Philip* King of Macedon (wherof we haue spoken before) compelled the Romans to lay aside their vaine-glorie, and send word after him, that he should consigne that money ouer to *Marcus Valerius*; of whose voyage into Greece, the City had not otherwise wherewith to beare the charge. This was done accordingly, and hereby *Claudius* (which name in the whole continuance of that Familie, is taxed with pride) his crime was changed, from a glorious ostentation of the Roman magnanimity, into such a pitifull tune of thank-giuing, as must needs haue bred sorrow and commiseration, in so true a friend as *Hiero*; or, if it were deliuered after his death, matter of pastime and scorn, in *Hieronymus* the new King.

But whilst *Hieronymus* was more desirous of warre, than well resolved how to begin it: his owne death changed the forme of things, and bred a great inuolution in the state of Syracuse; which thereby might haue prospered more than euer, had it bene wisely gouerned. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, of whom we spake before, were sent about the Countrey with two thousand men, to sollicite the Townes, and perswade them to shake off their obedience to the Romans. The King himselfe with an Armie of fifteene thousand horse and foot, went to Leontium, a City of his owne Dominion: hoping that the fame of his preparation, would make the whole Island fall to him in all haste, and accept him for Soueraigne. There the Conspirators took him on the sudden as he was passing through a narrow street: and rushing betweene him and his guard, strooke him dead. Forthwith liberty was proclaimed: and the found of that word so ioyfully answered by the Leontines, that the guard of *Hieronymus*, had litle courage to reuenge their Masters death. Yet for feare of the worst, a great largesse was promised vnto the Souldiers; with rewards vnto their Captaines; which wrought so effectually, that when many wicked acts of the murdered King were reckoned vp, the Army, as in detestation of his bad life, suffered his carcasse to lie vnburi'd. These newes ranne quickly to Syracuse: whither some of the Conspirators, taking also of the Kings horses, posted away; to signifie all that had passed, to stirre vp the people to libertie, and to prevent *Andronodorus*, if he or his fellowes would make offer to vsurpe a tyranny. The Syracusians hereupon presently tooke Armes, and made themselves masters of their owne Citie. *Andronodorus* on the other side fortified the Palace, and the Island: being yet vncertaine what to doe; between desire of making himselfe a soueraigne Lord, and feare of suffering punishment, as a Tyrant, if his enterprise mis-carried. His wife *Demarata*, that was the daughter of *Hiero*, cherished him in his hopes: putting him in minde of that wel-knowne Prouerbe, which *Dionysius* had vsed; That a Tyrant should keepe his place, still bee were halod out of it by the heeles, and not ride away from it on horse-backe. But feare, and better counsaile preuailed so farre, that *Andronodorus*, hauing relied vpon the matter, dissembled his affections, and deferred his hope vnto better opportunity. The next day he came forth; and made a speech vnto the people: telling them, that he was glad to see, how prudently they behaued themselves in so great a change; that he had stood in feare, lest they would not haue contained themselves within the bounds of discretion; but rather haue sought to murder all without difference, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; and that since he beheld their orderly proceeding, and their care, not to rauish their liberty perforce, but to wed it vnto them for euer, he was willingly come to them forth of his strength, and surrendered vp the charge committed vnto him, by one that had bin an

euill matter both to him and them. Hereupon great ioy was made, and Pretors chosen (as in former times) to gouerne the Citie of which *Andronodorus* was one, and the chiefe. But such was his desire of Soueraigntie, and so vehement were the instigations of his wife, that shortly he began to practise with *Hippocrates*, *Epicles*, and other Captaines of the Mercenaries; hoping to make himselfe strong by their help, that were least pleased with the change. *Hippocrates* and *Epicles* had bene with the Syracusan Pretors, and told them, that being sent from *Hannibal* to *Hieronymus*, they, according to instructions of their Captaine, had done him, whilst he liued, what seruice they could; and that now they were desirous to returne home. They requested therefore that they might be friendly dismissed; and with a conuoy, that might keepe them from falling into the hands of the Romans, and set them safe at Locri. This was easily granted; both for that the Syracusan Magistrats were well contented to earne thanks of *Hannibal*, with such a little courtisie; and for that they thought it expedient, to rid their Towne quickly of this troublesome couple, which were good souldiers, and gracious with the Army, but otherwise lewd men. It was not the desire of these two Scitilians, to be gone so hastily as they made them; they were more mindefull of the businesse, for which *Hannibal* had sent them. Wherefore they insinuated themselves into the bosomes of such as were most likely to fill the Army with tumult, especially of the Roman fugitiues, and those that had cause to mistrust what should become of themselves, when the Romans and Syracusians were come to agreement. Such instruments as these, *Andronodorus* had great need of: as also of many other, to helpe him in his dangerous attempt. He found *Themistius*, that had married *Harmonia* the sister of *Hieronymus*, ready to take his part; as being carried with the like passions of his owne, and of his wife. But in seeking to increase the number of his adherents, he reuealed the matter to one, that reuealed all to the rest of the Pretors. Hereupon it followed, that he, and *Themistius*, entering into the Senate, were slaine out of hand: and afterward accused to the People, of all the euill which they had done, whilst *Hieronymus* liued, as by his authoritie; and now since attempted, in seeking to vsurp the tyranny themselves. It was also declared, that the daughters of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were accessory to this dangerous treason: and that the vnquiet spirits of these women would neuer cease to worke, vntill they had recovered those royall ornaments and Soueraigne power, whereof their family was now dispossessed. These daughters therefore of *Hiero* & *Gelo* were also condemned to die; and executioners presently sent by the enraged people, to take away their liues. *Demarata* and *Harmonia* had perhaps deserued this heauy sentence: but *Heraclis*, the daughter of *Hiero*, and wife of *Sossippus*, being altogether innocent, was murdered, together with her two young daughters, in the hastie execution of this rash iudgement. Her husband *Sossippus* was a loue of the Common-wealth; and in that respect so hated by *Hieronymus*, that being sent Embassador to king *Ptolomie*, &c. he durst not returne home, but stayed in Egypt as a banished man. This consideration, when it was too late, together with some pitifull accidents accompanying the slaughter, so affected the multitude; that (pardoning themselves) all cryed out vpon the authors of so foule butchery. Being thus incensed against the Senate; and knowing not otherwise how to satisfie their anger, they called for an election of new Pretors, in the roome of *Andronodorus* and *Themistius*, that were lately slaine: meaning to substitute such in their places, as the Senators should haue little cause to like. At the election were present a great rowt, not onely of the poorer Citizens, but of souldiers that pressed into the throng. One of these, named *Epicles* Pretor; another named *Hippocrates*: and the lesse that the old Pretors and Senarors approved this nomination, the more eager was the multitude; and by a generall cry forced them to be accepted. These being made Pretors, did what they could to hinder the agreement that was in hand, betweene the Syracusians and the Romans. But hauing striven in vaine, and seeing that the People stood in feare of *Ap. Claudius*, and of *Marcellus*, so that was lately come into Sicily, they gaue way vnto the time, and suffered the old league of *Hiero* to be reconfirmed, which afterward they purposed to dissolve by practise. The Leontines had some need of a garrison; and to them was sent *Hippocrates* the Pretor, attended by such fugitiues, & mercenary souldiers, as were most burdensome to Syracuse. Thither when he came, he began to doe many acts of hostility against the Romans: first in secret, afterward more openly & boldly. *Marcellus*, rightly vnderstanding the purpose of these two brethren, sent word vnto the Syracusians, that they had already broken

the league; & that the peace would neuer be kept sincerely, vntill this turbulent paire of brethren were expelled the Island. *Epicles* fearing to sustaine the blame of his brothers proceedings, and more desirous to set forward the warre, than to excuse any breach of peace, went himselfe vnto the Leontines, whither he perswaded to rebell against the Syracusians. For he said, that since they had all of late serued one Master, there was little reason why the Leontines should not be disfranchised by his death; as well as the Syracusians: yet of much rather all things considered, since in their Arches the Tyrant was slain; and liberty first proclaimed. Wherefore, since they of Syracuse were now contented to enioy the freedome purchased among the Leontines; but thought it good reason, that they should beare Dominion over those that had broken the Chaine, wherewith both the one and the other were bound: his aduice was, that such their arrogance should be checked betimes, ere it could get any colour of right by prescription. Hereunto occasion was given by one Article of the League, made of late by the Romans & Syracusians. For it was written, That all which had bene subject to *Hiero* and *Hieronymus*, should henceforth be subject vnto the State of Syracuse. Against this Article, if the Leontines would take exception, and thereby challenge their owne due; *Epicles* told them, that in this novelty of change, they had fit oportunitie to recouer the freedome, which their fathers had lost not many ages before. Neither was it vnreasonable, whilst this crafty Cathaginian propounded, if the Leontines had bene subdued by the same hand, which tooke liberty from the Syracusians. But seeing they had long since yielded vnto Syracuse, and bene subject vnto that Citie, by what forme soeuer it was gouerned; this claime of libertie was rather reasonable, than iust. Neuthelesse, the motion of *Epicles* was highly approved: insomuch that when messengers came soone after from Syracuse, to rebuke the Leontines; for that which they had done against the Romans, and to denounce vnto *Hippocrates* and *Epicles*, that they should get them gone, either to Locri, or whither else they liked; so that they stayed not in Sicily: word was returned, That they of Leontium had not requested the Syracusians, to make any bargaines for them with the Romans; nor thought themselves bound to obserue the covenants, which others without warrant had made in their names. This peremptory answer was forth-with reported vnto *Marcellus* by the Syracusians; who offered him their assistance in doing iustice vpon the Leontines their Rebels; with condition, That when the Towne was taken, it might be theirs againe. *Marcellus* required no better satisfaction: but forth-with tooke the businesse in hand, which he dispatched in one day. At the first assault, Leontium was taken: all saue the Castle, whereinto *Hippocrates* and *Epicles* fled; and stealing thence away by night, conueyed themselves into the towne of Herbesus. The first thing which *Marcellus* did, when hee had wonne the Towne, was the same; which other Roman Captains vsed after victory, to seek out the fugitive Roman slaues and renegadoes, whom he caused all to diet therest both of the Towns-men and Souldiers, he tooke to mercy; forbearing also to strip or spoyle them. But the fame of his doings was bruited after a conuoluble sort. It was said, that he had slaine, Man, Woman, and Child, and pittie the Towne to sucke. These newes met the Syracusan Army vpon the way; as it was going to ioyne with *Marcellus*, who had ended his businesse before. About eight thousand Mercenaries there were; that had bene sent forth of Syracuse; vnder *Sassi* and *Dionankus*; two of the Pretors, to serue against the Leontines and other rebels. These Captains were honest men, and well affected to their Countrey; but the Souldiers that followed them, had those diseases, with which all mercenaries are commonly infected. They took the matter deeply to heart, that their fellow-souldiers as now they termed those against whom they went; had bene so cruelly butchered: and hereupon they fell to mutiny; though what to demand, or with whom to be angry, they could not tell. The Pretors therefore thought it best, to turne their vnquiet thoughts another way, and set them a worke in some place else: for as much as at Leontium there was no need of their fortices. So towards Herbesus they marched; where lay *Hippocrates* and *Epicles*, the architects of all this mischief; deuising what further harme they might doe; but now so weakly accompanied, that they seemed vnable to execute the punishments belonging to thier offences past. Hee of the two brethren were no lesse well aware: and therefore deuised vpon a remedy little lesse desperate than their present case. They issued forth of Herbesus vnto the Army, with Olive branches in their hands; in manner of Suppliants; and so presented themselves to the Army. Six hundred men of Cretes in the Vanguard, that

that had bene well used by *Hieronymus*, and some of them greatly bound unto *Himnibal*, who had taken them prisoners in the Italian warre, and humbly dismissed them. These Cretians therefore welcomed the two brethren, and bade them sit at good cheer, saying, That no man should doe them harme, as long as they could use their weapons. Herewithall the Army was at a stand; and the rumour of this accident, ranne swiftly from man to man, with generall approbation. The Pretors thought to helpe the matter by severity, which would not serue. For when they commanded these two traitors to be layd in irons, the exclamation was so violent against them, that faine they were to let all alone, and returne vncertaine what course to take, vnto Megara, wherethey were lodged the night before. Thither when they came, *Hippocrates* deuised a trick, whereby to help himselfe, and better the vncertaine case wherein he stood. He caused Letters of his owne penning, to be intercepted by some of his most trustie Cretians, disguised as they made shew) from the Syracusan Pretors, to *Marcellus*. The contents hereof were, That *Marcellus* had well done, in committing all to the sword among the Leontines; but that it farther behoued him, to make the like dispatch of all the mercenaries belonging to Syracuse; which were offensive, all of them in general, to the liberty of the City, and the peace with Rome. When this counterfeit Epistle was openly rehearsed, the uproare was such, that *Sofis* and his fellow Pretor, were glad to forsake the Campe, and flee for their liues. All the Syracusians remaining behinde, had bene cut in peeces by the enraged souldiers, if the two Artificers of the sedition had not saved their liues; rather to keepe them as pledges, and by them, to winne their friends within the Towne, than for any good will. They perswaded also a mischievous knaue that had serued among the Leontines, to iustifie the bruit of *Marcellus* cruelty, and to carry home the newes to Syracuse, as an eye-witness. This incensed not onely the multitude, but some of the Senate; and filled the whole towne with causelesse indignation. In good time (saide some) was the avarice and cruelty of the Romans detected; who, had they in like sort gotten into Syracuse, would haue dealt much worse, where their greedy appetites, might haue bene tempted with a farre greater bootie. Whilest they were thus discouraging, and deuising how to keepe out the wicked Romans, *Hippocrates* with his Army came to the gates, exhorting the Citizens to let him in, vnclosed for want of helpe, they would be trayned to their enemies. The Pretors with the best and wisest of the Senate, would faine haue kept him out: but the violence of the souldiers to force a gate, was no whit greater, than the head-strong fury of those within the towne, that laboured to breake it open. So he entered, and immediately fell vpon the Pretors, whom (being forsaken by all men) he put to the sword, and made slaughter of them and their followers vntill night. The next day he went openly to worke: and after the common example of Tyrants, gaue liberty vnto all slaves and prisoners; and being fortified with adherents of the worst and basest sort, made himselfe and his brother Pretors, in Title, but in effect, Lords of Syracuse.

When *Marcellus* was aduertised of this great alteration, hee thought it no time for him to sit still, and attend the further issue. He sent Embassadors to Syracuse, that were not admitted into the Haven, but chased out as enemies. Then drew he neere with his Army: and lodging within a mile and a halfe of the towne, sent before him, some to require a parlee. These were entertained without the walls by the two new Pretors: to whom they declared, That the Romans were come thither, not with purpose to doe hurt, but in fauour of the Syracusians, which were oppressed by Tyrants; and to punish those, that had murdered and banished so many of the principall Citizens. Wherefore they required, that those worthy men, Their Confederates, which were chased out of the Towne, might be suffered to returne and enioy their owne; as also that the Authors of the great slaughter lately committed, might bee deliuered vp. Hereto *Epichides* briefly answered, That if their errand had bene to him, hee could haue told what to say to them: but since it was directed vnto others, they should doe well to returne, when choise whom they were sent, had the gouernment in their hands. As for the warre which they threatened, he told them, they should finde by experience, That to besiege Syracuse, was another manner of worke, than to take Leontium: Thus hee sent them gone, and returned backe into the City. Immediately began the siege, which endured longer than the Romans had expected. The quick and easie winning of Leontium did put *Marcellus* in hope, that so long a circuit of wals as compassed Syracuse, being manned

with no better kinde of Souldiers, than those with whom he had lately dealt, would in some part or other, be taken at the first assault. Wherefore he omitted no violence or rour in the very beginning; but did his best both by Land and Sea. Neuertheless all his labour was disappointed; and his hope of preuailling by open force, taken from him by the ill successe of two or three of the first assaults. Yet was it not the vertue of the Defenders, or any strength of the Citie, that bred such despaire of hastie victorie. But there lied at that time in Syracuse, *Archimedes* the noble Mathematician: who at the request of *Hiero* the late King, that was his kinsman, had framed such engines of Warre, as being in this extremitie put in vse, did more mischief to the Romans than could haue bene wrought by the Canon, or any instruments of Gunne-powder, had they in that age bene knowne. This *Archimedes* discoursing once with *Hiero*, maintained that it were possible to remooue the whole earth out of the place wherein it is; if there were some other earth, or place of sure footing, whereon a man might stand. For prooue of this bold assertion; he performed some strange workes, which made the King entreat him to conuict his studie vnto things of vse: that might preferue the Citie from danger of enemies. To such Mechanicall workes; *Archimedes*, and the Philosophers of those times, had little affection. They held it an injury done vnto the liberrall Sciences, to submit learned Propositions, vnto the workmanship, and gaine, of base handi-craftsmen. And of this opinion *Plato* was an author: who greatly blamed some Geometricians; that seemed vnto him to prophane their science, by making it vulgar. Neither must we rashly taske a man to wise as *Plato*, with the imputation of supercilious austerity, or affect of singularity in his reprehension. For it hath bene the vnhappy fate of great inuentions, to be vilified, as idle fancies, or dreames, before they were published; and being once made knowne, to be vnder-valued; as falling within compass of the meanest wit, and things; that every one could well haue performed. Hereof (to omit that memorable example of *Columbus* his discouerie, with the much different sorts of neglect, which hee vnder-vent before and after it) in a familiar and most homely example, we may see most apparent prooue. He that looks vpon our English Brewers; and their Seruants, that are daily exercised in the Trade; will thinke it ridiculous to heare one say, that the making of Ale, was an inuention, proceeding from some of an extraordinary knowledge in naturall Philosophie. Yet is not the skill of the inuention any whit the lesse, for that the labour of workmanship growes to be the trade of ignorant men. The like may bee said of many handicrafts: and particularly in the Printing of Bookes, which being deuised, and bettered, by great Scholers and wisemen, grew afterward corrupted by those, to whom the practice fell; that is, by such, as could slubber things easily ouer, and feede their workmen at the cheapest rate. In this respect therefore, the Alchymists, and all others, that haue, or would seeme to haue any secret skill, whereof the publication might doe good vnto mankind; are not without excuse of their close concealing. For it is a kinde of iniustice, that the long trauels of an vnderstanding braine, beside the losse of time, and other expence, should be cast away vpon men of no worth; yeeld lesse benefit vnto the Author of a great worke, than to meere Strangers; and perhaps his enemies. And surely, if the passion of Enuie, haue in any thing allowable and naturall, as hauing Anger, Feare, and other like Affections; it is in some such case as this; and fiercer against those, which would vsurpe the knowledge, wherewith God hath bestowed vnto them. Neuertheless, if we haue regard vnto common charitie, and the great affection that euery one ought to beare vnto the generality of mankind, after the example of him that suffereth his Summe to shine vpon the iust, and vniust: it will appeare more commendable in wise men, to enlarge themselves, and to publish vnto the world, those good things that lye buried in their owne bosomes. This ought specially to be done, when a profitabill knowledge hath not amixed to it some dangerous cunning, that may bee peruerted by euill ment to a mischievous vse. For if the secret of any rare Art, were contained in it the skill of giuing some deadly and irreuerable poison; much better it were, that such a ieuell remaine close in the hands of a wise and honest man, than being made common, binde all men to vse the remedie, by teaching the worst men how to doe mischief. But the workes which *Archimedes* published, were such as tended vnto very commendable ends. They were Engines, seruing vnto the defence of Syracuse, not for the Syracusians to carry abroad, to the hurt & oppression of others. Neither did he together publish the knowledge, how to vse them; but referred to much to his owne direction;



direction; that after his death more of the same kinde were not made, nor those of his owne making were employed by the *Romans*. It sufficed vnto this worthy man, that he had approoued vnto the vulgar, the dignitie of his Science; and done especiall benefit to his Countrey. For to enrich a Mechanicall trade, or teach the Art of murdering men, it was besides his purpose.

*Marcellus* had caused certaine of his *Quinquereme* Gallies to be fastned together, and Towers erected on them to beat the defendants from the wall. Against these *Archimedes* had sundrie deuices, of which any one sort might haue repelled the assaylants: but all of them together shewed the multiplicite of his great wit. He shot heauy stones & long pieces of timber, like vnto the yeards of ships, which brake some of the Gallies by their force and weight. These afflicted such as lay farre off. They that were come neerer the walls, lay open to a continuall volly of shot, which they could not endure. Some with an yron grapple were taken by the prow and hoysted vp, shaking out all the men, and after ward falling downe into the water. Some by strange Engines were lifted vp into the ayre; where turning round a while, they were broken against the walls or cast vpon the rocks: and all of them were so beaten that they durst neuer come to any second assault. In the like fort was the Land armie handled. Stones and timber, falling vpon it like hailes, did not onely ouerwhelme the men, but brake downe the *Roman* engines of battery; and forced *Marcellus* to giue ouer the assault. For remedie hereof it was conceiued, that if the *Romans* could early before day get nere vnto the walls: they should be (as it were) vnder the point *blanche*, and receiue no hurt by these terrible Instruments; which were woond vp hard to shoot a great compasse. But this vaine hope cost many of the assaylants liues: For the shot came downe right vpon them: and beating them from all parts of the wall, made a great slaughter of them, all the way as they fled, (for they were vnable to tarry by it) euen till they were gotten very farre off. This did so terrifie the *Romans*, that if they perceived any peece of timber, or a ropes end, vpon the walls, they ranne away, crying out, that *Archimedes* his engines were readie to discharge. Neither knew *Marcellus* how to overcome these difficulties, or to take away from his men, that feare, against the cause whereof he knew no remedie. If the engines had stood vpon the walls, subiect to firing, or any such annoyance from without; hee might haue holpen it, by some deuice, to make them vnseruiceable. But all, or the most of them were out of sight, being erected in the streetes behinde the walls; where *Archimedes* gaue directions how to vse them. Wherefore the *Roman* had no other way left, than to cut off from the Towne all prouision of victuals, both by Land and by Sea.

This was a very desperate peece of worke. For the enemies hauing so goodly an Haven, the Sea in a manner free; and the *Carthaginians* that were strong by Sea, willing to supply them: were not likelie so soone to bee consumed with famine, as the besiegers to bee wearied out, by lying in Leaguer before so strong a City, hauing no probability to carrie it. Yet, for want of better counsell to follow, this was thought the best, and most Honourable course.

In the meane while, *Himilco*, Admirall of a *Carthaginian* Fleet, that had waited long about *Sicily*, being by *Hippocrates* aduertised of these passages, went home to *Carthage*, and there so deak with the Senate, that fise and twentie thousand Foote, three thousand Horse, and twelue Elephants, were committed vnto his charge, wherewith to make warre vpon the *Romans* in *Sicily* by Land. Hee tooke many Townes; and many that had anciently belonged vnto the *Carthaginians*, did yeeld vnto him. To remedie this mischiefe, and to stay the inclination of men, which following the current of Fortune, beganne to turne vnto the *Carthaginians*; *Marcellus* with a great part of his Armie, rose from *Syracuse*, and went from place to place about the Island. He tooke *Pelorus* and *Herbesum*, which yeilded vnto him. He tooke also *Megara* by force and sackt it; either to terrifie others that were obstinate, especially the *Syracusians*, or else because *Rome* was at this time poore, and his Armie must haue somewhat to keepe it in heart. His especiall desire was to haue saued *Agrigentum*: whether he came too late; for *Himilco* had gotten it before. Therefore he returned backetoward *Syracuse*, carefully, and in as good order as he could, for feare of the *Carthaginian* that was too strong for him. The circumstance, that he ved, in regard of *Himilco*, stood him in good stead, against a danger that he had not mistrusted. For *Hippocrates*, leauing the charge of *Syracuse* vnto his brother, had lately issued out of the Citie, with ten thousand foote, and fise hundred

horse, intending to ioyne his forces with *Himilco*. *Marcellus* fell vpon him, ere either was aware of the other: and the *Romans*; being in good order, got an easie victorie, against the disperfed and halfe vnarmed *Syracusians*. The reputation hereof helped a litle to keepe the *Sicilians* from rebellion. Yet it was not long; ere *Himilco*, ioyning with *Hippocrates*, ranne ouer all the Island at his pleasure, and presented battaile to *Marcellus*, euen at his Trenches; but the *Roman* wisely refused it. *Bomilcar* also a *Carthaginian*, charged with a great fleet into the Haven of *Syracuse*; and victualled the Citie. After this, the disposition of the Islanders changed to againe; that although another Legion was come from *Rome*, which escaped from *Himilco*; and safely arrived at *Marcellus* his Camp: yet many places reuolted vnto the *Carthaginians*, and slew or betrayed the *Roman* Garrisons.

In the midst of these troubles, Winter enforced both parts to take breath a while: and *Marcellus*, leauing some of his Armie before *Syracuse*, that hee might not seeme to haue giuen ouer the siege, went vnto *Leontium*, where he lay intentive to all occasions. In the beginning of the Spring he stood in doubt, whether it were better to continue the labourious work of besieging *Syracuse*, or to turne all his forces to *Agrigentum*, against *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*. But it would greatly haue impaired his reputation; if he had gone from *Syracuse*, as vnable to preuaile: & he himself was of an eager disposition, euer vnwilling to giue ground, or to quit, as not feisible, an enterprize that he had once taken in hand. He came therefore to *Syracuse*: where though he found all the difficulties remaining as before; and no like lihood to take the Citie by force or famine; yet was hee nor without hope, that continuance of time would bring forth somewhat, which might fulfill his desire. Especially he assayed to preuaile by treason, against which no place can hold out. And to this end he dealt with the *Syracusian* Gentlemen that were in his Campe; exhorting them to praefice with their friends that remained in the Citie. This was not easie for them to doe, because the Town would hearken to no parlee. At length a flauie vnto one of these banished men; making shew to runne away from his Master, got into *Syracuse*, where hee talked in priuate with some few, as hee had beene instructed. Thus began *Marcellus* to haue intelligence within the Citie: whence the Conspirators vsed to send him aduertisements of their proceedings, by a fisher-boat that passed forth in the night: but when they were growne to the number of fourescore, and thought themselves able to effect somewhat of importance, all was discovered; and they, like Traitors, put to death. In the meane while, one *Damasippus* a *Locrenian*, that had beene sent out of the Towne as an Embassador to *Philip* King of *Macedon*; was fallen into the hands of *Marcellus*. *Epistides* was very desirous to ransom him: and many meetings were appointed for that purpose; not farre from the walls. There, one of the *Romans* looking vpon the wall, and wanting the more compendious Art of Geometric, fell to measuring the stones: and, making an estimate of the height, iudget it lesse than it had beene formerly deemed. Herewith he acquainted *Marcellus*; who causing better notice to be taken of the place, and finding, that ladders of no extraordinary length would reach it, made all things ready, and waited a convenient time. It was the weakest part of the Town; and therefore the most strongly guarded: neither was there hope to preuaile by force against *Archimedes*, if they failed to take it by surpris. But a fugitiue out of the Towne brought word, that a great feast was to be held vnto *Diana*, which was to last three daies: and that, because other good cheate was not so plentifull within the Citie, as in former times, *Epistides*, to gratifie the People, had made the more large distribution of Wine. A better opportunitie could not be wished. Wherefore *Marcellus*, in the dead of the Festiuall night, came vnto the walls, which he took by *Syracuse* was diuided into four parts (or fise, if *Epistides* were reckoned as one) each of which were fortified as distinct Cities. When therefore *Marcellus* had gotten some prizes; he had the commoditie of a better and safe lodging, with good store of bootie; and better opportunitie than before, to deale with the rest. For there were now a great many, as well of those in *Acradina* & the Island, inner parts of the Towne, as of those that were already in the hands of *Marcellus*, that began to hearken vnto composition, as being much terrified by the losse of those parts, which the *Romans* had taken and sackt. As for the weapons of *Archimedes*, little harme, or none they did, vnto those that were sheltered vnder strong Houses: although it may seeme, that the inner walls were not altogether vnarmied of his hope; since they held out a good while; and were not taken



by force. The *Roman* fugitives and Renegado's, were more careful than ever to defend the rest of the Citie: being sure to be rewarded with cruell death, if *Marcellus* could prevail. *Hippocrates* and *Himiles*, were daily expected; and *Bomilcar* was sent away to *Carthage*, to bring helpe from thence. It was not long ere *Hippocrates* and *Himiles* came: who fell vpon the olde Camp of the *Romans*, whilst *Epicides* sallied out of *Acradinia* vpon *Marcellus*. But the *Romans* made such defence in each part, that the Assailants were repelled. Neuerthelesse, they continued to beset *Marcellus*: whom they held in a manner as strictly besieged, as hee himselfe did besiege the Towne. But the pestilence at length consumed, together with the two Captaines, a great part of the Armie, and caused the rest to dislodge. The *Romans* were (though somewhat lesse) afflicted with the same pestilence, in so much that *Bomilcar* did put the Citie of *Carthage* in hope, that he might be taken where he lay, if any great forces were sent thither. This *Bomilcar* wanted no desire to doe his Countrie service; but his courage was not answerable to his good will. He arrived at *Pachynus* with a strong fleet: where he staid; being loth to double the Cape, for that the windes did better serue the enimie than him. Thither sailed *Epicides* out of *Syracuse*: to acquaint him with the necessities of the Citie; and to draw him on. With much intreatie, at length he came forward: but meeting with the *Roman* fleet, that was readie for him, hee stood off into the deepe, and sailed away to *Tarentum*, bidding *Still* farewell. Then durst not *Epicides* returne into *Syracuse*, but went to *Aggrigentum*: where he expected the issue, with a very faint hope of hearing any good newes.

The *Sicilian* souldiers that remained aloue of *Hippocrates* his Army, lay as neere as they could safely, vnto *Marcellus*, and some of them, in a strong Towne three miles off. These had done what good they could to *Syracuse*, by doing what hurt they could vnto the *Romans*. But when they were informed, that the state of *Sicily* was giuen as desperately to the *Carthaginians*: they sent Embassadors to treat of peace; and made offer to compound, both for themselves, and for the Towne. Heereunto *Marcellus* willingly gaue eare: for hee had staid there long enough; and had cause to feare, that after a little while, the *Carthaginians* might come thither strong againe. He therefore agreed, both with the Citizens, and with the Souldiers that lay abroad; That they should be Masters of their owne, enjoying their libertie and proper lawes; yet suffering the *Romans* to possess whatsoeuer had belonged vnto the Kings. Hereupon they, to whom *Epicides* had left this charge, were put to death, new Pretors chosen, and the gates euen ready to be opened vnto *Marcellus*: when suddenly the *Roman* fugitives disturbed all. These perceiving their owne condition to be desperate, perswaded the other Mercenarie souldiers, That the Citizens had bargained onely for themselves, and betrayed the Armie to the *Romans*. Wherefore they presently tooke Armes, and fell vpon the new chosen Pretors; whom they slue, and made election of sixe Captaines that should command ouer all. But shortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all to the Souldiers, excepting onely the fugitives. The Treatie was therefore againe set on foot, and wanted little of conclusion: which yet was delaied; either by some feare of the Citizens, that had seene (as they thought) proofe of the *Roman* auarice in the sack of *Epipola*, *Tyrrhe*, and *Neapolis*, the parts already taken; or by some desire of *Marcellus* to get the Towne by force, that he might vse the libertie of a Conqueror, and make it wholly subiect to *Rome*. *Mericus* a Spaniard was one of the sixe Captaines, that had been chosen in the last commotion: a man of such faith, as vually is found in Mercenaries; holding his owne particular benefit aboue all other respects. With this Captaine, *Marcellus* dealt secretly: hauing a fit instrument, of the same Nation, one *Belligones*, that went in company with the *Roman* Embassadors, daily passing to and fro. This craftie Agent perswaded *Mericus*, That the *Romans* had already gotten all *Spain*; and that if euer he purposed to make his owne fortune good, either at home in *Spain*, or any where else; it was now the onely time to do it; by conforming himselfe to the will of the *Roman* Generall. By such hopes the Spanishe Captaine was easily wonne, and sent forth his owne brother among the *Syracusan* Embassadors, to ratifie the covenant with *Marcellus*.

This vnder-hand dealing of *Marcellus* against the *Syracusians*, cannot well be commended as honest: neither was it afterwards thoroughly approved at his coming to *Rome*. For the benefits of *Hiero* to the *Romans* had beene such, as deserved not to be requited with the ruine of his Countrie: much lesse, that the miseries of his people, oppressed (though partly through their owne follie) by an Army of Mercenaries, should minister

vnto

vnto the people of *Rome*, aduantage against them. The poore Citizens could not make good their parts against the hired souldiers; and therefore were faine to yeld vnto the time; and obey those Ministers of *Hannibal*, that ruled the Armie. But as long as they were free after the death of *Hieronymus*; and now of late, when they had gaured courage by the sight of *Epicides*: it had beene their chiefe care to maintaine amitie with the people of *Rome*. They had lately slaine many the principall of *Epicides* his followers; and many of themselves had also bene slaine, both lately and in former times, because of this their desire vnto the peace. What though it were true, that the Rascallitie, and some ill aduised persons, ioyned with the souldiers in hatred of the *Romans*, by occasion of the slaughter which they heard to be done at *Leontium*, and afterward beheld in those parts of their owne Citie which was taken: Ought therefore the *Roman* Generall, in a treatie of peace held with the *Syracusians*, to make a bargain vnder-hand against them, with a Captaine of the Mercenaries? These things were objected against *Marcellus*, at his returne home. But the Senators thought it a great deale better, to comfort the *Syracusians* with gentle words, & promise of good vylage in time to come; than to restore the boote, and giue ouer the Dominion of a Citie, so great, wealthy strong, and many wayes important. Neuerthelesse if we consider the many inconueniences and great mischiefs whereunto *Syracuse* was obnoxious; both by euill neighbours; and by that very forme of policie, after which it was gouerned: wee may truly affirme, That it received no small benefit, by becoming subiect vnto *Rome*. For thereby it was not onely assured against all forraie enemies, domesticall conspiracies, and such Tyrants as of olde had reigned therein: but freed from the necessitie of banishing, or murdering, the most worthie Citizens; as also from all factions, intestine seditions, and a thousand the like miseries, that were wont to grow out of the ialousie, wherein they held their libertie in vaine. Neither enjoyed that City, from her first foundation, any such long time of happinesse, as that wherein it flourished, when it rested secure vnder the protection of *Rome*; and was no more molested, by the disease of ambition; whereof by *Marcellus* his historie it was thoroughly cured. But such benefit, arising from wrongs done, serues not to make iniustice the more excusable: vnlesse we should approue the answer of that Thiefe, who being found to haue stolen a silver cup from a sicke man, said, *Hee must haue drinking*.

By the treason of *Mericus*, the *Roman* Armie was let into possession of all *Syracuse*; wherein the booty that it found, was said to haue bin no lesse, than could be hoped for, if they had taken *Carthage* it selfe; that maintained warre by Land and Sea against them. All the goodly workes and Imageries, wherewith *Syracuse* was maruellously adorned, were carried away to *Rome*; and nothing left vntouched; saue onely the houses of those banished men, that had escaped from *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, into the *Roman* Campe. Among other pittifull accidents; the death of *Archimedes* was greatly lamented, euen by *Marcellus* himselfe. He was so busie about his Geometrie, in drawing figures, that hee hearkened not to the noyse, and vprore in the Citie; no; nor greatly attended the rude Souldier that was about to kill him. *Marcellus* tooke heauily the death of him; and caused his body to be honourably buried. Vpon his Tombe (as he had ordained in his lifetime) was placed a Cylinder & a Sphere, with an inscription of the proportion between them; which hee first found out. An Invention of so little vse, as this may seeme, pleased that great Artist better, than the deuising of all those engins, that made him so famous. Such difference is in the iudgement of learned men, and of the vulgar sort. For many as he would thinke the monie lost, that had bin spent vpon a sonne, whose studies in the Vniuersitie had brought forth such fruit; as the proportion between a Sphere and a Cylinder.

After the taking of *Syracuse*, all the Townes in *Sicily* yielded vnto the *Romans*, except *Agathinum* and a few places therabout. At *Aggrigentum* lay *Epicides* with one *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, and *Mutines* an *African*, that was lately sent from *Hannibal*. This *Mutines* by many good peeces of seruice, had added some credit to the beaten *Carthaginian* side; and withall made his owne name great. By his perswasions, *Hanno* and *Epicides* aduertured to meet *Marcellus* without the Towne, and not behaue themselves as men expecting to bee besieged. Neither was hee more vallant in counsell, than in execution. Once and againe he set vpon the *Romans*; where they lay encamped, and droue them fearfully into their Trenches. This bred enuie in *Epicides* and *Hanno*: especially in *Hanno*,

that having been lately sent from *Carthage*, with commission and authority from the State, thought himselfe wronged greatly by *Hannibal*; in that hee had sent vnto him this *Mutines*, to be his Companion, & to take vpon him, like as good a man as himselfe. The indignitie seemed the greater, when *Mutines* being to step aside vnto *Heraclea*, for the pacifying of some troubles there among the *Numidians*; aduised (as directing *Hanno* and *Epicides*) not to meddle with the enimie, vntill his returne. So much therefore thereafter would *Hanno* fight: and offered battell vnto *Marcellus*, before he sought it. It is like, that a great part of the *Roman* Army was left behind in *Syracuse*; as need required: which made the *Carthaginians* the better able to deal with those that came against them. But whatsoeuer disproportion was betweene the two Armies, farre greater were the odds betweene the Captaines. For howsoeuer the people of *Carthage* would giue authority by fauour; yet could they not giue worth and abilitie, in matter of warre. The *Numidians*, having before conceived some displeasure against their Captains: and being therefore some of them gone away to *Heraclea*; were much more offended, when they saw that the vaine-glorious enuy of *Hanno* carried him vnto the fight, vpon a foolish desire to get victorie, without the helpe of *Mutines* their Countreiman. Wherefore they sent vnto the *Roman* Generall, and bade him be confident; for that it was not their purpose to shew themselves his enemies that day, but only looke on, and see the proud *Carthaginians* well beaten, by whom they had beene misused. They made good their promise, and had their desire. For *Marcellus*, finding likelihood of truth in their message, did softly set vpon the enemies, that hee brake them at the first charge; and with the slaughter of many thousands, droue them backe into *Agigentum*.

If *Hanno* could haue beene contented, to follow the directions of one, that was better man of Warre than himselfe, and not haue hazarded a battell without need, the *Romans* would shortly haue beene reduced into termes of great difficultie in their *Sicilian* warre. For *Marcellus* was shortly after to leaue the Prouince, and soone vpon his departure, there landed in the Iland a supply of eight thousand foote, and three thousand *Numidian* horse, that were sent from *Carthage*. The fame of this new Armie drew many of the *Sicilians* into rebellion. The *Roman* Armie consisting (for the most part) of the Legions of *Cannæ*, tooke it very haughtily, that no good seruice done, could bring them into the fauour of the Senate; but that, as banished men, they were sent farre from home, & not suffered to return back to *Rome* with their general. *Mutines* had pacified his Countreimen the *Numidians*; & like an honest man, did what hee could for those whom he serued, without contending against the foolish pride of *Hanno*; finding that there was a great alteration; and a greater might haue beene, if the Armie lately overthrownd had beene entire. *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Pretor, used all diligence, both to pacifie his own men, and to hinder the *Carthaginians*. Hee recovered those In-land Townes that had rebelled; and though he could not hinder *Mutines* from ouer-running all the Country, yet hee hindered the Country from reuolting vnto *Mutines*. About three score Townes, great and small, the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*: of which *Agigentum* was the principall, and farre bigger than any of the rest. Thence issued *Mutines* as often as hee pleased, in despite of the *Romans*: not onely to the succour of his owne adherents, but to the great waste of those that followed the contrarie part. But *Hanno*, in stead of being pleased with all these good seruices, was filled more and more with enuy, against the man that performed them. Hee had (belike) receiued instruction from old *Hanno* at *Carthage*, not to suffer *Hannibal*, or any *Hannibalian*, to haue share in the honour of these *Sicilian* Warres: which were therefore perhaps the more diligently supplied; whilst *Italy* was neglected, that should haue beene regarded more than all the rest. Wherefore to shew his authority, and that it was not in the power of *Hannibal*, to appoint vnto him an Assistant, or Director: Hee tooke away from *Mutines* his charge, and gaue it to his owne sonne; thinking thereby to discountenance the man, and make him little esteemed, as one out of Office, among the *Numidians*. But it fell out quite contrarie; and this spitefull dealing, occasioned the losse of whatsoeuer the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*. For the *Numidians* were so incensed by the indignitie offered vnto their Countreiman, being such a braue Commander, that they offered him their seruice to requite the wrong; and were thenceforth absolutely at his owne disposition. *M. Valerius* *Lauius*, the *Roman* Consull, was newly come into the Prouince, when this fell out: and with him did *Mutines* enter into intelligence. For hee could no longer brooke these

these indignities; but being, neither a *Carthaginian*, nor fauored by those that bore all the way in *Carthage*: He thought it the wisest way, to play the best of his owne game, and forsake that Citie, which was likely to perish by the euill counsell that gouerned it. He did not therefore, as his Countreimen had lately done, content himselfe to see his Adversaries reape the bitter fruits of their owne malicious ouer-weening: and to suffer that harme, in doing whereof he would not beare a part; but conspired against them to deliuer vp *Agigentum*, and to helpe to expell them vterly out of *Sicily*. The Consull was glad of his friendship; and carefully followed his aduertisements. Neither was there much cunning needfull, to the performance of that which *Mutines* had vnder-taken: For he with his *Numidians* did forcibly seize vpon a gate; whereat they let in some *Roman* Companies, that lay neere in a readinesse for the purpose. *Hanno*, when first he heard the noyse, thought it had beene no worse matter, than some such tumult of the *Numidians*, as he had beene well acquainted with of late. But when, making haste to pacifie the trouble, he saw and heard, the *Romans* intermixed, among those discontented followers of *Mutines*, forthwith he betooke himselfe to flight: and sauing himselfe, with *Epicides*, in a small Barke, set saile for *Africke*; leauing all his Armie and Adherents in *Sicily*, to the mercie of the *Romans*; that henceforward continued masters of the whole Iland.

*Lauius* the Consull hauing taken *Agigentum*, did sharpe execution of iustice vpon all the Citizens. The principall of them he scourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the manner of the *Romans*: all the rest of them he sold for slaues, and confiscated their goods; sending home to *Rome* the monie that was raised of the bootie. This was indeede a time; wherein *Rome* stood in no lesse necessity of gold, than of Steele: which may haue beene the reason, why *Lauius* dealt so cruelly with the *Agigentines*. Neuertheless the fame of such seueritie bred a terrour among all the Dependents of the *Carthaginians*; so that in great haste they sought to make their peace. About fortie Townes yielded themselves quickly vnto the *Romans*; twenty were deliuered vp by Treason; and sixe onely stayed to be wonne by force. These things done, *Lauius* returned home to *Rome*; carrying with him about foure thousand men from *Agatirna*; that were a companie of out-laws, bankrupts, and banished men, accustomed to liue by spoyle of others, in these troublesome times. He bestowed them about *Rhegium* in *Italy*, where they might exercise their owne occupation against the *Brutians*; a theuish kinde of people, that were enemies vnto those of *Rhegium*, and to the *Romans*. As for *Mutines*, he was well rewarded, and made Citizen of *Rome*: where he liued in good accompt; accompanying the two *Scipios* in their iournie against *Antiochus*, and therein doing (as it is said) very especiall seruice. So by this enterprise of *Sicily*, the *Carthaginians* wasted much of their forces, that with greater profit might haue beene employed in *Italy*: leauing yet vnto the *Romans*, in the end of this warre, the entire possession of this Iland; which they wanted when it began.

# §. XVI.

How the warre passed betweene the *Romans* and *Hannibal* in *Italy*, from the taking of *Capua* to the great victorie at *Metamura*.

Shortly after the winning of *Capua*, *Marcellus* came to *Rome*: where for his good seruices done in the Iland of *Sicily*, he had granted vnto him the honour of the lesser Triumph, which was called *Ovation*. The greater Triumph was denied him: because he had not finished the warre, but was faine to leaue his Armie behinde him in the Prouince. He staid not long in *Rome*, before he was againe chosen Consull together with *M. Valerius* *Lauius*, who succeeded him in the government of *Sicily*, and so was, at the time of his election, making warre against King *Philip* in *Greece*. Great complaint was made against the Consull *Marcellus*, by the *Syracusians*, for that which he had done vnto them: they alledging their great friendship to the people of *Rome*, in the time of their late King *Hiero*; and affirming, that their Citie did neuer willingly breake the alliance, excepting when it was oppressed by such Tyrants, as were not greater enemies to *Rome* than to all good men that liued in *Syracuse*. The Consull, on the other side, reckoned the labours and dangers wherunto they had put him: willing them to be mooue themselves to the *Carthaginians* that had holpen them in their necessities; and not vnto the

the *Romans* whom they had kept out. Thus each part having some good matter to alledge, the Senate made such an end of the controuersie, as best agreed with the benefit of their owne Common-wealth: blaming the too much rigour of *Marcellus*; yet not restoring the bootie that he had taken, nor making the *Syracusians* free from their subiection, but comforting them with gentle words, and hopefull promises, as hath beene shewed before. The two new Consuls *Marcellus* and *Lanius*, were appointed to make warre, as their lots should fall out; the one in *Italie*, the other in *Sicil*. The Isle of *Sicil* fell vnto *Marcellus*; which Prouince he willingly changed with his Colleague; to the end that the *Syracusians* (whose cause had not as yet beene heard in the Senate) might not seeme hindered by feare, from vttering their grieuances freely. Afterwards, when his businesse with them was dispatcht, he gently vnderooke the patronage of them: which remained long in his Familie, to the great benefit of their Countrey in times following. So *Valerius*, the other Consul, was sent into *Sicil*, whose doings there haue beene already rehearsed: but *Marcellus* was employed against *Hannibal*.

Before the Consuls departed out of *Rome*, they were much troubled with pressing of Souldiers to the warre, and most of all, with getting Marriners for their Nauie. They were all of the poorer sort, that vsed to be employed in Sea seruices; especially in rowing. These could not live without present wages: neither was there monie enough in the Treasurie to giue them pay. Wherefore it was ordained, that they should be let out at the expence of priuate men; who in this necessitie of the State, were driuent to sustaine all publicke charges. Hereat the people murmured, and were ready to fall into sedition; had not the Consuls deferred the matter vnto further consideration. The Senate could ill tell, what to determine or doe, in a case of such extremite. For manifest it was, that the multitude had already endured so much, as well it could vndergoe; and somewhat more, than could with honesty haue beene imposed vpon it. Neuertheless it was impossible to maintaine the warre against the *Carthaginians*, or to keepe the *Macedonian* out of *Italie*, without a strong fleet. Wherefore, some were of opinion; That, since the common Treasurie was so emptie, the people must be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burden vpon them. At last the Consuls began to say, That no perswasions would be so effectuall with the people, as good examples: and that if the Senators would follow; the Consuls, likewise, that the people also would follow the Senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, That euery one of them should bring forth, and put into the Treasurie, all the mony that he had; and that no Senator should keepe any vessell of gold, or plate whatsoever; excepting one Salt-seller, and a Bowle wherewith to make their offerings vnto the gods; as also a Ring for himselfe, with such other tokens of ingenuitie for his wife and children, as euery one did vse, and those of a small value as might be. This aduice of the Consuls was not more thankfully accepted by the Senate, than the ready performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded, and hastily followed by the Gentlemen of *Rome*. Neither did the Commonaltie refuse to doe that, which their betters had openly done before them. For since the publicke necessity could no otherwise be holpen; euery one was contented, that his priuate estate should run the same fortune with the Common-wealth, which if it suffered wracke, in vain: could any particular man hope to enioy the benefit of his proper substance. This magnanimitie deferred well that greatnesse of Empire, whereof it was the foundation.

Conuenient order being thus taken for an Armie and Fleet: *Marcellus* went forth of the Citie against *Hannibal*; and *Lanius* toward *Sicil*. The armie of *Hannibal* was greatly diminished, by long and hard seruice: neither did his *Carthaginians* seeme to remember him, and thinke vpon sending the promised supply, or any such proportion as he needed. His credit also among his *Italian* friends, was much weakened, by the losse of *Capua*, which gaue them cause, to looke vnto themselves, as if in his helpe there were little trust to be reposed, when they should stand in neede. This he well perceiued; yet could not tell how to remedy. Either he must haue sent Garrisons into all Townes that he suspected, and thereby so diminish his armie, that he should not be able to keepe the field: or else he must leaue them to their owne fidelity, which now began to wauer. At length his ialousie grew so outrageous, that he sacked, and wasted, those places that he was vnable to defend; thinking that the best way to enrich himselfe; and make vnprofitable, to his enemies, the purchase from which he could nothinder them. But by this example, many were quite alienated from him; and some of those, whom before hee had least cause

to doubt. The towne of *Salapia* yeelded vnto *Marcellus*; and betrayed vnto him a gallant Regiment of *Numidian* horse, the best of all that serued vnder *Hannibal*; which was a greater losse, than the Towne it selfe. *Blasius* the author of this rebellion, could not bring his desire to effect; without getting the consent of one *Dassius*, that was his bitter enemy. Wherefore he brake the matter to this *Dassius* in priuate; and was by him accused vnto *Hannibal*. But when he was conuicted and charged of Treason, hee so stoutly denied it; and by way of rectification, so vehemently pressed his accuser with the same fault: that *Hannibal* thought it a matter deuiled out of meere malice, knowing well what enemies they were; and seeing, that neither of them could bring any proofe of what he affirmed. This notwithstanding, *Blasius* did not cease to presse his aduersarie anew, and vrge him from time to time, with such liuely reasons, that he who could not be beleeued by *Hannibal*, was contented at length to win the fauour of *Marcellus*. Presently after this, the Consul tooke by force, *Maronea* and *Meles*, Townes of the *Samnites*; wherein he slew about three thousand of *Hannibal* his men.

*Hannibal* could not looke to all at once; but was faine to catch aduantages, where hee might get them; the *Romans* now being growne stronger in the field than he. The best was, that his *Carthaginians*, hauing wearied themselves with ill speede in many pettie enterprises, and laid aside all this while the care of *Italie* to follow businesse of far lesse importance, had now at length resolved, to send presently the great supply, that had beene so long promised & expected. This if they had done in better season, *Rome* it selfe might haue beene stricken downe, the next yeere after that great blow receiued at *Cannae*. But since that which is past cannot be amended, *Hannibal* must force himselfe to make a good countenance; and tell his followers, that this mightie succour would come time enough. For *Masaniissa* was at *Carthage* with five thousand *Numidians*, ready to set saile for *Spainne*: whither when he came, it was appointed, that *Asdrubal* should forthwith take his iourne into *Italie*, of which there had beene so long talke. These newes did not more comfort *Hannibal* and his followers, than terrifie the *Romans*. Wherefore each did their best, the *Romans* to prevent the threatening mischiefe, and winne as much as they could vpon *Hannibal*, before the coming of his brother *Hannibal*, on the contrarie, to hold his owne, and weaken the *Romans* as much as he was able. He had intelligence, that *Cn. Fulvius*, a *Roman* Pretor, lay neere vnto *Herdonia* to get the Towne by practice. It was not long, since, neere vnto the same place, another *Cn. Fulvius* had lost his Armie. Therefore *Hannibal* made great marches thitherward; & came to *Herdonia* ere *Fulvius* heard newes of his approach. As soone as he came, he offered battaile to the *Roman* Pretor, who accepted it with more haste than good speede. The *Roman* Legions made good resistance a while, till they were compassed round with the *Carthaginian* horse. Then fell they to rout; and great slaughter was made of them. *Fulvius* himselfe, with twelue Tribunes or *Cornels*, were lost: of the common Souldiers, that were slaine, the number is vncertaine; some reporting seuen, others thirteene thousand. The Towne of *Herdonia*, because it was at point to haue yeelded vnto *Fulvius*, *Hannibal* did set on fire; and putting those to death that had practised with the Enemy, carried away the multitude, whom he bestowed among the *Thurians* and *Metapontines*. The Consul *Marcellus* hearing of this, wrote vnto the Senate: and exhorted them to be of a good cheere; for that hee would shortly abate the enemies pride. Hee followed the *Carthaginian* apace; and ouertaking him at *Numissiro* in the Countrey of the *Lucans*, fought with him a battell, which beginning at nine of the clocke in the morning, lasted vntill night; and ended, by reason of the darkenesse, with vncertaine victorie. Afterward *Hannibal* departed thence into *Apulia*, whither *Marcellus* followed him. At *Venusia* they met, and had many skirmishes; but none of importance. *Hannibal* remoued often, and sought to bring the enemy within danger of some ambush. But *Marcellus*, though he was very eager of battaile, would yet adventure nothing, but by open day-light, and vpon faire ground.

Thus passed the time away, vntill *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fabius*, hee that lately had taken *Capua*, were chosen Consuls. *Fabius*, considering how much the *Roman* affaires were bettered by the taking of *Capua*, purposed that yeere to besiege *Tarentum*: which if he could winne, like it was, that scarce one good Citie would afterwards remaine true to *Hannibal*. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his Colleague, and *Marcellus*, (to whom was continued the command of those Legions that serued vnder him the yeere before) to presse the *Carthaginian* so hard, as he might haue no leisure to helpe

*Tarentum*.

*Tarentum*. *Marcellus* was very glad of this charge: for he thought no *Roman* fitter than himselfe, to deale with *Hannibal* in open field. He followed him therefore to *Cannasin*, and thence from place to place: desiring euer to come to battaile, but vpon equall termes. The *Carthaginian* had not minde to hazzard much in fight: but thought it enough to entertaine his enemy with skirmish; as being desirous to keepe his Armie strong vntill the coming of *Adrabal*. Yet could he not auoide the importunity of *Marcellus*; nor brooke the indignity of being daily braued. He therefore bade his men to be lustie, and to beat soundly this hor-spirited *Roman* Captaine, that would neuer suffer them to be at quiet, vntill they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him blood. Hereupon followed a battaile, wherein *Hannibal* had the victory; tooke fixe Ensignes; and slew of the *Romans* almost three thousand, among which were some of marke. *Marcellus* was so impatient of this dishonour, that he rated his men, as *Pesants*, and base cowards: telling them, that they were the first of the *ROMAN* Legions, which had bene beaten by *Hannibal*, by plaine force and manhood; without being circumvented by any stratagemes. With these, and many other the like words, which they were ashamed to heare, he did to vex them; that thinking themselves better able to endure any violence of the enemy, than such displeasure of their Generall, they besought him to pardon them; and lead them forth once againe to fight. He did so: and placing those Companies foremost, that had lost their Ensignes the day before, bade them be carefull to winne a victory; whereof the newes might beate *Rome*, before the report of their shamefull ouerthrow. *Hannibal* was angry, to see that nothing could make this Enemy quiet: and therefore was ready to fight againe; since all other motiues continued the same, and his men had bene harted by the late victory. But the *Romans* were stired vp with desire of reuenge, and of repairing their honor lost, which affections gaue a sharpe edge vnto their valour: whereas the *Carthaginians* were growne dull, and wearie by seeing themselves disappointed of their hope; and the enemy, notwithstanding their late victory, as ready to molest them as before. In this second battaile *Marcellus* got the victory: which he purchased at so deare a rate; that neither he, nor *Hannibal*, had great cause to vaunt, the second night. For if eight thousand of the *Carthaginians* were slaine, and three thousand of the *Roman* side, in this next battaile, the difference was no greater, than euen to recompence the late *Carthaginian* ouerthrow: especially since the number of the *Romans* that were wounded, was so great, as disabled *Marcellus* from pursuing *Hannibal*, who dislodged by night. Notwithstanding it sufficed, that *Fabius* the Consul hereby got leisure, to follow his businesse at *Tarentum* without any disturbance. *Fabius* the other Consul, about the same time, tooke in many of the *Hirpines*, *Lucans*, and *Vulsentes*, that willingly yielded themselves, and betrayed the Garrisons of *Hannibal* that lay in their Townes: whom *Fabius* encircled in louing sort; gently rebuking them for their errors past, without punishing those that had bene authours, or busie doers in the rebellion. That rabble of *Sicilian* theues, which *Lanius* had lately brought from *Apurerna*, was then also set on worke to besiege *Caulonia*; a Towne of the *Brutians*: and nothing was omitted, that might serue to diuert *Hannibal*, from the succour of *Tarentum*.

*Fabius* the Consul, hauing taken *Manduria* a Towne of the *Salentines*, sat downe before *Tarentum*: making all preparation that seemed needfull to carry it, either by assault or long siege. Of the Garrisons in the Towne, a good part were *Brutians*, placed there by *Hannibal*, vnder a Captaine of their owne Nation. This Captaine fell in loue with a *Tarentine* which; whose brother serued vnder *Fabius*. Hereof, he gaue notice by letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the *Roman* side; by telling him how rich; and of what great accompt her lover was. But her brother made the Consul acquainted with these newes; and said, that if the *Brutian* were faire in loue, he might perhaps be wonne, by intreaty of his Mistis, to doe what she would haue him. The Consul hearing this, and finding likelihood in the matter, willed his souldier to conuey himselfe into the Towne as a fugitive, and try what good might be done. It fell out according to his desire. The Souldier grew acquainted with this *Brutian* Captaine: and partly by his owne perswasions; partly by the flattering entreatie of his sister; and partly by the promise of the Towne to the *Romans*. When they had agreed vpon the businesse, and resolved how to order it, the same Souldier got out of the Towne by night, and acquainted the Consul with his proceedings: telling him in which part

that *Brutian* kept watch, and what might conueniently be done. So in the night time, *Fabius* gaue an alarme to the Citie; especially about those parts of the wall, which were farthest from the place where he meant to enter. The Captaines in the Towne, prepared to make resistance in those places, where the noise did threaten them with greatest likelihood of danger. But *Fabius* himselfe with the choice of his men, came in great silence to the quarter of the *Brutians*: who being wrought by their Captaine, helped the *Romans* to get vp, and brake open the next gate, whereat the Armie was let in. The *Tarentines* and *Carthaginian* souldiers, made head against *Fabius* in the Market place: but (as hapneth in like cases, where the maine confidence is already taken away) not very obstinately. *Nico*, *Democrates*, and *Philomenes*, with those that before had let in *Hannibal*, flew now the last of their courage in dying against the *Romans*. *Carthalo*, who commanded the Garrison within the Towne, offered himselfe prisoner: hoping to be well fed, because of hospitality that had passed betwene his Father and the Consul. But he was slaine by the way, ere he could come at *Fabius*. The *Romans* did put all indifferently to the sword, in such sort, that they spared few of the *Brutians*. This slaughter of the *Brutians*, was thought to haue bene made by appointment of the Consul, to the end that he might seeme to haue wonne the Towne by force and not by treason: though he thereby failed of his purpose; and neither had the glory which he expected, nor preserved his reputation of faithfull dealing, and keeping his word. The bootie found in *Tarentum* was very great: whereof the *Roman* Treasurie, whither it was carried, had great neede. As for the Imageries, and other curiosities, that were in the Citie, *Fabius* was contented to let them alone; and being told of some Idols that seemed worthy to be carried away, being very goodly pieces, in such habit and posture as if they were fighting, he said, Let vs leaue vnto the *Tarentines* their angrie gods.

*Hannibal* being gotten cleare from *Marcellus*, fell vpon those that besieged *Caulonia*. They fled at his coming: but he was so neere, that they were faine to betake them to a Hill, which serued to no other purpose, than to beare off the first brunt. There they defended themselves a little while, and then they yielded. When this businesse was done, he hastied away to relieue *Tarentum*. But when he came within six miles of the Citie, he had newes that it was lost. This grieved him: yet he said no more than this, The *Romans* haue also taken *Hannibal*; we haue lost *Tarentum* in such sort as we got it. That he might not seeme to turne backe amazed, or in any feare of the victorious Consul, he incamped a few dayes together, so neere as he was vnto *Tarentum*: and thence departing to *Metapontum*, bethought himselfe how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He caused the chiefe of the *Metapontines* to write vnto *Fabius*, and offer to betray into his hands, the *Carthaginian* Garrison; with condition, that he should in that respect, forgieue them all offences past. These letters were sent by two yong men of the same Citie; who did their errand so well, that the Consul wrote backe by them vnto the *Metapontines*, and appointed the day, when they should expect him. Hereof *Hannibal* was exceeding glad: and at good leisure made ready his ambushes for the warie *Fabius*. But whether some secret notice of the plot were giuen; or whether indeede (as it is related) some tokens in sacrificing, testified the superstitious *Roman*; the iourney to *Metapontum* was deferred. Hereupon the same two Messengers were employed againe: but being apprehended, and threatened with torture, they discouered all.

This yeere was happy to the *Romans*, in all their warres: for they got euery where; saue onely at *Caulonia*; where they lost a company of such lewd fellows, that it may seeme good fortune, to haue so bene rid of them. But their common poverity, & disability to maintain their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thirty *Roman* Colonies were then in *Italie*: of which, twelue refused to contribute any longer to the warres. For it was considered, that the Legions of *Cannae*, and those vnhappy Companies that had bene beaten vnder the one and the other *Cn. Fuluius*, were transported into *Sicily*, where they liued, in a sort, as banished men. This grieved their friends at home, and made them reckon vpon the more diligently those other miseries which they daily felt. Ten yeeres together they had bene exhausted with leues of men, and impositions of money: in euery of which yeeres they had receiued some notable ouerthrow. In this case the least that they could feare; or rather the best that they could hope; was to fall into the hands of the enemy to be made prisoners. For *Hannibal* did gently send home their people that was taken by him: whereas the *Romans* did banish from their homes,

homes, those that had escaped. It was therefore likely to come to passe within a while, that they should be all consumed: since new Souldiers were daily pressed forth of their Townes; and the old ones neuer returned. Such talke was frequent among those of the Colonies: especially wherethey that were transported into *Sicily*, had most compassionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of *Ardea*, *Sutrinum*, *Alba*, and other good Townes, to the number of twelue, That they should boldly deny vnto the *Romans* their farther helpe. This was thought the likeliest way to obtaine peace: whereof otherwise they saw little hope; as long as *Hannibal* liued. When the Consuls heard the Embassadors of these Townes make such declaration, and protest their disability of giuing any farther helpe, they were much amazed. They willed the Embassadors to returne home, and bring a better answer, forasmuch as this was none other than treason: they bade them to consider, that the people were not *Campans* or *Tarentines*, but the off-spring of the *Romans*; and no lesse partakers of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-Citie. But all would not serue: the Embassadors continuing to protest, that they had already done what they could; and that they had remaining, neither men, nor money. It was well for the *Romans*, that the other eightene Colonies did not imitate these twelue; but shewed themselves willing to vndergoe whatsoeuer should be layed vpon them, without shrinking vnder the burden. This their offer was so highly pleasing to the Consuls, that the Embassadors of those faithfull Colonies, were brought vnto the Senate, and produced into the Assembly of the people: where, with commendation of all their former good seruices, this their present loue vnto the State was magnified, and thanks accordingly bestowed vpon them; with promise, that it should not be forgotten. As for the Embassadors of those twelue Colonies, that refused to contribute, it was thought best, neither to retaine them in the Citie, nor yet to dismisse them, nor take any notice of them at all; but leaue them to their owne consideration of their ill deserting.

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of these twelue people would haue wrought in those that were so willing to helpe the State, if *Asdrubal* had been then coming into *Italy*. For then must the *Romans* haue betaken themselves wholly to their owne defence; whereas now, to the great comfort of their subjects, they employed their forces in the conquest of *Italy*, with hopefull and fortunate success. Neuertheless, they were faine to open their most priuie treasure; and thence take out the gold that had been layed vp to serue them in cases of greatest extremitie. Of the money thus extracted, one quarter was deliuered to *Fabius* the Consull, to set him well out against the *Tarentines*; all the rest was sent into *Spain* to *Scipio*, for the maintenance of his Armie; and to provide, that *Asdrubal* might not passe from thence into *Italy*. It is likely that *Fabius* did not spend all his money, finding such easie success at *Tarentum*, as was shewed before. But to stop the iourney of *Asdrubal*; neither the money sent into *Spain*, nor any victories won by *Scipio* could suffice. Neuertheless it fell out happily for the people of *Rome*, that this yeere, & the next were spent, before his coming; and they better prepared, than at lesse warning they could haue beene, to entertaine him. Here it were not amisse to note, That since the *Romans*, being in so great necessitie of money, were driuen to furnish the Armie in *Spain*, with the greatest part of all their stocke that was left: it must needs be, that either the bootie taken in new *Carthage*, was far lesse than fame had reported it; or else that *Scipio* had not as yet auoyne it: howsoeuer *Linus* rather inclines to those, who say that he got it soone after his arrival.

*M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *T. Quinctius Crispinus*, were chosen Consuls after *Fabius* and *Fulvius*. In their yeere it was, that *Asdrubal* tooke his iourney out of *Spain*, though he came not into *Italy* vntill this yeere following. After the great battaile at *Canna*, *Hannibal* had lost much time about *Cume* and *Nepes*, in seeking to make himselfe Master of a good haue, for the landing of those succours that were promised from *Carthage*. The hope that he reposed in *Philip*, caused him to turne his principall care to the Easterne parts of *Italy*; where he made ready a faire entrance for the *Macedonians*, if he had bene ready to come. But since his hope was vanished, and the long promised succour of *Asdrubal* was (though farre later than had bene expedient) ready to arrive: he began to deale with the people of *Hetruria*, through whose Countreys his brother, was to passe; that therein he might make a partie against the *Romans*; The losse of *Capua*, *Tarentum*, and many other Townes, might haue terrified all other of the *Italian* Townes, from harkening

to any solicitation of the *Carthaginians*. Yet the pouerty of the *Romans*, & the wearines of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater Army coming, than that which *Hannibal* brought into *Italy*; did imbolden many of the *Hetrurians*, especially the *Aretines*, to take such counsell as they thought most expedient for themselves, without regard of their fidelitie to *Rome*. The *Roman* Senate, hearing the rumour of their conspiracy, sent *Marcellus* the new chosen Consull into *Hetruria*: whose coming did so terrifie them, that they rested quiet for a while. All the yeere following they were devising how to breake out: as contrariwise the *Roman* Propretors; partly by terrour of seuerer iudgements & inquisitions, and partly by the force of two or three Legions, with which they visited all suspected places, kept them honest against their wills; and took many hostages for better assurance. The two Consuls had an earnest desire, to make strong warre vpon *Hannibal* without more temporising: perswading themselves, that in battaile they should be too strong for him. *Crispinus* had further his particular desire, to make his Consullship notable by the winning of some good Towne: as *Fulvius* and *Fabius* had gotten honour by *Capua* and *Tarentum*. Therefore he went about the siege of *Locri*, one of the best cities which the *Carthaginian* then held in *Italy*; and brought thither all sorts of engines, sending for a fleet out of *Sicily* to helpe him. But *Hannibal* was not slow to relieue the city: the fame of whose approach, made *Crispinus* desist from his enterprize, & retire vnto his Colleague, that lay at *Venusia*. Thither followed *Hannibal*; to whom the Consuls daily offered battaile. This great man of warre had no need to stand vpon his reputation: which was already so confirmed, that his refusing to fight, was not likely to be ascribed vnto feare; but rather deigned as part of his wisdom. He entertained the Consuls with many light skirmishes, & fought to take them at some advantage; referring his owne numbers as full as he could, vnto a time of greater employment. In this lingering manner of War, *Marcellus* took no pleasure: but sought to compell the Enemy to battaile, whether he would or no. The Admiral of the *Roman* fleet about *Sicily*, *L. Cincius*, was commanded again to assaile the Towne of *Locri*; which might well enough be forced, if *Hannibal* continued as he began to trifle away the time at *Venusia*. To the same purpose a part of the Garrison that lay in *Tarentum*, was appointed to go by Land to the assistance of *Cincius*. But *Hannibal* had an eye behinde him. He laid an ambush in the way, between *Tarentum* and *Locri*; wherinto the *Romans* fell: and hauing lost about three thousand of their company, were well glad, the rest of them, to quit their enterprize, and saue their owne liues within *Tarentum*. As for the Consuls, it was the desire of *Hannibal*, to waste their Armie by little and little: which to doe, he neglected no advantage. There lay betwene him and them an Hillocke, ouer-growne with wood, that seemed fit to couer a number of men: who lying there vndiscovered, might fall vpon such, as should straggle from the *Roman* campe; and cut them off. Therefore he sent thither by night some companies of *Numidians*: whom hee willed to keepe themselves close, and attend their best advantage. To this piece of ground, the Consuls thought it fit to remove their campe: *Marcellus* thinking that he neuer lay neere enough vnto *Hannibal*. Thither therefore both of them rode to view the place, accompanied with the son of *Marcellus*, a few Colonels, and other principall men: and not many more than two hundred horse, most of them *Hetrurians*. The *Numidian* Centinel gaue warning of their approach to his fellows; who discouered not themselves, vntill they had surrounded the Consuls & their train. The Consuls, as necessity compelled them, defended themselves: hoping to be quickly relieved from their campe that was neere at hand. But the *Hetrurians* ran away from them, at the first: and left them in that great danger, to the weak assistance of no more than forty horse-men, that were of the Colonie of *Fregellæ*. These *Fregellans* abode by the Consuls; and did what they could to haue brought them safe off. But when *Marcellus* was stricken thorow with a Lance, and fell downe dead; then began euery one to shift for himselfe, and escape as they might. *Crispinus* the other Consull, had his death wound, being stricken with two Darts; and young *Marcellus* was likewise wounded; yet these two recouered their campe. The rest of the Colonels and Officers; together with the Ligors that carried the bundles of Rods and Axes before the Consuls, were all slaine or taken. To the dead body of the Consull *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* gaue honourable Funerall, according to the custome of those times: and bestowing his ashes in a siluer pot, couered it with a crown of gold; and so sent them to yong *Marcellus* to be by him interred, where he thought good.



Presently after this, *Crispinus* bethought himselfe, how that the signet Ring of *Marcellus* was false into the custody of *Hannibal*; who might vse it, to his owne purposes, ere that which had hapned were well knowne abroad. Wherefore he sent word vnto all the Towns about, that his Colleague was slaine; and that *Hannibal* had gotten his Ring; wishing them in that regard, to giue no credit vnto any letters therewithall signed. This prouidence of *Crispinus* was not more than requisite. For his Messenger was but a little before come to Salapia, when another Messenger arrived there sent from *Hannibal*, bringing letters in the name of *Marcellus*, and sealed with the captiue Ring; whereof the contents were: That it was his purpose to come the same night vnto Salapia; where he willed, that the Souldiers of the Garrison should be in a readinesse, for such employment as he should thinke needfull. The deuice was plaine: and no lesse plaine was the reuengfull minde, which he bare against that Citie; because of his braue Numidian companies, that had therein bene betrayed. The Salapians herupon bethought themselves, how to take their Enemy in his owne snare. They sent back the Messenger, which was a Roman fugitiue; without letting him perceiue any signe of distrust in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readinesse, for the entertainment of such a friend. Late in the night he came thither; with a troupe of Roman fugitiues armed Roman-like. Late in the night he came thither; with a troupe of Roman fugitiues armed Roman-like, leading the way. These all talking Latine together, called vnto the Watch, and bade open the gate: for the Consul was there. The gate was opened faire and leisurly, and the Port-cullis drawne vp no higher than needs it must be, to let them enter. But when fixe hundred of them were gotten in, downe fell the Port-cullis againe: and they that thought to haue taken others, were taken themselves; being laide at on all hands by the Salapians, that quickly made an end with them.

*Hannibal* being thus ouer-reached with this stratageme, hasted away to Locri; where, vnto *Cincius*, the Admirall of the Roman fleet about Sicil, did lay hard siege. The first appearance of the Numidians, *Hannibal* his Vantecours, made the Romans in all confused haste, run to their ships: leauing all their engines, and whatsoeuer was in their campe, to the enemies disposition.

The Roman Senate hearing of these accidents, sent vnto *Crispinus* the suruiuing Consul, & requested him to name a Dictator, that might take charge of the Common-wealth, and dispatch the election of new Magistrates, with other businesse; whereunto himselfe was disabled by his hurts. He did so: and soone after died. Then was it thought needfull, that new Consuls should be chosen out of hand: forasmuch as two Roman Armies lay so neere vnto the enemy, without any Generall. Especially it was desired, that Election should be made of such men, as were not onely valiant, but well aduised: since the best, and most fortunate of their great Darers, *M. Marcellus*, by losing himselfe so strangely, had giuen them a faire warning, not to commit their Armie vnto rash heads. Among those that stood for the Consulship, *C. Claudius Nero*, was the most eminent. He was of great Nobilitie, a good Souldier, and one, whose many seruices in this present warre, did forcibly commend vnto the place. Yet he seemed a little too violent; and one, whose temper needed the allay of a more staid wit. The fathers therefore endeauoured to ioine vnto him in the Consulship *M. Linius*: one that had borne the same Office, long before. This *M. Linius* had bene Consul with *L. Emilius Paulus*, in the yeere foregoing the beginning of this warre. After their Consulship, wherein they did good seruice, they had both of them bene called into iudgement by the People: and this *Linius* condemned; *Emilius* hardly escaping. Though it hath bene once already noted; yet I cannot forbear to remember it againe: how it pleased God, to vpbraid the vnthankfull Romans, with the malicious iudgement, giuen by their multitude vpon honorable men. For in the battaile of Cannae, it was apparant, what lamentable effects, the memorie of their iniustice wrought: when *L. Emilius* rather chose to yeeld to the froward ignorance of his Colleague; and afterward to die in the greatest ouerthrow that euer fell vpon the State of Rome, than by resisting the pernicious courses of *Terentius Varro*, to cast himselfe anew vpon the danger of the popular furie. As for *M. Linius*, hee is euen now ready, and will so continue, to tell the People of their faults in a diuers manner. Eight yeeres together after his condemnation had he bene absent out of the Citie, and liued in his Countrey Grange; still vexing himselfe with the indignitie of his condemnation. *Marcellus* and *Linius*, being Consuls two or three yeeres agoe, had brought him into Rome: where he liued priuate in discontented sort, as might appeare,

both

both by his carelesnesse in apparell, and by the wearing of his long haire & beard, which in that time were the badges of men afflicted. Very lately he was compelled by the Censors, to poll his haire, and come into the Senate: where he vsed to sit silent, and signifie his assent or dislike to what was proposed, either in short formall words, or in passing from side to side, when the house was diuided. At length it hapned, that in some businesse weightily concerning one that was his kinsman; he stood vp, & made a set speech: whereby he drew all the Fathers to attention; and bade them enquire of him, and take better notice, what he was, and what he had bene. The Senate was much altered since he had left it; many braue men were lost; new ones were chosen; such as rather serued to fill vp the number, than to answer to the dignitie of the place: and they that were left of ancient standing, had euen spent their Vertues to no great effect. Wherefore, all began to say; that it was great pittie, so worthy and able a man, as this *Linius*, had bene all this while forgotten; one, of whom the Common-wealth stood in great need, yet had not vsed in this dangerous warre. Now seeing that the Consuls ought, one of them, to be chosen a Patrician, the other, of necessitie a Plebeian; and since, neither *Fabius*, nor *Valerius Lanius*, being both of them Patricians, could be ioyned with *Claudius Nero*: euerie one was of opinion, that there could not be chosen and coupled together, two fitter men than *C. Claudius*, and this *Marcus Linius*. But *Linius* would not endure to heare of this. He said it was vnreasonable, that one condemned as a dishonest man, should afterwards be chosen Ruler of the Citie. If they had done ill to trust him with one Consulship, what meant they then to offer him another? With these, and the like phraeses he resisted their desires: till by perswasions, and examples rehearsed, of such as had patiently digested iniuries done by the People, and repaid good for euill; he was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Embleme, with which *Themistocles* checked the ingratitude of the Athenians: resembling himselfe to a Plane-tree, the branches and boughs whereof men breake in faire weater; but run vnder it for shelter in a storme. Such vnthankfulness, to well-deseruing men, is not rarely found in the outrageous multitude. Neither was the late example hereto much vnlike, of *Philip* the second King of Spaine his dealing with the Duke of Alua. For although he had committed the Duke to prison; vpon some small offence conceiued, without all regard of his former deserts: yet when his intended conquest of Portugal, required the seruice of a man, more than ordinarily sufficient; he stood no longer vpon the scanning of late displeasures; but employed the same Duke, whom he had newly disgraced. Thus is wisdom often taught by necessity.

It was a dangerous yeere toward, when *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Linius* were chosen Consuls. *Afrubal* was already come into France, and waited onely to haue the wayes of the Alpes thawed by warme weather, for his passage into Italy. The Romans vsed at this time the seruice of three and twenty Legions: and wanted not employment, for many more, if they had knowne how to leaue and maintaine them. Of these which they had, foure serued in Spaine, two in Sicil, and two in Sardinia: the rest were so disposed, in severall parts of Italy, where need seemed to require, that onely two Legions were left to each of the Consuls. But the Consuls were men of execution: and would not be tied to the panchall obseruance of what the Senatethought fit. *M. Linius* would not stirre out of Rome; against so mighty a power as followed *Afrubal*, vntill he had first obtained, that he might carry with him as many as could wel be spared from other employments; and those, for the most of them, chosen Companies. It was true, that two Legions, appointed to serue vnder *Lusius Porcius* at Prator of that yeer; among the Cisalpine Gaules, might be reckoned as an additament to the forces of *Linius*; to whom the warre against *Afrubal* was allotted. So might also two other Legions, that were among the Salentines; neere vnto Tarentum, vnder another of the Pretors, be accounted a part of *Claudius* his Armie, that was sent against *Hannibal*. Neither the less the Consuls, by the especiall instance of *Linius*, did obtaine, that all might be left to their owne discretion. For newes came, that *Afrubal* was already passing the Alpes; the Ligurians, who dwelt in the Countrey about Genua, with their Neighbour people, were in readinesse to ioine with him; and *L. Porcius* sent word, that he would adventure no further, than hee safely might. When all was ordered, as themselves thought best, the two Consuls went forth of the Citie; each his severall way. The People of Rome were now quite otherwise

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affected, than they had beene, when *L. Aemilius Paulus* and *C. Terentius Varro*, were sent against *Hannibal*. They did no longer take vpon them, to direct their Generals, or bid them dispatch, and winne the victorie betimes: but rather they stood in feare, lest all diligence, wilddome and valour should proue too little. For since few yeeres had passed, wherein some one of their Generals had not bene slaine; and since it was manifest, that if either of these present Consuls were defeated, or put to the worst; the two Carthaginians would forthwith ioyne, and make short worke with the other: it seemed a greater happinesse than could be expected, that each of them should retorne home Victors; and come off with honour, from such mightie opposition, as he was like to finde. With extreame difficultie had Rome held vpon her head, euer since the battaile of Cannæ: though it were so, that *Hannibal* alone, with little helpe from Carthage, had continued the war in Italy. But there was now arriued another sonne of *Amilcar*; and one, that in his present Expedition, had seemed, a man of more sufficiencie than *Hannibal* himselfe. For, whereas in that long and dangerous march, through barbarous Nations, ouer great Riueres and Mountaines, that were thought vnpassable, *Hannibal* had lost a great part of his Armie: this *Asdrubal*, in the same places, had multiplyed his numbers; and, gathering the people that he found in the way, descended from the Alpes like a rowling Snow-ball, faire greater than he came ouer the Pyrenées at his first setting out of Spaine. These considerations and the like, of which feare presented many vnto them; caused the people of Rome, to wait vpon their Consuls out of the Towne; like a pensue traine of Mourners: so thinking vpon *Marcus* and *Crispinus*, vpon whom in the like sort they had giuen attendance the last yeere; but saw neither of them retorne aliv, from a lesse dangerous warre. Particularly, old *Q. Fabius* gaue his accustomed aduice to *M. Livius*, that hee should abstaine from giuing, or taking battaile, vntill he well vnderstood the Enemies condition. But the Consul made him a froward answer, and said, That he would fight the very first day: for that he thought it long, till he should either recouer his honour by victory; or by seeing the ouerthrow of his owne vniust Citizens, satisfie himselfe with the ioy of a great, though not an honest, reuenge. But his meaning was better than his words.

Of the ouerthrow that *Asdrubal* receiued in Spaine by *Scipio*, a little before he tooke his iourney into Italy; such mention hath already bene made, as agreed with the report of that noble Historian *Livie*. Yet I thinke it not amisse to adde in this place, what may be gathered out of the remaining fragments of *Polybius* his historie concerning that accident. *Asdrubal* had wrestled with many difficulties in Spaine; by reason of those Captaines that were sent from the city of Carthage, to ioyne with him in the administration of that Prouince: they being, as it may seeme, of the Hannonian faction; which is to say, thus farre forth Traitors, that they preferred the aduantage of their own side, before the good of their Common-wealth. In what particulars they wronged this worthy sonne of *Amilcar*, and how they hindered his courses vnderaken, it cannot be knowne: since of those bookes, wherein *Polybius* hath exactly handled these matters, there are vtterly remaining only a few broken pieces. But by the spightfull dealing of *Hanno* in Sicill with *Mutines*, a better man of warre than himselfe, whom *Hannibal* had sent into the Island: we may conceiue, that against the brother of *Hannibal* it was thought needefull, by these mischieuous Partizans of *Hanno*, to vse the violent opposition of more earnest malice. Neuertheless *Asdrubal* was a good Patriot: and therefore endured patiently such indignities, as *Mutines* could not long digest. His iourney into Italy being resolved vpon: hee lay with part of the Armie at Betula, not farre from the Mines of silver; whence he was to furnish his expedition. Thither came *Scipio*: and draue him out of his Campe, though hee were strongly lodged, before the other Carthaginian Captaines could, or would, come to his assistance. The ouerthrow seemes not to haue bene so great, as it must haue bene supposed, if no way lay open to those that fled. Rather it appeares, that *Asdrubal* dealt like a prouident man, and seeing that his Campe was likely to be forced, sent away all his mony, with his Elephants before him: but staid behind himselfe to sustaine the Romans awhile, vntill his carriages might be out of danger. Herein he had his desire. Afterwards, he gathered his broken troups together: and retired in such sort, that *Scipio* thought it not good to pursue him; and so passed ouer Tagus. Then taking vnto him the forces assigned for his expedition, he marched away toward the Pyrenées: leauing the care of Spaine vnto his brother *Mago*, and to *Asdrubal* the

Excerpt E.  
Polyb. lib. 9. S. 10.  
¶ 11.

the sonne of *Geso*; that thought himselfe the fittest man for the administration thereof. *Faine* would *Scipio* haue stopped him on his iourney, by sending to defend against him the ordinary way of the Mountaines. But whether *Asdrubal* tooke another way, or whether he forced the guards that *Scipio* had set to keepe the Pyrenées (as the defence of hard passages commonly sorts to no good effect) he was not letted in his voyage by any such impediment. Comming into Gaule, and following the steps of his brother *Hannibal*: he found the Nations that lay in his way, so well affected, either to him or to his mony, that no passages were defended against him, nor any sort of resistance made; but he, and his Armie, well entertained, and their number much increased, by access of such as were desirous to take his pay. Of these he had the better choyce: for that hee was driuen to Winter in their Countrey, whilst that the passages of the Alpes were closed vp with Ice and Snow. The Mountainers likewise, that had so greatly molested *Hannibal* in his iourney ouer the Alpes: were easily won to take part with *Asdrubal*, when he trauielled through their Countrey. For these poore men, at the first comming of *Hannibal*, were verily persuaded, that it was his purpose to rob them of their cattails, and to make spoyle of that little wealth, which they had painfully scraped together out of the desolate rocks. But now in proesse of time, they were better informed. Therefore vnderstanding, that there were two mighty Cities, farre dis-ioyned asunder, which made warre vpon each other, by Land and Sea; and that the Alpes did only lye in the way: they gladly descended, to take their part in the fortune of the Inuaders. The like affection, vpon greater cause, was afterward found in the Cisalpine Gaules. The Ligurians also ioynd with *Asdrubal*: and so would the Hetrurians haue done; if he had arriued in their Countrey. There was no other Roman Armie neere, than *L. Porcius* with his two Legions; of whom there was no great feare. Therefore did *Asdrubal* set vpon Placentia a Roman Colonie: in hope to make his comming the more terrible, by the destruction of that Towne. But there he lost a great deale of time, and finally was driuen to quit the enterprize: by vndertaking which, he gaue the Roman Consuls leisure to make ready for him; and caused his brother *Hannibal* (who vpon the first bruit of *Asdrubal* his coming, and easily passing the Alpes, was about to leaue his wintering campees, and goe forth to meet with him) to sit still awhile, as well aware, that Placentia would not be taken in haste.

*C. Claudius Nero* the Roman Consul, made what speed he could, to meet with *Hannibal*, and stop him from ioyning with his brother. He had about forty thousand foot, and five hundred horse: with which he daily offered battaile to the Carthaginians; & had of him the better in many skirmishes. *Hannibal* was once driuen to make a tedious march from the borders of the Salentines and Abulians, into the countrey of the Brutians, there to encrease his forces; which were otherwise too weak for the iourney intended. Afterward comming to Grumentum, a Towne of the Lucans; he there fought vnprosperously with *Nero* the Consul. Neuertheless he got off, and marched away to Venusia. But *Nero* followed him; and had there againe the better of him. Wherefore he was driuen to retorne to Metapontum: where ioyning with *Hanno*, that had made ready a good Army, he assailed againe to make way by force to his brother. So he passed onward, and came againe to Venusia, hauing *Nero* still at his heeles. Thence went he ouer the Riuer Aufidus to Canusium, where he fate downe, not farre from the place, in which he had obtained his most memorable victory. There also did *Nero* sit downe by him: and both of them rested, without making offer to fight. It seemed perhaps vnto *Hannibal*, who knew the Countrey very well; that his brother might, with little impediment, ouer-come the way to Canusium: where if he could once againe deale with both the Consuls, and all the Roman forces together, he had reason to hope for such another victory, as once he had gotten in the same open Countrey. If this had so falne out; Rome would haue bene vndone for euer. But the Carthaginians should not haue needed to wish any second victory, in the naked Camps about Cannæ; if such an Armie, as this which *Asdrubal* now brings, had come to secon *Hannibal*, when he was in his full strength; and the Romans not able to keepe the field. Wherefore this worthy Generall had good reason afterward to say, that *Hanno* was the man, who by delaying the supply, did beate him out of Italy; which else no power of the Romans could haue done.

Whilst *Nero* waited vpon the Carthaginians, and thought it enough to hinder them from meeting with the Armie that was comming to their succour: he was aduertised of

Fffff 3

*Asdrubal*

*Asdrubal* his approach; by Letters and Messengers intercepted; as they were going to *Hannibal*. These gave notice, that *Asdrubal* had left the siege of *Placentia* and drew on wards apace: being already come within two hundred miles of his brother; notwithstanding all opposition that could be made by *Linus* the Consul. Of these newes *Claudian Nero* was nothing ioyfull. For if *Hannibal* could once be ioynd as head, vnto that great body of an Armie, which *Asdrubal* brought with him: it was most apparant, that howe soeuer the fortune of Rome should auoid, for the present, any great calamitie, yet the very continuance of so strong a warre at home, would enforce the Latines, and other faithful Associates, to faint vnder the burden; as twelue of the thirtie Roman Colonels had already done. Wherefore he resolved, that it were better to make any desperate adventure, than to suffer the conjunction of two such malevolent Planets: whose pestilent influence, if not on the sudden, yet within few yeeres, was like to worke most lamentable effects. It seemed apparant, that his Colleague was vnable to stay the progresse of *Asdrubal*: neither were there any good Legions in a readinesse, that could doe seruice in such a needfull case; excepting those, that were already employed vnder the two Consuls. Hereupon he concluded, that it was not expedient for him to tye himselfe to his owne charge, which was the warre against *Hannibal*: but rather that it behoued him, to helpe where more necessity required; and to carry part of his forces vnto his Colleague. This could not be without much danger. Yet since the meeting of the two Carthaginian brethren, was farre more dangerous to the Roman Common-wealth; it seemed the best way to put Fortune in trust, with that which was of the lesse importance. Sixe thousand foot, and a thousand horse he therefore tooke, that were the very choise of his Armie: and making shew, as if he would onely step aside, to doe some small piece of seruice neere at hand; away he posted as fast as he could, to assist his fellow Consul. His Messengers ranne before him, to giue warning to all Townes by which hee was to passe, that they should be ready to meet him, with victuals, and all other necessaries for his Armie. *Linus* the other Consul, at that time, lay incamped, neere vnto *Sua Gallica*; and *Asdrubal* within halfe a mile of him. In sixe dayes *Nero* had finished his journey thither; and when he drew neere, sent Messengers before him, to giue notice of his coming. *Linus* thought it fittest that he should stay in some place of couert vntill darke night, and then enter secretly into the campe: lest the Enemy, perceiving this accesse of strength, should accordingly frame his counsailes. This was done: and a token giuen, that the Colonels, Captaines, and all Souldiers, a few horse as foot, that *Nero* had brought with him; should be lodged and entertained by men of their owne sort. Their Companie was somewhat increased by Voluntaries that ioynd with them on the way. Neweithelss, it was not needfull, that the Quarter which receiued them, should be enlarged; since they had brought with them nothing but their armes. The next day they held a Counsaile of warre: wherein some were of opinion, that it was best for these new-arrived Companies, to refresh themselves a few dayes after their weary iourney, before they should be drawne forth to battaile. But against this, *Nero* was very earnest: and besought his Colleague, to make vse of him out of hand; that he might becom returne to his owne Campe, ere *Hannibal* should haue notice of his absence. The Souldiers also of *Nero*, were full of spirit; perceiving that the honour of the victory was like to be theirs: forasmuch as the battaile would not haue beene vndertaken, without this their coming to helpe. Finally, it was agreed when the Counsaile brake vp, that the signe of battaile should be hung out; which was commonly a purple coate ouer the Generals pavilion.

*Asdrubal* was no lesse willing than the Romans to come to battaile, hauing long desired it, and hitherto not found occasion before. But when he had put his men in order, and was riding before the head of his Armie, to behold the Enemies countenance: it seemed to him, that they were more than they had beene; and some of their armes and horses looked as though they had wanted dressing, after a long iourney. Hereupon he began to with-draw his Armie backe into the Campe: and gaue order, that if no prisoners could be taken, by whom hee might be certified of the truth; yet should there good obseruation be made, whether the enemies campe were enlarged, or no; or what other alteration could be noted, that might shew their forces to be increased. The campe, as hath beene said, was not extended: but the trumpet, that sounded onely once in the quarter of *L. Porcius* the Pretor, did now, contrary to former custome, sound twice in the

the quarter of *Linus* the Consul. Hereat *Asdrubal* greatly miled: and being well acquainted with the Roman orders, held this for a sure token, that the other Consul was there arrived. How this might be, *Hannibal* was aware, and in good case, he was not able to conjecture; but thought it the best way, to goe deliberately to worke, till he might be better informed. Vpon confidence in his owne forces, he had not cared hitherto, how neere he lay to the Romans; nor troubled himselfe perhaps with ouer-strongly fortifying his owne Campe. Yet when he now perceived, that somewhat was fallen out beside his expectation, he changed his resolution; and held it no dishonour to remove a little further off. So he dislodged secretly by night, intending to get ouer the *Ruer Metaurus*; whereby to keepe himselfe as long as he could, from necessity of battaile. But whether it were so, that his guides did steale away from him in the dark, so that he could not finde the way to the Forde; or whether his charriges were too heauy, and hindered his speed: farre he had not gone, ere the Consul *Nero* was at his heeles with all the Roman horse, and staied him from passing any further. Soone after came *L. Porcius* with the light armature: whom the other Consul followed anon with all the Legions; in good order, and ready for battaile. *Asdrubal*, seeing himselfe overtaken with necessity to fight; omitted no care and circumspection. His Gaules, in vvhom he reposed least confidence, he placed in his left wing vpon a Hill, which the Enemy should not, without much difficultie, be able to climbe: in the right wing he stood himselfe with his Africans & Spaniards; his Ligurians he placed in the midst; and his Elephants, he bestowed in the front of his battailes. On the Roman side, *Nero* had the leading of the right wing; *Linus* of the left, and *Porcius* of the battaile. Both Romans and Carthaginians well vnderstood, how much depended vpon the fortune of this day; and how little hope of safety there was vnto the vanquished. Onely the Romans herein seemed to haue had the better in conceit, and opinion; That they were to fight with men desirous to haue fled from them. And, according to this presumption, came *Linus* the Consul with a proud brauery, to giue charge on the Africans, by whom he was so sharply entertained; that the victory seemed very doubtfull. The Africans and Spaniards were stout Souldiers, and well acquainted with the maner of the Roman fight. The Ligurians also were a hardy Nation, and not accustomed to giue ground; which they needed the lesse, or were able now to doe, being placed in the midst. *Linus* therefore, and *Porcius*, found strong opposition: and with great slaughter on both sides, prevailed little or nothing. Besides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the Elephants that brake their firr ranks; and put them in such disorder, as the Roman Ensignes were driuen to fall backe. All this while *Claudian Nero*, labouring much in vaine against a steepe Hill, was vnable to come to blowes with the Gaules, that stood opposite vnto him, but out of danger. This made *Asdrubal* the more confident; who seeing his owne left wing safe, did the more boldly and fiercely make impression on the other side, vpon the left wing of the Romans. But *Nero* perceiving that the place wherein he stood, was such as would compell him to remaine idle till the fight were ended; took a part of his forces, and led them round behind the forces of *Porcius* and *Linus*: vvhich hauing compassed, he fell vpon *Asdrubal*, and charged him in the flanke. Here began the victory to bee manifest on the Roman side. For *Nero*, finding none to resist him in front, ran all along the depth of *Asdrubal*'s battaile: and falling vpon the skirts thereof, disordered the Enemies, and put all to rout. Of the Spaniards therefore and Africans, that were laid at on every side, the greatest part was slaine. The Ligurians and Gaules escaped as they could; and saved themselves by timely flight. Of the Elephants, foure were taken alive: the rest were slaine; some by the Enemies weapons, others by their owne guides that rode vpon them. For vvhany of them, being fore wounded, began to vvvaxe vnruly, and rush back vpon their own battailes following them: the guide had in readinesse a Mallet, and a Chizzell, wherewith he gaue them a stroke between the eares, in the ioynt of the neck, next vnto the head; wherewith he killed the beast vpon the sudden. This speedy way of preventing such harme as the Elephants, being hurt, were wont to doe to the squadrons following them; is said to haue been the deuice of *Asdrubal* himselfe, vvhom dyed in this battaile.

Great commendations are giuen to *Asdrubal*, both by *Polybius*, and by *Linus*. He is said at all times to haue shewed himselfe worthy of *Amilcar* his father, and *Hannibal* his brother: to haue striven with great patience, against many difficulties; whereinto hee fell.

fell by the meanes of those Captains that were sent from Carthage into Spain; so haue performed in this last battaile all duties of a worthy Generall; and finally when he saw the losse irreparable, to haue ridden manfully into the thickest of his Enemies; where, fighting brauely, he was slaine. Of the number that died with him in this battaile, the report of *Linie*, and of *Polybius*, doe very much disagree. For *Linie* saith, that the Carthaginians had no lesse an ouerthrow, than was that, which they gaue to the Romans at Cannae; that fiftie fixe thousand of them were slaine, fise thousand and foure hundred taken prisoners; and about foure thousand Roman Citizens, whom they had captiues with them, deliuered, and set at libertie. He saith also, that of the Romans and their Associates there were slaine eight thousand; and of the bootie, that it was exceeding great; not onely in other kinds, but in gold and silver. Concerning the bootie, *Polybius* hath no mention of it. Likely it is to haue been as rich as *Linie* reporteth it; for *Asdrubal* came well-stored with money. But *Polybius* (who had no desire to make this battaile of Metaurus, a parallel vnto that of Cannae) reports no more than about ten thousand of the Carthaginian side, and two thousand of the Roman, to haue bin slaine. The number of the prisoners he doth not mention: but only saith, That some of the Carthaginian Princes were taken aliue; and that all the rest died in the battaile. Whereby it may seeme that they were all Barchines; foras much as they preferred the honour of themselves, and of their country, aboue their liues.

The ioy of this victory was no lesse in Rome, than had been the feare of the enemy. For euer since it was knowne in what sort *Nero* had left his Army; the whole City was troubled, as much as lately at *Hannibal* his coming thither. Men thought it strange, that the Consull should make such a great aduenture, as thus to put the one half of all the Roman forces, vnto hazard of the Dice. For what if *Hannibal* should chauce to haue notice of this his departure; and either pursue him, or set vpon the Army that staid behinde, much weakened, and without a Generall: Thus did they talke; yet reseruing their censure vnto the successe, with liberty to approue or condemne, according to the issue. In the meane time the people filled the Market-places, the Women ranne to the Temples, with Vowes and Prayers; and the Senators were daily in counsaile, waiting still ready at hand vpon the Magistrates, as if some great matter were likely to fall out, that would aske euery ones helpe. In briefe, they were all so full of melancholy, that when first newes of the victorie came, there were not many that would beleue it. Afterwards, when Messengers arriued from the Consuls, with Letters containing all that had passed: there was not onely great and ioyfull concourse of all sorts of men vnto the Temples, but the very face of the City was altered; and men from thenceforth began to follow their priuate businesse; making contracts one with another (which they had long forborn to doe) and attending their owne affaires in such wise, as if *Hannibal* were already driuen out of Italy.

*Nero* returning to his campe, threw forth openly the head of *Asdrubal* before the Carthaginians: and producing his African prisoners bound; sent two of them loose to giue *Hannibal* notice of what had hapned. These two prisoners might haue serued well enough to certifie *Hannibal* of the misaduenture, without doing wrong to the dead body of *Asdrubal*: especially since *Hannibal*, in honourable, and farre different manner, had giuen buriall to *Gracchus* and *Marcellus*; yea to all the Roman Generals, whose carkasses fell into his hands. But it may seeme, that howsoeuer the People of Carthage wanted much of the generous disposition, which was found among the Romans, in their loue vnto the Common-weale; yet in dealing with enemies, they were far more ciuill, and lesse prone to the insolency of reuenge. The best excuse of this outrage done by *Nero*, is, that he hoped much more by the sudden terrour of such a spectacle, than by the simple relation of that which had passed, to make a deep impression of feare into the Carthaginians. It may also be said, That he forgot himselfe, being ouer-joyed with the greatnesse of his prosperity. For it was the battaile of Metaurus that weighed downe the ballance, and turned the Tide of the Roman fortune: which being then at the lowest Ebbe, ceased not afterwards to flow, till it could not be contained within any banks; *Hannibal* hauing lost in this vnhappy fight (besides that worthy Gentleman his Brother) all the hope that so long sustained him in Italy, with-drew himselfe into the Countrey of the Brutians: and thither he caused all the Lucans that were of his partie to remoue; as likewise all that dwelt in Metapontum. For he wanted men to defend

defend so many places as he held at the present, because they lay too farre asunder. Wherefore he drew them all into a lesser compass in the vtmost corner of Italy; it being a countrey of much fastnesse, and the people exceedingly deuoted to his seruice. In this businesse *Nero* gaue him no memorable impediment: either because *Hannibal* was too strong for him, hauing all his forces vnited; or because it is likely that this remoue of the Lucans & Metapontines, was not before the end of Summer, when their harvest was gathered in: at what time the Senate called him home to Rome. *M. Linus* the other Consul taried among the Cisalpine Gaules vntill the end of Summer; there to set things in such order as he thought requisite: which done, he wrote vnto the Senate, that there was no more need of him and his Army in that Prouince, but that *L. Porcius*, with the two Legions that were there before, might very well discharge the place. For this cause, he desired leaue to returne home; and that he might bring his Army with him. The Senate well vnderstood his meaning: which was, to haue the honour of triumph, as he well deserued. But foras much as it was well knowne, what interest *Nero* had in the late victory: order was giuen, that not onely *Linie* with his Armie should come home; but likewise *Nero*, though leauing his Armie behind him, to confront *Hannibal*. So the honour of triumph was granted to them both: in the pompe whereof *Linie* made the greater show, as riding in a Chariot, and followed by his Souldiers; because in his Prouince, and vpon his day of command, the victory was gotten: his Armie all being present at the triumph. But *Nero* that rode on horse-backe, and without such attendance, was the more extolled by the People and Souldiers; by whom, the victory was in a manner wholly ascribed vnto his great worth. Neither wanted *L. Petrus Philo*, and *Q. Caelius Metellus*, Lieutenants to the Generals, the due acknowledgment of their good seruice. For they were commended vnto the People, as men worthy to be chosen Consuls: and Consuls they were chosen for the year following. But nothing was done by them, worthy of memory in their Consulship. Neither indeed from this year, which was the thirteenth of the present warre, vntill the eighteenth yere wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in Italy; save only the taking of Locri from the Carthaginians by surprize. For *Hannibal* wanted strength, wherewith to make any great offer: and the Romans had little minde to prouoke him; but thought it well that he was quiet. Such opinion had they conceiued of him, that though all about him went to ruine; yet in him aloneth they thought there was force enough to hold himselfe vpright. And surely very notable are the commendations giuen vnto him by *Polybius*, vvhom *Linie* therein followes: That making warre vpon a People, of all other the most warlike, he obtained so many victories by his owne good conduct: and that leading an Army, compounded of so many sundry Nations, Africans, Spaniards, Gaules, Carthaginians, Italians, and Greeks; which were, neither in Language, Lawes, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to another; he held them all in such good order, that they neuer fell to sedition among themselves, or against their Generall. But that which *Linie* addes hereto, is yet perhaps of greater admiration: That he sustained his Army, without help from other places, from this time forward, vpon the hungry soile of the Brutians: which, when it was best manured in time of peace, could hardly suffice to nourish the Inhabitants. It is therefore apparant, that by his proper worth and vertue, he kept his Armie in such order and obedience, rather than by any greatnesse of reward and bootie: since, after the death of *Asdrubal*, he made no inuasion vpon the wealthier parts of Italy; but held himselfe still among the poore Brutians. Where we must leaue him, vntill he be drawne into Africk by *Scipio*; whose doings will henceforth entertaine, and leade vs, vnto the end of this Warre.

## §. XVII.

How P. Cornelius Scipio the Roman, made entire conquest of Spaine.

## I.

How the Carthaginians were driven by Scipio from the Continent into the Isle of Gades.

**M**ago and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, took vpon them the charge of Spain, when *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar* departed thence into Italy. These agreed together, that *Mago* should make a voyage to the Balcares, there to leaue a supply of men;

men: and *Asdrubal* with-draw himself into Lusitania (which is now Portugal) vvhither the Romans had ill meanes to follow; being altogether vnacquainted in those parts. *Mago* had soon ended his businesse, and returned into Spaine: vvhether he met with one *Hanno*; the same perhaps that had lately bin employed in Sicily who brought new forces out of Africk, & came to succeed in place of *Asdrubal* the Barchine. It is not vnlike-ly that Spaine was now the better, and more readily furnished with men, and all things needfull from Carthage; when that sonne of *Amilcar*, vvhose authority had been great-est, was thence departed. For hereby might the factious diligence of old *Hanno* approue it selfe, against that noble race of Warriours; when it should appeare, that things did prosper much the better by being left vnto the handling of other men. Whether it were vpon desire to make good some such opinion raised of him at home, or whether vpon confidence in the forces that he brought ouer: *Hanno* took the field, and led *Mago* with him; as purposing afresh to set vpon the Romans. So he entred into the country of the Celtiberians, not very far from new Carthage: where, by mony, and other perswasions, he leuied about nine thousand men.

*P. Scipio* in the meane while contained himselfe in the Easterne parts of Spaine: atten-tive, as it may seeme, to the proceedings of *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar*; against whom, he is reported by some Writers to haue sent part of his forces into Italy, to the assistance of *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* the Consuls. But hearing of the leuie made by *Hanno* and *Mago*, among the Celtiberians: he sent *M. Syllanus* the Propretor, with ten thousand foot and six hundred horse. *Syllanus* got intelligence by some fugitiue Cel-tiberians, who became his guides, that their Countreimen incamped apart from the Car-thaginians in great disorder: as men fearing no danger, because they were at home. Wherefore as closely as he was able, he drew neer to these Celtiberians: & falling vpon them on the sudden, gaue them such an ouerthrow, that *Hanno* and *Mago* coming to their succour, in stead of heartening & re-inforcing them, became partakers of the losse. *Mago* saued himselfe with all the horse, and old Companies of foot, which were about two thousand: and in ten daies iourney brought them safe to *Asdrubal*. The rest of the Africans were either slaine or taken: among whom, *Hanno* had the ill lucke to be taken prisoner; though he kept himselfe out of the fight vntill all was lost. As for the Celibe-rians, they knew better how to make shift; and saued most of themselves by running into the woods.

It could no otherwise be, but that *Scipio* was much troubled with the danger wherin Italy stood, by the coming thither of *Asdrubal*. Ten thousand foot and eighteen hun-dred horse he did therefore send out of Spaine (as it is reported by some Authors) to the defence of his owne Countreie: or was perhaps about to send them; and thereupon re-mained at new Carthage, intenuite to the necessity and successe of his Countreimen at home. But when he had word of the great victory at Metaurus, which fell out long be-fore the end of the Summer, then might he well aduenture, to take in hand the intire conquest of Spaine; which must needs be much alienated from the Carthaginians, by the report of such an ouerthrow. The Spanish Souldiers that serued vnder *Hannibal*, and those that had bin sent ouer into Africke, were as pledges heretofore, by whom their country was held obnoxious to the Carthaginians. But when it was noyted abroad, That all which had followed *Asdrubal* into Italy, were fallen into the hands of the Ro-mans; and that *Hannibal* with his Army was closed vp in a streight, whence he could not get out: then did it greatly behoue the Spaniards to conformance themselves vnto the will of the Victors. That it was the successe of things in Italy, which gaue such confidence vnto *Scipio*; it is the more probable, because he took not this great enterprise in hand, vntill the Summer was almost spent. *Asdrubal* therefore vsed the benefit of the season; and by disposing his Armie into many Garrisons; hindred the Enemy from doing any great exploit before Winter. So the very length of way, and the time of the yeere, caused *Scipio* to returne backe: without any other matter performed, than that his Brother *L. Scipio* took by assault the Towne of Oringis.

Against the next yeers danger, *Asdrubal* prepared a great Army: and spared not cost, nor trouble, in strengthening himselfe, for the triall of his last fortune in Spaine. With seventy thousand foot, foure thousand horse, and two and thirty Elephants, he took the field: which number I beleue, that he could hardly haue raised, withont boldly deny-ing the truth of those reports that came from Italy. *Scipio* thought his Roman Legions

too weak to encounter with such a multitude. Wherefore he iudged it needfull to vie the helpe of his Spanish friends. But the death of his Father and Vncle, that were cast a-way by the treason of such false Auxiliaries, made him on the other side very doubtfully of relying vpon those, that might perhaps betray him in his greatest need. Yet since one *Calcher*, that was Lord of eight and twenty towns, had promised him the last Winter, to raise three thousand foot, and six hundred horse for his seruice: he resolved to make vse of those, and some few others, that might helpe to make a shew; and yet not be able to doe any great harme, if they would reuolt. So with six and forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, he sought out the Enemy, neer vnto whom: he incamped. At his first comming, *Mago* and *Masaniissa* fell vpon him; with hope to take him vnprepared, whilst he was making his lodgings. But he layde certain troups of horse in court: which breaking vpon them vnexpected, caused them to fall off. They made at first an orderly retreat: but being more hardly pressed, they shortly be-tookethemselues to plaine flight. After this encounter, which added some courage to the Romans, and abated the presumption of the Carthaginians, there were daily skirmi-shes between the horse and light armature, on both sides; wherein was nothing done of importance. *Asdrubal* drew forth his Armie, and arranged it before his Trenches: the like did *Scipio*; each of them to shew that he durst fight, yet not proceeding any far-ther. Thus they continued many daies: *Asdrubal* being still the first that issued forth in the morning; and the first that, in the evening, withdrew himselfe into his Trenches. The Spanish Auxiliaries were placed on both sides in the wings; the Carthaginians were in the midst, with their Elephants before them; and opposite to these on the other side were the Roman Legions. When they had in this order confronted one another, though at some distance, many daies together: it grew to be the common opinion, that they should shortly meet in the same forme; and be matched on each part, with the Enemies long before designed. But *Scipio* when he purposed indeed to fight, altered the forme of his Armie; and withall, came forth earlier than he had been wont. He caused his men and horses, to be well fedde betimes in the morning before day; and then sent forth his horse and light armature, to traine out the Carthaginians with their bellies empty: vsing herein the same tricke, whereby he might remember that *Hannibal* had beaten his father in the battaile of Trebia. His Roman Legions he bestowed in the wings; his Spaniards, in the battaile. *Asdrubal* sent forth his horse in all haste, to entertaine the Romans; whilst he himselfe arranged his men, in their wonted order, at the Hill foot, vpon which hee incamped. In the skirmishes of the horse it could not bee discerned which part had the better: since being ouer-pressed on either side, they had a safe retreat vnto their foote; and one troupe seconding another by course, returned to charge. This fight was protra-ged by *Scipio* to a great length: because his men, hauing well fed themselves, were like to hold out better than the Enemy. But about noone hee caused his wings to aduance a good pace; leauing their battaile of Spaniards far behinde them, that came on leisurely, according to direction. The Spanish Mercenaries that stood in *Asdrubal* his wings, were no way comparable, saue only in number, to the Latine and Roman Souldiers, that came against them; for they were fresh Souldiers, leuied in haste; and fighting only in respect of their pay. Being therefore charged in front by the Legions, and in flanke, at the same time, by the Roman Velites, and by some cohorts, that were appointed to wheele about for the same purpose, they were forely pressed; and with much difficultie made resi-stance. The Carthaginians would faine haue succoured them; but that they durst not stir out of their places, because of the Spanish battell which was coming against them, though it were as yet farre off. Thus the best part of *Asdrubal* his Armie stood idle, vntill the wings were broken. For, had he aduentured to meet with the Spaniards, hee must haue cast himselfe into the open space that lay before him betweene the Roman wings: to the depth whereof when hee had arriued, he should haue found himselfe in-closed in such sort, as was the Consul *Paulus* at the battaile of Cannæ. Wherefore hee did onely employ his Elephants; which did, according to their manner, no greater harm to his Enemies, than to his Friends. When they were chased with wounds, they could no longer be ruled by their guides: but ran, as chance led them, and troubled both parts; or those perhaps the more, that were the more vnwilling to kill them. In pro-cess of the fight, the Romans, who had well refreshed their bodies in the morning, endured lustie; when the others began to faint with trauell and heate of the day.

Where;

Wherefore perceiving their advantage, they followed it the more hotly: and gaue not over, till they had forc't the enemy to change his pace, and run from him. *Asdrubal* did his best to haue made an orderly retreat; and afterward againe, to haue caused his men turne head, at the Hill foot. But the Romans would not suffer the victory to be so extorted from them: neither was it ealie to put fresh courage into the vanquished, ledde by the obstinate passion of feare, which hearkens to no perswasion. The Campe of *Asdrubal* had that day bene taken; if a storme of raine, which fell violently on the sudden, and bred some superstitiō in the Romans, had not caused them to giue over.

The same night *Asdrubal* gaue no rest to his men: but caused them, hungry, and ouer-laboured as they were, to take paines in fortifying the Campe; wherein he feared to be assaulted. But little assurance could he haue in the strength of his Trenches, when he had lost the hearts of his Spanish Souldiers. One *Atanes*, that was Lord of the Turdetani, fled from him to the Romans, with a great Band of his subjects: many followed this example; and soone after, two strong Townes were yielded vp to *Scipio*, and the Garrisons betraied. It seemes that the peruerse fortune of this late battaile, whereupon *Asdrubal* had set his rest, bred in the Spaniards a disposition, to beleue the more easily those reports which they heard from Italy. For henceforward, they neuer did good office to the Carthaginians. *Asdrubal*, perceiving this, withdrew himselfe, and marched away faster than an ordinary pace, toward the Ocean Sea. *Scipio* followed the next morning, & ouertaking the Carthaginians with his horse, caused them so often to make stand, that they were at length attached by the Roman Legions. Here began a cruell slaughter: for there was no resistance made, but all fell to rout, saue onely seuen thousand that with *Asdrubal* himselfe recovered a very strong piece of ground, which they fortified in haste. The place he made shift a while to defend: but wanting there necessities to sustain himself long, he was forsaken by some of those few, that continued hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherefore he resolved to make shift for one; and stealing from his Company by night away to the Sea-side, that was not farre thence; he tooke shipping, and set saile for Gades. When *Scipio* vnderstood that *Asdrubal* was thus gone, he left *Syllanus* with ten thousand foot, & a thousand horse, to besiege their Campe (which was not taken in haste, for *Mago* and *Masaniissa* staid in it) whilst he with the rest of the Armie did what was needfull in the Countrie abroad. It was not long, ere *Mago* and *Masaniissa* followed *Asdrubal* to Gades: and their Army dispersed it selfe; some flying ouer to the Romans, others taking what way they liked. So vpon all the Continent of Spaine, there were onely three Towns left, Illiturgi, Castulo, and Astapa, that made continuance of warre against the Romans: of which onely Castulo had a Carthaginian garrison, consisting of such as had saued themselves by flight in the late ouerthrows. Hereby it seems, that the report of those Historians was ill grounded, who said, that Castulo yielded long since vnto the Romans; though *Hannibal* took a wife in that citie. For this was one of the last three towns that held out on the Carthaginian side. Illiturgi had sometimes been inclinable to the Romans; if not altogether at their deuotion. Yet after the death of the two elder *Scipio's*, following too earnestly the Carthaginian fortune, it not onely rebelled, but with great cruelty betraied and slue, the poor men that escaped thither from the ouerthrows. Astapa was a town that still adhered to the Carthaginians; and, which was worse, had thriven by the spoyle of the Romans and their Confederates. Wherefore (though not vntill the next yeer) *Scipio* went against these, and took himselfe Illiturgi and Castulo: Illiturgi by assault, and with a generall slaughter of the Inhabitants; Castulo, by treason of one *Cerdanbellus*. Astapa was taken by *Lucius Marcius*; or rather destroyed by the Inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was raised in the Market-place: wherein was throwne all the gold, and siluer, with what fouer else was precious; the women and children standing by it vnder a sure guard, that should kill and burne them if the Romans got into the Towne. This prouision being made, all the Inhabitants that could beare Armes, rushed forth desperately, and fell vpon the Roman camp; where struing beyond their power, they were euery one slauie. Then was the Towne forth-with set on fire, by those that had taken charge to doe it: & many of the Romans consumed with the flame; whilst they rushed ouer-hastily to catch the gold and siluer, which they saw lying on the pile ready to melt.

*Asdrubal*, being beaten into the Iland of Gades, found no cause of long stay there: but returned home to Carthage, with seuen Gallies; leauing *Mago* behind him, to wait vpon occasion,

occasion, if any should be offered. He visited in his way home, *Syphax*, king of the Massili, a people of the Numidians, hoping to win him to the friendship of the Carthaginians. But he met with *Scipio*, as it were with his euill Angel, in the kings Port: who landing at the same time, caried *Syphax* quite another way. For *Scipio*, hauing driuen the Carthaginians out of Spain, did forthwith bethinke himselfe, how to finish the war, by putting them to the like distresse in Africke. Hereunto it seemed that the help of *Syphax* would be much auailable: a King that had many times fallen out with the Carthaginians, and sustained much hurt by their procurement; of which in all likelihood he might easily be moued to seeke reuenge. He had also bin beholding to *P.* and *Cm. Scipio*, that sent him ouer a Capitaine into Africk; vho instructed him so well in marshalling his forces, as he thereby often became victorious. Vpon these reasons the Numidian King sent Embassadors to Rome, and made league with the citie in time of great extremitie. So that hereby *P. Scipio* conceiued hope of laying a good foundation to the vvar, which he intended in Africk, vpon the friendship of this ill Neighbour to the Carthaginians. For which cause he sent ouer *C. Lelius* his Embassador, to deale with *Syphax*: who declaring that the Carthaginians did very ill in Italy, and had nothing now at all to doe in Spaine, easily perswaded the king to take part with those that had the better, and vvere without question his better friends. Onely *Syphax* requested that the Roman Generall should visite him in person, to conclude the League; by which he was to enter into conditions of more importance, than in any former Treatie. Hereto *Scipio* condescended; thinking the friendship of so great a King, that was neighbour to Carthage, and not farre distant from Spaine, well worthy of the aduenture. So with two *Quinquereme* Gallies he tooke Sea: and arriued in the kings Port, at the same time, with *Asdrubal*. This would haue been very dangerous to him, had he been descried by his enemies further at Sea: but in the Haven they forbore to make offer one vpon the other. *Syphax* might well be proud, seeing at one time, two such Capitaines of two most powerful cities, came to desire his friendship. He would haue brought them to treat of peace: but the Roman excused himselfe, by vwant of such Commission from the Senate. He feasted them together: and shortly dismissed *Scipio*, with whom he readily entred into Couenant; which in time of performance, he as readily brake.

### ¶ II.

Funerall games held by Scipio. A Duell betwene two Spanish Princes. Adigresion, concerning Duels.

*Scipio* returning into Spaine, and resting that winter, tooke vengeance the next yeere, vpon those of Illiturgi, Castulo, and Astapa, as hath been said before. The Conquest of the Countrey being then in a manner at an end, he performed at new Carthage, with great solemnity, some Vowes that he had made, and honoured the memory of his Father and Vncle, with funerall games, especially of those that fought at sharp, according to the maner of the times. Neither was it needfull, that he should trouble himselfe with preparing slaues for that spectacle, to hazard their liues, as was vsed in the citie of Rome: for there were enow, that either offered themselves as voluntaries, or were sent from their Princes; to giue prooffe in single combat, of the valour that was in their seuerall Countries. Some also there were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not other wise end, agreed to refer the decision of their Controuersies, to triall of the sword, in single fight. Among these, the most eminent, were *Corbū* and *Orfus*, Cosen-germans: that contended for the principalltie of a Town called *Ibes*. *Corbū* was the elder, and the elder brothers sonne: wherefore he claimed the Lordship, as eldest of the house, after the maner of our Irish *Tanistry*. But the father of *Orfus* stood lately seized of the Principallty: which though himselfe receiued by the death of his elder brother; yet this his sonne would not let it goe backe, but claimed to hold it as heire vnto his father, & old enough to rule. Faine would *Scipio* haue compounded the matter. But they answered premporally, That all their friends, and kindred, had already laboured in vaine, to take vp that quarrell, and that neither God, nor Man, but onely Mars, their God of battaile, should be Vmpire between them. So they had their wills: and the elder, who was also the stronger, and more skilfull at his weapon, easily vanquished the foole-hardinesse of the yonger.



Such combats haue bene very ancient; and perhaps more ancient, than any other kinde of fight. We reade of many performed before the Warre of Troy; by *Therses*, *Hercules*, *Pollux*, and others: as also of two more at the Warre of Troy, the one betweene *Paris* and *Meneleus*; the other, betweene *Hector* and *Alex*. Neither want there examples of them among the Hebrewes; whereof that betweene *David* and *Goliath*; and others performed by some of *David's* Worthies, against those that challenged them, are greatly celebrated. Vnto the same kinde appertaines the fight, betweene twelue of the Tribe of *Juda*, and as many of the *Beniamites*. The Romans had many of them: whereof that was principal, in which they ventured their Dominion vpon the heads of three brethren the *Horatii*, against the three brethren *Curatii* that were Albans. The combat of *Marius Torquatus*; and shortly after, of *Valerius Corvinus* with two Champions of the Gauls, which challenged any Roman; were of lesse importance, as hauing only reference to brauery. In England there was a great Combat fought betweene *Edmond Ironside*, and *Cannus* the Dane, for no lesse matter than the Kingdom. The vse of them was very frequent in the Saxon-times; almost vpon euery occasion, great or small. In the reigne of *Edward* the third, who sustained the party of *Mountfort* against the Earle of Bloys contending for the Duchie of Britain; there was a fight, for honor of the Nations, betweene thirty of the Britons, & thirty English: two of which English, were *Calerlie* a braue Capitaine; and that Sir *Robert Knolles*, who afterwards became a renowned Commander in the French wars, and did highly honour his bloud, whereof the Lord *Knolles* is descended. It were infinite to reckon the examples of the like, found in English, French, and Italian Histories. Most of them haue been combats of brauery, and of gayete of heart, as the French terme it; for honour of seuerall Nations; for loue of Mistresses, or whatsoever else gaue occasion vnto men, desirous to set out themselves. But besides those of this sort, there are two other natures of combats; which are, either vpon accusation for life, or vpon triall of Title and Inheritance, as in *Writ of right*. And of this latter kinde, was that, of which we spake euen now, betweene *Corbis* and *Orsus*. Vnto these (me thinks) may be added, as of different condition from the rest, the combat vpon Wager; such as were that betweene *David* and *Goliath*, or that betweene the *Horatii* and *Curatii*: in which, without regard of Title, the Dominion of Nations, one ouer the other, is aduentured vpon the head of Champions. Vpon an accusation for life, there was a combat appointed betweene the Lord *Henrie* of Boulainbrook Duke of Hereford, & *Moubray* Duke of Norfolk. There was a combat performed by Sir *John Ashley* and one *Caltrington*: whom *Ashley* charged with treason: and proued it vpon him by being victorious. The like was fought betweene *Robert* of Mountfort, and *Henrie* of Essex. The like also, betweene a *Nauarrois*, and one *Welch* of Grimsby, whom the *Nauarrois* accused of treason: but, being beaten in fight, confessed that he had belied him, and was therefore drawne and hanged. Whether our triall by battell doe determine, that the false accuser, if hee bee vanquished, shall suffer the punishment which had bene due to the offender, if the accusation had bene proued; I cannot affirme. But wee euery where finde, That if he which is accused of treason, or according to the customs of Normandy, of Murder, Rape, or burning of places (offences punished by death) be ouercome, Hee shall suffer the paines appointed for those crimes. In combats for triall of right, it is not so: neither is the Appellant or Defendant bound to fight in person, but he may try it by his Champion, as did *Paramour* and *Low*, or offered to doe, in the reigne of *Queen Elizabeth*. And in this case, hee that is beaten, or yeeldeth, loseth onely his cause, not his life. Neither are the combats, vpon accusation, or triall of right, fought in open field, as are those of brauery; but in *Campe close*, that is, within railes. Now this triall by combat was so ordinary in France, before the time of *S. Lewis* and *Philip the faire* his grand-child, as euery Lord of Fee, Ecclesiasticall or Temporall, had power to grant it within his owne Iurisdiction. And it seemeth, that the French kings, and other Lords, made their profit hereby. For in the *Memorials* of the Chamber of Accounts, is found an Article to this effect: That if a Combat were once accepted, and after, by consent of the Lord, were taken vp, each of the parties should pay two shillings six pence; but if it were performed, then should the party vanquished forfeite hundred and twelue shillings. And vpon this custome grew the French Prouerbe, which they vse when as any man hath had an hard and vnjust iudgement, saying, *That he was tryed by the Law of Loray, or Berne; qu'il bastin paye l'amende*, where he that is beaten giues the recompence. Of these frequent

An. 11. Ric. 2.

An. 3. Ric. 2.

An. 9. Henr. 3.

Sihomines de  
Loray v. d. d.  
Dullistemo e  
dedant, &c.

trials by battaille, that great learned man *Wm. Bishop* of Chartres, did often complain, & specially against the French Church-men: as appears by \* his letters to the Bishop of Orleans, to the Arch-deacon of Paris, to *Rembert* Archbishop of Sens, and to others; wherein he rebukes the iudgement of these Churches, that had ratified such challenges of combat. But this liberty and kinde of trial, was retrenched by *S. Lewis*, and *Philip the faire*, so that no man could decree, or grant it, saue the king himselfe. It hath since been granted; though more sparingly, by the French kings, unto the Lord of *Craouges* against *Jacques le Gris*; and to *Julian Remyra* the Spaniard, against *Moro*, his countiman: wherein *Sir Henry Comquer*, Father of the Lord *Comquer* now liuing, was Patron to *Remyra* that had the victory; and lastly to the Lord of *Chab*. Now in those challenges, vpon accusation of Treason, Murder, or other offence deserving death (and in those onely the rule held, That le defendeur estoit tenu de proposer ses defenses per uue dementir. The defendunt was bound to plead not guilty, by raising the accuser the Lie: otherwise it was concluded, that the Defendant did assablement confesser le crime, silently confesse the crime. But after such time as *Francis* the French king, vpon some dispute about breach of Faith, had sent the *Lie* vnto the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, thereby to draw him to a personall combat: euery petty Companion in France, in imitation of their Master, made giuing of the *Lie* morallitic selfe; holding it a matter of no small glory, to haue it said, That the meanest Gentleman in France, would not put vp, what the great Emperour *Charles* the fifth had patiently indured.

From this beginning is deriued a challenge of combat, grounded vpon none of those occasions that were knowne to the Ancient. For, the Honour of Nations, the Triall of Right, the Wager vpon Champions, or the Obiection and Refutation of capittall offences, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of halfe to many Duels, as are founded vpon meere private Anger, yea or vpon matter seeming worthy of anger in the opinion of the Duellists. So that in these daies, wherein euery man takes vnto himselfe a Kingly liberty, to offer, accept, and appoint personall combats, the giuing of the *Lie*, which ought to be the Negation onely in accusations for life, is become the most fruitfull root of deadly quarrels. This is held a word so terrible, and a wrong so vnparadonable, as will admit no other recompence, than the blood of him that giues it. Thus the fashion, taken vp in haste by the French Gentlemen, after the pattern of their king, is grown to be a custome: whence we haue deriued a kind of Art and Philosophie of quarrell; with certaine grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour, and the dependencies thereof, are deduced. Yea there are (among many no lesse ridiculous) some so mystical curiosities herein, as that it is held a farre greater dishonour to receive from an enemy a slight touch with a Cane, than a sound blow with a Sword: the one, hauing relation to a slaue, the other, to a Souldier. I confesse that the difference is pretty: though for my owne part, if I had had any such Italianated enemy in former times, I should willingly haue made with him such an exchange; and haue giuen him the point of honour to boot.

But let vs examine indifferently the offence of this terrible word, the *Lie*; with their conditions who are commonly of all other the most tender in receiving it. I say, that the most of these, who present death on the points of their swords to all that giue it them; vse nothing so much in their conuersation and course of life, as to speake and sweare falsely. Yea it is thereby, that they shift and shuffle in the World, and abuse it. For how few are there among them, which, hauing assumed & sworne to pay the monies & other things they borrow, doe not break their word and promise, as often as they ingage it? Nay, how few are there among them that are not *Liers by Record*, by being sued in some Court or other of Iustice, vpon breach of word, or bond? For he which hath promised that he will pay money by a day, or promised any thing else, wherein he faileth; hath duely lied to him, to whom the promise hath bene made. Nay, what is the profission of loue, that men make now-a-daies? What is the vowing of their seruice, and of all they haue, vsed in their ordinary complements, and in effect to euery man whom they bid but good morrow, or salute, other than a courteous and court-like kinde of lying? It is (saith a wise French-man, deriding therein the Apish custome of his Country) *vue marche & complot* soit ensemble se macquer, mentir, & piper les uns les autres; A kinde of merchandise, and complot made among them, to mocke, belye, and deride each other: and so farre now-a-daies in fashion, and in vse, as he that vseth it not, is accounted either



dull, or Cynicall. True it is notwithstanding (omitting the old distinction) that there is great difference between these mannerly and complementall lies, with those which are sometime perswaded by necessity vpon breach of promise, and those which men vse out of cowardise & feare: the latter confessing themselves to be in greater awe of men, than of God, & vice of all other stiled the most villanous. But now for the *Lie* it selfe, as it is made the subiect of all our deadly quarrels in effect: to it I say, That whoeuer giueth another man the *Lie*, when it is manifest that he hath lied, doth him no wrong at all; neither ought it to be more haينously taken, than to tell him, hee hath broken any promise which he hath otherwise made. For he that promisseth any thing; tells him; to whom he hath promised, that he will performe it; and, in not performing it, hee hath made himselfe a Lier. On the other side, He that giues any man the *Lie*, when he himselfe knowes to that he, to whom it is giuen, hath not lied; doth therein giue the *Lie* directly to himselfe. And what cause haue I, if I say that the Sunne shines when it doth shine; and that another fellow tells me I lie, for it's midnight; to prosecute such an one to death, for making himselfe a foolish Rathan, and a Lier in his owne knowledge? For he that giues the *Lie* in any other dispute, than in defence of his Loyaltie, or Life; giues it impertinently, and Ruffian-like. I will not deny but it is an extreame rudenesse to taxe any man in publicke with an vntruth: (if it be not pernicious, and to his preiudice against whom the vntruth is vttered: ) but all that is rude, ought not to bee ciuillized with death. That were, more to admire and imitate a French custome, and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the counsaile of God. But you will say, that these discourses fauour of cowardize. It is true; if you call it cowardize to feare God or hell: whereas he that is truly wife, and truly valiant, knowes that there is nothing else to be feared. For against an Enemies sword, we shall finde ten thousand seuen-penie-men (waged at that price in the wars) that feare it as little, or perchance lesse, than any profest Sword-man in the world. *Diligentissima in tutela sui Fortitudo; Fortitudo is a diligent preseruer of it selfe.* It is (saith Aristotle) a mediocritie betweene doubting and daring. *Sicut non Martirum pena: sic nec fortis poenitentia; sed causa; As it is not the punishment that makes the Martyr: so it is not fighting that declares a valiant man; but fighting in a good cause.* In which, whoeuer shall resolutely end his life, resolutely in respect of the cause, to wit, in defence of his Prince, Religion, or Countrey: as hee may iustly bee numbred among the Martyrs of God; so may those that die with malicious hearts, in priuate combats, be called the Martyrs of the Deuill. Neither doe wee indeed take our owne reuenge, or punish the injuries offered vs, by the death of the iniurious. For the true conquest of reuenge is, to giue him, of whom we would be reuenged, cause to repent him: and not to lay the repentance of another mans death vpon our owne consciences; *Animasq; in vulnera peremere; And to arowne our soules in the wounds and blood of our enemies.* Hereupon you will againe aske me, if I condemne, in generous and noble spirits, the defence of their honors, being prest with injuries? I say that I doe not, if the injuries be violent. For the Law of Nature, which is a branch of the eternall Law; and the Lawes of all Christian Kings and States; doe fauour him that is assailed, in the slaughter of the assailant. You will secondly aske me, Whether a Noble man, or a Gentleman, being challenged by *Cartel* by one of like quality, be not bound in point of honor to satisfie the challenger in priuate combat? I answer, that he is not: because (omitting the greatest, which is the point of Religion) the point of the Law is directly contrary and opposite to that, which they call the point of honour; the Law which hath dominion ouer it, which can iudge it, which can destroy it; except you will stile those Acts honourable, where the Hang-man giues the Garland. For, seeing the Lawes of this Land haue appointed the Hang-man to second the Conqueror, and the Lawes of God appointed the Deuill to second the conquered dying in malice: I say that he is both base, & a foole, that accepts of any *Cartel* so accompanied. To this perchance it will be answered, That the kings of England & other Christian kings, haue seldom taken any such advantage ouer men of quality, who vpon euen termes haue slaine their priuate enemies. It is true, that as in times of trouble and combustion they haue not often done it; so did our Noble-men & Gentlemen in former ages, in all important injuries, sue vnto the king, to approue themselves by battaile and publique combat. For as they dared not to braue the Law; so did they disdain to submit themselves vnto the shamefull reuenge thereof; the same reuenge (because it detesteth murder) that it hath declared against a common Cur-purse or other Theeues: Nay

Nay let it be granted that a pardon be procured for such offenders: Yet is not the Manslaier freed by his pardon. For these two remedies hath the partie grieved notwithstanding; that is, to require iustice by Grand Assize, or by battaile, vpon his appeale, which (saith Sir Thomas Smith) is not denied; and he further saith (for I vse his owne words) That if the Defendant (to wit, the Man-slaier) be conuicted either by great Assize or by Battaille, vpon that appeale; the Man-slaier shall die, notwithstanding the Princes pardon. So fauourable (saith the same learned Gentleman) are our Princes, and the law of our Realme, to iustice, and to the punishment of blood violently shed. It may further be demanded, how our Noble-men and Gentle-men shall be repaid in honour, whert an enemy taking the start either in words or blowes, shall lay on them an infamy vnseparable? I say that a Marshalls Court will easily giue satisfaction in both. And if, wee hold it no disgrace to submit our selues for the recovery of our Debts, Goods, & Lands, and for all things else, by which the liues of our selues, our wiues, & children, are sustained, to the Iudges of the Law; because it may be felony, to take by violence euenthat which is our owne: why should we not submit our selues vnto the Iudges of honour in cases of honour; because to recover our reputation by strong hand, may bee murder? But yet againe it may be objected, That the losse of honour ought to bee much more fearefull vnto vs, than either the losse of our goods, of our lands, or of our liues; and I say so too. But what is this honour, I meane honour indeed, and that which ought to be so deare vnto vs, other than a kinde of history, or fame following actions of vertue, actions accompanied with difficultie or danger, and vnder-taken for the publike good? In these he that is employed and trusted, if hee faile in the performance, either through cowardize, or any other base affection; it is true that he loseth his honour. But the acting of a priuate combat, for a priuate respect, and most commonly a frivolous one, is not an action of vertue, because it is contrary to the law of God, and of all Christian kings: neither is it difficult, because euen & equall in persons and armes: Neither for a publike good, but tending to the contrary; because the losse or mutilation of an able man, is also a losse to the Common-weale.

Now that a Marshall of England hath power to saue euery mans fame & reputation, as farre as reputation may sustaine injury by words, I thinke no man doubteth. For to repent vs of any euill words that wee haue giuen, and to confesse that we haue done him wrong vnto whom we haue giuen them, is a sufficient satisfaction; and as it may fall out, more than sufficient. For he that giues ill words in choler, and suddenly denies them, or repents himselfe of them vpon aduicement, hath the disadvantage in point of reputation. Concerning blowes, which are indeed not to be giuen but to those that are fertile, whether sufficient recompence will be made for them, it shall appeare by a notable example of a most worthy Gentleman *Monfieur de Plessis*, that was stricken in France not long since by a Baron of the same Nation. The satisfaction which was giuen him by a iudgement of the Constable and Marshalls of France, was this. In the open Court, wherein the Constable gaue iudgement, *M. de Plessis* was set in a chaire vnder the degrees where the Constable and Marshalls sat: the Baron, who had giuen him the blow, did kneele before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a sword with the point towards himselfe, and in his left hand the like cudgel or bastinado, wherewith he had stricken *M. de Plessis*; both which weapons he deliuered into *Plessis* hands, submitting himselfe to such reuenge, as it should please him to take with either of those weapons; the Constable and Marshalls hauing formerly left it to the will of *Plessis*, to vse his owne discretion in the reuenge of his own wrongs. Now whether the Baron had reason to please himselfe, as one beforehand in point of honor, (who struck *M. de Plessis* like a Ruffian coming behind him, and hauing the aduantage of company and his horses ready, shifted himselfe away on the sudden, but being afterwards taken, was taught to repent himselfe in this shamefull manner: ) or whether *Monfieur de Plessis* (of whose valour no man doubted) had not farre iuster cause to rest satisfied, since he might at his pleasure haue beaten or wounded his enemy, but forgaue him: let any wise man iudge. To this if it bee said, That the Baron was constrained to make his submission, that his repentance was enforced, and not voluntary; and therefore no disgrace vnto him: I answer, that one may say as well, that it is no disgrace to a Theefe, when hee is brought to the Gallowes, to repent him of the Robberies by him committed, because his repentance also is constrained. And it is true, that enforced repentance is

no disgrace in respect of a force, but in respect of the fact: which (but for our finnes to God) makes all repentance shameful, because all forced repentance is inflicted vpon vs for somewhat vnworthy of a Gentleman and of an honest man. Nay, voluntary repentance it selfe, as it hath relation to men, ariseth either out of the feare of the ill that may befall vs, or out of the acknowledgement of our owne weaknesse. Certainly, as wife men, and valiant men, doe rather deride petty iniuries or sudden iniuries, than are not offered from malice fore-thought, than reuenge them: so men, apt to quarrell, doe commonly suspect their own valor, and rather desire, that thereby the world should beleue them to be of great daring, than know any such resolution in themselves. For he that knowes himselfe indeed to be an honest man, scornes to hunt after opinion.

Now the same power which the Constable and Marshalls of France haue, hath also Marshall of England, or his Deputies; by whose iudgement, in all disputes of honour, euery mans reputation may be preserved; we may therefore as well submit our felues to the Iudge of honour in all disputes of honour, as we doe submit our felues in all controversies of liuelihood and life, to the Iudges of the Law. And, out of doubt, the institution of this Court of Cheualric in England, in France, and elsewhere, was no lesse charitable than politike. For the blood of man, violently spilt, doth not bring forth *honibee*, as that of Bulls doth, which sting but the fingers or the face: but it produceth that monstrous beast, *Reuenge*, which hath stung to death, and eaten vp of feuerall Nations, so many noble personages; as there is nothing more lamentable, nor more threatening the wrath of God vpon supreme Gouvernours, than the permission.

His Maiesty therefore (which *Henrie* the fourth of France also endeuored, hath done a most Kingly and Christian-like deed in Scotland, which the most renowned of all his Predecessors could neuer doe: in beating down, and extinguisling, that hereditary persecution of malice, called the *deadly feud*; a conquest, which shall giue him the honour of Prudence and kingly power, for euermore. And wee haue cause to hope, that his royall care shall bee no lesse happy in preuenting the like mischiefe, which threatens England, by the audacious, common, and braue, yet outrageous vanity of Duellists.

Vnto this that I haue spoken of lying, and of man-slaughter, it must bee added, That each of these are of great Latitude, and worthy of reproofe & vengeance proportionably, more or lesse, in their severall degrees. There is much difference betweene Lies of necessitie vpon breach of promise, or complementall lyes; and such pernicious lyes, as proceed from feare and cowardize, or are vttered by false witnesses: the former sort, being excusable by weaknesse or leuitie; the latter, being altogether detestable. No lesse, if not more, difference there is, betweene killing of a man in open field, with euery weapons; and that killing, which the Scriptures call *killing by guile, dolo or per insidias*; though our Lawes doe not much distinguish them in punishment. For in the latter, God, forsaking his owne priuiledge, commandeth, that the *guilefull* murderer be drawn by force, from the protection of his Altar. Neither is euery guilefull murder performed by the sword, nor by *ouert* violence: but there is a guilefull murder also, by poysoning; and by the pen, or by practice. For such distinction is found, betweene committing presumptuously vpon a man, to *slay him with guile*, and *lying in wait for blood, priuily, for the innocent, without a cause*, vpon hope of spoile, after such manner as the net is spread before the eyes of the birds. Francis the first, *Queene Marie* of England, and the kings Maiesty now reigning, haue giuen notable testimony of their iustice, vpon three Noble men, who committed *guilefull murder*. Of the first kinde, King Francis vpon the Lord of Talar: who being (saith the French Historian) *de haute & ancienne lignee, & supporté de plusieurs grandes alliances, whoobing of high and ancient linage, and supported by diuers great alliances*, of which the Cardinal of Bellay (in especiall fauor with the King) was one, was notwithstanding deliuered ouer into the hands of the Hangman. *Queen Marie*, vpon a noble man of her own Religion, and in many other respects very deare vnto her. *His Maiesty*, vpon a Baron of Scotland, whose house was no lesse ancient and faithfull, than himselfe valiant, and greatly friended both at home and abroad. Of killing guilefully by poyson, and of punishment following such wicked Artisans, euery age hath had too many examples. Of killing guilefully by the pen (that I may not speake of any English Iudge) the Author of the French Recherches giues vnto vs two notable instances: the one of *des Elbars*, who (saith *Pasquiere*) *fit mourir Montaigne grand Maistre de France, pour contenter l'opinion de celuy dont il estoit lors idolastre; & Dieu permit que depuis il fus*

*il fut pendu & estrangle; who caused Montaigne great Master of France to die, to content his mind (to wit, the Duke of Burgoyne) whom at that time Elbars worshipped as his idol: but God permitted, that he himselfe was some after hanged and strangled.* The other was of the Great Francis the first, vpon his Chancellor *Poyet*: who, to satistie the Kings passion, practised the destruction of the Admirall *Chabot*, a man most nobly defended, and of great seruice. For as in other men, so in Kings, the passion of loue growes old, and weares out by time. So the Kings affection being changed towards the Admirall, hee charged him with some offences which he had formerly committed. The Admirall, presuming vpon the great good seruice which he had done the King in Piemont, and in the defence of *Marcellis* against the Emperour, gaue the King other language than became him; and desired nothing so much, as a publicke trial. Hereupon the King (it being easie to prouoke an ill disposition) gaue commission to the Chancellor, as President, and other Iudges, vpon an information of the Kings Aduocate, to question the Admirals life. The Chancellor, an ambitious man, & of a large conscience, (which is not rare in men towards the Law) hoping highly to content the King, wrought with some of the Iudges with so great cunning; with others, with so sharpe threats; and with the rest, with so faire promises; as albeit nothing could be proued against the Admirall, worthy of the kings displeasure; yet the Chancellor subscribed, and got others to subscribe, to the forfeiture of his Estate, Offices, and Liberty; though not able to preuaile against his life. But what was the Chancellors reward (the King hating falshood in so great a Magistrate) other than his owne degradation, arraignment, and condemnation? *Belle leçon certes (saith Pasquiere) tant l'age pour demonstres tousiours en soy, & ne laisser fléchir sa conscience dedans les vagues d'une imagination fauue, qui pour fin deieu le submerger; A faire lesson to all Iudges, to dwell alwaies in themselves, and not to suffer their consciences to float vpon the waves of imagination fauue, which in the end ouerwhelmes them.* And as for the Admirall: though it might haue beene answered vnto his friends, if any bewailed his calamitie as vnderferued, That he was tryed, according to his owne desire, by the Lawes of his Countrey, and by the Iudges of Parliament; yet the Kings iustice, surmounting all other his passions, gaue backe vnto him his Honour, his Offices, his Libertie, and his Estate.

## †. III.

The last Acts of Scipio in Spaine. His returne to Rome where he is chosen Consul.

The last businesse that troubled *Scipio* in Spaine, grew by the rebellion of the People, and mutinie of his Souldiers. He fell dangerously sicke, in such sort, that the rumor of his death ran currant throughout Spaine. This encouraged *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*; pettie kings, that had forsaken the Carthaginians, and followed *Scipio* a while before, to take arms against the Romans. They were vainly perswaded, that after the Carthaginians were driuen out, they themselves should become the mightiest in all Spaine. But seeing now, that things were no way answerable to the greatest of their hopes; they thought it best, to take the present aduantage, and hammer out their owne fortunes. So they rashly fell vpon the Suesertani and Sederani, Confederates of the Roman; and wasted their Countrey. Part of the Roman Army lying at Sucro, in stead of making head against these Rebels, grew to be affected with the like distemper. They had not reaped such profit of their Roman conquests, as might satistie their desires; or as they thought easie to be gotten, if they might be their owne Caruers. Wherefore, when the death of *Scipio* was reported, they thought, that the time serued very well, to enrich themselves with the spoile of the Countrey. Many outrages they committed: and, which was greatest of all, driuing away their Colonels, that should haue bridled their furie; they chose out of their owne number two base fellows, *Albius Calenus*, and *Atrius Vmber*, to their Commanders. These tooke vpon them all the Ensignes of Proconsuls, or Propretors; as if this their election had beene like to that, wherein *Lucius Martius* was chosen by the Souldiers, after the death of the two *Scipios*. But whilst they were deuising, what exploits they might doe, for the enriching of themselves, in a time of such combustion as was expected; there arriued more certaine newes, that *Scipio* was both aliue, and in good health. There came also new Colonels, sent vnto them from their Generall: who mildly rebuking their want of consideration, and seeming to be glad that they had no further

ouert;

ouer-shot themselves; led them to Carthage, there to receiue their pay. Before their comming, *Scipio* had resolved to doe exemplarie iustice on the principall offenders; and to put the whole multitude of them in feare, of what they had deserued. Therefore hee caused *Syllanus* to make ready the Companies which lay before in the Towne, as it were to make an Expedition against *Mandonius*, and *Indibilis*; Hee caused *Albius* and *Arrius* with some thirty other of their Complices, to be secretly apprehended in their lodgings; He called the Mutiners to assembly; and hauing them vnarmed as they were, encircled them by *Syllanus* and his Companies, prepared for the purpose; he bitterly inueighed against them all, as Traitors. This done, *Albius* and *Arrius*, with the other prisoners, were haled to the stake; where they were whipt, and beheaded, as was the Roman custome toward such offenders. The rest of the Souldiers, to the number of eight thousand, were called to take their oath of obedience anew; and receiued euery man his pay when hee was sworne.

*Mandonius* and *Indibilis* continued in armes; notwithstanding that they had certaine word of *Scipio* his life and health. Well they could haue bene contented to bee quiet; but by the severity vsed to the Roman Souldiers, they stood in feare, as being Spaniards, and greater offenders, of harder measure. *Scipio* went against them; and found them in a Valley, that was scarce large enough to hold all their Armie. In the entrance thereof he fought with them; and sending *Lalius* with all his horse to fetch a compasse about the Hills, & charge them in reare; he ouerthrew them. *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* had after this, no hope remaining to preferre themselves and their estates, otherwise than by making submission. *Mandonius* therefore came to *Scipio*; and humbly craving pardon, both for himselfe, and for his brother *Indibilis*, obtained his request; yet so, that they were taught to acknowledge themselves lesse free Princes than formerly they had bene.

Afterward *Scipio* went toward Gades; and was met on the way by *Masaniassa*; who fearefully promised to doe him all seruice, if the people of Rome would send him to make war in Africk. Vnto *Mago* that lay in Gades, came directions from Carthage; that letting all care of Spaine alone, he should thence depart with his fleet into Italy; and there wage an Army of Gaules, and Ligurians, to ioyne with *Hannibal*. For this purpose, was money sent vnto him from Carthage; & he himselfe laid hold vpon all that he could finde in the Town of Gades, without sparing either priuate men, the common treasury, or the Temples. In his voyage thence, he landed at Carthage; hoping to haue taken it by surpris. But he failed in the attempt; and was so beaten to his ships, that he returned backe to purpose himselfe awhile at Gades. The Gaditanes, offended with the robberies and spoyle that hee had made at his taking leaue of them, would not suffer him againe to enter into their City. By this hee foresaw, that it would not bee long ere they became Roman. Wherefore sending Messengers into the Towne, to complaine of this vncourteous dealing, he allured their Magistrates forth vnto him; whom, notwithstanding all the excuse that they could make, he whipt, and crucified. This done, hee followed his former intended voyage; bidding Spaine farewell for euer.

The Isle and City of Gades, was yielded to the Romans, presently after the departure of *Mago*. Then did *Scipio* deliuer vp the Prouince, to those that were sent from Rome to succed him therein; and himselfe with ten ships returned home. At his comming to Rome, he made suite for the honour of a triumph. But it was denied him: for that it had as yet bin granted vnto no Proconsul, excepting to such, as receiued that dignitie after a Consulship, as it were by prorogation. But to make amends for this repulse: the election of new Consuls being then in hand, by generall voyce of the Citie *P. Cornelius Scipio* was chosen Consul; and *P. Licinius Crassus*, ioynd with him. This *Crassus*, being high Priest, or Bishop of the Romans, might not, by the custome of those times, goe farre from the Citie; as being to intend the matters of their superstition: though *Cesar*, and others, who in ages following held the same Office; were stayed by no such religious impediment, from being farre, and long absent. Hereby it came to passe, that *Scipio* desiring to haue the warre transferred into Africk, was in no danger to lose that honourable charge, by any mischance of lot, in the diuision of Prouinces; for that his Colleague was not capable of employment so farre off.

## 6. XVIII.

*Scipio* obtains leaue to make warre in Africk. His preparations. Of *Masaniassa* who was ioynd with *Scipio*. The victories against *Afrubal* and *Syphax*.

*P. Cornelius Scipio*, and *P. Licinius Crassus*, entering into their Consulship, held a meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: wherein it was decreed, that *Scipio* should bee allowed, to bestow part of the money which hee had brought out of Spaine into the treasury; vpon the setting forth of solemne plaies, that he had vowed to make; which hee was busied in his Spanish warres. This helped well to reuiue the memory of his victories already gotten; and to giue hope vnto the People of greater victories in the warre, which he intended to make in Africk. To the same purpose, did the Spanish Embassadors saile much in the Senate, especially that of the Saguntines: who magnified his actions, highly and deferuedly, saying, That they were the most happy of all their countrimen, since they being present, had seene him chosen Consul, and should carry home such ioyfull newes. The Saguntine Embassadors were louingly entertained by the Senate; as their faith to Rome though costly it were both to them, and to the Romans had well deserued. Neuerthelesse, when *Scipio* proposed, that Africk might be decreed vnto him for his Prouince; there wanted not many, euen of the principal men, that vehemently opposed him. Of these was *Q. Fabius Maximus* the chiefe: who seemed to haue bene troubled with that dislike, which too often causeth men renowned for long approved vertue, to looke a quint vpon the actions of those, that follow them in the same kinde. Hee alleged many reasons against the purpose of the Consul: whereof the chiefe were; That the treasure was vnable to sustaine the charges of a warre in Africk; and that it was extremely perillous to hazard so great forces, where they could not at pleasure be recalled vnto the defence of Rome it selfe, if need required. Hereunto he added many words concerning the danger wherein Italy stood, not only of *Hannibal*, but of *Mago* his brother; that was arming the Ligurians: as also concerning the honour of the Consul, which would (he said) be greater in setting Italy free from enemies, than it could be in doing any harme to Africk. Neither did he forget, both to eleuate the Spanish warres, as of lesse moment than the intended voyage against Carthage; nor withall to lay great blame vpon *Scipio*, for hauing suffered *Afrubal* to passe into Italy: shewing, that it was greatly to be feared, lest the like might happen againe; and that a new Armie, notwithstanding the good successe of *Scipio* (if it hapned to be good) might be sent from Carthage, to the vtter endangering of Rome, whilst the Roman forces were employed abroad. But the maine point which he vrged, was, That neither the Senate had ordained, nor the People commanded, Africk to be that yeer a Prouince: which the Consul neuerthelesse propounded in such wise, as if it were a matter already concluded, and no longer to be argued. *Scipio* on the other side, insisted vpon this one point; That it was better to make an offensive, than a defensive warre: especially against such as the Carthaginians, who being ill provided of able men at home, did furnish themselves by helpe of money, with leues made abroad. As for the care of Italy, he doubted not, but *P. Licinius* his Colleague would be as well able to discharge it now, as others had done in times of greater danger. So promising to draw *Hannibal* into Africk, for defence of his own home: and taxing as ciuilly as he could, the enuy of *Fabius*, which withstood such a gallant enterprife; he proposed the matter againe vnto the Senate. Much alteration there was about the manner of his proceeding: forasmuch as it was noised abroad, that if he could not bring the Senate to his minde, he would carry it by the People. This offended many of the Ancients: who reſented in this honourable man a little spice of that arrogance, which in following ages, grew to be much hotter in those that had commanded long abroad. But in conclusion, *Scipio* referred himselfe wholly vnto the Senates good will and pleasure, whereby he obtained thus much, That the Isle of Sicill might be appointed vnto him for his Prouince; with leaue to passe ouer into Africk, if he found it expedient.

Want of money, and no great liking to his voyage, made the Roman Senate haue little care to furnish out *Scipio* to the warre, by him intended vpon Africk. Herewithall it fell out, that *Mago*, comming on the suddaine from the Balcares to Genua, and winning the Town, bred a feare of no lesse terrible inuasion vpon Italy, than that which *Afrubal* had lately made. Hee could not indeed raise any great Armie of the Ligurians; for that he found them distracted with ciuill warres. Therefore he was driuen to make choyce of his

his partie; and to helpe those whom he thought fittest for his turne, against the others. This troublesome businesse, though it occupied more of his time than he could willingly haue spared; yet it got him reputation by his victories, & made the ynsteady Gaule, ready to enter into his pay. Hereupon the dispersed Legions of the Romans, that vnder Proconsuls, and Pretors, lay ready to bee employed where need should require; were directed vnto the borders of Lombardie and Liguria, there to make head against *Mago*. But all his menaces passed away in vapour. For a fleet either comming to his ayde from Carthage, or by him sent thither (the report is vncertaine) laden with the booty that he had taken, fell into the hands of the Roman Pretor, that governed in Sardinia. This did much disabill him: and though after a while, there came letters from Carthage, together with store of money, heartening him in his proceedings: yet some impediments which hee found, and that fatall voyage of *Scipio* into Africke, disturbed all; and made him be recalled home.

Against *Hannibal*, was nothing done this yeere. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the Roman Historians haue bin pleased to take notice. Onely it is said, that he spent the Summer by the Temple of *Iuno Lucina*, where he raised an Altar, with a huge Title of all that he had performed, grauen in Punique, and Greek letters. Such account of winnings past, is commonly in Gamesters that are at the height of their fortune, a cause of remission, and carelesnesse; in those that are vpon the losing hand, a cause both of the same for the present; and shortly after of dejection, when they finde a notable change. A great pestilence, infecting both the Carthaginian and the Roman Campe, is said to haue bene the occasion of this yeeres idlenesse; which fell out not much amiss for the Citie of Rome, that was mutually empouerished by this warre; and had already tried the utmost way to defray the charges, which grew insupportable. To relieue the present necessity, it was well thought vpon, that a great part of Campania (not many yeeres since confiscated) should be sold, or let out: in which bargain, that the Citie might receive no losse; the tenth part of the fine was ordained as a reward, vnto the detectors of lands concealed.

Of this, or other money, none was giuen to *Scipio*. Neither was he allowed to make preffe of Souldiers for his African voyage; neither did he ouer-much labour to obtain it. That which the Senate refused, the People did for him: or rather they did it for themselves; that were therein wiser than the Senate. It is vially found in Councils of estate, that the busie, or obstinate heads of a few, doe carry all the rest. And many times men make a surrender of their owne iudgements, to the wisdom that hath gotten it a name, by giuing happie direction in troubles forepast. Therefore, he that reposeth himselfe vpon the aduice of many, shall often finde himselfe deceived: the counsaile of those many being wholly directed by the empire of a few, that ouer-sway the rest. *Q. Fabius* was accounted the Oracle of his time: for his warie nature sorted well with the businesse, that fell out in the chiefe of his employment. Vnto him therefore *Q. Fabius* adhered, with other of the Senators, that were growne old in following one course; from which they could not shift, as the change of times required. But the People (who though they could not well aduise, and deliberate, yet could well apprehend) embraced the needfull resolution of *Scipio*: in such sort, that besides his Roman forces, hee had from diuers parts of Italy about seuen thousand Voluntaries. He had also prouision from the seuerall Townes; Corne, Iron, Canuas for sailes, Axes, Beede-hooks, Hand-mills, and the like implements, Firre for building of ships, many thousands of Targets, Helmes, and Spears of all kinds: euery place furnishing him with that commoditie, which it best could afford.

Vnto this willingness of the People, the diligence of *Scipio* was correspondent. In the compasse of five and fortie dayes, he had both feld his Timber, built, and lanced twentie *Triremes*, and ten *Quinqueremes* Gallies; wherewith he transported his Armie into Sicill. In Sicill he found, besides other forces, two Legions, that had serued at Cannæ; which were old Souldiers, and (as he himselfe well knew) not guilty of the ouerthrow; for which they had long vnder-gone a heavy censure. They had serued vnder *Marcellus* and *Lucius*; at the taking of many Cities, and strong pieces: in which regard, they were like to be of good vse to him in Africk, where would be store of such employment. For increasing the number of his horse, he pressed three hundred Sicilians, all wealthy young men, and such as loued well their ease. These he afterward discharged from the Warre, highly

highly to their contentment: but with condition that they should deliuer their Horse and Arms, as many Roman Gentlemen, which he brought ouer with him for the purpose. While he was providing, to haue things in a readinesse for Africk, the banished Locrians, that followed the Roman side, made him acquainted with an intelligence, wherby they hoped to recouer their City. Some handicraft-men, that wrought for the Carthaginians in one of the Citadels of Locri (for there were two in the Towne, being taken prisoners by the Romans, promised to betray the place, if they might be ranomed, and rewarded. *Scipio* being aduertised of this, gaue order to haue the attempt made by night: which happily succeeded; and that Citadel was surprisid. The other Citadel was strongly defended by the Carthaginian Garrison, which sent to *Hannibal* for aide. The Romans in like sort, fearing lest their owne paucitie should make them too weake for *Hannibal*, craved helpe of the Consul *Scipio*. The Town-men were doubtfully affected: but the best, and most of them inclining to the Romans, kept *Hannibal* out; whom the coming of *Scipio* other Cittadell. Many outrages were committed by the Roman Souldiers, that were left by *Scipio* in custodie of the Towne. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the Locrians vnto the Roman Senate; not onely against those of the Garrison: but much more against *Pleminius* the Captaine, who gaue bad example, and was worse than all the rest. Besides many Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other villanies: the Temple of *Proserpina*, that had a great fame of sanctitie, was spoyled by these barbarous Theues. The Locrians therefore aduised the Senate to make present amends to the goddesse for this sacriledge: laying, that the like had neuer bene committed, without notorious reuenge. By her taken vpon the Authors. The Senate gaue good care to this complaint, reconfered the Locrians, and redressed the iniuries done vnto them; sent for *Pleminius*, with orders: as also they restored vnto *Proserpina* her money twice told. But old *Q. Fabius* was a man in Locri; and had not carefully hearkened to the complaints made against him, but suffered him to runne on in these his wicked courses. By the sharpe inuention that *Fabius* made, others tooke courage to speake what they pleased, as well against the demeanour of *Scipio*, as against the disolutesse of his Armie; which lay, as they said, idly in Sicill, neither mindfull of any seruicetoward, nor fit for it if need should require. Finally, things were so farre vrged, that tenne Legates were sent ouer into Sicill, together with the Pretor appointed for that Island; two of the Tribunes, and one of the *Aediles*; who should examine these matters; and either cause the Generall to returne into Italy, or continue him in his charge, as they thought fit. The end of all, was: they found him so well prepared against Carthage, as that they hastned him on his journey, and gaue him high commendations at their returne.

*Scipio* had already employed *Laelius* in Africk; rather to make discovery, than to worke any other great effect of warre. Hee tooke a great bootie: and stricke no little terror into the Carthaginians, who saw their affaires to be vpon termes of change. But the great fruit of his journey was, That speaking with *Masaniissa*, hee well informed himselfe of the state of Africk; and knew what was to be expected of those two Kings, that had promised to ioyne with the Romans at their landing.

Concerning *Masaniissa* his reuolt from the Carthaginians, and his compact made vnder hand with the Romans: *Liuius* doth professe, That there was no such euident cause thereof at the present; but that the long continuance of his faith and constancie, in following times, must helpe to proue, that this his change, was not without some good cause. But *Appianus* (an Historian farre inferior to *Liuius*, both in Worth and Time) giues one reason so probable of this, and many accidents thereto belonging, as that it carries with it a great appearance of necessary truth. Onely the doubt is, How it could any way come to passe, that the knowledge of such a matter should haue escaped the diligence of *Liuius*, if it had been true: vnlesse we should beleue, that he vnwisely forbore to rehearse a Tragicke; the sorrow wherof would cause men to thinke amiss of *Scipio*. Howsoever it was, thus *Appian* tells it: and many circumstances of things done, confirme it. *Ashurbanus*, the sonne of *Gesco*, had a faire daughter, whom both King *Siphaux* and *Masaniissa* loved. *Masaniissa*, being brought vp at Carthage, and being withall a goodly Gentleman of person, and excellent in qualities, was chosen by *Ashurbanus* to be his sonne-in-law, When

When the virgin was betrothed vnto him, he went into Spaine, and there did great seruice. But afterwards, the Carthaginian Senate thought the marriage of *Asdrubal* daughter to be a matter of State: and bestowed her vpon *Syphax*; without standing to acquaint her father or *Masanissa* therewithall. This they did, for that *Syphax* was the more mighty Prince; and for that the indignity of the repulse, had made him become their enemy. Hereof *Masanissa* was aduertised: and forthwith entred into intelligence with *Scipio*, secretly as he thought; yet not so secretly, but some notice was taken of it: which would haue cost him his life, had he not with great circumspection conueighed himselfe home into his fathers Kingdome. Thus farre forth we may beleuee *Appianus*: all the narration well cohering with things past, and following. Onely it seemes, that howsoeuer *Sophonisba* the daughter of *Asdrubal*, was promised by the Carthaginians vnto *Syphax*; yet since this their courtlesse proceeded from feare, Hee thought it wise dome to continue and increase the same their feare, by making faire promises to the Romans; vntill *Asdrubal* had sent for his daughter from Carthage, and the marriage was consummated. In other matters concerning the warre it selfe, wherein *Appian* differs much from *Linie*, and from *Polybius*, whom (as appeares by the broken pieces of his workes remaining) *Linie* did follow, it will be no offence, to take little heed vnto his reports.

*Masanissa* was the sonne of *Gala*, a King of the Numidians: whose father dying, the Crowne descended by order of the Countrey, vnto *Desfalces* the brother, not vnto *Masanissa* the sonne. But this Vncle of *Masanissa* shortly dyed: and his elder sonne, who took possession of the kingdome, was vanquished, and slaine in battaile by a Rebel, that made himselfe Protector ouer the younger which was a childe. The Traitor fortified himselfe against *Masanissa*, whose returne he feared, by Alliances with the Carthaginians and *Syphax*. But all would not serue: Hee, and his Pupill, were dispossessed of their Estates by *Syphax*. The Carthaginians in reason would haue beene glad, that *Masanissa*, who had done them notable seruice, was thus confirmed in his Estate: had they not beene guiltie of the iniurie by them done vnto him; whilst his Vncle or Cousin reigned, and he seemed vnlikely to stand them in any stead. But *Syphax*, by their procurement, and perhaps by his own malice towards his Corriual, warred vpon him, and ouer-charging him with numbers, draue him out of his Kingdome. Neuerthelesse *Masanissa* still retained the hearts of his people: and thereby remained strong enough, to infect both *Syphax* and the Carthaginians; though hee was often put in distresse, by great forces that were sent against him. Hetherefore keeping much about the lesser Syrtis, between the borders of the Carthaginians and the Nation of the Garamants, expected the comming of the Romans: yet so, as he made long roades ouer all the Countrey, euen as far as to Hippo; and when *Lelius* arriued thereabouts, exhorted and encouraged him to hasten on *Scipio* to the inuasion of Africk.

But *Syphax*, in whose great aide and succour was repofed more hope of good successe, than could be expected from the good will of poore *Masanissa*, sent an Embassage into Sicill about the same time, which was little pleasing vnto *Scipio*. He excused himselfe of his promise lately made: and signified his alliance with the Carthaginians; adding, That he could not choofe but fight for the defence of Africk, wherein he was borne and reigned; and for the defence of his beloued wifes Countrey, if it were inuaded. Neuerthelesse he promised to remaine a Neuter; so long as the Romans & Carthaginians held war abroad, farre enough from Africk, as hitherto they had done. This message hastened *Scipio* in his expedition, much more than any perswasion could haue done. For the promised assistance of *Syphax* had not a little aduanced his enterprize; in procuring both the assent of the Senate, and the forwardnesse of many Aduenturers. Lest therefore the fayling of this hope, should worke too great a change in common opinion; He thought it the best way to preuent all discourse, and set the warre vndertaken immediately on foot. The Embassadors he dismissed in all haste, with letters to their King: wherein he willed him to consider, that what hee had promised, hee had also sworne; and therefore should doe well to make it good. Hauing sent them away, Hee called his Souldiers together, and bade them make readie for the voyage; which hee intended no longer to deferre. For, said he, *Masanissa* hath bene with *Lelius*: and *Syphax* hath newly sent to mee; greatly wondering vpon what I should thus stay; and saying, That they will prouide for themselves, if I faile their expectation by carrying any longer. This fine

could not stit all further inquisition, that might else haue bene made, concerning the messenger these Embassadors, whose followers had bene scene walking vp and downe *Syracus*. And lest any thing should afterwards breake out, that might hinder the business, *Scipio* immediately sent about his fleet vnto Lilybæum: and requesting by letters *Masanissa* that was Pretor in Sicill, to meet him there; halted thither with his Armie. *Masanissa* liuely bene agreed with the Pretor, about the diuision of the Legions between them; which to haue behinde for defence of the Island; and which to carry with him into Africk. What numbers he transported, it is not certaine: some Historians reckoning, onely ten thousand foot, and two and twenty hundred horse; others increasing them to foue and thirty thousand horse and foot. Concerning his directions from embarking, and other matters belonging to their course, I hold it needlesse to set them downe: since they were points of ordinarie care, and which it is like that neither hee, when hee tooke his voyage into Spaine, nor others vpon like occasions, haue omitted; they being also word for word set downe by an Historian, who borrowed them from *Linie*, and fitted them to a Pointe of later age.

This Roman Army landed in Africk, neere to a fore-land then called the *Saire Promontorie*; which how late it was from Carthage, or toward what point of the Compasse, I cannot precisely affirme; because it is vncertaine, whether it were that Cape or Head-land which bore the name of *Mercurie*, and lay to the North-east of Carthage; or whether that of *Apollon*, which lay Northerly from Carthage, and by West. The comming of *Masanissa* vnto *Scipio* at his first arriual, helpe to confirme the opinion of *Xylander*; who thinks the *Saire Promontorie* to haue bene the same; that was also called *Mercuries Cape*; since with little difficultie *Masanissa* might come thither from the lesser Syrtis, whereabout was his common abiding. But forasmuch as without any memorabile impediment soon after his arriual, *Scipio* encamped before Vtica, that stood Westward from Carthage beyond the Riuer Bagradas: it may rather seeme, that hee landed within the Promontorie of *Apollon*, whence the way to Vtica was not long. This is also strongly proposed; for that out of Carthage were sent, the next day, foue hundred horse to trouble him in his disembarking. Neither was it so hard for *Masanissa*, that roned about the Countrey with a troupe of horse, to finde out the Romans, though they landed farre from the place to the which he usually resorted, like as before hee had met with *Lelius* at Hippo; that was farther off, as it would haue bene for *Scipio*, with his Armie and Carriages, to ouercome the trouble of a long iourney, and fetch a great compasse to Vtica, by Land; when he might haue disembarked neerer vnto it. Neuerthelesse it may passe as a coniecture, That *Scipio* came first of all to Emporia, a plentifull Region about the lesser Syrtis; since he gaue charge to the Masters of his ships, at the setting forth from Lilybæum, to shape their course for that coast. The Countrey thereabout was very rich, and fit for sustentance of an Armie: neither were the Inhabitants warlike, or well prouided to make resistance. Thus much perhaps *Masanissa* had signified vnto *Lelius*, when he spake with him at Hippo: thinking that the Romans, howsoeuer they made braue promises, would not come strong enough to fight at head. But when hee saw their fleet and Armie to bee such, as not onely seemed to inuade the lands of Carthage, but threatened a conquest of the Citie, and whole Estate: then might he better aduise them to set sayle for Vtica, and make warre vpon the Enemies at their owne doores.

The Carthaginians had at that time neither any Capitaine of great worth at home, nor better Armie than of raw Souldiers; that were leuiued, or to be leuiued in haste. *Asdrubal* the son of *Gefes*, the same that had lately bene chased out of Spaine by *Scipio* was their best man of war. And good enough perhaps he was thought by *Hanno* and his fellowes, of whose faction he was: or if ought were wanting in him, yet his Riches and Nobilitie, together with the assistance of King *Syphax*, made him passable. Hee was then with the King his son-in-law, working him (no doubt) against the Romans: when letters were brought from Carthage, both to *Syphax* and to him, informing them of the Inuasion: entreating the one of them to giue assistance, and commanding the other to make his repair vnto the Citie, where he was chosen Generall. But ere these could be ready, *Scipio* had beaten the troupe of Carthaginian horse, that were sent out of the Citie to disturbe his landing; and slaine *Hanno* a yong Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had also taken and sacked a Towne of the Carthaginians: wherein, besides other bootie, hee tooke eight thousand prisoners; all which he conueighed aboard his Hulks or Ships of



burden, and sent them backe laden into Sicill. He tooke likewise a Towne called Salera, which he held and fortified. In Salera lay another *Hanno*, with foure thousand Numidian horse: whose seruice being fitter for the field, than for defence of walled places, made *Scipio* to perceiue the vnskillfulness of their Leader, that had thus housed them. Wherefore he sent *Masanissa* before him: who rode vnto the gates; and, by making a brauado, trained out the improuident *Hanno* so furre, that hee drew him vnto a place, where the Romans lay in wait for him. The victorie was easily gotten, and *Hanno* either taken, or slaine. With those that fled, the Romans entred pell-mell into the towne, which presently they made their owne. Thence went *Scipio* to Vitica, a Citie of great importance, \* of which mention hath bene formerly made, and fate downe before it. Forty dayes he spent about it, assaying it both by Land and Sea, and vsing all his engines of battery whereof he had plenty, yet was in no likelihood of preuailing. And now the Summer was quite spent: so that it was time for him to choose a place, and fortifie his Winter-Campe, which must be well stored against the yeere following. Whence thus necessitie vrged him to leaue Vitica: and flame of taking the repulse in his first great enterprize, rather than any hope of better successe, caused him to stay there: *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* gaue him the honour of a faire pretence to leaue the siege. *Asdrubal* had made a Leuie of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse: yet aduentured not with this ill-trained Army to draw neere vnto the Romans, before the coming of *Syphax*: *Syphax* brought with him vnto Carthage fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse: which ioyning vnto the forces of *Asdrubal*, they marched brauely toward *Scipio*; who thereby tooke occasion to dis-lodge. He chose for his Winter-campe the banks of an Inlet, that had good harbour for his Nauie. His foot-men he lodged on a Promontorie, ioyning to the Continent by an arme of Land: his horse-men he bestowed vpon lower ground, on the other shoare: in the bottome of the Creek he moted his ships; and there he quartered the Mariners, with all that belonged vnto the Fleet. The whole campe he strongly fortified, and so attended the season of the yeere, when it should serue him againe to fight. Of cattell and other bootie *Masanissa* had brought in great store; by driving the Countrey, before the coming of *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*. Corne also hee had gotten some: and great store was sent him from Sicill and Sardinia. Likewise apparrell for his Souldiers, was sent from home, or from Sardinia: though scarce enough to serue time, so for that it was a matter of more cost. The ships that brought these things, he frighted homewards with such part of his bootie, as he could best spare; especially with captiues to be sold for slaues. *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* encamped neere vnto *Scipio*, not so strongly fortifying themselves, as did the Romans, either for that they wanted the seuer institution, which the Romans vsed in the discipline of warre, or for that they presumed vpon their multitude, against which they found in *Scipio* no disposition to issue forth of his strength, and fight. So the Winter passed without action.

When Spring drew neere, *Scipio* thought it good to assay his old friend the Numidian King, if perhaps hee might be wonne by perswasions to forsake the Carthaginians. It was considered, that those Barbarians were naturally vnconstant; and particularly, that *Syphax* had giuen prooffe before this of his much leuitie. It might therefore be hoped, That hauing wearied himselfe, by lodging a whole Winter in the Campe: and being peraduenture no lesse weary with fatiety of his wife, who had caused him to enter into this warre: he might be moued with a little entreatie to withdraw himselfe home into his Kingdome, and rest a Neuter. But it is not vnlikely, that such a friend as this King, had bene highly entertained and honoured in the City of Carthage, which was neere at hand, as often as during this Winter it had pleased him, or as he had bene inuited, to make a step thither and repose himselfe awhile: his wife Queene *Sophoniba* lying also there at the same time, to cherish him in his resolution. Howsoeuer it were, *Syphax* did onely make an ouerture of peace: propounding it as reasonable, That *Hannibal* should be recalled out of Italy by the Carthaginians: & that the Romans in like sort should quietly depart out of Africke, and so make an end of the warre: wherewith now both Africke and Europe were disquieted. Vnto this would not *Scipio* at the first giue care: yet being pressed earnestly by many messages from *Syphax*, and desiring to continue the inter-course of Embassadors, he began to make shew, as if he would consider of the motion. He was giuen to vnderstand by those whom he had sent vnto the King, That the Enemies had their camps without any great defence of earth, full of wooden Cabins,

bins, and covered with boughs: and that the Numidians, such of them as came first with *Syphax*, vsed coverings of Mattes and Mats; others, that came later, had thatched their lodgings with drie boughs and leaues: vnder which they lay carelesly, without their Trenches. Vpon this aduancement he bethought himselfe, That it would not be hard for him to set their camps on fire, and thereby giue them a notable ouerthrow. Without helpe of some such stratagem, hee saw that it would be a worke of great difficulty for him, to proceed in his wares when time should serue. It was a plaine open Countrey, wherein he lay: and the Enemies had great aduantage of him in number, especially in horse, which, vpon such ground, could not be resisted by the Roman Legions. The longer therefore that he thought vpon the matter, the more needfull he found it for himselfe, to make some sudden attempt vpon their Campe. To this end hee sent many Embassadors, vnder pretence of treating about the Peace; but indeed of purpose to discover all that might concerne the intended surpris. With these Embassadors he sent, as Attendants, many old Souldiers disguised like slaues; that wandering (as it were) idle vp and downe the Campe, might obserue the wayes and entrances, with what ouer else was needfull. When he had learned as much as hee desired: vpon the sudden he sent word to *Syphax*, that it was vaine to hold any longer Treatie; forasmuch as he could not get the consent of his Councell of warre; without whose approbation, all that himselfe could doe, was no more, than the good will of one man. This he did to the end that, without any breach of faith, hee might put his designe in execution. The truce being thus cut off, *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* were very peniue; as hauing lately perswaded themselves, that their trouble was almost at an end. But since it could be no better, they began to dandle, by what art they might draw *Scipio* out of his Campe, and prouoke him to battaile in those Plaines. This if they could doe, they hoped to make his Councell of warre repent as greatly the refusal of peace, as did *Marcus Attilius* after the like presumption. But if he should refuse to come forth of his Trenches, what else remained than to besiege him: which they themselves were well able to do by land; and the Carthaginian fleet should doe by Sea, that was making ready for the purpose. By such discourtes these two comforted themselves; recompensing (in conceipt) the losse of their hopes past, with that of victorie to come. But herein they were extremely and worthily disappointed: for that consulting about the future, they provided not against present danger, but continued in the same negligence, which was growne vpon them by the long discourse of peace. As for *Scipio*, he was not idle; but made preparation out of hand, as it were to doe somewhat against Vitica. Two thousand Souldiers he had made ready, and appointed to take the same peece of ground, whereon he lay against Vitica before. This he did, partly to keep secret that which he had in hand, lest being suspected by his owne Souldiers, the Enemy might happen to haue notice of it, partly to hinder those of Vitica from setting vpon the few, that he purposed to leaue behinde him in his Campe. Hee caused his men that night to sup well, and betimes; that they might beeready for the iourney. After supper, he appointed such Companies as hee thought fit, to the defence of his Campe; all the rest of the army he led forth, about nine of the clocke at night. The Carthaginians lay from him seauen miles and an halfe, whom he purposed to vndertake himselfe with the one halfe of his army; the other halfe he committed to *Lelius* and *Masanissa*, whom he sent before him to set vpon the campe of *Syphax*, that was farther off. It was his meaning, that the campe of *Syphax* should be on a light fire, ere he would meddle with the Carthaginians. For the fire might seeme to haue taken hold by casualty vpon the Numidians, that lay farther off: whereas if it first appeared in the campe of *Asdrubal*, it would be suspected as the doing of enemies, and giue *Syphax* warning to look to himselfe. To this end therefore *Scipio* marched faire and softly, that *Lelius* and *Masanissa*, who had a longer iourney, and were to fetch a compass about for feare of being discovered, might haue time to get before him, & do their feat. It was about two or three of the clocke in the morning, when the campe of *Syphax* began to blaze: which not onely the Numidians, but their king himselfe, imputed vnto casualty; as thinking themselves safe enough from enemies, for that the Carthaginians lay interposed betweene them and the danger. Wherefore as if there were no more to doe, some, starting halfe asleepe; and others, that had sitten vp late at drinking, ranne out of their Cabbins to quench the fire. But so great was the tumult, that they neither could rightly vnderstand in what case they were, nor giue any remedie to the mischance, as it



was supposed. Many were smothered and burnt in the flame, which grew greater and greater; many, leaping into the Trenches for fear of the sudden mischief, were trampled to death by the multitude that followed them. They that escaped the fire, fell upon the enemies sword, which was ready to receive them. Especially *Masaniissa*, that best knew the Countrey, did great execution vpon them; hauing laid all the wies by which hee foresaw that they would seeke to escape. The Carthaginians perceiving this fire, thought none other than that it was a pittifull mischance: so that some rannt out to helpe the poore Numidians; carrying onely what would serue to quench the fire. Others came vp to the Rampart: where, fearelesse of any danger towards themselves, they stood beholding the greatnesse of the flame; and lamenting the misfortune. This fell out right as *Scipio* would haue it. He therefore lost no time; but setting vpon those that were running towards the Numidians, he killed some, and pursued the rest back into their campe; which in a little while he made to burne as bright, as did that of *Syphax*. *Asdrubal* seeing this, and knowing that the Romans were there, did not stand to make resistance, but shifted onely for himselfe, and escaped with a few of his horse about him. If *Hannibal*, or any of the *Barchine* faction, had beene taken in such a manner: it is more than probable, that old *Hanno* would haue iudged him worthy to be crucified. It would then haue beene said, that with lesse than one halfe of thirty thousand men, hee might at least haue giuen some bad recompence, to them that were taking pains in kindling these fires, had he not beene only carefull how to saue his owne fearefull head. Neuertheless, *Polybius* acknowledgeth, and it is most likely to haue beene true, That if *Asdrubal*, or any of those about him, would haue striuen to shew valour, when the Campe was once on fire: He should not thereby haue done any manner of good, because of the tumult and consternation. I shall not need to tell what a fearefull thing it was, to heare the cries of so many thousands that perished by fire and sword, or to behold the cruell flame that consumed them; which (as *Polybius* affirmes) none that *hath* being is able to describe. It is enough to say, That of those many thousands very few did escape; which accompanied *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* in their severall wayes of flight. Besides these also there were some scatterers, especially of the Numidians, that saued themselves in the darke: but they were not many, as after shall appeare. Surely it must needs haue beene very hard to tell, how many were burnt or otherwise made away, and what numbers escaped in the darke of night. Wherefore *Linie*, who in the rest of this Relation, as often 30 elsewhere, doth follow *Polybius*, may seeme to haue followed some lesse worthy Author, and him no good Arithmetician, in casting vp the summe. For he reckons onely two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to haue escaped; forty thousand to haue perished by sword or fire; and about six thousand to haue bin taken prisoners: the whole number of all which together, is farre short of fourescore and thirteene thousand, which were in these two Campes.

*Asdrubal*, putting himselfe into the next town that was very strongly fortified, thought there to finde the Romans worke, vntill the Carthaginians at good leisure might repaire their Army. He had with him no more than two thousand foot, and five hundred horse: which hee thought sufficient to defend the Towne; if the Towne-men would not be wanting to themselves. But he found the Inhabitants of the place very earnest in contention, whether it were better to fight, or to yeeld. Vnto this disputation, hee well foresaw that the arrival of *Scipio* would foegineue an end: Wherefore, left they should lay hold vpon him, and seeke the Victors fauour by deliuering him vp; he shrunk away betimes, and made all haste to Carthage. As for the towne, which he left; it opened the gates to *Scipio*, at his first coming: and thereby preferred it selfe from all manner of losse. The two next Townes adioyning would needs be valiant, and make countenance of warre: but their strength not being answerable, they were soone taken by *Scipio*, who abandoned them to the pleasure of his Souldiers. This being done, hee returned to the siege of *Vtica*.

The Carthaginians were sore troubled, as they had good reason, when, in stead of either Peace or Victory, which they lately hoped for, they heard newes of such a lamentable overthrow. Necessitie enforced them to make haste prouision for the future: but how to doe it, few of them saw any means. Some gaue aduice to craue peace of *Scipio*: others, to send for *Hannibal* out of Italy; but the most, and they which finally prevailed, were of opinion, That notwithstanding the losse of this Armie, they might well defend

against themselves against the Romans, by raising new korees: especially, if *Syphax* would not leave them: It was therefore concluded, That they should best all their care this way, leuying in all haste another Armie; and sending Embassadors to deale with *Syphax*, who lay then at a Towne called *Abba*, not passing eight miles from Carthage. Immediately, the same their vnfortunate Commander, *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Grisco* was employed, to make new korees of men: and Queene *Sophonisba* went forth with Embassadors to her husband *Syphax*, who hauing gathered together as many as hee could of his subjects that had escaped from the late slaughter, was thinking to returne into his owne kingdom. *Sophonisba* laboured for with her husband, that at length shee wanne him to her owne desire. And it fell out at the same time, that foure thousand Spaniards, 10 waged by the Carthaginians, were brought ouer to serue in Africk. Of these were made such braue reports, as if their courage, and the armes which they vfed, were not to be refused. Euen the multitude within Carthage belequed these tales, and were more glad than they had cause to be, which is great wonder, since in one Age, the whole countrey of Spaine had beene twice conquered; first, by the Carthaginians themselves, and after by the Romans. But with *Syphax* these tales prevailed much; which the Carthaginian Embassadors helped with a lie; saying, That there were come ten thousand of these terrible Spaniards. Vpon this confidence, the people of Carthage and their friends gathered such spirit, that in thirty dayes they made vp an Army, consisting well-neere of thirty thousand men, reckoning the Spaniards, and *Syphax* with his Numidians in the number. So they incamped in a Region called, *The Great Fields*, about five dayes iourney 20 from *Vtica*. *Scipio* hearing of this, came from *Vtica* thither, to visit them: leaving behinde him his impediments, with some part of his Army, to make a shew of continuing the siege. Two or three dayes, after the meeting of both Armies, passed away in skirmish, without any great thing done. It had now become time for *Asdrubal* to follow the example of the Roman, *Fabius*, and seeke to weary out the Enemy by delays. But either (which is likely) he was a farre worse Commander, or else, it was not in his power to giue such directions as best pleased himselfe. The fourth day the Armies met in battail: wherein the Romans were marshalled by *Scipio* after the best wonted manner, hauing their Italian horse in the right wing; and *Masaniissa* with his Numidians in the left. On the contrary side, *Asdrubal* and his Carthaginians had the right wing; *Syphax*, the left; 30 and the Spaniards, the battail. The victorie was gotten without many blowes: for the vntaught followers of *Syphax* and *Asdrubal*, could not sustaine the first charge of the Italians, or of *Masaniissa*. Onely the Spaniards fought a long time: euen vntill they were all in a manner slaine: rather as men desperate, and not hoping for mercy; since they were thus come ouer to fight against *Scipio*, who had otherwise deserted of them, than vpon any likelihood or conceit of victory. This their obstinacie was beneficiall to those that fled; for that it hindered the Romans from making any great pursuit. Hereby *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* escaped: *Asdrubal*, to Carthage; and *Syphax* home to his owne kingdom: whether his wife was either gone before, or immediately followed him. 40 *Scipio*, hauing thus gotten the mastery of the field, tooke counsaile about the prosecution of the warre. It was resolved vpon as the best course, That he himselfe, with part of the Army, should attempt the Cities round about him: and that *Masaniissa*, with his Numidians, and *Lelium*, with some of the Roman Legions, should follow after *Syphax*; not permitting him to take rest within his owne Kingdom, where easily else he might repaire his forces, and put them to now trouble. This aduice, it seems that *Masaniissa* gave: who knew best the quality of the Numidians; and what good might be done among them, by the reputation of a victory. The least that could be expected, was his resolution into his owne kingdom, vsurped by *Syphax*: which to accomplish, it no lesse concerned the Romans at the present, than it did himselfe. According to this order con- 50 cluded, *Lelium* was sent away with *Masaniissa*; and *Scipio* stayed behinde, carrying the warre from towne to towne. Many places yeelded for feare; many were taken by force; and all the subjects of Carthage wauered in their fidelity, as if the time were now come, wherein they might take notice of those vnreasonable blunders, which their proud Masters had laid vpon them for maintenance of the warre in Spaine and Italy. What to doe in this case, the Carthaginians could hardly resolve. Fortune was their Enemy; they had lost their Armies, and many of their Townes: neither durst they make bold to trouble their owne subjects with any violent exaction of men or money; who nevertheless of

their own free-wil were likely to giue little help. Very much it grieved them to send for *Hannibal* out of Italy: yet since there was no other hope remaining, than in him and his good Army; it was decreed, That *Emballadors* should be forthwith sent to call him home. Some there were that gaue aduice, to set out a fleet against that of *Scipio*, that rode before *Vtica*, weakly manned, and easie to be taken, whilst *Scipio* himselfe was busied in the In-land Countries. Some were of opinion, That it should be their principall care, to fortifie by all meanes the City of Carthage: vpon the safety whereof they said all depended: adding, that whilst they were true, and at vnity among themselves, they might well enough subsist, and expect those opportunities, with which Fortune (doubtlesse) would present them. These counsels were not received; but order was forthwith taken, both for all things concerning the defence of the City, and for the attempt vpon the Roman fleet at *Vtica*. Neuertheless, it was considered, that hereby they should onely protract the warre, without any aduancing their owne affaires towards likelihood of victory, no, though it should fall out, that all the shippes at *Vtica* might be taken or destroyed. Wherefore the determination held concerning *Hannibal*, That hee should immediatly come ouer into Africke, as the last refuge of Carthage. The Councell was no sooner broken vp, than all the Senators betooke themselves to the execution of that which was decreed: some, to the fortification of the Towne: some, to make ready the Fleet; and some, appointed therunto, forthwith to embarque themselves for Italy.

In this their trepidation *Scipio* comes to Tunes, a City in those dayes very strong, and standing in prospect almost of euery part of Carthage. This place, or rather some defensible piece adioyning, he easily tooke; the garrison forsaking it, and running away as soone as he drew neere. But whilst he was about there to Incampe, and fortifie himselfe against the City, he might perceiue the Carthaginian Fleet setting forth, and making towards *Vtica*: What this meant, he readily conieured, & stood in great feare, lest his own ships, that were very ill prepared for Sea-fight (as being heauily laden with engines of battery, & wholly disposed in such order, as was most conuenient for assaulting the townes) should make bad resistance, against a fleet appointed for that speciall seruice. Wherefore he halted away towards *Vtica*, to assit with his presence in this needfull case. It fell out well, that he had sent his carriages, and all the great booty which he drew along with him, thither before, at his going to Tunes. For had not he now made great expedition, hee should haue come too late. Neither could he indeed haue beene there in due time, if the Carthaginians had vsed such diligence as was conuenient. But they rested one night in harbour by the way: and at their coming to *Vtica*, they tarried awhile to make a brauado; presenting themselves in order of battell, as if the Romans would haue put forth to Sea against them. But *Scipio* had no such intent: hee thought it would be sufficient, if he could perserue his Gallies. As for the pleasure of their brauerie at Sea; it should little auail the Carthaginians, if they got nothing by it, and lost their whole estate by Land. Wherefore he tooke his ships of burden, and fastning them together with cables, in foure ranks, one behinde another, made a foure-fold bridge ouer the Channel of the Hauen; whereon he placed a thousand of his choice men, with store of Darts, and other casting weapons, to make defence. Some open spaces he left, wherewith his Frigots, and other small Vessels, might run out and backe againe vpon any aduantage or need: but these he couered with planks, vsing the masts and yards of his ships in stead of rafters, to ioyne all together, that his men might helpe one another, and the bridge it selfe not become asunder. Scarce was this worke finished, when the Carthaginians, seeing none issue forth against them, came into the Hauen. The fight betwene them and the Romans that were in the Hulks, was rather like to the assaulting of a wall, than to any Sea-fight. For they that stood vpon the bridge, had sure footing, and threw their weapons downwards, with their whole strength and violence; which the Carthaginians out of their Gallies, that were lower and vnsteady, could not do. But the Roman Frigots & long boats, aduenturing forth from behind the bridge, were greatly ouer-born by the force of the Gallies; and were one occasion of that small losse which followed. They that stood vpon the Bridge were neither able to relieue them, nor yet could freely bestow their weapons among the Carthaginians, as before; for feare of hurting these their friends, that were intangled and mixed among the enemies. The Carthaginians had brought with them which grappling hooks, hanging at Iron chains. These they threw vpon the masts and yards which served as arches to ioyne the bridge together: then rowing

ing backwards, they tore all asunder, in such sort, that one ship followed another, and all the first ranke was broken, or defaced. The Defendants had no other way, than to saue themselves as hastily as they could, by shifiting into the next ranke of ships, that lay behinde them vntouched. Neither did the Carthaginians trouble themselves any further in this laborious worke: but hauing haled away sixe ships of burden, and towed them out of the Hauen, returned home to Carthage. Their wel-come was greater than their victory: because among so many grieuous losses, onely this exploit had succeeded well, though it were of small importance.

Whilst things thus passed about Carthage, *Lelium* and *Masanissa*, in their iourney against *Syphax*, found as good successe as could be desired. The same of the victories already gotten, restored *Masanissa* to his kingdome, without farther contention: the *Masseyli*, his subiects, joyfully receiuing him, & forsaking the vsurpers. But here they stayed not: neither indeed would *Syphax* permit them to be quiet. He had such abundance of men and horses, that he felt not greatly the losses past: and therefore being solicited by *Adrabal* and *Sophonisba*, hee prepared againe for warre. But beside the instigation of his beloued wife; the losse of the *Masseili* would let him take no rest: neither was it the purpose of *Lelium* and *Masanissa*, to giue him any breathing time. It is common in men, to depart no lesse vnwillingly from that which they haue gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance; but to thinke all alike their owne, whereof they are in possession, bee the title vnto some part neuer so vnusult. Hercunto alludes the fable of the young Kite; which thought that she had vomited vp her owne guts, when it was onely the garbage of some other fowle, that shee had hastily swallowed, and was not able to digest. But whether or no, *Syphax*, like the young Kite, beleueed the kingdome of the *Masseili* to be part of his entrailes: *Lelium* and *Masanissa* will shortly giue him somewhat that shall make him cast his gorge. For to this purpose chiefly are they come so farre. It concerned the Romans to dispossesse (if it might be) that king, whose false and hollow friendship towards them, had become converted into strong enmity; as also to set in his place another, who might do them such good offices, as *Syphax* had lately done vnto the Carthaginians. How easily this might be effected, *Masanissa* knew best, as being well acquainted with the nature of those Countries, wherein; euen to this day; though there be many strong Towns, yet the fortune of a battaile is enough, to transpile the kingdome from one Competitor to another. So they met with *Syphax*, who came against them with no lesse an Armie, than his former, and marshalled in the Roman order, according to the skill, which he had learned of the Roman Centurion, long agoe sent vnto him out of Spaine from *Cm. Scipio*. But though he could teach his men how to march in order; yet could he not teach them to fight courageously. They were a rabble of all sorts, gathered vp in haste: and few of them had seene warre before. Encamping nere vnto the Romans, it fell out, as commonly, that some small troupes of horse on both sides, encountred one another in the mid-way: and they that had the worst, were seconded by other of their fellows. By continuance of the skirmish, more and more were drawne out from either Campe: so that at length *Syphax*, vnwilling to dishearten his men by taking any foyle at their first meeting with the Enemy, came vp with all his horse, which were the best part of his forces, and therewith ouer-charged *Masanissa*, whose numbers were farre lesse. But whilst he was prosecuting his hope of victory: some Roman Squadrons of Foot came against him through their own Troupes of horse, which fell to the sides, and made a lane for them. So their battaile standing now more firme, than a little before, *Syphax* was vnable, though hee laboured much, in vaine, to make them giue ground. *Masanissa* likewise, and his Troupes grew confident vpon this assistance: and charging afresh the Enemy, that could not make way forward, caused him to giue backe. Herewithall the Legions came in sight: which terrified so the Numidian horse, that they beganne presently to dis-band. Faine would *Syphax* haue stayed them from flight: and to that end made head in person against the Romans; with hope, that his men would be ashamed to leaue him. But it fell out vnappily, that hee was cast from his horse, which received a wound, and so taken prisoner. Of others that were slaine or taken, the multitude was not great. It sufficed, that they forsook the place, and fled, and that their king, vpon whom all depended, was in the Romans hand. *Masanissa* told *Lelium*, that this victory should make an end of the Numidian war, if presently they hasted away to Cirta the chiefe City of the kingdome; whither he himselfe desired

to be sent before with the Horse, carrying *Syphax* along with him. Hereunto *Lalius* agreed, *Masanissa* coming to *Cirta*, before any newes of the Kings mischance was there arrived, called out the chiefe of the City to parlee: wherein by many false promises and threats, but especially by shewing vnto them *Syphax* bound, he perswaded to fame, that the gates were forthwith opened vnto him; and euery one strove to get his fauour, that was like to be their King hereafter. Among the rest, Queen *Sophonisba* yeelded her selfe into his hands, and vehemently besought him, that she might not be deliuered vp vnto the Romans. Her youth, and excellent beauty, so commended her suite, that *Masanissa* forthwith granted it; and to make good his promise, married her himselfe that very day: thereby to preuent *Lalius* and *Scipio* from determining otherwise of her, since she was to his wife. But *Lalius*, when he came thither, tooke the matter hainously, so that at first he would haue haled her away, together with *Syphax* and other prisoners, and haue sent her vnto *Scipio*. But being ouer-intreated by *Masanissa*, hee suffered the matter to rest a while as he found it, and referred all to *Scipio's* discretion: to whom he sent away *Syphax* and other captiues immediately; following shortly after himselfe with *Masanissa*, when they had done what was needfull in the kingdome.

At the coming of *Syphax*, there was great ioy in the Roman Campe: the mighty Armies which he had lately brought into the field; and his entertainment of *Scipio* and *Asdrubal*, both at one time, when Rome and Carthage together fought his friendship: with such other commemoration of his past and present fortune, ministring to euery one a large argument of discourse. *Scipio* demanded of him, what had moued him, not onely to forsake the Roman friendship, but to make warre vpon them, vnprovoked. He briefly answered: That his wife had moued him so to doe; calling her a Fury, and a pestilent creature: and saying, that *Masanissa* was no wiser than himselfe, since hee had now taken the same woman to his wife, who would shortly draw him to the same courses. Hereat *Scipio* was greatly troubled: and stood in great doubt, lest this perillous woman should deprive him of *Masanissa*, as she had done of *Syphax*. It was not long, ere *Masanissa* and *Lalius* came vnto him: both of whom together he louingly welcommed; and highly commended in publique, for their notable seruice in this Expedition. Then taking *Masanissa* aparte, he brake with him, as touching *Sophonisba*: letting him vnderstand, that the Romans had tittle other head, and that she was a mischieuous enemy of theirs. Wherefore he intreated him to moderate his affections: and not to detace the memory of his great seruises already done; (for which he should bee highly rewarded to his owne contentment) by committing a great offence vpon little reason. *Masanissa* blusht, and wept: and finally promised to be gouerned by *Scipio*, whom hee neuertheless intreated, to thinke vpon his faith giuen to *Sophonisba*, that she should not be deliuered into the Romans power. So he departed to his owne Tent, where, after sometime spent in agony, he called vnto him a seruant of his that had the custody of his poyson (which Princes vse then to haue in a readinesse, against all mischances that might make them vnwilling to liue): and tempering a potion for *Sophonisba*, sent it vnto her with this message: That gladly he would haue had her to liue with him as his wife: but since they who had power to hinder him of his desire, would not yeeld thereto, he sent her a Cup, that should preferre her from falling aliuie into the hands of the Romans; willing her to remember her birth and estate, and accordingly to take order for herselfe,

At the receipt of this Message and Present, shee onely said: That if her husband had no better token to send vnto his new wife, she must accept of this; adding, That she might haue dyed more honourably, if she had not wedded so lately before her funeral. And here withall she boldly dranke off the poyson. Thus *Liuis* reporteth. But *Appian* varies from this; and sets it downe agreeably to that which hath bene spoken before, concerning the precontract betwene *Masanissa* and *Sophonisba*. He saith, That after the taking of *Syphax*, Embassadors from *Cirta* met with *Lalius* and *Masanissa* vpon their way thither; yeelding vp their City, and the Kings Palace: and that *Sophonisba*, for her owne priuate, sent messengers to excuse her marriage with *Syphax*; as made against her will, by compulsion of those in whose power she was. *Masanissa* readily admitted this excuse; and accepted her to wife. But when *Scipio* had receiued information from *Syphax*, how cunning in perswasion *Sophonisba* was; and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of Carthage; hee fell out about her with *Masanissa* at his returne, and challenged her, as a part of the booty belonging to the Romans. *Masanissa* said, shee

was his owne wife, and vnto him betrothed many yeeres before. But *Scipio* would not heare of this; or if it were true, yet he said it was no reason, that *Masanissa* should keepe her in possession, as long as it was disputable, vnto whom the might appertaine. Wherefore hee willed him first of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claim vnto her, wherein he should haue no wrong. Here withall he sent to fetch her away: and *Masanissa* accompanied the messengers, as it were to deliuer her: but making her acquainted with the necessity, gaue vnto her a Cup of poyson, wherewith she ended her life, before they came that should haue apprehended her. So hee shewed vnto the Romans her dead body, which he royally interred. The sudden violence of *Masanissa's* his loue; and the ready consent of *Sophonisba* to marry with him; added not so much credit vnto this relation of *Appian*, as doth the want of all other euident cause (which *Liuis* notes) of the sudden falling put between him and the Carthaginians, vnder whom he had bin trained vp, and done them great seruice. Howsoeuer it were; *Scipio*, hearing of this tragical accident, sent for *Masanissa*, and comforted him as well as he could, lest his melancholy should lead him to some inconuenience. Hauiug therefore gently rebuked him for his rashnesse, he brought him forth in presence of the Army: where extolling his noble acts, and shewing how highly he had deserved of the City of Rome, he proclaimed him King, and gaue vnto him a Crowne of gold, with other royall ornaments. This was indeed thereby way to diuert his thoughts from the sad remembrance of that which was past, vnto the more cheerefull contemplation of good fortune, that began to smile vpon him.

This was the first time that the Romans took vpon them to create or proclaim a king: Which honour though *Masanissa* well deserved: yet would not the Title haue redounded vnto his great benefit; neither should he haue bene much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their means recovered possession of his Country, together with the greatest part of *Syphax's* his Dominions. It seemeth not vnlutely, that had he remained a Nether in these warres, and sustained himselfe with his troupe of horse, in such sort as he did before the coming of the Romans; he might neuertheless haue recovered his proper inheritance, by the loue of his owne subiects, without other helpe, when *Syphax* had once or twice bene vanquished. As for the enlargement of his kingdome, it was not more than he deserved: neither were the Romans then in case, to make a conquest of Numidia for themselves; neither could they haue wished a fitter opportunity, than of such an one, vpon whom to bestow it, that was their assured friend, and passable withall among the Numidians, as being (for the Masatili were a Numidian Tribe) a great Prince of the same Nation. Yet this liberality of the Romans, was noyed abroad as very glorious: and the Romans themselves, in a politicke sort of grauity, tooke highly vpon them; as if euen their saluting him by the name of King, had bene a matter of great consequence. He thrived indeed well after it: and by their maintenance waxed mighty in times following, in reaching vpon his neighbours on all sides; but most of all vpon the State of Carthage, wher at they were little displeased. Hence it grew that *Vermina* the sonne of *Syphax* (of whom we shall shortly speake more) which held some piece of his fathers kingdome, desiring friendship of the Romans, and promising by all meanes to deserue their loue, requested therewithall, that they would call him King. But though it were so, that neuer any before him had made this a matter of suit: yet the Roman Senate was *punitilium* herein, and answered very grauely, That it was not their custome to giue the honour of that appellation, saue onely vnto such kings, as had greatly deserved of their City. Thus they made it a matter of State; & in proceesse of time grew so proud of this their imaginaty prerogatiue, that they imputed as a singular benefit vnto Kings, that no way depended vpon them, the salutation by that name, though it were not accompanied with any other fauour or profit thence redounding.

## S. X I X.

The Carthaginians desire Truce, and breake it.

The Carthaginians were extremely dismayed, when they heard of the great calamity, that was befallen their good friend *Syphax*; and vnderstood that *Masanissa* their immortal enemy, had got possession of his kingdome. To increase their feare, *Scipio* returned againe to Tunes in view of their City: where hee made an end of that Fortification, which hee had begun at his last being there. The Carthaginians

\* Excerpt. 2. P.  
lib. lib. 15.  
lin. 50. 30.

nians had neither forces, nor courage, to withstand him: but their hearts so failed them, that they sent forth vnto them thirty Embassadors, Princes of the city, which were their Priuy Councell, to make suite for peace. These being admitted into the presence of *Scipio*, did not only prostrate themselves on the ground; but kissed the feet of him, and of those that sat in Councell with him.

Answerable to this base adoration was their speech that followed. They confessed themselves to haue vniuersally broken the Peace between them and Rome; and to haue deserved whatsoeuer punishment it should please the Romans to inflict vpon them. Yet they humbly besought *Scipio* and the rest, that in common regard of those misfortunes, whereto all men are subject, they would shew mercy vnto the city of Carthage, and let it remaine, as a monument of their clemency; which, by the folly of her Citizens, had to now twice deferred to be ouerthrowne. Herewithal they did not forget, to lay the blame vpon *Hannibal*: who without their appointment had begunne the warre; and was maintained in his doings by a Faction, without the good liking of the whole Citie. By this it appears, that these Embassadors were no Barchines: but rather, that they were *Hannos*, and the choice of his company; who had now their long desired work in hand, of suing vnto the Romans for peace. Whatsoeuer they were, it must needs be that they were most insolent men ouer those that were subiect vnto their power: for they would not haue made such adoration to the Romans in their owne necessity, vnlesse they themselves had expected the like, where they had the aduantage.

It was not vnknewne to *Scipio*, or to his assistants, in what poor case the city of Rome then was; and how vnable to defray the charges of continuing the war. Neither were the Carthaginians, notwithstanding the losse of so many Armies, in such ill case, as the Romans themselves had very lately bene. For they had money enough, wherewith to wage more men: they had a Citie farre stronger than Rome; and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the Roman resolution: and therefore distrusted the wals of Carthage, though *Vtica*, a weaker Citie, had all this while held out against *Scipio*, and could not yet be forced by him and his Army, though so often victorious in the field. *Scipio* therefore accepted their submission, and told them, That though hee came into Affricke, to make a conquest, and not a Peace; yet hauing the Conquest as it were in his hand, he would not deny to grant them the Peace which they desired; for thereby should all Nations vnderstand, that the people of Rome did follow the rule of Iustice, both in making warre, and in concluding it. The Conditions which he imposed vpon them, were these. That they should render vp vnto him all the prisoners that they had taken, together with all Renegados and fugitive slaues: That they should withdraw their Armies out of Italian and Gaule: That they should not meddle in Spaine, nor yet in any Iland betwene Italy and Affricke: That they should deliuer vp all their shippes of warre, saue twenty; and that they should pay a great summe of money, with certaine hundred thousand bushels of wheat and barley. To consider of these Articles, he gaue them three days: and when they had approved them, he granted a Truce; that they might send Embassadors vnto the Roman Senate.

This done, *Masaniissa* was dismissed, and went home into his kingdome, as if the war had bene already at an end. *Syphax* was a little before sent with *Laelius* vnto Rome: where the fame of these victories filled men with ioy, and gaue hope, that the long endured miseries would be shortly at an end. Wherefore all the Temples were set open; and an holy day appointed for thanksgiving and supplication to their gods. *Laelius* was accompanied with Embassadors from King *Masaniissa*: who gratulating the happy successe of the Romans in their African war, and giuing thanks vnto the Senate for the benefits done by *Scipio* vnto their Master, made request for the Numidians, such as were now his subiects and prisoners in Rome, that they might be bestowed vpon him, who by rendring them to liberty, should doe an act very plausible, that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his reigne. The Roman Senate were not behind with *Masaniissa* in complement: but shewing themselves to be highly pleased with all that *Scipio* had done, and should do for him, they called him King againe, released his Numidians that were captiues; and sent him two purple Caslocks, that had each of them one gold button, with such other presents, as in time of their poverty might serue to testify their good will. Scarcely were these and *Laelius* gone from Rome, when the newes came, that Embassadors from Carthage were arrived to desire peace. These Embassadors

were

were not admitted into the Citie, but were lodged without: vntill *Laelius* being sent for, came backe from Ostia, to be present when their demands were to be heard. Then was audience giuen them in the Temple of *Bellona*; that stood in the Suburbs. The errand of these Embassadors, was peace, but the meaning of them and of their City, was one: to winne time, and get respite for warre; vntill *Hannibal* and *Mago* should come out of Italy, either to chase the Romans out of Affricke, or to obtain peace for Carthage, by resort of their great names and Armies, vpon more easie conditions. Wherefore they made an idle discourse of the League, that was concluded between them and *Lutatus Catulus*, at the end of the former warre. This League they said, all things well considered, did still remaine in force: neither had there since bene any warre at all, betwene the people of Rome & the Carthaginians. For it was onely *Hannibal*, that, without any leaue from Carthage, had of his owne head besieged and razed the Towne of *Saguntum*: and after that aduentured in like sort, without Commission, to passe the Alpes, and trouble (as he had done) the quiet of Italy. This being so, their Message was none other, than to desire, that the League before spoken of, made in the time of *Catulus*, might hereafter stand in force; as indeed it hitherto did, and ought to doe. The Senators had cause to wonder at this tale, hearing these Embassadors make (as it were) a ieast of a warre, that had bene so terrible. Wherefore they asked them a great many questions, concerning that Peace made by *Lutatus*, and other passages following betweene the two Cities. But they excused themselves, by their age: (for they were all yong men) and said, That those things were beyond their knowledge and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, That all was but collusion, and that they fought no other than to gaine time, vntill they might repaire the warre. Wherefore they were sent home in company of *Laelius*, without any conclusion at all of peace; and, in effect, without answer. This notwithstanding, wee finde in *Polybius*, That the Senate receiving advertisement from *Scipio*, of that which had passed between him and the Carthaginians in this Treatie of peace, approved the Conditions by him propounded, and gaue him licence thereupon, to proceed vnto conclusion. This may with good reason bee beleueed, since it was not vnknewne, that if the warre continued, all these goodly hopes must keepe vpon the most vncertaine issue of one battell between *Hannibal* and *Scipio*: wherein if fortune should be auerfe to them, their forces in Affricke were no better than quite lost.

Matters thus hanging in suspense, before the Carthaginian Embassadors came backe from Rome, a Fleet came out of Sicily, wherein were two hundred shippes of burden, and thirty Gallies, being bound for Affricke, to victual the Roman Campe, was ouer-taken by foule-weather at Sea, and hardly escaping wreck, was dispersed, and driuen aground in diuers parts of the Bay of Carthage, euen in view, and vnder command of the Citie. There was at that time, as wee finde in *Appian*, and may gather out of *Polybius*, a great dearth of victuals in Carthage, which caused the people to cry out vpon their Magistrates, that the should not let such a booty escape them, saying, that the danger of famine was greater and worse, than of breaking Truce. Whether it were so that hunger vrged them, or that they yielded to their owne greedy desires: the multitude in Carthage vnderstood (as it seems) that all this discourse of Peace in hand, was no better than mere mockery, and therefore cared not for obseruation of particular points, when they meant deceit in the whole. It was the manner in Carthage, as likewise in Alexandria, for all the rascality, together with women & boyes, to be meddling in vproaires; the clamors of the boyes being in such tumults no lesse violent than of the men. Wherefore it is no maruail, if little regard were had of reason, or of honour, in any such commotion. A Fleet was sent out vnder *Asdrubal*, to gather vp the dispersed Roman shippes of burden (for the Gallies, by force of Oares, recovered the station whereto their camp adioyned) and bring them into Carthage; which was done. *Scipio* was hereat much offended: not onely for the losse, and for that the Towne was thereby relieued; but for that by this breach of Truce, he fore-saw the intention of the Carthaginians to renew the war, and put him to more trouble. Wherefore he sent Embassadors vnto them, both to require satisfaction for the iniury done; and to deterre them from entertaining any other hope, than in the peace which they had so much desired. These gaue the Carthaginians to vnderstand, That Letters were come from Rome vnto *Scipio*, with allowance to conclude the Peace, vpon those conditions which he had propounded. But (said they) we hold it strange, that ye, who so lately haue cast your selues to the ground before vs, and kissed our feete,

after

Excerpt. 2. P.  
lib. lib. 15.  
lin. 15.

App. de bella  
Punic.

Excerpt. 2. P.  
lib. lib. 15.  
lin. 15.

after an vn-usuall manner of humilitie, confessing your selues to haue perfidiously broken the League that was betwene vs, and thereby to haue deserued such punishment as is due vnto Rebels; should so soone forget what ye then vttered, and runne headlong againe into the same crimes, for which ye acknowledged your selues worthy to be destroyed, hauing onely resourse vnto my mercy, we are not ignorant, that it is the confidence which ye repose in Hannibal, that shew emboldens you. Yet were it not amisse, that yee should consider, how long he hath bin pent up in a corner of Italy, among the Britians; where he is in a manner besieged, and unable to stirre: so that ye are like to find his helpe wanting in your greatest need. Or is it be supposed, that he were now in Africke, and ready to giue vs battaile: yet should it well agree with your wisdom, to doubt what might befall, remembering that he is a man; and not to be uincible. Now if it should happen that he were overcome, what refuse haue ye left vnto your selues against herafter? what gods will yee either sweare by, to be beleued, or call vpon in your misery? what words, and lamentable gesture will ye henceforth vse, to moue compassion vnto your selfe? haue already wasted all your force of perswasion, and shall not againe doe vs, if yee vse the grace, whereof at this present ye are capable. It is no maruell though the Carthaginians were angry, when they heard themselves vpbraid with the base demeanor of their Embassadors. For it was not the generall opinion of the Citie, that the Treace was broken by themselves: though it had pleased Hanno, or such as were of his faction, to gratifie the Romans with all manner of submission; and to renounce not onely their hope of the future, but all iustification of matters past. And indeed it seemes, that the Roman Embassadors were very much delighted, in the rehearsal of that point which was yeelded vnto them, as knowing that thereon depended the iustice of the warrell. But the Carthaginians took this in so ill part, that hardly they could refrain from doing violence vnto them, who had vsed vnto them such insolent speeches. Yet the fury of the multitude was in some sort appeased; either by Hanno, whom Appian (I know not why) calles *Hanno the Great*: or by the very reuerence, due vnto the place of those that had vttered such liberall words. So they were dismissed in friendly sort, although it were without answer to their Proposition. There were also two galleys appointed for their safe conuoy home; though with little intent of good vnto their persons. *Asdrubal* was then in the mid-way, as men sailed from Carthage towards *Vtica*. He, whether onely desirous to please the multitude, of whose disposition he was informed, or whether directed by publike order to cut off these Embassadors in their way homeward, lay waiting for them behinde a Cape, that was a little beyond the mouth of the riuier Bagradas. Their Conuoy hauing brought them on the way, as farre as to the mouth of Bagradas, wished them a good voyage; and so tooke leaue of them, as if they had bene then in safety, since the Roman Camp was euen in sight. The Embassadors tooke this in ill part, not as fearing any danger toward; but thinking themselves too much neglected, forasmuch as their attendants did so abruptly leaue them. But no sooner had they doubled the Cape, than *Asdrubal* fell vpon them, in such manner, as they might well discern his purpose; which was to haue stemmed them. They rowed hard therefore: and being in a *Quinquereme*, that had more banks of Oares, than had any Gallie of *Asdrubal*, they slippt away, and made him ouer shoot himselfe. Yet hee gaue them chase, and had well-nere surprised them. But they discovered some Roman Companies on the shoare ouer against them, and therefore aduentured to runne their vessell aground: whereby they saved their owne liues, though a great part of their company were slaine, or hurt. This practice of the Carthaginians was inexcusable: and for the same cause perhaps were the Citizens heartened in such a dishonorable attempt, by those that were desirous to continue the warre; that thereby they might bee driuen to studie nothing else, than how to get the victory, as hauing none other hope remaining. Yet likely it is, that the same feare, which had caused them to make such earnest suite for peace, would also haue caused them to be better aduised, than thus to abandon all hope of Treatie: had they not been giuen to vnderstand, that *Hannibal* was already landed in Africk, in whom they reposed no small confidence; but verily perswaded themselves, that he would change their fortune, & teach the Romans to hold themselves contented with more easie conditions, than were those that *Scipio*, in the pride of his fortune, had of late propounded.

*Hannibal* spent the time after the Battaille of *Metaurus*: The doing of *Magno* in Italy. *Hannibal* and *Magno* called duos of Italy. How the Romans were deeply affected by *Hannibals* departure.

Ever since the losse of that battaile at *Metaurus*, *Hannibal* remained in the Country of the Britians, waiting for another supply from Carthage. The Roman Consuls that succeeded vnto *Claudius* and *Liuius*, by whom *Asdrubal* was overcome and slaine, were contented to be quiet all their yeere. Neither did *Licinius* the Collegit of *Scipio* bight worthy of remembrance against *Hannibal*: being hindered by the penitence that was in his Armie. *Sempronius* the Consul, who followed *Licinius*; and *C. Sempronius Scipio*, who followed *Sempronius*, were earnestly bent to haue done somewhat: but their diligence was in a manner fruitlesse. In some skirmishes with *Hannibal*, they had the better; in some the worse: and a few poore Townes they got from him, as it were by stealth; his care being more to preferue his Armie, than to keepe those places that were weak.

The Romans had at this time so many great pieces of work in hand; that their chiefe enemy was become, not the chiefe part of their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent vpon Africk, wherein they were at no small charges to maintaine the Armie, which (as was hoped) should bring the warre to a short and happy conclusion. They stood neuertheless in much feare of *Hannibal*: who tooke exceeding paines among the Ligurians and Gauls to raise an Armie, wherewith to kinde anew the war in Italy, that beganne to waxe cold. *Magno* solicited also the Hetrurians, and found them so ready to stirre in his behalfe, that if he could haue entered their Country strong, it might haue proved no lesse needfull for *Scipio* to returne home out of Africk, than shortly it was for *Hannibal*, to make speed vnto the defence of Carthage. These dangers caused the Romans to employ one of their Consuls or Proconsuls, with an Armie, among the Hetrurians; another among the Gauls; and a third among the Ligurians: forasmuch as it was vncertaine, vpon which side *Magno* would breake out. Being thus busied, it is no wonder though they forbore to ouercharge *Hannibal* with any great power.

As for *Magno*, when things were in some readines for his setting forwards, he met in the country of the Insubrians, which is about Milan, with *M. Cornelius* the Roman Proconsul, and *P. Quintilius Varus* one of the Prators. With these he fought a battaile, wherein though his vertue shewed it selfe worthy of his father and brethren, yet his fortune was Carthaginian. The fight continued a long while doubtfull, in such sort that the Roman Commanders began to distrust the issue. Wherefore, *Quintilius* the Prator, taking vnto him all the Roman Horfe, thought to haue shaken the Enemies to pieces. The Legions at the same time gaue a loud shout, and strained themselves hard; as if at that brunt the victory should haue bene carried before them. But *Magno* opposed his Elephants to the Horfe: the seruice of those beasts being fitter for such violence against the Squadrons of Foot. The figure, sent, and braying of these Elephants, did so affright the Horfe, that they started aside, and were scattered ouer the field, their Riders being vnable to manage them: Hereby the Numidians got aduantage vpon them: whose manner of fight was more equiuaileable against those that were loose, than against the Troupes that were close and thicke. Then fell the Elephants vpon the Legions: which entertained them after the accustomed manner, with a shoure of darts, and killed foure of them, causing all the rest to giue backe. This notwithstanding, the same Legions were so vehemently pressed by the Enemy; that more for shame of running away, than by any great force to make resistance, they held their ground. The Proconsul therefore brought vp those forces, which he had kept vnto the last, to succour where need should most require. Against these *Magno* employed some of his Gauls, whom he had in readinesse for the like occasion. But these Gauls discharged their parts very ill. They were soone beaten off, and recoiled so hastily, that they brought feare vpon all the rest. When *Magno* saw that his men began to shrink, hee put himselfe in the head of his Armie, and held them so well to it, that keeping their order, they made a faire Retreat, with their faces toward the Enemy. But at length hee receiued a grievous wound in his thigh, whereof shortly after hee dyed. Hee was taken vp, and carried out of danger by some of his owne



men: the rest of them, after little further resistance, provided euery one for himselfe: So the Romans obtained victory, not without great cost; as purchasing the death of about five thousand enemies, with the losse of two thousand and three hundred of the Prætor's Armie, besides those that dyed of the Proconsuls Legions; also besides diuers Colonels, Captaines, and Gentlemen of marke, that fell in this hot peece of seruice. Neither were there any prisoners taken; whereby it may seeme that the Enemies did not fall to rout, before they had recovered some ground that might assure them from pursuit. Howeuer it were, this victory would haue much imported for the assurance of Italy, if the State of Carthage could longer haue permitted these valiant sonnes of *Amilcar* to abide therein. But *Mago* with-drawing himselfe (by easie iournies, because of his wound) into Liguria, found there Embassadors from Carthage attending him: who gaue him to vnderstand the pleasure of their Citie, which was, That both hee and *Hannibal* should presently repaire home with all their forces; not staying any longer to thinke vpon the conquest of Italy, since Carthage it selfe was ready to be lost. He obeyed this Commandement, and imbarqued shortly his Armie; but dyed of his wound about Sardinia, in the way homewards.

About the same time *Hannibal* received the like command from Carthage to returne into Africk. He heard it with great impatience; gnashing his teeth, and groaning, and hardly keeping in the teares, that were ready to burst out, whilest the Embassadors were deliuering their errand. When their message was done, He told them, That *thun* yet to *plaine dealing*. For, said He, *They that now directly bid mee come home, haue long agoe done their best to hale me out of Italy; though more closely and crookedly they went to worke, by stopping the supply, that should haue enabled me to mannaue the warre here. Scipio therefore shall not need to bragge, that he hath drawne me home by the heeles: it is Hanno, that hath wrought this noble feat, and overwhelmed the house of the Barchines, for lacke of other means to doe it, with the ruine of Carthage.* He had before prepared a Fleet in readinesse, doubting that, which after came to passe: wherein he imbarqued, besides his owne men, as many of the Italians, as were content to be partakers of his fortune. Many there were, that thrunk backe from him, and refused to doe seruice in this Expedition: of whom such as he could take he slew, not sparing those that fled into the Temple of *Iuno Læina*, which had been held an inuiolable Sanctuary vnto that day. He was indeed then wholly transported with rage, and departed out of Italy no lesse passionate, than men are wont to be, when they leaue their owne Countries to goe into exile. Hee looked backe vnto the shore: accusing both gods and men; and cursing his owne dulnesse, in that hee had not ledde his Armie from Cannæ, hot and bloudied as it was, directly vnto the wals of Rome. With such vexation of spirit He quitted the possession of Italy; wherein he had liued almost halfe his time.

If it could haue been foretold vnto the Romans, in the first beginning of this Warre, with what exceeding ioy in times following they should entertaine the newes of *Hannibal*'s departure out of Italy: they would (I thinke) lesse earnestly haue pressed the Carthaginians to send him ouer thither. When sure aduertisement was brought vnto the Citie, that *Hannibal* was gone with all his Armie: an Holy-day was appointed for thanksgiuing vnto their gods; & extraordinary great sacrifices publicly made, for ioy of such happy tidings. Yet old *Q. Fabius* was of opinion, That the danger did still remaine the same, though the place were changed: for that *Hannibal* at his coming into Africk, would finde *P. Scipio* other manner of worke, than he had been troubled with at any time before; and would doe greater matters in his owne Country, than euer he was able to performe abroad in a land of strangers. The remoue of the war from their owne doores; and the conceit of that victory for which they hoped, was enough to makethem presume further, than at other times they would haue done. When therefore the Saguntine Embassadors brought vnto them a great masse of Gold and Siluer, together with some Agents of the Carthaginians taken by them in Spain: only the Carthaginian prisoners were accepted; the treasure was rendred back vnto the Saguntines that had surprised it. Vpon like confidence of the future, a little before this, order was taken for the repayment of those monies, that had bin borrowed in time of more necessity from priuate men. Hence also proceeded the seuerer chastisement, laid vpon those 12. Colonies, that for want either of meanes, or of good will, had refused to giue aid to the Romans. They were commanded, and enforced, to giue double the number of Foot to that which they had

had bene wont to let out for the Warres, with a proportion of Horse answerable to the very most of their ability. So confident were the Romans growne (though their wealth were not as yet suitable to the greatness of their spirit) vpon the good successe of the battaile at Metaurus and the hopes which they reposed in *Scipio*. All this notwithstanding, when they considered more neerely of that which might happen; and were informed, that the terrible Armie, whereof Italy had bene few daies since discharged, was landed safe in Africk: they began to reuolue a thousand fearefull matters in their heads, and to stand in doubt, lest *Q. Fabius* (who died about the same time) would bee found a true Prophet. For, bethinking themselves of that which might comfort them in their hopes: they found in the victories against *Syphax* & *Asdrubal* no speciality of such great worth, as might promise the like successe against another manner of Generall, followed by other manner of men, than were cyther of those two. The Numidian King had bene wont to bring into the field a rascall multitude of halfe-souldiers, that were good for nothing, being himselfe a fit Captaine for such Souldiers. Likewise *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, was a Commander well thought of by the Carthaginian Senate; but otherwise one, that in the field was only good at sauing himselfe by a swift retreat. But now there came an Armie of men, hardened from their childhood with incredible patience, fleshed many hundred times in Roman bloud, and wearing the spoiles, not onely of good souldiers, but of braue Captaines, by them slaine. Such talke vsed the people of Rome, saying, That *Scipio* was like to meet in battell, with many that had slaine Roman Prætors, Prætors and Consuls, with their owne hands; with many, that had bene first in getting ouer the Trenches of severall Roman Camps, or in winning the tops of wals at the siege of Townes; briefly, that he should now be opposed by an Armie, as good as euer had serued in warre, and following the dreadfull name of *Hannibal*.

## §. XXI.

*Hannibal in Africk prepares to fight with Scipio; treats with him about peace in vaine; loseth a battaile at Nadagara, and perswades the Carthaginians to sue for peace. Of the peace granted from Rome to Carthage.*

**H**annibal disembarked his Army at Leptis, almost an hundred miles from Carthage, Eastward from the Headland of *Mercurie*, and somewhat more then one degree to the South. He was ill provided of Horse; which it was not easie for him to transport out of Italie. Therefore it behoued him to land, as he did, somewhat farre from the Enemy; that hee might furnish himselfe of these and the like needfull helpes, against the day of battell. From Leptis he passed on to Adrumetum, and so along through the In-land Country, gathering friends vnto him by the way. *Tychæus* a Numidian Prince, and familiar friend of *Syphax*, was said to haue in those dayes the best Horse of seruice, that were to be found in Africk. Him therefore did *Hannibal* allure vnto his partie: making him vnderstand, that if the Romans got the victory, it should be easie for *Masaniſſa*, by their countenance and helpe to oppress both him, and as many other of the neighbour Princes as hindered his prospect. This argument, and the fame of him that vsed it, procruailed with *Tychæus*; who shortly after brought vnto the Carthaginian two thousand Horse. *Appian* further addes, That *Mecetullus*, (the same who had made himselfe Protector ouer *Masaniſſa* his Cousins, and was Head of a Family, and aduersely to the Numidian kings of that race) brought to *Hannibal* another thousand Horse: as likewise that *Vermina* the son of *Syphax*, holding a great part of his Fathers kingdom, began at the same time to assaile the places that yielded obedience to *Masaniſſa*. This *Vermina*, as we finde in *Linie*, came with more than 16. thousand men (for he lost more than 10. many) to succour *Hannibal* when it was too late.

The Carthaginians were at this time in such hard estate, or (at least) so impatient of the state wherein they were, that they could not attend the leisure of those preparations, which would haue made the victory assured. When they considered the worth of *Hannibal*, and the greatness of his Acts: it offended them to thinke, that they had bene so base as to make humble suit vnto the Romans for peace, whilest they had such a braue Champion aliue, to maintaine their cause by Warre. But when as they bethought themselves of their owne sufferings, which, for want of Roman magnanimity to indure



them, appeared greater than indeed they were: then cried they but earnestly, that it was no time to linger, but presently to fight; that so they might see an end of these troubles, either good or bad: and to this purpose they sent their Mandates to Hannibal, requiring him, without any further protraction, to doe what he could doe out of hand. Hannibal made answer, That they were his good Lords, and had power to dispose of him and his Armie: but since he was Generall of their forces, Hee thought it reasonable that they should suffer him to doe as a Generall ought to doe; and to choofe his owne times. Neuerthelesse, to giue them satisfaction, Hee made great marches to Zama; and there encamped.

The breach of Truce, made by the Carthaginians: The violence, done to his Embassadors; and the news of Hannibal his being landed in Africk; made Scipio to vnderstand the resolution of the Carthaginians, which was, not to yeeld vnto any conditions vnpromisable for themselves, as long as they were able to make resistance. Wherefore hee sent vnto Masinissa; and informed him of all that was fallen out; praying him to come away with speed, and lay all other business a-part. Tenne Roman Companies, of Horse and Foot together, Masinissa had with him; that were lent vnto him by Scipio, to doe him seruice in the establishing and enlarging of his kingdom. But he well vnderstood, that those and many more besides all his own forces would but little auale him; if Hannibal should driue the Romans out of Africke. Wherefore taking such order as he could vpon the sudden, for the safety of his owne kingdom; with foure thousand Horse, and fixe thousand Foot he made all haste vnto Scipio.

Soone after the beginning of these new troubles, the Carthaginian Embassadors that had been at Rome, returned backe vnder the conduct of Lelius and Fulvius: who brought them safe into the Roman Campe. There when they arrived, and vnderstood what had lately passed, especially how their Citizens had behaued themselves towards the Roman Embassadors: they made little doubt, how their owne heads should answer for such notorious outrage. To confirme them in this opinion:

M. Babi was one of the late Embassadors that had bin in Carthage, being left by Scipio to take charge of the Camp, laid hands vpon them and detained them; sending word vnto his Generall, who was gone abroad to make warre in the Country, that hee had them in his power, & that now the Carthaginians might be repaid in their owne Coyne, for the iniurie by them lately done. Scipio was very glad to heare of this; & commanded Babi to vse them with all possible courteous, & send them safe home. By thus doing, he brake the hearts of his enemies; & caused them to acknowledge themselves (which was a great victory far lesse honourable than the Romans. This notwithstanding, Hee made more cruell warre vpon them than before: taking their Townes by force; and putting them to sacke, without hearkning to any Composition. It was the manner of the Romans, as often as they tooke a Town by assault, to put all that came in their way to the sword, whatsoever they were, without regard. This they did, to make themselves terrible: and the better to worke such impression in the minds of those, with whom they had to doe, they vfed oftentimes to kill the very Dogges and other Beasts, that ranne athwart them in the streets; heaving their bodies asunder, as men delighted in shedding of blood. This being their practise at other times: it is likely, that now they omitted no piece of cruelty; when they meant to giue proofe of their vehement indignation, and reuengful minds, for the iniuries recieued. Hence it partly grew, that the Carthaginians were so earnest in pressing Hannibal to fight.

Hannibal being incamped at Zama, sent forth his Scowts and Spies, to discover where the Romans lay; what they were doing, and as much as might be of their demeanour. Some of these were taken, & brought vnto Scipio: who in stead of trusting them vp, gaue them free leave to view his Campe at pleasure, appointing one to conduct them vp and downe; and shew them what foucer they desired. This done, Hee gaue them leave to depart; and sent them away safe vnto their Generall. Hannibal vnderstanding this, admired the bravery and courage of his Enemy: with whom on the sudden hee grew desirous to haue an Enter-view, and personal conference, and signified so much vnto him, by a messenger sent of purpose. Of this motion the Roman liked well; and returned answer, that Hee would meet him shortly in a place convenient. The next day Masinissa came with his Armie: whom Scipio taking with him, remooued vnto a Towne called Nalagata; neere vnto which hee sat downe, in a place otherwise commodious, & close by

by a water that might opportunely serue his Campe. Thence hee sent word vnto the Carthaginians, That the time & place did fully serue. If he had ought to say to him, Hannibal thereupon removed from Zama, & came within foure miles of the Enemy: where he incamped well to his owne good liking in all things else; excepting that his men were driuen to take much paines, in fetching their water somewhat farre off. Then was order taken for their meeting; and the two Generalls, each of them with a troupe of Horse, rode forth of their Campes, till they came vnto a piece of ground; which was before well searched for feare of ambush. There they will their followers to stand off; and themselves with each of them one Interpreter, encountered each other in the mid-way betweene their Companies. They remained a while silent, viewing one the other with mutual admiration. Then beganne the Carthaginians, saluting the Roman, to deliuer his minde to this effect: That it had beene better both for Carthage and Rome; if they had haue limited and contained their ambition within the shores of Africk & of Italy; for that the Countreies of Sicill and of Spaine, about which their fathers and themselves had striven, were no sufficient recompence for so many Fleets as had been lost, and of so much blood as had beene shedde, in making those costly purchases. But since things past could not be recalled: Hee said, That it was meet for them to consider, vnto what extreame dangers their owne Cities had beene exposed, by the greedy desire of extending their Empires abroad; and that it was euen time for them now at length, to make an end of their obstinate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wisdom hereafter. And to such peaceable disposition Hee affirmed that his owne yeares and long triall of Fortune both good and euill, had made him inclinable. But much hee feared; that Scipio, by want of the like experience, might rather fixe his minde vpon vncertaine hopes, than vpon the contemplation of that mutability, whereto all humane affairs are subiect. *Yes (said he) mine owne example may peraduenture suffice, to teach thee moderation. For I am that same Hannibal, who after my victory at Cannae, wonne the greatest part of Italie: and desired with my selfe, what I should doe with your Cities of Rome; which I hoped a city to haue taken. Once I brought mine Armie to your walles, as I thought since brought thine to ours of Carthage: but now, see the change? I stand heere entreating thee to grant vs peace. This may serue as a document of Fortunes instability. I haue fought with thy father, Scipio: He was the first of the Roman Generalls, that euermee mee in the field. I did then little thinke, that the time would come, that I should haue such business, as now at the present, with his Sonne. But this is euen one of Fortunes Pagants, wherof I see but too many. And thou must haue experience of the like in thy selfe, who knowes how soon I thinke vpon M. Atilius. If he would haue hearkened vnto such persuasions, as I now vse to thee, he might haue returned home to Rome an happy man: And so might thou doe now, if any reasonable offer will giue thee satisfaction. How saist thou? Canst thou be contented, that all Spaine, Sicill, Sardinia, and whatsoeuer Ilands else are situate betwene Italie and Africke, bee abandoned by the Carthaginians for ever; and left vnto the Romans to beare Dominion therein? These I haue glory enough by effecting thus much: and the Romans may well bee glad of such a bargain. As for vs: our owne quiet shall becomethine vs contentment. And the same contentment of ours, shall make vs faithfully observe the Peace with you. But if thou thinkest all too little, I must desire thee to ponder well how great an hazard thou must vndergoe for obtaining a very little more, than that which thou must haue without contention. It is now in thine owne power, to lay hold vpon good Fortune, if it please thee, stay but until to morrow night; and thou must take such fortune, as it please the gods. The issue of battaile is vncertaine, and many times beguileth expectation. Men and Cities wee shall each of vs bring into the field: but of the victory, neither of vs hath assurance. Let vs therefore without more hide, make peace. And doe not tell me, that some false-hearted Citizens of ours deal fraudulently of late in the like Treatie: It is I Hannibal that now desire peace with thee; which I would neuer doe, if I thought it not expedient for my Country. And thinking it expedient, I will alwayes maintaine it: like as I haue maintained, vnto my power, as long as the gods did not enuie me, the warre by me begun.*

Hereunto Scipio made answer, That it was no ambitious desire of ruling in Sicill and in Spaine which had moued the Romans to enter into this or the former War: but that the defence of the Mamertines, and afterwards of the Saguntines, their confederates, had caused them to put on those armes; which the gods by the final issue of the Warres had approued, and would approue to bee most iust. As for the mutability of Fortune

hee said, that he was not thereof ignorant; and that without any note of insolence, or over-weening, he might well refuse the conditions offered. *For was it not plaine, that all these Countries, with which the Carthaginians now so willingly departed, were already wonne from the Romans? If, said He, these Conditions had beene propounded whilst as yet ye desired some part of Italy, they might peradventure not haue beene reiected. But as the case now stands, I see no reason, why I should remit vnto you any one piece of these my former demands; to which the Carthaginians haue yeelded already, and thought mee to be gracious in dealing moderately. Rather I say, that the injuries which they haue done me since, haue made them unworthy of obtaining peace vpon so friendly termes. But I cannot blame thee, Hannibal, though thou wouldst be glad to make thy Citizens vnderstand, from how much of their burden they are by thy meane eased. Only thou must thinke, that in like sort it concernes me in honour, not to let them be gainers or sauers by the wrongs which they haue done of late. Thou knowest well, that besides those offers which thou here hast made, to pay vs five thousand Talents; to deliuer vs their Gallies, and to deliuer hostages for assurance of faire dealing. And must they now be discharged of all this, by their breach of Truce, their spoiling of our Fleet, and their violating our Embassadors? Not so. But if they can be contented, besides all this, to make such amends as I shall require, for these injuries newly done: then will I take advice with my Councell what answer to giue you; otherwise, you may euen prepare for warre, and blame your owne felicity, for that I haue denied you peace.*

Hereupon they brake off: and returned each to his owne Campe, with no other newes than warre; bidding their Souldiers prepare for a battaile, wherein should be decided the quarrell between Rome & Carthage. The next morning at break of day they issued into the field: a notable march, and such as hath very seldom been found; whether we regard the Generals, their Armies, the two cities that contended; or the great importance of the battaile at hand. *Scipio* ordered his men after the Roman manner: placing first the *Hastati*, diuided into their Maniples, or small Battalions, with a reasonable distance betweene them: Not farre behind these followed the *Principes*, likewise diuided; and so after them the *Triarii*. But herein *Scipio* altered a little the ordinary custome of the Romans: He placed not the Maniples of his *Principes* opposite vnto the void spaces betweene the *Hastati*, that so the *Hastati*, as was vsuall, might fall backe betwene the *Principes*; but he placed them directly one behind another, as it were, in File. This he did, because of the Elephants, whereof *Hannibal* had many. For of those beasts the danger was lesse, whilst there was open way to let them through. Therefore hee took such order, that when they had passed through the spaces betweene the first Battalions, they should not come vpon the *Principes* in Front. Vnto his Velites, or those of the light armature, that were to beginne the fight, he gaue direction, that when they found themselves to be ouer-charged, either by the Enemies, or (which was most to be feared) by the Elephants, they should runne backe through those lanes that were betweene the Maniples; and that those which were swiftest, or otherwise best able, should continue on their flight, vntill they were got behind all their owne Armie, thereby leaving roome enough vnto those that were wounded, or cast behind, to saue themselves on the voyde ground, that was betwixt the first and second, or the second and third battailes, without cloying vp the way betweene the Maniples, which he desired to keepe open. His Italian horse he placed in the left wing vnder *C. Lelius*. In the right wing was *Masaniissa* with his Numidians. He himselfe riding vp and downe, exhorted his men to doe valiantly; vsing words, not many, but forcible. Hee bade them remember what they had atchieued, since their coming into Africke. He told them, that if this day were theirs, the warre was at an end: and that their victory in this war, should make them Lords of all the world, for that afterwards, none would be found able to resist them. On the contrary, if they were beaten, he asked them whither they would flee. They were farre from home, yea and farre from their owne standing Campe: neither was there any place in Africke, that would giue them shelter: if they fell into the Carthaginians hands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was, none other way, but death or victory: vntill they would liue like wretched slaues vnder most mercilesse Enemies. In such necessity, he said, that they which consider themselves to be, & take resolution answereable thereunto, haue neuer beene knowne to faile of getting victory.

*Hannibal* on the other side placed his Elephants, that were more than fourescore, in Front

Front of this Battaile. Next behind these, he made his Vantguard all of Mercenaries, *Ligurians*, *Gauls*, *Balears* and *Moors*. Then followed his Battaile: which was of Carthaginians & Africans, more interessed in the quarrell than were those Mercenaries, though not so good souldiers: but to helpe (if it might be) their want of courage, they had with them foure thousand Macedonians, lately sent from King *Philip*. More than the space of a furlong behind these came his Rereward, consisting of those braue Souldiers which had serued him in his Italian warres; and were the onely men, in whom he reposed any confidence. Opposite to *Lelius*, in his owne right wing hee bestowed the Carthaginian Horse. *Tychas* and the Numidians he placed in his left wing against *Masaniissa*. Hee was indeed farre too weak for the Enemy in Horse, both in number and in goodnesse. For *Tychas* and *Mezetubus* had no more than three thousand; and those not so well exercised, as were the foure thousand of *Masaniissa*. The Carthaginians also were no more, nor more other than such as could be leuiued in the haste of a few dayes; and the remainder of those, that had of late beene often vanquished, and accustomed to flye. But it was no time for *Hannibal*, neither had he perhaps authoritie, to make these his companions alight and serue on foot, setting better men in their saddles. All that he could haue done, was to stay a little longer, and exp. & more helpe. Had *Vermina* the son of *Syphax* come thither, as he did in few dayes after, with sixteene thousand and vpwards, the most of them Horse, the aduantage of number might haue serued well to supply all other defect. Yet since the Lords of Carthage would brooke no delay: *Hannibal* must be faine to comfort himselfe, with the hope that he reposed in his old Italian souldiers; whose vertue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more strongly opposed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their feuerall conditions: promising vnto the Mercenaries bountifull rewards: threatening the Carthaginians with ineuitable seruitude, if they lost that day; but especially animating his old fellow-souldiers, by the many victories which they had obtained against farre greater numbers. Hee bade them to looke vpon the Enemies, and make an estimate, whether they were any thing like so many; as that huge Armie which they had slaughtered at Cannae. Hee willed them to remember, That it was one *P. Scipio*, euen the father of this man, whom they had first of all compelled to runne away. Hee told them, that these Legions which they yonder beheld, were, for the most part of them, the very worst of the Roman Souldiers; euen such, as for their dauntly flight out of sundry battailes, could no longer be trusted to beare Armes in their owne Countrey. As for the rest: they were young men, the sons of Cowards, and bred vp in the continuall feare of those weapons, by which their fathers were daily slain or chased. Wherefore hee entreated these his old companions, vpon whose vertue hee meant wholly to repose himselfe, that they would this day stricke to make good their honour; and to purchase the fame of men invincible.

Such exhortations vied the two Generals before the fight. When they drew neere together, the Numidian Horsemen on both sides began to skirmish. The Trumpets, and other instruments of warre, sounded to battaile: and *Hannibal* commanded his Elephants to breake vpon the Romans. Of these Elephants (as they were alwaies an vncertaine kind of helpe) those that stood neere vnto the point of the left wing, turned back for feare: and ran vpon their owne Numidian Horse; which they affrighted and disorderd. *Masaniissa* cloying this, gaue charge vpon the same Numidians; and not suffering them to re-ally themselves, draue them quite out of the field. The rest of those beasts made a great spoile of the Roman Velites, whom they followed into the spaces between the Maniples: but without any harm to the Battalions themselves, which gaue them open way, according as *Scipio* had well provided. Diuers of them receiuing many wounds, and growing therewith furious, could no longer be gouerned: but ran backe vpon the right point of their owne battaile, and beyond that into the open field. Herewithall they disorderd the Carthaginian Horse which were in that wing: against whom they gaue to *Lelius* the same aduantage, that *Masaniissa* had against the Numidians; which he vied in like sort. In the meane while, the battailes of foot aduanced, and drew neere together with a slow and watily pace, till they were almost within a weapons cast: at what time they gaue a shout, and ran one at the other. The Mercenaries for a time seemed both in audacity, and in quicknesse, to haue the better of the Romans; wounding many, and doing more harme, than they tooke. But the Roman discipline after a while, preuailed against the boisterous violence of these vntrained Barbarians. Whereunto it helped not a little, that the battell.

of the *Principes*, following somewhat neerer after the *Hastati*, encouraged their fellowes, and shewed themselves ready, if need were, to relieue them. Contrariwise, the Mercenaries received no manner of helpe or comfort, from those that should haue seconded them. For the new-leiued Carthaginians & Africans, when they saw their hired souldiers giue back, did also themselves retire. This caused the Ligurians, Gauls, and the rest, to thinke themselves betrayed: whereupon they inclined vnto flight. The Carthaginian Battaile was herewith more terrified than before, so as it refused to giue way vnto the Mercenaries for their safe retreat; and yet withall forbore to make head against the Enemies, that pursued them. It was no time to aske them what they meant by this: Feare and Indignation caused those that were at once chased by the Romans, and betrayed, as they thought, by their owne fellowes, to turne their Armes with an heedlesse furie against both the one and the other. Thus were many of the Carthaginians beaten downe and slaine, through their owne indiscretion, by their owne Mercenaries. The Roman *Hastati* in like sort, fighting with desperate men in a throng; had their hands full of worke; that the *Principes* were faine to come vp vnto them, and helpe to ouer-bear this great medley of enemies, that were together by the eares among themselves. In this place was made a great slaughter, both of the Mercenaries and of the Carthaginians: which hindring one another, could neither fight, nor easily flye. Such of them as escaped, ranne towards *Hannibal*: who kept his ground, and would not stirre one foote, to helpe or saue these Run-awares. Hee caused his men to bend their Pikes at thuse of his owne side, that would haue rushed vpon him: whom he thereby compelled to turne aside beyond his Battaile, and saue themselves in the open field. The ground, ouer which the Romans were now to march, ere they could meet with *Hannibal*, was covered with heapes of dead bodies and weapons, and so slipperie with blood: that *Scipio* began to stand in great doubt, lest the orders of his Battalion: should be discoloured in passing that way. In such case, if he should fight with that warlike Armie, which hee lay before him, remaining yet entire, and without feare expecting him; He might be well assured to receive a notable ouerthrow. Hee caused therefore the *Hastati* to make a stand there where they were, opposite to the maine battaile of the Hanniballians. Then drawing vp his *Principes* and *Triarii*: He placed them, when they had overcome the bad way, all in one front with the *Hastati*, and made of them his two Cornets. This done, hee advanced towards *Hannibal*: who entertained him after another manner, than euer hee had bene receiued in his life before. All the dayes worke till now, seemed to haue bene a matter of pastime; in regard of the sharpe Conflict, that was maintained betwene these notable Souldiers. The Romans were encouraged by their hauing preuailed all the day before: They were also farre the more in number. But these old Souldiers of *Hannibal* were fiddi; (and perhaps) the better men. They fought with such obstinate resolution; that no man gaue backe one foot; but rather chose to die on the ground, whereon he stood. So that, after a long time, it was vncertaine which part had the worke: vnlesse it may seeme, that the Romans were beginning to shrink; for as much as the returne of *Masaniassa* and *Lutius* from pursuit of the Enemies Horse, is said to haue bene most happye and in a needfull time. These vpon a sudden charged the Hanniballians in Rere; and ouer-bearing them by mere violence, compelled them to fall to Rout.

In this battaile there died of the Romans fiftene hundred and vpwards: on the Carthaginian side, aboue twenty thousand, besides as many that were taken; of whom, *Sepater* Captaine of the Macedonians was one. The singular skill that *Hannibal* shewed in this his last fight, is highly commended by *Polybius*; and was acknowledged, as *Tiberius* reports, by *Scipio* himselfe. But the Enemies were too strong for him in Horse; and being enioyned, as he was, by the State of Carthage to take battaile with such disadvantage, he could make no manuels. Hee saued himselfe with a few Horse; and stayed not in his journey, till he came to *Adrumetum*. Thence was he sent for to Carthage; from which he had bene absent fixe and thirtie yeeres. At his comming into the Senate Hee said plainly; That there was none other way left, than to take such peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the Carthaginians not knowing what other course to take, resolved to send Embassadors againe; and trie the fauour of *Scipio*, whose Armes they could not now resist.

*Scipio* hauing spoyled the Enemies Campe, returned backe to *Vtica*: where he found *P. Lentulus* newly arrived, with fiftie Gallies and an hundred Shippes of burden. With this

this Fleet, and that which he had before, Hee thought it best to make towards Carthage: rather of purpose to terrifie the Citie, than with any hope to take it. His Legions hee committed vnto *Cn. Octavius*, whom he willed to meet him there by land. Then sending *Lutius* away to Rome with newes of the victory, he set saile from *Vtica* towards Carthage. He was encountered on the way by ten Embassadors from the Citie: who bearing vp with the Admirall Gallie, began to vse the pittifull gesture of suppliants. But they receiued none other answer, than that they should meet him at Tunes, where he would giue them audience. So rowing along before the Citie: and viewing it more in brauery, than with meaning to attempt it; He returned backe to *Vtica*, and called back *Octavius* thither; with whom in person He set forwards to Tunes. As they were in their iourney thither, they heard the newes, that *Terminus* the son of *Syphax*, was comming with an Armie of more Horse than Foot, to the succour of those that were already vanquished. This *Terminus* seemed to haue bin both careless of getting intelligence how things passed, and very defective in all other duties requisite in the Commander of an Armie. Part of the Roman Foot, with all their power of Horse, was sent against him: which did not only beate him, but so compasse him in, that he hardly escaped himselfe with a few; leaving fiftene thousand of his followers dead behinde him, and twelue hundred taken prisoners. If this good company had bin with *Hannibal* at *Nadagara*, they should haue bene far better conducted, and might well haue changed the Fortune of the day; which the Carthaginian lost, by default of Horse. But God had otherwise determined. It is not to be doubted, that this victory, though it were no great access to the former, yet serued well to daunt the Carthaginians, and imprint in them the greater feare of *Scipio*. When he came to Tunes, there met him thirty Embassadors from Carthage: whose behauiour though it was more pittifull than it had bin before, yet procured it lesse commiseration, by reason of their late false dealing, after they had in like sort humbled themselves. Neuertheless it was considered, what a long and laborious work it would proue, to besiege the mightie Citie of Carthage. And particularly *Scipio* stood in great doubt, lest the honour of this warre, if it were protracted, should be taken out of his hands; and giuen to one of the Consuls. *Cn. Seruilius Capius*, that Consul who had charge of the warre against *Hannibal*, at such time as he departed out of Italy: was bold to passe ouer into the Ile of Sicily (as it were in chafe of *Hannibal* by him terrified and driuen away) with a purpose thence to haue proceeded into Africk, and taken from *Scipio* the command of the Armie there. But a Dictator was chosen of purpose, to retrain the ambition of this Consul *Seruilius*. After him followed *Tiberius Claudius*, who made suite for the same Prouince of Africk: and was therein so earnest, that though neither the Senate, nor People, would grant him his desire; yet he needs would be going, procuring onely leave of the Senate, as he being Consul might ioyn with *Scipio*, were it with no more than equall authority. But ere He could haue his Fleet and all things in a readinesse for the iourney, where no man cared to further him: Winter came on, and hee was onely tost at Sea with foule weather, first vpon the Coast of *Hetruria*, and afterwards by *Sardinia*; where his Consulship expired, and so hee returned home a private man. Then came the ioyfull newes to Rome, of the victory obtained against *Hannibal*, and that the warre was now euen at an end. Yet was *Lentulus* the new Consul so passionate, in desiring Africk for his Prouince, That he said he would suffer nothing to passe in the Senate, vntill hee had first his will. Much adoe there was about this: and after many contentions, both in the Senate, and before the people, at last it was ordered, That if Peace were granted, it should be granted by *Scipio*; if the warre continued, *Scipio* should haue command therein by Land, and the Consul at Sea. The ambition of these men, caused *Scipio* to giue the more fauourable answer vnto the Carthaginian Embassadors. Hee willed them to consider what they had deserued: and in regard thereof to thinke themselves well dealt withall in that he was contented to leaue vnto them their libertie and their owne Lawes, without appointing any Gouvernour ouer them, or Garrison to hold them in subiection; leaving also vnto them their possessions in Africk, such as they were at the beginning of this warre. Astouching the rest he was at a point, That, before he either granted them Peace or warre, they should make satisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whilest the late Treatie was in dependance. Hercunto if they would yeeld; then required Hee, That immediatly they should deliuer up vnto the Romans all Prisoners, fugitives, and Renegados, that they had of theirs: likewise all their Gallies excepting ten: and all their Elephants: That they should make

no warre at all thenceforth out of Affricke, neither yet without Affricke, without licence of the Romans : That the Countreies, Townes, goods whatsoever, belonging any wise unto Masanilla, or to any of his Ancestors, which were in their possession, should bee all by them restored vnto him : That they should finde corne for the Roman Army, and wages for their Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, untill the Peace were fully concluded : That they should pay tenne thousand Talents of Silver, in the terme of fiftie yeeres, by two hundred Talents a yeere ; and that for obseruance of Conditions, they should giue an hundred hostages, such as Scipio would choose, being none of them vnder fouretee yeeres of age, nor above thirtie.

With these conditions the Embassadors returned home, and reported them vnto the Citie. They were very vnpleasing ; and therefore one Gesio stood vp to speake against them : and exhorted the people, who gaue good attention, that they should not condescend vnto such intolerable demands. But Hannibal perceiuing this, and noting withall what fauourable audience was giuen to this vaine Orator, by the vnquiet yet vnwarlike Multitude, was bold to pull him downe from his standing, by plaine force. Hereat all the People murmured, as if their common liberty were too much wronged, by such insolence of this presumptuous Captaine. Which Hannibal perceiuing, rose vp and spake vnto them, saying ; That they ought to pardon him, if he had done otherwise than the customes of the Citie would allow ; forasmuch as he had bene thence absent euer since he was a Boy of nine yeeres old, vntill he was now a man of fife and fortie. Having thus excused himselfe of the disorder, hee discoursed vnto them concerning the Peace : and perswaded them to accept it, as wanting abilitie to defend themselves, had the Demands of the Enemie bene yet more rigorous. Finally, vpon good aduice, they resolu'd to yeeld vnto the Conditions propounded by Scipio : to whom they paid out of hand fife and twenty thousand pounds weight of silver, in recompence of damages, and iniuries by them done to his Fleet and Embassadors. Scipio granted them Truce for three months ; in which time they might negotiate with the State of Rome, about confirmation of the League. But herewithall he gaue iniunction, that they should neither in the meane while send Embassadors any whither else, nor yet dismishe any Embassadors to them sent, without first making him acquainted what they were, and what their errand was.

At this time Hanno, and they of his Faction, were become wise and honourable men, by the miseries whereinto Carthage was fallen through their malicious counsailes. Asdrubal, surnamed the Kid, a venerable man, and a great friend of Hanno, was chiefe of the Emballages which they sent to Rome for obtaining peace. They went thither in company of Scipio his Embassadors, who related vnto the Senate and People these ioyfull newes. About the same time arrived at Rome Embassadors from Philip King of Macedon : who, together with the Carthaginians, were faine to waite awhile for audience, till the election of new Consuls then in hand was finished ; and order taken, for the Prouinces of them, and the new Pretors. Then were the Macedonian Embassadors called into the Senate : who first answering vnto some points, wherein the Romans had lately signified vnto their King, that they found themselves grieved ; returned the blame vpon those Greekes themselves, that had made their complaint at Rome. Then accented they Marcus Aurelius : who being one of the three Embassadors, that had lately bene sent from Rome vnto King Philip, tarried in Greece behinde his fellows ; and there leuying men, made warre vpon the King, without any regard at all of the League, that was betwene him and the Romans. Further they desired of the Senate, That one Soper, a Macedonian Gentleman, with other of their Country-men, that had lately serued Hannibal for Pay ; and being taken prisoners in Affricke, were kept in bonds by Scipio, might be releas'd and deliuered vnto them. Vnto all this M. Furio, whom Aurelius had sent to Rome for that purpose, made a sharp answer. He said, that the Greeks which were confederate with Rome, endured so many iniuries at the hands of Philip, that M. Aurelius was faine to stay behinde, to help them as he might ; which else were like to be brought vnder the Kings subiect on. As for Soper : hee affirmed him to bee one of the Kings Counsaile, and very inward with him ; one that serued not for money, but carried nothing with him, and foure thousand men, sent from the King to the ayde of Hannibal. About these points when the Macedonian Embassadors could make vnto the Senate no good answer : they were willing to returne, and tell their Master, That warre he sought, and

and warre he should finde, if he proceeded as hee had begun. For in two maine points hee had broken the League, that was betwene him and the Romans : first, in that hee had wronged their Confederates ; and secondly, in that he had ayded their Enemies against them with men and money.

These quarrels with Philip, that promised to open a way into Greece and the Eastern Countreies, helped well the Carthaginian Embassadors in their sollicitation of Peace. They appeared a very reuerend company, when they entered into the Senate : and Asdrubal about the rest was much respected, as one, whose good offices had kept the Romans from necessity of sending Embassadors to Carthage, vpon the like errand. Hee liberally granted, that the iustice of the quarrell had bene wholly on the Romans side ; saying that it was the fault of some violent men, through which the Peace was broken. Yet could he not altogether excuse the Citie, that had been too vehement in the prosecution of bad counsaile. But if Hanno and himselfe might haue had their wills : the Carthaginians, euen at the best of their Fortune, should haue granted the peace which they now desired. Herewithall hee commended the moderation of the Romans, as no small argument of their valour ; by which alwayes they had bene victorious. To the same effect spake the rest of the Embassadors : all of them entreating to haue the Peace ratified, though some with more lamentable words than others, according to the diuersitie of their stile. They had patience enough to endure such reproofe of Periuice, as they themselves might haue laid vpon the Romans, if their diligence and fortune had been such as the Romans was. Among the rest, when one of the Senators demanded, by what gods they would sweare to keepe the peace hereafter : Asdrubal made answer ; *Euen by the same gods, that are so seuered vnto those that violate their Leagues.*

Lulus the Consul interposing the authoritie of his Office, would haue hindred the Senate from proceeding vnto conclusion of peace, for that hereby hee was like to lose the honour, which hee purposed to get by making warre in Affricke. But the matter was propounded vnto the people, in whom rested the Soueraigne Command of Rome ; and by them referred wholly vnto the pleasure of the Senate. So it was decreed, That Scipio with tenne Delegates sent vnto him from Rome of purpose, should make a League with the Carthaginians, vpon such Conditions as seemed best : which were none other, than the same which he had already propounded. For this fauour, the Carthaginian Embassadors humbly thanked the Senate ; and craued licence, that they might visite their Countrymen, which were prisoners in Rome : after wards, that they might ransom and carry home with them some, that were their especial friends ; of whom they gaue in writing almost two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundred of those Prisoners, which the Embassadors would choose, should be sent out into Affricke, and be freely restored to libertie by Scipio, when the peace was fully concluded. So they tooke leaue, and returned home, in company of the ten Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to ioyne with Scipio in Commission.

At their coming into Affricke, the Peace was giuen, and accepted, without any controuersie or disputation. The Prisoners, Fugitiues and Renegado's, were deliuered vp to Scipio : likewise the Gallies, and the Elephants. Scipio tooke more vengeance vpon the Renegado's, than vpon the Fugitiues ; and vpon those of the Romans than vpon the Latines or other Italians. The Latines he beheaded : the Romans he crucified. About the first payment of their money, the Carthaginians were somewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treasurie could haue spared two hundred Talents for the present : yet since the pension was annuall, and to continue fiftie yeeres ; it was thought meet to lay the burden vpon the Citizens. At the collection of the summe there was piteous lamentation, as if now the Roman yoke had begun to pinch them ; so as many, euen of the Senatours, could not forbear weeping. Contrariwise Hannibal could not refrain from laughter. For which when he was checked by Asdrubal Hadus, and told, That it would fall becommed him to laugh, since he had bin the cause why all others did weep ; He answered, *That laughter did not alwayes proceed from ioy ; but sometimes from extremie indignation.* Yet, said he, *My laughter is more seasonable, and lesse absurd, than your sences.* For yee should haue wept, when yee gaue vp your Shippes and Elephants, and when yee bound your owne hands from the use of Armes ; without the good leaue of the Romans first obtained. This miserable condition keeps vs vnder ; and holds vs in assured seruitude. But of these matters yee had no feeling. Now, when a little money is wrung out of your private purses, yee haue thereof

thereof some sense. God grants that the time come not hereafter, whereby I shall acknowledge, That it was the very least part of your miserie; for which yett you should be grieued. Thus did Hannibal vnto those, who tasting the bitter fruits of their own malicious counsaile, repented when it was too late; and in stead of curling their owne owndes, which had bred this grieuous distemper, accused the Physician, whose noble endeauiours had bin employed in procuring the remedie.

Scipio being to take leaue of Africk, produced *Masaniissa*; and magnified him in presence of the Armie, with high commendations not vnderstandably. To him also he assigned ouer those towns of King *Sphax*, which the Romans at that present held: wherein, to say truth, he gaue him but his due; & that which ought to haue beene knowen, well how to bestow. But the loue of the Romans, & friendship of *Scipio* was fully answereable, now and hereafter, to all the desertings of this Numidian King. About Carthage there rested no more to be done. Wherefore the Romans imbarqued themselves for Sicill: where when they arrived at Lilybæum, *Scipio* with some part of his Army tooke his way homie to Rome by land; and sent the rest before him thither by Sea. His iourney through Italy was no lesse glorious than any triumph: all the people thronging out of the Towns and Villages, to doe him honour as he passed along. Hee entered the Citie in Triumph: neither was there euer before, or after, any Triumph celebrated with so great ioy of the people; as was this of *Scipio*; though, in brauery of the pompe, there were others in time shortly following, that exceeded this. Whether *Sphax* were carried through the Citie in this Triumph; and died soone after in prison: or whether hee were dead awhile before; it cannot be affirmed. This much may be arowed, That it was a barbarous custome of the Romans, to insult ouer the calamities of mighty Princes; by leading them contumeliously in Triumph; yea though they were such, as had alwaies made faue and courteous warre. But heretofore we shall haue better example, ere the same Age passe. It was neither the person of *Sphax*, nor any other glory of the spectacle; that so much beautified the Triumph of *Scipio*; as did the contemplation of that grieuous warre past, whereof the Romans had bin in a manner without hope that euer they should see Italy free. This made them looke cheerefully vpon the Author of so great a conuersion; and filled them with more ioy, than they well could moderate. Wherefore they gaue to *Scipio* the Title of the African: stiling him by the name of that Prouince which he had subdued. This honourable kinde of surname, taken from a conquered Prouince, grew afterwards more common, and was vsurped by men of lesse desert: especially by many of the *Cæsars*, who sometimes arrogated vnto themselves the title of Countries, wherein they had performed little or nothing; as if such glorious Attributes could haue made them like in vertue vnto *Scipio* the African.

### CHAP. III.

Of PHILIP the father of PERSEVS, King of Macedon:  
His first Acts and Warre with the Romans; by whom  
hee was subdued.

#### S. I.

How the Romans grew acquainted in the East Countries, and desirous of Warre there. The beginning of many Princes, with great Warres, at one time. The *Aetolians* overrun Peloponnese. Philip and his Associates make Warre against the *Aetolians*. Alteration of the State in *Sparta*. The *Aetolians* invade Greece and Macedon, and are invaded at home by Philip.

Plut. in vita  
Seru. l.



For the great similitude found in worldly euent, the limitation of matter hath beene assigned as a probable cause. For since Nature is confined vnto a subiect that is not vnbounded; the workes of Nature must needs bee finite, and many of them resemble one the other. Now in those actions, that seeme to haue their whole dependance vpon the will of man, wee are lesse to wonder, if wee finde lesse varietie: since it is no great portion of things which is obnoxious

obnoxious vnto humane power; and since they are the same affections, by which the wills of sundrie men are ouer-ruled: in managing the affaires of our daily life. It may be observed in the change of Empires, before those times whereof wee now write, how the *Assyrians* or *Chaldeans* invaded the Kingdome of *Medes*, with two hundred thousand Foot; and three score thousand Horse: but failing in their intended conquest, they became subiect within a while themselves vnto the *Medes* and *Persians*. In like manner *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, fell vpon the *Greekes* with such number of men; as might haue seemed resistlesse. But after that the *Persians* were beaten home againe, their Empire was neuer secure of the *Greekes*: who at all times of leisure from intestine Warre, deuised vpon that conquest thereof, which finally they made vnder the great *Alexander*. If *Nabuchodonosor* with his rough old souldiers, had vnderaken the *Medes*: or *Cyrus* with his well-trayned Armie, had made attempt vpon Greece; the issue might, in humane reason, haue beene farre different. Yet would it then haue beene expedient for them to employ the trauell and vertue of their men; rather than the greatnesse of their names, against those people; that were no lesse valiant, though lesse renowned, than their owne. For the menacing words vsed by *Cyrus*, and some small displeasures done to the *Greekes* (in which kinde it may bee, that *Nabuchodonosor* likewise offended the *Medes* and *Persians*): were not so auailable to victory, as to draw on reuenge in the future. Great Kingdomes, when they decay in strength, suffer as did the old *Lyon*, for the oppression done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolfe, gored by the Bull, yea and kicked by the Ass. But Princes are often carried away from reason, by misse-vnderstanding the language of Fame: and despising the vertue that makes little noyse, aduerture to prouoke it against themselves; as if it were not possible that their owne glorie should bee soyled by any of lesse-noted excellence. Against the same stone, whereat *Xerxes*, and before him as (I take it) *Enlimerodach*, had stumbled, *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot* hath dasht his foot. He was not indeed the King of all Greece; though most of marke, and a better souldier than any other *Greekish* King, when hee entered into warre against the *Romans*. This warre hee vnderooke as it were for his minds sake: hauing received no iniurie, but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the *Greekes* that serued vnder him, to preuaile so easily against the barbarous *Romans*, that they should onely serue as a step to his further intended conquests, of *Sicill* and *Africk*. But when the *Romans*, by their victory against *Pyrrhus*, had found their own vertue to be of richer mettall, than was the more shining valour of the *Greekes*: then did all the brauery of the *Epirot* (his Elephants and whatsoeuer else had serued to make him terrible) serue only to make the *Romans*, in time following, to thinke more highly of themselves. For since they had overcome the best Warriour in Greece, euen Him, that being thus beaten by them, could in a yeere after make himselfe Lord of Greece and Macedon: what should hinder them from the conquest of all those vnwarlike Prouinces, which in compasse of 12. yeeres a Macedonian King of late memory had wonne? Certainly there was hereunto requisite no more, than to bring to their owne deuotion by some good meanes, the whole Countrey of Greece: all the rest, this done, would follow of it selfe. How to deale with the *Greekes*; *Philip* and *Alexander* had shewed a way: which, or perhaps a better, they might learne, by getting more acquaintance with the Nation.

When therefore the first Punicke warre was ended, which followed soone after the wars of *Pyrrhus* and of the *Tarentines*: then were the *Romans* at good leisure to hearken after newes in Greece; and to entertaine any good occasion, that should be on that side presented. They had also then a strong Fleet: and were become, though not otherwise very skilfull Mariners, yet good fighters at Sea. So it fell out as happily as could be wished, that the *Illyrian* Queene *Tenza* made at the same time cruell war vpon the *Greekes*: waiking their Countrey, and sacking their Townes, onely because they were vnable to resist, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrell if the *Romans* were desirous to enter, the Queene was not slow to giue them cause. And their happy accomplishing of that war which they made with Her, was, in their own opinion, a matter not vnworthy to make their Patronage to bee desired by the *Greekes*. But no such thing happened: though they sent Embassadours, as it were to offer themselves; by signifying, that for loue of Greece they had vnderaken this *Illyrian* warre. Thus beganne the first acquaintance betwixt the *Greekes* and *Romans*: which afterwards encreased vnto hastily, through the indiscretion of King *Philip* the Macedonian; whose businesse

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\* The King of Spaine pretended inuincible Nauires, being beaten out of the British seas, incurred vast loss of Spaine and hauing broken the greatest Fleet that euer the Spaniards gathered together; we neuer made account of any of his preparations after that time.

Lib. 5. c. 5. 7.



with them, being now the subject of our storie, it is meet that we should relate (though somewhat briefly) the beginning of his reigne, and his first Actions: It was like to prove a busie time in the world, when, within the space of 4. yeeres, new Kings began to reigne in the most of all Countreies knowne; and 3. of them young boyes; in 3. of the greatest Kingdomes. This hapned from the third yeere of the hundred thirty ninth Olympiad, vnto the third of the Olympiad following. For in this time died: *Selenus Ceraunus* King of Asia and Syria, in whose roome succeeded his brother *Antiochus*, afterwards called the great *Ptolemie Philopater* succeeded in the Kingdom of Egypt vnto his father *Euergetes*. And *Philip* the sonne of *Demetrius*, being 16. or 17. yeeres old, received the Kingdom of Macedon, together with the Patronage of the Achaeans and most of the Greeks; 10 by the deede of his Vnkle *Antigonus*, *Dofon*, that was called the Tutor or Protector. About this same time also was the like change in Cappadocia, Lacedamon, & the Countreies about Mount Taurus. For *Arrianus* then began his reigne in Cappadocia; *Lycurgus* found means to make himselfe King ouer the Lacedamonians, whose Commonwealth, since the flight of *Cleomenes*, had continued in a manner headlesse, and *Pharus*, a kinsman of *Antiochus*, but a Rebelle vnto him, occupied the Regions neere vnto Mount Taurus, & kept a while the State of a mighty King. Lastly, in the second and thirtieth years of the hundred & fortieth Olympiad it was, that open war brake out between Rome & Carthage; & that *Hannibal* began his great Inuasion vpon Italie. Those troubles of the Westerne world, which were indeed the greatest, we haue already followed vnto an end: Of *Antiochus*, *Ptolemie*, and the rest, we shall speake hereafter, when the Romans find them out.

*Philip*, soone after the beginning of his reigne, came into Peloponnesus; greatly desired of the Achaeans, and many others his dependants. That Countrey, having freed it selfe by the helpe of *Antigonus* from the danger (accounted great) of an easie subiection vnto *Cleomenes*, was now become no lesse obnoxious to the Macedonian, than it should haue bene to the Spartans; & therewithall it lay open vnto the violence of the Aetolians, who despised euen the Macedonian Kings, that were Patrons thereof: The Aetolians were no men to be idle, nor were much addicted vnto any other Art than war. Therefore wanting employment, they fell vpon the Messenians that were their owne Clients, and (excepting the Eleans, that were anciently of their consanguinitie) the onely good friends which they had at the present in Peloponnesus. Their inuasion was no lesse vnexpected, than it was vnjust: whereby with greater ease they made spoyle of the Countrey, finding none prepared to make resistance. The Achaeans, were called by the Messenians to help: which they did the more willingly, because the Aetolians passing without leaue through their Territorie, had (as was their manner) done what harme they listed: Olde *Aetolians* could hardly abide these Aetolians; as both knowing well their nature, and remembering the iniuries, wherewith most ingratfully they had requited no small benefits done to them by the Achaeans. Hee was therefore so hastic to fall vpon this their Army, that hee could hardly endure to stay few daies vntill the time of his owne Office came; being chosen Prator of the Achaeans for the yeere following. But his anger was greater than his courage: and he shewed himselfe a man fitter (as hath bene already noted of him) for any other seruice, than leading of an Armie. He suffered them to passe quietly along with their bootie, through a part of the Countrey, wherein he might very easily haue distressed them; and afterwards pressed them so nere, when they had recouered ground of aduantage, that they easily defeated all his Armie. So they departed home rich, and well animated to returne againe. As for the Achaeans, they got hereby onely the friendship of the Messenians: with whom, by licence of King *Philip*, they made confederacy. Shortly after, the Aetolians invaded Peloponnesus againe; hauing no more to doe, than to passe ouer the narrow Streights of the Corinthian Bay, called now the Gulph of Lepanto, where they might land in the Countrey of the Eleans, 10 there ioyned with them, in this their second inuasion, a great number of the Illyrians; who neglecting that Condition imposed vpon them by the Romans, of setting out no ships of war vnto the coast of Greece: made bold to, seek aduentures againe, & did great mischief. *Demetrius Pharius*, a creature of the Romans, commanded a part of these Illyrians: who shortly repented him of this his voyage; which caused him to lofe his Kingdom, as is shewed before. But this *Demetrius* went another way, & fell vpon the Islands of the Cyclades in the Aegean sea: whence returning, he did some good offices for King *Philip*, or his friends. The rest of the Illyrians vnder *Scerdilaides*, or *Scerdilus*, hauing gotten

gotten what they could, came with him, as at first accompanied the Aetolians into Peloponnesus: who made great aduantage in this countrey, more than in their former Expeditiō, and returned home with their Army, as before.

Of these things, great complaint was made by the Aetolians, who came to Corinth. And because men were desirous to satisfie themselves with some speedy redress: there were they vrged to haue some great punishment layd vpon the Lacedamonians, who were thought vnder hand to haue favoured the Aetolians, in their delight of the Achaeans and Macedonians, by whom themselves had lately bene supplid. It is true, that the Lacedamonians had bene in distress: and which was working on the arrival of *Philip*, they flew such friends of his as having checked their inclination, seemed likely to appease them of the intended rebellion, and to deter them from committing themselves to iudgement; but contrariwise, hee took his that he would haue them committing to them with an Army: since their Towne was already much distressed with civil disorder, which they hoped soone to appease; and meant alwayes to continue in this deception. *Philip* was easily fauished with this: so that hee or rather old *Antiochus*, who then wholly gouerned him, did not understand the Lacedamonians; but for their greater worke was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at Corinth in presence of the King, the Embassadors of the Achaeans, Boeotians, Epirots, and Acarnanians; all complaining vpon the Aetolians: and desiring to haue war decreed against them, by common assent. *Philip* sent his letters vnto the Aetolians, requiring them to make ready their answer in some convenient time: if they could, alledge any thing in excuse of that which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet should be holden at Rhium for that purpose: which if it pleased him to come, or send, he should be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to haue bene there at the day. But when the Aetolians understood this, for certain, they aduouced the Concession for a further time: saying, That such weighty matters, ought not to be handled, save in the great Parliament of all Aetolians. This trick of Law notwithstanding, open war was proclaimed against them. And they it were to show how well they had deserved it, made choice of *Scarus* to be their Prator, that was Author of these Inuasions made on Peloponnesus; and the onely man, in that sort, vpon whom they must haue laid the blame of these actions, if they would haue liked it from the publike.

After this, *Philip* went into Macedon, where hee prepared busily for the warre against them following. He also assayed the Illyrian, *Scerdilaides*, with faire words, and promises, whom he easily won from the Aetolian side; in much as the Aetolians had couzened him of his share, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like sort the Achaeans, who had first of all others proclaimed the warre in their owne Countrey, sent vnto the Acarnanians, Epirots, Messenians, and Lacedamonians: requesting them forthwith to declare themselves, and to denounce war vnto the Aetolians, without delay: as it were to awate the event. Hereunto they received diuers answers, according to the qualities of those with whom they dealt. The Acarnanians, a free hearted and valiant, though a small Nation, and bordering vpon the Aetolians, of whom they stood in continual danger, said, that they could not honestly refuse to hearken their faithful meaning in that warre, which was concluded by general assent. The Epirots that were more mighty, were neuertheless more cunning, and excused also that they stood upon a needlesse point, and desired to be held excused, vntill *Philip* (of whose meaning they needed not to haue made any doubt) should first proclaim the war. The Messenians, who were cause the warre was undertaken, excused themselves, by reason of a Towne, which the Aetolians held vpon their borders, and said, that they durst not beouer bold, vntill that bidd were taken out of their mouths. As for the Lacedamonians, the chiefe of them studied onely, how to manage the treddon, for which there City had bene so lately pardoned: and therefore dismissed the Embassadors of the Confederates, without any answer at all. They had three yeeres together, continued subiect against their wills to the Macedonians; exposing still when *Cleomenes* should returne out of Egypt to reigne ouer them againe, and maintaine, as hee was wont, the honour of their City. In this regard they chose not any Kings; but were contented with the rule of *Ephori*. Of these there were some; that thought the publike safety to consist, in holding their faith with the Macedonian that had promised them: And hereto they referred all their counsels: being perhaps little moved with respect of the benefit, which might redound



vnto themselves, by adhering finally to those which in the present bore rule ouer them. Others, and those the greater part, were still debating, how to make all ready for *Cleomenes* against his returne; & sought to ioyne with the *Ætolians*, which were the most likely to giue him strong assistance. The *Macedonian* faction had the more authority and durst more freely speake their mindes: but the contrary side was the more passionate, and spared not by murders or any other violent courses to refferward their desire. Neyther did it suffice, that about these times there came certaine report of *Cleomenes* his death: For it was the liberty and honour of Sparta, which these intended; & satisfying vnto themselves the glory of their Ancestors in such Ages past; as were not like to come againe. *Cleomenes* was they knew; the most able man to restore them vnto their greatnesse and lustre, to which once hee had in a manner performed: But since hee was dead; and that, without injury to his well-deserving vertue, they might proceed to the election of new Kings: Kings they would haue, and those of the race of *Hercules*, as in former times; for that without such helpes, they must continue little better than subiects vnto the *Macedonian*, and farre lesse by him respected, than were the *Achæans*. Thus were they transported by contemplation of their old Nobility and fame. Some of the most working spirits among them, procured the *Ætolians* to send an Embassie to Sparta, which propounded the matter openly vnto the people, whereof no one of the Citizens durst haue blinde himselfe the Author. Much disputation, and hot, there was, betwene those of the *Macedonian* partie, and these their opposites: in such wise that nothing could be concluded; vnto till by massacre or banishment of all, or the chiefe, that spake against the *Ætolians*, the discorde of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a League was concluded betwene the *Lacedæmonians* and *Ætolians*; without all regard of the *Macedonians* or *Achæans*, who had spared the Citie, when they might haue destroyed it. Then also they went in hand with the election of new Kings: wherein their diligence was so nice, and so regardfull of their ancient Lawes, as touching the choosing of the one King, that we may iustly wonder, how they grew so carelesse in making choyce of the other. In the one of their royall Families they found *Agis* (sonne of *Agis*), the sonne of King *Cleombrotus*; and him they admitted to reigne ouer them, as heire apparent to his grandfather. This *Agis* was a yong Boy, standing in neede of a Guardian; and had an vncke, his fathers brother, that was fit for the Government. Yet because the Law required, that the sonne, how young soeuer, should haue his fathers whole right and title: the *Lacedæmonians*, though standing in neede of a man, were so punctuall in obseruation of the Law, that they made this childe their King, and appointed his vncke *Cleomenes* to bee his Protector. But in the other branch of the royall Family, though there was no want of heires: yet would not the people trouble themselves about any of them, to examine the goodnesse of his Claims, but made election of *on Lycargus*, who hauing no manner of title to the kingdome, bestowed vpon each of the *Epheori*, a Talent, and thereby made himselfe bee saluted King of Sparta, and a Gentleman of the race of *Hercules*. This *Lycargus*, to gratifie his Partisans, and to approue his worth by deed, on, invaded the Countrey of the *Argiues*: which lay open and vnguarded, as in a time of peace. There hee did great spoile, and won diuers Townes; whereof two hee retained, and annexed vnto the State of *Lacedæmon*. After such open hostility, the *Lacedæmonians* declared themselves on the *Ætolian* side; and proclaimed warre against the *Achæans*.

Thus the beginnings of the warre fell out much otherwise, than the *Achæans* and their Confederates had expected, when they first made preparation. *Philip* was not ready: the *Epirots* gaue vncertaine answer: the *Messinians* would not stirre: all the burden must lie vpon themselves and the poore *Acarnanians*, whom the *Ætolians*, by fauour of the *Elæans*, could invade at pleasure, as they were like to doe, and by helpe of the *Lacedæmonians*, could assaile on all parts at once. It was not long ere the *Ætolians*, passing ouer the Bay of Corinth, surprised the Towne of *Aegira*: which if they could haue held, they should thereby grievously haue molested the *Achæans*, for that it stood in the mid-way betwene *Aegium* and *Sycion*, two of their principall Cities; and gaue open way into the heart of all their Countrey. But as *Aegira* was taken by surprise: so was it presently lost againe, through greedinesse of spoyle, whilst they that should haue made it their first care, to assure the place vnto themselves, by occupying the citadell and other peeces of strength, fell heedlesly to ransacke priuate houses, and hereby gaue

the Citizens leaue to make head, by whom they were driuen with great slaughter backe vnto their Fleet. About the same time, another *Ætolian* Armie landing among the *Elæans*, fell vpon the Westerne Coast of *Achaia*; wasting all the Territorie of the *Dymæans* and other people, that were first beginners of the *Achæan* Confederacie. The *Dymæans* and their neighbours made head against these Inuaders; but were so well beaten, that the enemy grew bolder with them than before. They sent for helpe vnto their Prætor, and to all the Townes of their Societie. In vaine. For the *Achæans* hauing lately been much weakened by *Cleomenes*, were now able to do little of themselves: neither could they get any strength of Mercenaries; forasmuch as at the end of *Cleomenes* his warre, they had couetously with-held part of their due from those that serued them therein. So through this disability of the *Achæans*, and insufficiency of their Prætor, the *Dymæans*, with others, were driuen to with-hold their contribution heretofore made for the publike seruice; & to conuert the money to their own defence. *Lycargus* also, with his *Lacedæmonians*, began to win vpon the *Arcadians*; that were confederate with *Philip* & the *Achæans*.

*Philip* came to the borders of the *Ætolians*, whilst their Armie was thus employed a farre off in *Peloponnesus*. The *Epirots* ioynd all their forces with him; & by such their willing readines, drew him to the siege of a Frontier peece, which they desired to get into their owne hands; for that, by commodity thereof, they hoped shortly to make themselves Masters of *Ambracia*. There he spent forty dayes, ere he could end the busines; which tended onely to the benefit of the *Epirots*. Had he entred into the heart of *Ætolia* at his first comming in; it was thought that he might haue had an end of the war: But happens oft, that the violence of great Armies is broken vpon small Townes or Forts: and not feldome, that the importunity of Associates, to haue their owne desires fulfilled, conuerts the preparations of great kings to those vses for which they neuer were intended; thereby hindering the prosecution of their maine designs. Thus was our king *Henrie* the eight led aside, and quite out of his way, by *Maximilian* the Emperour to the siege of *Tourmay*: at such time as the French king *Lewes* the twelfth, hearing that the strong City of *Terwin* was lost, and that his Caualerie, wherein rested his chiefe confidence, two thousand were beaten by the Earle of *Essex* with seuen hundred English; was thinking to withdraw himselfe into *Brittaine*, in feare that *Henrie* would haue come to *Paris*.

The stay that *Philip* made at *Ambracia*, did wondrously embolden the *Ætolians*: in such sort, as their Prætor *Scopas* aduentured to leade all their forces out of the Countrey; and therewith not onely to ouer-runne *Theffalica*, butto make impression into *Macedon*. *Hydruntine* as farre as to *Dium*, a Citie of *Macedon* vpon the *Ægean* Sea; which, being forsaken by the Inhabitants at his comming, He tooke, and razed to the ground. He spared neither Temple, nor any other of the goodly buildings therein, but ouerturned all; and among the rest, hee threw down the Statua that was there erected, of the *Macedonian* Kings. For this he was highly honoured by his Countrey-men at his returne; forasmuch as hereby they thought their Nation to bee growne terrible, not onely (as before) vnto *Peloponnesus*, but euen to *Macedon* it selfe. But this their pride was soone abated; and they rewarded shortly at home in their owne Countrey, for their pains taken at *Dium*. *Philip* hauing dispatched his worke at *Ambracia*, made a strong inuasion vpon *Ætolia*. He tooke *Phoetia*, *Metropolis*, *Oeniade*, *Pzanium*, *Elæus*, and diuers other Towns and Castles of theirs: of which he burnt some, and fortified others. He also beat the *Ætolians* in sundry skirmishes; and wasted all the Countrey ouer, without receiuing any harme. This done, while he was about to make a cut ouer the Streights into *Peloponnesus*, and to doe the like spoile in the Countrey of the *Elæans*, whereto he was vehemently solicited by the *Achæan* Embassadors, newes came out of *Macedon*, that the *Dardani* were ready with a great Armie to fall vpon the Countrey. These *Dardani* were a barbarous people, diuided by Mount *Hæmus* from the Northerne part of *Macedon*, & were accustomed to seeke booty in that wealthy Kingdome, when they found their own times. Hauing therefore intelligence, that *Philip* was about to make a iourney into *Peloponnesus*; they purposed in his absence, which they thought would be long, to get what they could for themselves in his Countrey; as had beene their manner vpon the like advantages. This made the King to dismissthe *Achæan* Embassadors, (whom he should haue accompanied home with his Armie) and to bid them haue patience vntill another yeere. So hee tooke his way homewards: and as hee was passing out of *Acarnania* into *Epirus*, there repaired vnto him *Demetrius Phærius*; with no more than

one Ship; that was newly chased out of his Kingdome by the Romans. This *Demetrius* had lately shewed himselfe a friend to *Antigonus Dofon* in the warres of *Cleomenes*; and returning in his last Voyage from the Cyclades, was readie, at their first request, to take part with *Philips* Captaine. These, or the like considerations, made him welcome into the Macedonian King: whose Counsaillour he was euer after. The Dardanians hearing of the Kings returne, brake vp their Armie; and gaue ouer for the present their inuasion of Macedon, towards which they were already on their way.

All that Summer following the King rested at Larissa in Thessalie, whilst his people gathered in their Haruest. But the Aetolians rested not. They aunged themselves vpon the Epirots: whom for the harmes by them and *Philip* done in Aetolia, they requested 10 with all extremities of warre, among which, the most notable was the ruine of the most famous Temple of *Dodona*. When Winter grew on, and all thought of warre, vntill another yeere, was laid aside: *Philip* stole a journey into Peloponnesus, with five thousand Foot, and about foure hundred Horse. As soone as he was within Corinth: He commanded the Gates to be shut, that no word should be carried forth of his arriuall. He sent priuily for old *Aratus* to come thither vnto him: with whom he tooke order, when, and in what places, he would haue the Achæan Souldiers ready to meete him. The Enemies were then abroad in the Countrey, with somewhat more than two thousand Foot and an hundred Horse, little thinking to meete with such opposition. Indeede they had little cause to feare; since the Achæans themselves were not aware that the King was in their Land with his Macedonians, vntill they heard, that these two thousand Eleans, Aetolians, and their fellowes, were by him surpris'd, and all made prisoners, or slaine. By this exploit which he did at his first coming, *Philip* got very much reputation; and likewise he purchased both reputation and loue, by diuers actions immediately following. He won Plophis, an exceeding strong Town, in the borders of Arcadia, which the Eleans and Aetolians then held. He won it by assault at his first coming: where in it much auailed him, that the Enemy, not beleeuing that he would vnderake such a peece of worke at such an vnseasonable time of the yeere, was carelesse of providing euen such store of weapons, as might haue serued to defend it. The Towne was preferred by the King from sacke, & giuen to the Achæans, of his own meere motion, before they requested it. Thence went he to Lasion, which yielded for very feare, hearing how easily he had taken Plophis. This Towne also he gaue to the Achæans. The like liberality he vsed towards others, that had ancient title vnto places by him recovered. Then fell he vpon the Countrey of Elis, where was much wealth to bee gotten: for that the people were addicted to husbandrie, and liued abroad in Villages; euen such as were of the wealthier sort among them. So he came to the Citie of Olympia: where hauing done sacrifice to *Iupiter*, feasted his Captaine, and refreshed his Armie three daies; He proceeded on to the spoile of those, that had taken pleasure to share with the Aetolians in the spoiles of their other wife-deferuing neighbours. Great abundance of Garbidge he tooke, with great numbers of slaues, and much wealth of all sorts, such as could be found in rich villages. Then fell he in hand with the Townes, whereinto a great multitude of the Countrey-people were fled. Some of these were taken at the first assault. Some yielded for feare. Some preuented the labour of his journey, by sending Ambassadors to yeeld before he came. And some that were held with Garbisons against their wils, tooke courage to set themselves at libertie, by seeing the King soeuer; to whose Patronage thenceforth they betooke themselves. And many places were taken by the Aetolian Captaine, because they distrusted their ability to hold them. So the King wonne more Townes in the Countrey, than the sharpnesse of Winter would suffer him to stay three daies. Faine he would haue fought with the Aetolians; but they made such haste from him, that he could not ouertake them, till they had couered themselves with in the Towne of Samicum; where they thought to haue bene safe. But *Philip* assaulted them therein so forcibly, that he made them glad to yeeld the place; obtaining licence to depart, with their liues and armes. Hauing performed so much in this expedition, the King reposed himselfe awhile in Megalopolis; and then remooued to Argos, where he spent all the rest of the Winter.

Before the Kings arriuall in Peloponnesus, the Lacedæmonians with *Lycurgus* their new King, had gotten somewhat in Arcadia; & threatened to do great matters. But when they were admonished by the calamitie that fell vpon the Eleans, of the danger hanging

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ouer their owne heads; they quitted their winnings, and withdrew themselves home. This *Lycurgus*, as hee had no other right to the Kingdome of Sparta, than that which he could buy with money: so was he neither free from danger of conspiracies made against him, nor from those ieaiousities, with which Vsurpers are commonly perplexed. There was one *Chilon*, of the Royall blood, that thinking himselfe to haue best right vnto the Kingdome, purposed to make way therunto, by massacre of his opposites; and afterwards to confirme himselfe, by propounding vnto the Multitude such reformation of the State as was most popular: namely, by making an equal distribution of all the Lands among the whole number of the Citizens, according to the ancient institution of that Common wealth. Hee wonne to his partie some two hundred men; with whom hee fell vpon the Ephori as they were together at supper, and slew them all. Then went he to *Lycurgus* his house: who perceiving the danger, stole away and fled. It remained that he should giue account of these doings to the people, and procure them to take part with him. But their minds being not hereto pradisposed; they so little regarded his goodly offers, as euen whilst he was vsing his best persuasions, they were consulting how to apprehend him. *Chilon* perceiued whereabouts they went, and shifted presently away. So he fled afterwards among the Achæans a banished man; and hated of his owne people. As for *Lycurgus*, hee returned home: and suspecting thenceforth all those of *Hercules* his race, found means to driue out his fellow-King young *Agisipolis*; whereby he made himselfe Lord alone. His doings grew to bee suspected, in such sort, as once hee should haue bene apprehended by the Ephori. But though his actions hitherto might haue bene defended, yet rather than to aduenture himselfe into iudgement, he chose to flee for a time, and so iourne among his friends the Aetolians. His well-knownne vehemencie in opposition to the Macedonians, had procured vnto him such good liking among the people, that in his absence they beganne to consider the weaknesse of their owne surmises against him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his Estate. But in time following, He tooke better heede vnto himselfe: not by amending his condition (for he grew a Tyrant, and was so acknowledged) but by taking order, that it should not be in the power of the Citizens to expell him when they listed. By what actions he got the name of a Tyrant: or at what time it was, that he chased *Agisipolis* out of the Citie, I doe not certainly finde. Like enough it is, That his being the first of three vursers, which followed in order one after another, made him to be placed in the ranke of Tyrants, which the last of the three very iustly deserved. Whatsoeuer he was toward some priuie Citizens: in the warre against *Philip*, he behaued himselfe as a prouident man, and carefull of his Countreys good.

Philip was misadvised by his Counsaillors, who afterwards wrought treason against him; and miserably punished. Hee made the Aetolians a second time: and forceth them to sue for peace: which is granted vnto them.

While the King lay at Argos dwelling vpon his businesse for the year following, some ambitious men that were about him studied so diligently to further their own great ends, as they were like to haue spoiled all that hee tooke in hand. *Antigonus Dofon* had left some *Philip* such Counsaillors, as to him did seeme the fittest men for governing of his youth. The chiefe of these was *Capellen*, that had the charge of his person, and also the ordering of his Treasures. This man, seeming to himselfe a great Politician, although that hee should bee a notable peece of seruice to his Prince; if hee could reduce the Achæans vnto the same degree of subiection, wherein the Macedonians stood: so being these things considered during his late Expedition hee had caused some of the Macedonians to thinke the Achæans out of their lodgings, and to strip them of the booty that they had gotten. Proceeding further in this occasion, hee was bold to challenge some of that Nation to cause his Ministers to take good Whippes, them. If any of them offered as there were some of them that could not refraine to help their fellowes; then he laid by the heels and punished with whips: Hurely he thought to bring it to passe by little and little, that he should be qualified with an habite of blind obedience; and think nothing vnjust that pleased the King. For these Achæans were tenderly sensible to matters of liberty: and so if they could haue bene contented so to suffer any

little

little diminution. they needed not haue troubled the Macedonians to helpe them in the war against *Cleomenes*. They bemoaned themselves vnto olde *Aratus*; and besought him to thinke vpon some good order, that they might not bee oppressed by degrees. *Aratus* forthwith dealt earnestly with the King; as in a matter more weighty than at first it might seeme. The King bestowed gracious words vpon those that had bene wronged; and forbade *Apelles* to follow the course begunne. Hereat *Apelles* was inwardly vexed, though he dissembled his choler for a time. Hee thought so well of his owne Project, that he could not endure to lay it aside; being perhaps vnable to doe the King any valuable seruice, in businesse of other nature. Hee purposed therefore hereafter to beginne at the head; since, in biting at the taile, the fish had shot away from his mouth. It could not otherwise bee than that among the Achæans there were some, who bore no hearty affection to *Aratus*. These he enquired out, and sending for them, entertained them with words of Court, promising to become their especiall friend, and commend them vnto the King. Then brake he his purpose with the King himselfe: letting him know, that as long as he continued to make much of *Aratus*, hee must be faine to deale precisely with the Achæans, and as it were by Indenture, according to the letter of the Contract: whereas if he would be pleased, to giue countenance vnto those others whom he himselfe commended, then should the Achæans, and all other Peloponnesians, be quickly brought to conforme themselves vnto the duty of obedient Subjects. By such perswasions, he drew the King to bee present at *Aegium*, where the Achæans were to hold election of a new Prætor. There with much more labour, than would haue bin needefull in a businesse of more importance; the King by faire words and threatnings together, obtained so much, That *Eperatus*, a very insufficient man, but one of *Apelles* his new fauourites, was chosen Prætor, in stead of one more worthy, for whom *Aratus* had laboured. This was thought a good introduction vnto greater matters that should follow. The King from thence passed along by Patras and Dyma, to a very strong Castle held by the Eleans, which was called Tichos. The garrison yielded it vp for feare at his first coming: whereof he was glad, for that he had an earnest desire to bestow it vpon the Dymæans, as he presently did.

The King thought it strange, that all this while he heard of no messengers from the Eleans, to sue for peace. For at his departure out of their Countrey the last Winter, he had let loose one *Amphidamus* a Captaine of theirs, that was his prisoner, because hee found him an intelligent min, and one that vnderooke to make them forsake their alliance with the Atolians, and ioyne with him vpon reasonable termes. This if they could be contented to doe, he willed *Amphidamus* to let them vnderstand; That hee would render vnto them freely all prisoners which he had of theirs; That he would defend them from all foreign inuasion; and that they should hold their liberty entire, liuing after their owne Lawes, without paying any manner of Tribute, or being kept vnder by any garrison. These conditions were not to be despised, if they had found credit as they might haue done. But when *Philip* came to the Castle of Tichos, and made a new inuasion vpon their Countrey: then beganne the Eleans, (that were not before over-hastie to beleue such faire promises) to suspect *Amphidamus* as a Traitor, and one that was set on worke for no other end, than to breede a mutuall diffidence betwene them, and the Atolians. Wherefore they purposed to lay hands vpon him, and send him prisoner vnto Atolia. But he perceived their intent, and got away to Dyma: in good time for himselfe, in better for *Aratus*. For the king (as was said) maruelling what should be the cause, that hee heard no newes from the Eleans, concerning the offers which hee had made vnto them by *Amphidamus*: *Apelles*, his Counsailler thereby tooke occasion to supplant *Aratus*. He said that old *Aratus*, and his sonne together, had such devices in their heads, as tended little to the kings good. And long of them he said it was, that the Eleans did thus hold out: For when *Amphidamus* was dismissed home, the two *Arati*, (the father and the sonne) had taken him aside: & giuen him to vnderstand, that it would be very preiudiciall to all Peloponnesus, if the Eleans once became at the deuotion of the Macedonians: And this was the true cause, why neither *Amphidamus* was very careful in doing this message, nor the Eleans in hearkning to the kings offers. All this was a falselie; deuised by *Apelles* himselfe, vpon no other ground than his owne malice. *Philip* had no sooner heard this tale but in a great rage he sent for the two *Arati*, and bade *Apelles* rehearse it ouer againe to their faces. *Apelles* did so, and with a bold countenance

talking to them as to men already convicted. And when he had said all he rested, ere either *Philip* or they spake any word; He added this clause as it were in the Kings name: Since the King hath found you such vngratefull wretches; it is his meaning to hold a Parliament of the Achæans; and therein hauing made it knowne what ye are, to depart into Macedonia; and leaue you to your selues. Old *Aratus* grauely admonished the King; That whensoever he heard any accusation, especially against a friend of his owne or a man of worth, He should forbear a while to giue credite, vntill hee had diligently examined the businesse. For such deliberation was Kingly, and he should neuer thereof repent him. At the present hee said there needed no more, than to call in those that had heard his talk with *Amphidamus*, and especially him that had brought this goodly tale to *Apelles*. For it would be a very absurd thing, That the king should make himselfe the Author of a report in the open Parliament of Achaia, whereof there was none other euidence, than one mans yeas, and anothers no. Hereof the King liked well; and said that hee would make sufficient inquirie. So passed a few dayes: wherein whilst *Apelles* delaid to bring in the prooffe, which indeed he wanted, *Amphidamus* came from Elis, and told what had befallen him there. The king was not forgetfull, to examine him about the conspiracie of the *Arati*: which when he found no better than a mere deuce against his honourable friends, Hee entertained them in louing manner as before. As for his loue to *Apelles*, though it was hereby somewhat cooled; yet by meanes of long acquaintance and daily employment, no remission therein could be discerned.

The vtterfull tempest of *Apelles*, hauing with much vehemencie brought nothing to passe, beganne (as commonly Ambition vseth) to swell and grow venomous for want of his free motion. He betakes himselfe to his cunning againe: and as before, being checkt in his dolings with those of the vulgar, he had prepared a snare for the *Arati*: so sayling of them, he thinks it wisdome to lay for the King himselfe, and for all at once which were about him. In such manner sometime, the Spider thought to haue taken the Swallow which draue away Flies out of the chieftie; but was carried (net and all) into the Ayre by the bird, that was too strong to be caught and held by the subtilt workmanship of a Cob-web. Of the foure that next vnto *Apelles* were left by *Antigonus* in chiefe place about *Philip*, *Taurion*, his Lieutenant in Peloponnesus, and *Alexander* Captaine of the Guard, were faithfull men, and such as would not be corrupted. The other two, *Leontium* Captaine of the Targuettiers, & *Megalas* chiefe of the Secretaries, were easily won to be at *Apelles* his disposition. This politician therefore studied how to remooue the other two from their places, and put some Creatures of his owne into their roomes. Against *Alexander* He went to worke the ordinary way; by calumny and priuie detraction. But for the supplanting of *Taurion* he vfed more finenesse; loading him with daily commendations; as a notable man of warre, & one, whom for his many vertues the King might ill spare from being alwaies in his presence. By such Art hee thought to haue removed him, as we say, Out of Gods blessing into a warme Sonne. In the meane season *Aratus* retired himselfe; and sought to auoide the dangerous friendship of the King, by forbearing to meddle in affaires of State. As for the new Prætor of Achaia, lately chosen by such vehement instance of the King; Hee was a man of no dispatch, and one that had no grace with the People. Wherefore a great deal of time was lost, whilst *Philip* wanted both the money and the Corne; wherewith hee should haue bene furnished by the Achæans. This made the King vnderstand his owne error; which hee wisely sought to reforme betimes. He perswaded the Achæans to reiourne their Parliament from *Aegium*, to Sytion, the Towne of *Aratus*. There he dealt with the old man and his son, perswading them to forget what was past; and laying all the blame vpon *Apelles*, on whom thenceforth he intended to keepe a more diligent eye. So by the trauell of these worthy men, He easily obtained what he would of the Achæans. Fifty talents they gaue him out of hand, with great store of Corne: and further decreed, That so long as he himselfe in person followed the warres in Peloponnesus, hee should receiue ten talents a month. Being thus enabled, he began to provide shipping, that so he might inuade the Atolians, Eleans, and Lacedæmonians, that were maritime people, at his pleasure, and hinder their excursions by Sea.

It vexed *Apelles* beyond measure, to see things goe forward so well without his helpe; even by the ministry of those whom he most hated. Wherefore he entred into conspiracie with *Leontius* and *Megalas*: binding himselfe and them by Oath, to crosse and bring

bring to nought, as well as they were able, all that the King should take in hand. By so doing, they thought to bring it to passe, that very want of ability, to do any thing without them, should make him speake them faire, and be glad to submit himselfe to their directions. The King it is like had stood in some awe of them whilst he was a child, and therefore these wiser men perswaded themselves, that, by looking bigge vpon him, and imputing vnto him all that fell out id through their own misgovernment of his affaires, they might rule him as a child: still *Apelles* would needs goe to Chalcis, there to take order for the provisions, which were to come that way out of Macedonia: The other two staid behind with the King, to play their parts: all more mindfull of their wicked oath, than of their dutie.

His Fleet and Armie being in a readinesse, *Philip* made countenance, as if hee would haue bent all his forces against the Eleans, to whose aid therfore, the Aetolians sent many: but fearing that the mischiefe would haue fallen, as soone after it did, vpon themselves, but against the Eleans and those that came to helpe them, *Philip* thought it enough to leaue the Achæans, with some part of his & their Mercenaries: He himselfe with the boole of his Armie putting to Sea, landed in the Ile of Cephalonia: whence the Aetolians dy of his Armie putting to Sea, landed in the Ile of Cephalonia: whence the Aetolians dwelling ouer against it, vsed to furnish themselves of shipping, when they went to roue abroad. There he besieged the Towne of Palea, that had bene very seruiciable to the Enemy against him and his Confederates; and might bee very vfeull to him, if hee could get it. Whilst hee lay before this Towne, there came vnto him fifteene shippes of warre from *Sceudilaidas*; and many good souldiers, from the Epirots, Acarnani-ans, and Messenians. But the Town was obstinate; and would not bee terrified with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts saue one, on which side *Philip* carried a Mine to the wall, wherewith he ouerthrew two hundred foote thereof. *Leontius* Cap- taine of the Targettiers, was appointed by the King to make the assault. But he, remem- bring his covenant with *Apelles*, did both wilfully forbear to doe his best; and created o- thers to doe the like. So the Macedonians were put to foyle, and many slaine, not of the worst souldiers, but such as had gotten ouer the breach, and would haue carried the Towne, if the Treason of their Captaine, and some by him corrupted, had not hindered the victory. The King was angry with this, but there was no remedie: and therefore he thought vpon breaking vp the siege. For it was easier vnto the Towne-men to make vp the gap in their wall, than for him to make it wider. Whilst hee stood thus perplexed, and vncertaine what course to take: the Messenians and Acarnanians lay hard vpon him, each of them desirous to draw him into their owne Countrey. The Messenians alled- ged, that *Lycorgus* was busie in wasting their Countrey: vpon whom the King might come vniuersally in one day; the Etolean windes which then blew, seruing fitly for his Nauigation. Heere to also *Leontius* perswaded; who considered that those windes, as they would easily carry him thither, so would they detain him there perforce (blow- ing all the Dogge-daves) and make him spend the Summer to small or no purpose. But *Aratus* gaue better counsaile, and prevailed. He shewed how vsuiring it were, to let the Aetolians ouer-runne all Thessalie againe, and some part of Macedonia, whilst the King withdrew his Armie farre off to seek for small adventures. Rather, hee said that the time now serued well to carry the warre into Aetolia; since the Prætor was gone thence a- broad on roving, with the one halfe of their strength. As for *Lycorgus*, he was not strong enough to doe much harme in Peloponnesus: and it might suffice, if the Achæans, were appointed to make head against him. According to this aduice, the King lets sayle for Aetolia; and enters the Bay of Ambracia, which diuided the Aetolians from Acarnania. The Acarnanians were glad to see him on their borders; and ioyned with him as many of them as could beare armes, to helpe in taking vengeance vpon their bad neighbours. He marched vp into the in-land Countrey; and taking some places by the way, which he so- fitted with Garrisons to assure his Retreat: He passed on to Thermum, which was the Re- ceptacle of the Aetolians, and surest place of defence in all extremities. The Countrey round about was a great fastnesse, enuironed with rockie Mountaines of very narrow, steepe, & difficult ascent: There did the Aetolians vse to hold all their chiefe meetings, their fautes, their election of Magistrates, and their solemne Games. There also they vsed to bestow the most precious of their goods, as in a place of greatest security. This opinion of the naturall strength had made them carelesse in looking vnto it. When *Philip* therefore had ouercome the bad way, there was nothing else to do than to take spoile whereof

whereof he found such plenty, that he thought the paines of his iourney well recompens- ed: So he loaded his Armie: and consuming all that could not be carried away, forgor not to dresse a goodly Temple, the chiefe of all belonging vnto the Aetolians; in remem- brance of their like worship, shewed vpon the Temples of *Diana* and *Dodona*. This burn- ing of the Temple, might (questionlesse) more for the Kings honour haue bene for- borne. But perhaps hee thought, as *Adoniscus* du *Gourguet*, the French Captaine told the Spaniards in Florida, That they which had no faith, needed no Church: At his returne from Thermum, the Aetolians laid for him: which that they would doe, he beleued be- fore; and therefore was not taken vnawares: Three thousand of them there were that lying in ambush fell vpon his skirts: but hee laid a Counter-ambush for them, of his Il- lyrians, who staying behind the rest, did set vpon the backes of the Aetolians, whilst they were busily charging in Rere the Armie that went before. So with slaughter of the enemy, hee returned the same way that he came: and burning downe those places that hee had taken before, as also wasting the Countrey round about him. Hee safely carried all that hee had gotten aboard his Fleet. Once the Aetolians made countenance of fight, issuing out of Stratus in great brauery. But they were beaten home faster than they came, and followed to their very gates.

The ioy of this victorious Expedition being euery way complete, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any sinister accident; it pleased the King to make a great feast vnto all his friends and Captaines. Thither were inuited among the rest *Leontius*, with his fellow *Megaleas*. They came, because they could not chioose: but their heavy looks argued, what little pleasure they tooke in the Kings prosperitie. It grieved them to thinke, that they should be able to giue no better account vnto *Apelles*, of their hindering the Kings businesse, since *Apelles* himselfe, as will be shewed anon, had played his own part with a most mischieuous dexteritie. Finding *Aratus* on the way home to his Tent: they fell to reuelling him, throwing stones at him, so that they caused a great uprore; may running in (as happens in such cases) to take part with the one or the other. The King sending to inquire of the matter, was truly informed of all that had passed. Which made him send for *Leontius* and his fellowes. But *Leontius* was gotten out of the way: *Megaleas*, and another with him, came. The King began to rate them for their disorder: and they, to giue him froward answers: in so much, as they said at length, That they would neuer giue ouer, till they had rewarded *Aratus* with a mischiefe as hee deserved. Hereupon the King committed them to ward. *Leontius* hearing of this, comes boldly to the King, with his Targettiers at his heeles: and with a proud grace demanded, who it was that had dared to lay hands vpon *Megaleas*, yea and to cast him into prison? Why, said the King, it was euē I. This resolute answer, which *Leontius* had not expected, made him depart both sad and angrie; seeing himselfe out-frowned, and not knowing how to remedy the matter. Shortly after *Megaleas* was called forth to his answer, and was charged by *Aratus* with many great crimes. Among which were, The hinderance of the Kings victory at Palea, and the Compact made with *Apelles*: matters no lesse touch- ing *Leontius*, that stood by as a looker on, than *Megaleas* that was accused. In conclusi- on, the presumptions against him were so strong, and his answers thereto so weak, that he, and *Crimon* one of his fellowes, were condemned in twenty Talents: *Crimon* being remanded back to prison, and *Leontius* becoming Bayle for *Megaleas*. This was done vpon the way home-ward, as the King was returning to Corinth.

*Philip* dispatched well a great deale of businesse this yeere. For as soone as hee was at Corinth, hee tooke in hand an Expedition against the Lacedæmonians. These and the Eleans had done what harme they could in Peloponnesus, whilst the King was absent. The Achæans had opposed them as well as they could, with ill success, yet so, as they hindered them from doing such harme as else they would haue done. But when *Philip* came, hee ouer-ran the Countrey about Lacedæmon: & was in a manner at the gates of Spar- ta, ere men could well beleue that he was returned out of Aetolia. Hee took not in this Expedition any Cities, but made great waste in the fields: and hauing beaten the enemy in some skirmishes, carried backe with him to Corinth a rich booty of cattell, slaues, and other Countie-spoyle. At Corinth he found attending him, Embassadors from the Rhodians & Chians: that requested him to set Greece at quiet, by granting peace vnto the Aetolians. They had gracious audience: and hee willed them to deale first with the Aetolians, who if they would make the same request, should not finde him vnreasonable. The Aetolians

Ætoliāns had sped ill that yeer: neither saw they any likely hopes for the yeeres following. The Army that they had sent forth to waite Theſſaly and Macedon, found ſuch oppoſition on the way; that not daring to proceed, it returned home without bringing any thing to effect. In the meane ſeaſon they had bene grievouſly afflicted, as before is ſhewed, by *Philip* in the centre of their owne Country. All Greece and Macedon was vp in armes againſt them, and their weak Allies the Eleans & Lacedæmonians. Neither was it certaine, how long the one or other of theſe their Peloponneſian friends ſhould be able to hold out, ſince they were not ſtrong enough to keepe the field, but had already ſuffered thoſe miſeries of war, which by a little continuance would make them glad, each to ſeek their owne peace, without regard of their Confederates. Wherefore the Ætoliāns readily entertained this negotiation of Peace: and taking truce for thirty daies with the King, dealt with him by interceſſion of the ſame Embaſſadors, to intreat his preſence at a Diet of their nation, that ſhould be held at Rhium; whither if he would vouchſafe to come, they promiſed that he ſhould find them conformable to any good reaſon.

Whileſt theſe things were in hand, *Leontius* and *Megalus* thought to haue terrified the King, by raiſing ſedition againſt him in the Army. But this device ſorted to no good effect. The ſouldiers were eaſily and quickly incenſed againſt many of the Kings friends, who were ſaid to be the cauſe, why they were not rewarded with ſo much of the boory, as they thought to belong of right vnto them. But their anger ſpent it ſelfe in a noyſe, and breaking open of doores, without further harme done. This was enough to informe the King (who eaſily pacified his men with gentle words) that ſome about him were very falſe. Yea the ſouldiers themſelues, repenting of their inſolence, deſired to haue the Authors of the tumult fought out, and puniſhed according to their deſerts. The King made ſhe was if hee had not cared to make ſuch inquisition. But *Leontius* and *Megalus* were afraid, leſt the matter would ſoone come out of it ſelfe to their extreme danger. Wherefore they ſent vnto *Apelles*, the Head and Architect of their treaſon; requeſting him ſpeedily to repaire vnto Corinth, where hee might ſtand betwene them and the Kings diſpleaſure. *Apelles* had not all this while bene wanting to the buſineſſe, undertaken by him and his treacherous companions. Hee had taken vpon him, as a man that had the Kings heart in his owne hand: and thereby was hee growne in to ſuch credit, that all the Kings Officers in Macedon and Theſſalie addreſſed themſelues vnto him, and receiued from him their diſpatch in euery buſineſſe. Likewiſe the Greekes in all their flattering Decrees, tooke occaſion to magnifie the vertue of *Apelles*, making ſlight mention (onely for faſhions ſake) of the King: who ſeemed no better than the Miniſter and Executioner of *Apelles* his will and pleaſure. Such was the arrogancie of this great man, in ſetting himſelfe out vnto the people: but in managing the Kings affaires, hee made it his ſpeciall care, that mony, and all things needefull for the publike ſeruiſe, ſhould bee wanting. Yea hee enforced the King, for very neede, to ſell his owne Plate and houſhold veſſels: thinking to reſolue theſe and all other difficulties, by only ſaying, *Sir, be ſerued wholly by me, and all ſhall be as you would wiſh.* Hereto if the King would giue aſſent, then had this Politician obtained his hearts deſire. Now taking his iourney from Chalcis in the Iſle of Euboea, to the city of Corinth where *Philip* then lay: he was fetcht in with great pompe and royaltie, by a great number of the Captaines and Souldiers; which *Leontius* and *Megalus* drew forth to meete him on the way. So entering the city with a goodly traine, he went directly to the Court, and towards the Kings chamber. But *Philip* was well aware of his pride, and had vehement ſuſpicion of his falſehood. Wherefore one was ſent to tell him, that he ſhould wait a while, or come another time, for the King was not now at leiſure to be ſpoken with. It was a pretty thing, that ſuch a check as this made all his attendants forſake him, as a man in diſgrace; in ſuch ſort, that going thence to his lodging, he had none to follow him ſave his owne Pages. After this, the King vouchſafed him now and then ſome ſlender graces: but in conſultations, or other matters of priuacie, he vſed him not at all. This taught *Megalus* to looke to himſelfe, and run away betimes. Hereupon the King ſent forth *Taurion* his Lieutenant of Peloponneſus, with all the Targettiers, as it were to do ſome piece of ſeruiſe, but indeede of purpoſe to apprehend *Leontius* in the abſence of his followers. *Leontius* being taken, diſpatched away a meſſenger preſently to his Targettiers, to ſignifie what was befallen him: and they forthwith ſent vnto the King in his behaſe. They made requeſt, That if any other thing were objected againſt him, hee might not bee called

called forth to triall before their returne: as for the debt of *Megalus*, if that were all the matter, they ſaid they were ready to make a purſe for his diſcharge. This affection of the ſouldiers made *Philip* more baſtic than elſe he would haue bene, to take away the Traitors life. Neither was it long, ere letters of *Megalus* were intercepted, which hee wrote vnto the Ætoliāns, vilifying the King with opprobrious words; and bidding them not to hearken after peace, but to hold out a while, for that *Philip* was euen ready to ſinke vnder the burden of his owne pouertie. By this the King vnderſtood more perfectly the falſhood, not onely of *Megalus*, but of *Apelles*; whole cunning head had laboured all this while to keepe him ſo poore. Wherefore he ſent one to purſue *Megalus* that was fled to Thebes. As for *Apelles*, he committed both him, his ſonne, and another that was inward with him, to priſon; wherein all of them ſhortly ended their liues. *Megalus* alſo, neither daring to ſtand to triall, nor knowing whither to flie, was weary of his owne life; and ſlew himſelfe about the ſame time.

The Ætoliāns, as they had begun this warre vpon hope of accompliſhing what they liſted in the Nonage of *Philip*: ſo finding that the vigour of this yong Prince, tempered with the cold aduice of *Aratus*, wrought very effectually toward their overthrow; they grew very deſirous to make an end of it. Neuertheleſſe being a turbulent Nation, and ready to lay hold vpon all aduantages: when they heard what was happened in the Court, the death of *Apelles*, *Leontius*, and *Megalus*, together with ſome indignation thereupon conceiued by ſome of the Kings Targettiers, they began to hope anew, that theſe troubles would be long laſting, and thereupon brake the day appointed for the meeting at Rhium, of this was *Philip* nothing ſorrie. For being in good hope thoroughly to tame this vniquiet Nation; He thought it much to concerne his owne honour, that all the blame of the beginning & continuing the warre ſhould reſt vpon themſelues. Wherefore he willed his Confederates, to lay aſide all thought of peace, and to pre pare for war againſt the yeere following; wherein he hoped to bring it to an end. Then gratified he his Macedonian ſouldiers, by yeelding to let them winter in their owne Country. In his returne homeward, he called into iudgement one *Protonius*, a companion with *Apelles* and *Leontius* in their Treasons: who was therefore condemned by the Macedonians, and ſuffered death. Theſe were the ſame Macedonians, that lately could not endure to heare of *Leontius* his imprisonment: yet now they thinke the man worthy to die that was but ſo his adherent. So vaime is the confidence, on which Rebels uſe to build, in their Toppur with the Multitude.

During his abode in Macedon, *Philip* won ſome bordering Townes; from which the Dardaniāns, Ætoliāns, and other his ill neighbours, were accuſtomed to make rodes into his kingdome: when he had thus provided for ſafety of his owne; the Ætoliāns might well know what they were to expect. But there came againe Embaſſadors from the Rhodians and Chians, with others from *Ptolomy* King of Egypt, and from the City of Byzantium, recontinuing the former ſolicitation about the Peace. This ſaſſion had bene taken vp in matters of Greece, euer ſince the Kings that reigned after *Alexander*, had taken vpon them to ſet the whole Country at liberty: No ſooner was any Province or City in danger to be oppreſſed and ſubdued by force of warre, but preſently there were found interceſſors, who pitying the effuſion of Greekiſh blood, would importune the ſtronger to relinquish his aduantage. By doing ſuch friendly offices in time of need, the Princes and States abroad ſought to binde vnto them thoſe people, that were howſoeuer weak in numbers, yet very good ſouldiers. But hereby it came to paſſe, that the more ſtrongard ſort, eſpecially the Ætoliāns, whole whole Nation was addicted to falſehood and robbery, durſt enter boldly into quarrels with all their Neighbours: being well aſſured, that if they had the worſt, *The Iſle of Greece* would bee ſufficient for to reddec their quiet. They had, ſince the late Treaty of peace, done what harme they could in Peloponneſus: but being beaten by the Achæans, and ſtanding in ſcare to bee more ſoundly beaten at home, they deſired now, more earnestly than before, to make an end of the Warre as ſoone as they might. *Philip* made ſuch anſwer vnto the Embaſſadors, as he had done the former yeere; That he gaue not occaſion to the beginning of this warre, nor was at the preſent afraid to continue it, or vnwilling to end it: but that the Ætoliāns, if they had a deſire to liue in reſt, muſt firſt bee dealt withall, to ſignifie plainly their determination, whereto himſelfe would returne ſuch anſwer as hee ſhould thinke fit.



Philip had at this time no great liking vnto the Peace, being a yong Prince, and in hope to increase the honour which he daily got by the warre. But it happened in the middelt of this Negotiation, that he was aduertised by letters out of Macedon, what a notable victorie *Hannibal* had obtained against the Romans in the Battaille at Thrasymene. These letters he communicated vnto *Demetrius Pharius*: who greatly encouraged him to take part with *Hannibal*: and not to sit still, as an idle beholder of the Italian Warre. Hereby hee grew more inclinable than before vnto Peace with the *Ætolians*: which was concluded shortly in a meeting at Naupactus. There did *Agelæus* an *Ætolian* make a great Oration: telling, how happie it was for the Greekes, that they might at their owne pleasure dispute about finishing Warre betweene themselves, without being molested by the Barbarians. For when once either the Romans or Carthaginians, had subdued one the other, it was not to be doubted, that they would forthwith look Eastward, and seek by all means to set footing in Greece. For this cause he said it were good, that their Countrey should be at peace within it selfe: and that *Philip*, if he were desirous of warre, should lay hold on the opportunitie, now fely seruing, to enlarge his Dominion, by winning somewhat in Italy.

Such aduice could the *Ætolians* then giue, when they stood in feare of danger threatening them at hand: but being soone after wearie of rest, as being accustomed to enrich themselves by pillage, they were so farre from obliuishing and following their own good counsell, that they invited the Romans into Greece, whereby they brought themselves and the whole Countrey, (but themselves before any other part of the Countrey) vnder seruitude of strangers. The Condition of this Peace was simple, That euery one should keepe what they held at the present, without making restitution, or any amends for damages past.

## §. III.

*Philip, at the perswasion of Demetrius Pharius, enters into League with Hannibal, against the Romans. The Tenour of the League betweene Hannibal and Philip.*

**T**His being agreed vpon: the Greekes betooke themselves to quiet courses of life; and *Philip* to prepare for the businesse of Italy, about which hee consulted with *Demetrius Pharius*. And thus passed the time away, till the great battaille of Cannæ: after which hee ioyned in league with *Hannibal*, as hath beene shewed before. *Demetrius Pharius* bore great malice vnto the Romans; and knew no other way to be auenged vpon them, or to recouer his owne lost Kingdome, than by procuring the Macedonian, that was in a manner wholly guided by his counsaile, to take part with their enemies. It had otherwise beene farre more expedient for *Philip*, to haue supported the weaker of those two great Cities against the more mighty. For by so doing, hee should perhaps haue brought them to peace vpon some equall termes; and thereby, as did *Hiero* a farre weaker Prince, haue both secured his owne Estate, and caused each of them to be desirous of chiefe place in his friendship. The issue of the counsaile which hee followed, will appeare soone after this. His first quarrell with the Romans; the trouble which they and the *Ætolians* did put him to in Greece; and the Peace which they made with him for a time, vpon such Conditions that might easily be broken: haue bene related in another place, as belonging vnto the second Punicke Warre. Wherefore I will onely here set downe the tenour of the League betweene Him and Carthage: which may seeme not vnworthy to be read, if onely in regard of the forme it selfe then vsed; though it had bene ouer-long to haue bene inserted into a more busie peece.

THE

## The Oath and Couenants be-

tweene Hannibal, Generall of the Carthaginians, and Xenophanes, Embassador of Philip King of Macedon.

**T**HIS is the League ratified by oath, which Hannibal the Generall, and with him Mago, Myrcal, and Barmocal, as also the Senators of Carthage that are present, and all the Carthaginians that are in his Armie, haue made with Xenophanes the sonne of Cleomachus Athenian, whom King Philip the sonne of Demetrius hath sent vnto vs, for himselfe and the Macedonians, and his Associates: Before Jupiter, and Iuno, and Apollo: before The God of the Carthaginians, Hercules, and Tolaus, before Mars, Triton, Neptune: before The Gods accompanying Armes, the Sun, the Moone, and the Earth; before Riuers and Meddowes, and Waters; before all the Gods, that haue power ouer Carthage; before all the Gods that rule ouer Macedon, and the rest of Greece; before all the Gods that are Presidents of Warre, and present at the making of this League. Hannibal the Generall hath said, and all the Senators that are with him, and all the Carthaginians in his Armie: Be it agreed betweene You and Vs, that this oath stand for friendship and louing affection, that wee become friends, familiar, and brethren, vpon Courtnant, that the safetie of the Lords the Carthaginians, and of Hannibal the Generall and those that are with him, and of the Rulers of Provinces of the Carthaginians vsing the same Lawes, and of the Vticans, & as many Cities & Nations as obey the Carthaginians, and of the Souldiers and Associates, and of all Townes and Nations with which we hold friendship in Italy, Gaule, and Liguria, and with whom we shall hold friendship or make alliance hereafter in this Region; be preferred by King Philip and the Macedonians, and such of the Greekes as are their Associates. In like manner shall King Philip and the Macedonians, and other the Greekes his Associates, bee saued and preferred by the Carthaginian Armies, and by the Vticans, and by all Cities and Nations that obey the Carthaginians, and by their Associates and Souldiers, and by all Nations and Cities in Italy, Gaule and Liguria, that are of our Alliance, or shall hereafter ioyne with Vs in Italy. Wee shall not take counsaile one against the other, nor deale fraudulently one with the other. With all readinesse and good will, without deceit or subletie, we shall be enemies vnto the enemies of the Carthaginians, excepting those Kings, Townes, and Hauens, with which we haue already league and friendship. Wee also shall be enemies to the enemies of King Philip, excepting those Kings, Cities, and Nations, with which wee haue already league and friendship. The warre that we haue with the Romans, haue we also with them, untill the Gods shall giue vs a new and happie end. Tee shall aide Vs with those things whereof wee haue need, and shall doe according to the Couenants betweene Vs. But if the Gods shall not giue vnto You and Vs their helpe in this warre against the Romans and their Associates; then if the Romans offer friendship, Wee shall make friendship in such wise that Tee shall be partakers of the same friendship, with Condition, That they shall not haue power to make warre vpon you: Neither shall the Romans be Lords ouer the Corcyreans, nor ouer those of Apollonia, nor Dyrrachium, nor ouer Pharus, nor Dimalle, nor the Parthini, nor Atintania. They shall also render vnto Demetrius Pharius all those that belong vnto him, as many as are within the Romans Dominions. But if the Romans (after such peace made) shall make warre vpon Tee or Vs: Wee will succour one another in that warre, as either shall haue need. The same shall be observed in warre made by any other, excepting those Kings, Cities, and States, with whom wee hold already league and friendship. To this league if we or Tee shall thinke fit to adde or detract, such addition or detraction shall be made by our common consent.



## §. IIII.

*How Philip yeelded to his naturall vices, being therein soothed by Demetrius Pharius. His desire to tyrannize vpon the free States his Associates: with the troubles, into which hee thereby fell, whilst he bore a part in the second Punic warre. Hee paysoneth Aratus: and grows hateful to the Achaeans.*

**H**itherto Philip had carried himselfe as a vertuous Prince. And though with more commendation of his wisdom, hee might haue offered his friendship to the Romans, that were like to be oppressed, than to the Carthaginians, who had the better hand; yet this his meddling in the Punic warre, proceeded from a royall greatness of minde, with a desire to secure and increase his owne estate, adding therewithall reputation to his Countrey. But in this businesse he was guided (as hath bene said) by Demetrius Pharius, looking throughly into his nature, did accommodate himselfe to his desires: and thereby shortly governed him as he listed. For the vertues of Philip were not indeed such as they seemed. He was lustfull, bloudy, and tyrannicall: desirous of power to doe what he listed, and not otherwise listig to doe what he ought, that so farre forth, as by making a faire shew he might breed in man such good opinion of him, as should helpe to serue his turne in all that hee tooke in hand. Before hee should busie himselfe in Italy, he thought it requisite in good policie, to bring the Greekes that were his Associates vnder a more absolute forme of subiection. Hereunto Apelles had aduised him before: and he had liked reasonably well of the course. But Apelles was a boyetrous Counsellor, and one that referring all to his owne glory, thought himselfe deeply wronged if he might not wholly haue his owne way, but were driuen to await the Kings opportunity at better times. Demetrius Pharius could well be contented to obscure the Kings humours: and guided, like a Coach-man with the reins in his hand, those actions which himselfe did onely seeme to follow. Therefore he grew daily more and more in credit: so as, without any manner of contention, he supplanted Aratus: which the violence of Apelles could neuer doe.

There arose about these times a very hote Faction among the Messenians, betwene the Nobilitie and Commons: their vehement thoughts being rather diuerted (as happens often after a foreign warre) vnto domestick objects, than allayed and reduced vnto a more quiet temper. In processe of no long time, the contention among them grew so violent, that Philip was entreated to compound the differences. He was glad of this: resolving so to end the matter, that they should not henceforth stricke any more about their Government: for that hee would assume it wholly to himselfe. At his coming thither, hee found Aratus busie among them to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his owne secret purpose. Wherefore he consulted not with this renowned old man: but talked in priuate with such of the Messenians as repaired vnto him. He asked the Governours, what they meant to stand thus disputing: and whether they had not Leues, to bridle the insolence of the vnruellie Rabble: Contrariwise, in talking with the heads of the popular Faction, He said it was strange, that they being so many, would suffer themselves to be opposed by a few; as if they had not hands to defend themselves from Tyrants. Thus whilst each of them presumed on the Kings assistance; they thought it but to goe roundly to worke, ere that hee were gone that should countenance their doings. The Governours therefore would haue apprehended some seditious Oratours, that were, they said, the stirrers vp of the multitude vnto sedition. Vpon this occasion the people tooke Armes: and running vpon the Nobilitie and Magistrates, killed of them in a rage almost two hundred. Philip thought, it seemed, that it would be easie to worrie the sheepe, when the Dogs their guardians were slaine. But his faithfull and double dealing was immediately found out. Neither did the younger Aratus forbear, to tel him of it in publike, with very bitter and disgracefull words. The King was angry at this. But hauing already done more than was commendable, or excusable: and yet further intending to take other things in hand wherein hee should need the helpe and countenance of his best friends; Hee was content to smother his displeasure, and make as faire weather as hee could. Hee ledde olde Aratus aside by the hand; and went vp into the Castle of Ithome, that was ouer Messene. There hee pretended to doe sacrifice: and sacrifice hee did. But it was his purpose to keepe the place

to his owne use, for that it was of notable strength, and would seme to command the further parts of Peloponnesus, as the Citadell of Corinth, which hee had already commanded the entrance into that Countrey. Whilst he was therefore sacrificing, and had the entrails of the beaſt deliuered into his hands, as was the manner, hee shewed them to Aratus, and gently asked him, whether the tokens that he saw therein did signifie, That being now in possession of this place, he should quietly goe out of it, or rather keepe it to himselfe. He thought perhaps, that the old man would haue soothed him a little; were it onely for desire to make amends for the angry words newly spoken by his sonne. But as Aratus stood doubtfull what to answer, Demetrius Pharius gaue this verdict: *If thou be a good Player, thou must goe thy waies, and let slip this good aduantage. If thou bee a King, thou must not neglect the opportunitie, but hold the Oxe by both his hornes.* Thus hee, spake, remembring Ithome and Acrocorinthus vnto the two horns of Peloponnesus. Yet would Philip needes heare the opinion of Aratus: who told him plainly, That it were well done to keepe the place, if it might be kept without breach of his faith vnto the Messenians: But if, by seizing vpon Ithome, He must lose all the other Castles that he held, and especially the strongest Cattle of all that was left vnto him by Antigonus, which was his credit; then were it farre better to depart with his souldiers, and keepe men in durie, as he had done hitherto, by their owne good wills, than by fortifying any strong places against them, to make them of his friends become his Enemies.

To this good aduise, Philip yeelded at the present: but not without some dislike, thenceforth growing betwene Him and the Arats, whom he thought more froward than befemed them, in contradicting his will. Neither was the old man desirous at all, to deale any longer in the Kings affaires, or be inward with him. For as hee plainly discovered his Tyrannous purposes: so likewise hee perceived, that in resorting to his house, Hee had bene displeased with his sonnes wife. He therefore staid at home: where at good leisure he might repent, that in despite of Cleomenes, his owne Countreiman, and a temperate Prince, hee had brought the Macedonians into Peloponnesus.

Philip made a Voyage out of Peloponnesus into Epirus, wherein Aratus refused to beare him company. In this iourney hee found by experience what Aratus had lately told him, That vn honest counsailes are not so profitable in deed, as in appearance. The Epirots were his followers & dependants, and so they purposed to continue. But He would needes haue them so to remaine, whether they purposed it or not. Wherefore to make them the more obnoxious vnto his Will, He seized vpon their Towne of Orjeum, and laid siege to Apollonia; hauing no good colour of these doings: but thinking himselfe strong enough to doe what hee listed, and not seeing whence they should procure friends to helpe them. Thus in stead of seiling the country, as his intended Voyage into Italy required: He kindled a fire in it which hee could neuer quench, vntill it had laid hold on his owne Palace. Whilst hee was thus labouring to binde the hands that should haue fought for him in Italy: M. Valerius the Roman came into those parts, who not onely maintained the Epirots against him, but procured the Aetolians to breake the Peace, which they had lately made with him.

Thus began that warre; the occurrences whereof wee haue related before, in the place whereto it belonged. In manning whereof though Philip did the offices of a good Captaine: yet when leisure serued, He made it apparant that he was a vicious King. He had not quite left his former desire, of oppressing the libertie of the Messenians; but made another iourney into their Countrey, with hope to decieve them, as before. They vnderstood him better now than before, and therefore were not hasty to trust him too farre. When he saw that his cunning would not serue, He went to worke by force; and calling them his Enemies, invaded them with open Warre. But in that warre hee could doe little good; perhaps, because none of his Confederates were desirous to helpe him in such an enterprise. In this attempt vpon Messene hee lost Demetrius Pharius; that was his Counsaillor and Flatterer, not his pemeiter, as appears by his growing daily more naught in following times. The worse that hee sped, the more angry hee waxed against those that seemed not to fauour his iniurious doings. Wherfore by the ministry of Taurion, his Lieutenant, hee paysoned olde Aratus; and shortly after that he paysoned also the younger Aratus: hoping that these things would neuer haue bene knowne, because they were done secretly, and the paysons themselves were more fure than manifest in operation. The Sicyonians, and all the people of Achaia, decreed vnto

*Aratus* more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, Hymnes, and Processions, to be celebrated every yeere twice, with a Priest ordained vnto him for that purpose, as was accustomed vnto the *Atrides*, for men, whom they thought to be translated into the number of the gods. Hereunto they are said to haue beene encouraged by an Oracle of *Apollon*, which is like enough to haue bene true, since the helpe of the *Demii* is neuer failing to the increase of Idolatrie.

The following memorie of *Aratus* their Patron, and singular Benefactor, could not but worke in the Achæans a marvellous dislike, of that wicked King, which had made him thus away. He shall therefore heare of this hereafter, when they better dare to take countsaile for themselves. At the present, the murder was not generally known or believed: neither were they in case to subist, without his helpe that had committed it. The *Ætolians* were a most outrageous people, great darcers, and shamelesse robbers. With these the Romans made a league, whereof the Conditions were soone divulged, especially that maine point, concerning the diuision of the purchase which they should make, namely, That the *Ætolians* should haue the country and Townes; but the Romans the spoyle, and carry away the people to sell for slaues. The Achæans, who in times of greater quiet, could not endure to make freight alliance with the *Ætolians*, as knowing their vncwill disposition; were much the more auerse from them, when they perceived how they had called in the Barbarians (for such did the Greeks account all other Nations except their owne) to make hauck of the Countrey. The same consideration moued also the Lacedæmonians, to stand off a while, before they would declare themselves for the *Ætolians*, whose friendship they had embraced in the late warre. The industry therefore of *Philop*, and the great care which he seemed to take of the Achæans his Confederates, sufficed to retaine them: especially at such time, as their owne necessitie was thereto conuient. More particularly he obliged vnto himselfe the Dymæans, by an inestimable benefit: rescouering their Towne after it had bene taken by the Romans and *Ætolians*, and redeeming their people wherefoeuer they might be found, that had been carried away Captiue, and sold abroad for slaues. Thus might he haue blotted out the memorie of offences past, if the malignitie of his naturall condition had not otherwhiles broken out, and giuen them to vnderstand, that it was the Time, and not his Vertue, which caused him to make such a shew of goodnesse. Among other foule acts, whereof hee was not ashamed; He tooke *Polyerasta* the wife of the younger *Aratus*, and carried her into Macedon: little regarding how this might serue to confirm in the people their opinion, that he was guiltie of the old mans death. But of such faults he shall be told, when the Romans make warre vpon him the second time: for, of that which hapned in this their first Inuasion, I hold it superfluous to make repetition.

## S. V.

Of *Philopœmen* Generall of the Achæans: and *Machanidas*, Tyrant of Lacedæmon. A battaile betwene them, wherein *Machanidas* is slaine.

It happens often, that the discale of one eminent man discouers the vertue of another. In the place of *Aratus* there stood vp *Philopœmen*: whose notable valour, and great skill in Armes, made the Nation of the Achæans redoubtable among all the Greeks, and carelesse of such protection, as in former times they had needed against the violence of their neighbours. This is that *Philopœmen*: who being then a young man, and hauing his command; did especial seruiceto *Antigonum* at the battaile of *Scitlast* against *Cleomenes*: Thence forward vntill now he had spent the most part of his time in the Ile of *Crete*: the Inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and seldom by either at peace betwene themselves; He bettered among them his knowledge, and practice in the Art of warre. At his returne home, Hee had charge of the Horse: wherein he carried himselfe so strictly, traunailing with all the Cities of the Confederacie, to keepe his followers well mounted, and armed at all pieces: as also he so diligently trained them vpon all exercise of seruice, that he made the Achæans very strong in that part of their Forces. Being after ward chosen Prætor or Generall of the Nation, He had no lesse care to reforme their militarie discipline throughout, whereby his Countrey might be strong enough to defend it selfe, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend vpon the helpe of others; Hee perfwaded the Achæans to cut off their vaine

expence

expence of brauery in apparell, household stuffe, and curious fare, and to bestow that cost vpon their Armes: wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by so much were they like to proue the better Souldiers, and fixable in behauiour, vnto the pride of their similitude. They had seued hitherto with little light Bucklers, and slender Darts, to cast a farre off; that were vnsuall in skirmishing at some distance, or for Surprises, or sudden and halfe expeditions, whereto *Aratus* had bene most accustomed. But when they came to handie strokes, they were good for nothing; so long as they were wholly driuen to rely vpon the courage of their Mercenaries: *Philopœmen* altered this: causing them to arming themselves more weightily, to vse a larger kind of shield, with good swords, and strong pikes, for seruice at hand. He taught them also to fight in close order, and altered the forme of their embattailing: not making the Files so deep as had bene accustomed, but extending the Front, that he might vse the seruice of many hands.

Eight moneths were spent of that year, in which he first was Prætor of the Achæans, when *Machanidas*, the tyrant of Lacedæmon caused him to maketriall, how his souldiers had profited by his discipline. This *Machanidas* was the successor vnto *Lycorgus*, a man more violent than his fore-goe. He kept in pay a strong Army of Mercenaries: and he kept them not onely to fight for Sparta, but to hold the Citie in obedience to himselfe perforce. Wherefore it behoued him not to take part with the Achæans, that were fauourers of liberty; but to strengthen himselfe by friendship of the *Ætolians*: who, in making Alliances, tooke no further notice of Vice or Vertue, than as it had reference to their own profit. The people also of Lacedæmon, through their inueterate hatred vnto the Argiues, Achæans, & Macedonians; were in like sort (all or most of them) inclinable to the *Ætolian* Faction. Very vnwisely. For in seeking to take reuenge vpon those, that had lately hindred them from getting the Lordship of Peloponnesus; they hindred themselves thereby from recouering the Matrie of their owne Citie. This affection of the Spartans, together with the regard of his own security, and no small hope of good that would follow, suffered not *Machanidas* to be idle; but alwaies made him ready to fall vpon his neighbours backs, and take of theirs what he could, whilst they were enfeebled, by greater necessity, to turne face another way: Thus had he often done; especially in the absence of *Philop*: whose sudden coming into those parts, of some other opposition made against him, had vnsuall made him faile of his attempts. At the present he was stronger in men, than were the Achæans, and thought his owne men better Souldiers than were theirs.

Whilst *Philop* theretore was busied else where, he entred the Countrey of the Mantinians: being not without hope to doe as *Cleomenes* had done before him; yea and perhaps to get the Lordship of Peloponnesus, as hauing stronger friends, and weaker opposition, than *Cleomenes* had found. But *Philopœmen* was ready to entertaine him at Mantinea; where was fought betwene them a great battaile. The Tyrant had brought into the field vpon Carriage a great many of Engines; wherewith to beat vpon the Squadrons of his Enemies, and put them in disorder. To preuent this danger, *Philopœmen* sent forth his light armature a good way before him; so as *Machanidas* was faine to doe the like. To second these, from the one & the other side came in continuall supply; till at length all the Mercenaries, both of the Achæans & of *Machanidas*, were drawn vp to the fight: being so farre aduanced, each before their owne Phalanx, that it could no otherwise be discerned which pressed forward, or which recoyled, than by rising of the dust. Thus were *Machanidas* his Engines made vsruiceable, by the interposition of his own men; in such manner as the Canon is hindred from doing execution, in most of the battailes fought in these our times. The Mercenaries of the Tyrant preuailed at length: not onely by their aduantage of number, but (as *Polybius* well obserueth) by surmounting their opposites in degree of courage; wherein vnsuall the hired souldiers of Tyrants exceed those that are waged by free States: For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant than they which liue oppressed by Tyrannie, since the one, by doing their best in fight, haue hope to acquire somewhat beneficiall to themselves, whereas the other doe fight (as it were) to assure their owne struicitude: so the Mercenaries of a Tyrant, being made partakers with him in the fruits of his prosperity, haue good cause to maintaine his quarrell as their own; whereas they that serue vnder a free State, haue no other mo-  
tuation to the manfully than their baro stipend. Further than this, When a free State hath gotten the victory: many companies (if not all) of forrein Auxiliaries are presently cast  
and

\* Excerpt. d.  
Polybi. 11.  
Philopœmen.  
Philopœmen.

and therefore such good fellows will not take much paines to bring the warre to an end. But the victory of a Tyrant, makes him stand in need of more such helpers: because that after it, he doth wrong to more, as having more subjects; and therefore stands in feare of more, that should seeke to take revenge vpon him. The stipendiaries therefore of the Achæans, being forced to giue ground, were vrged so violently in their retreat by those of *Machanidas*, that shortly they betooke themselves to flight; and could not be staid by any persuasions of *Philopemen*, but ran away quite beyond the battaile of the Achæans. This disaster had bene sufficient to take from *Philopemen* the honour of the day; had he not wisely obserued the demeanour of *Machanidas*, and found in him that error which might restore the victory. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries gaue chase vnto those that fled: leauing behind him in good order of battail his Lacedæmonians; whom he thought sufficient to deale with the Achæans, that were already disheartened by the flight of their companions. But when this his rashnesse had caried him out of fight; *Philopemen* aduanced towards the Lacedæmonians that stood before him. There lay between them a thwart the Countrey a long ditch, without water at that time; and therefore passible (as it seemed) without much difficultie, especially for Foot. The Lacedæmonians aduentured ouer it, as thinking themselves better souldiers than the Achæans; who had in a manner already lost the day. But hereby they greatly disordered their owne Battaille; and had no sooner the foremost of them recovered the further banke, than they were stoutly charged by the Achæans, who draue them headlong into the ditch againe. Their first 10 ranks being broken, all the rest beganne to shrink: so as *Philopemen* getting ouer the ditch, easily chased them out of the Field. *Philopemen* knew better how to vse his aduantage, than *Machanidas* had done: He suffered not all his Armie to disband and follow the chase: but retained with him a sufficient strength, for the custodie of a bridge that was ouer the ditch, by which he knew that the tyrant must come backe. The tyrant with his Mercenaries returning from the chase, looked very heauily when he saw what was fallen out. Yet with a lusty troupe of Horse about him, he made towards the bridge: hoping to finde the Achæans in disorder; and to set vpon their backs, as they were carelessly pursuing their victory. But when hee and his company saw *Philopemen* ready to make good the bridge against them; then began euery one to look, which way 30 he might shift for himselfe. The tyrant, with no more than two in his company, rode along the ditch side, and searched for an easie passage ouer. He was easily discovered by his purple Cassoct, & the costly trappings of his Horse. *Philopemen* therefore leauing the charge of the bridge to another, coasted him all the way as he rode; and falling vpon him at length in the ditch it selfe, as he was getting ouer it, slew him there with his own hand. There dyed in this Battaille of the Lacedæmonians side about foure thousand: and more than foure thousand were taken Prisoners. Of the Achæan Mercenaries, probable it is that the losse was not greatly cared for; since that Warre was at an end, and for their money they might hire more when they should haue need.

## §. VI.

*Philip having peace with Rome, and with all Greece, prepares against Asia. Of the Kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bythinia, and their Linages, Of the Galatians.*

**B**Y this victory the Achæans learned to thinke well of themselves. Neither needed they indeed after a while (such was their discipline, and continuall exercise) to account themselves in matter of warre inferior to any, that should haue brought against them no great odds of number. As for the Macedonian, He made no great vse of them: but when he had once concluded peace with the Romans and Attolians, he studied how to enlarge his Dominion Eastward; since the fortune of his friends the Carthaginians declined in the West. He tooke in hand many matters together, or very peereley together, and some of them dishonest: wherein if the Achæans would haue done him seruice, they must, by helping him to oppress others that neuer had wronged him, haue taught him the way how to deale with themselves. He greatly hated *Attalus* King of Pergamus, who had ioyned with the Romans and Attolians in warre against him.

This

This *Attalus*, though a king, was scarce yet a Noble-man, otherwise than as hee was ennobled by his owne, and by his Fathers vertue. His fortune beganne in *Phileterus* his Vnckle: who being giuelled, by reason of a mishap which he had when he was a child; grew afterwards thereby to be the more esteemed: as great men in those times repayed much confidence in Eunuchs, whose affections could not be obliged vnto wifes or children. He was entertained into the family of *Docimus*, a Captaine following *Antigonus* the first; and after the death of *Antigonus*, he accompanied his Master, that betooke him selfe to *Lyfimachus* King of Thrace. *Lyfimachus* had a good opinion of him; and put him in trust with his money and accomps. But when at length he stood in feare of this King, that grew a bloody Tyrant: He fled into Asia, where he seized vpon the Towne of Pergamus, and nine thousand talents belonging to *Lyfimachus*. The Towne and money, together with his owne seruice, Hee offered vnto *Seleuchus* the first, that then was ready to giue *Lyfimachus* battell. His offer was kindly accepted, but neuer performed; for that *Seleuchus* hauing slaine *Lyfimachus*, dyed shortly after himselfe, before he made vse of *Phileterus* or his money. So this Eunuch still retained Pergamus with the Country round about it; and reigned therein twenty yeeres as an absolute King. He had two brethren; of which the elder is said to haue bene a poore Carter; and the younger perhaps not much better; before such time they were raised by the fortune of this Eunuch. *Phileterus* left his Kingdome to the elder of these, or to the sonne of the elder called *Eumenes*. This *Eumenes* enlarged his kingdome; making his aduantage of the dissention, betwene *Seleuchus Calinicus* and *Antiochus* the great, the sonnes of the second *Antiochus*. He fought a battell with *Hierax*, neere vnto Sardes, and won the victory. At which time, to animate his men against the Gauls that serued vnder his Enemy, he vsed a pretty deuice. He wrote the word *Victory* vpon the hand of his Soothsayer, in such colours as would easily come off and when the hot liuer of the beast that was sacrificed, had cleanly taken the print of the letters, He published this vnto his Armie as a Miracle, plainly foreshewing that the gods would be assistant in that Battaille.

After this victory, he grew a dreadful enemy to *Seleucus*: who neuer durst attempt to recouer from him, by Warre, the Territory that he had gotten and held. Finally, 30 when he had reigned two and twenty yeeres, he died by a fustie of ouer-much drinke, and left his kingdome to *Attalus*, of whom we now treat, that was sonne vnto *Attalus* the youngest brother of *Phileterus*. *Attalus* was an vnder-taking Prince, very bountifull, and no lesse valiant. By his owne proper forces He restored his friend *Ariarathes* the Cappadocian into his kingdome, whence he had been expelled. He was grievously molested by *Achæus*: who setting vp himselfe as king against *Antiochus* the great, reigned in the lesser Asia. He was besieged in his owne City of Pergamus: but by the helpe of the Tectosage, a nation of the Gauls, whom he called ouer out of Thrace, He recovered all that he had lost. When these Gauls had once gotten footing in Asia, they neuer wanted employment: but were either entertained by some of the Princes reigning in those quarters, or interposed themselves, without iuration, and found themselves woike in quarrels of their owne making. They caused *Prusias* King of Bithynia to cease from his war against Byzantium. Whereunto when he had condescended; they neuertheless within a while after invaded his Kingdome. Hee obtained against them a great victory; and vsed it with great crueltie, sparing neither age nor sexe. But the swarme of them increasing, they occupied the Region about Hecleptus: where in seating themselves, they were much beholding vnto *Attalus*. Neuertheless, presuming afterwards vpon their strength; they forced their Neighbour Princes and Cities to pay them tribute: In the sharpe exaction whereof, they had no more respect vnto *Attalus*, than to any that had worse deferred of them. By this they compelled him to fight against them: and Hee 30 being victorious, compelled them to containe themselves within the bounds of that Province, which tooke name from them in time following, and was called Galatia. Yet continued they still to oppress the weakest of their neighbours; and to fill vp the Armes of those, that could best hyre them.

The Kings reigning in those parts, were the posterity of such, as had saued themselves and their Provinces, in the slothfull reigne of the Persians; or in the busie times of *Alexander*, and his Macedonian followers. The Cappadocians were very ancient. For the first of their line had married with *Astosa*, sister vnto the great King *Cyrus*. Their Country was taken from them by *Perdiccas*, as is shewed before. But the son of that king, whom

Perdiccas.

\*Iul. Front.  
Strab. l. 1. c. 11.

*Predicator* crucified, espying his time while the Macedonians were at ciuill warres among themselves, recovered his dominion, and passed it ouer to his off-spring. The Kings of Pontus had also their beginning from the Persian Empire, & are said to haue issued from the royall house of *Achamenes*. The Paphlagonians deriued themselves from *Pylamenes*, a king that assisted *Priamus* at the warre of Troy. These, applying themselves vnto the times, were alwaies conformable vnto the strongest. The Ancestors of *Prusias* had begun to reigne in Bythinia, some few generations before that of the great *Alexander*. They lay somewhat out of the Macedonians way: by whom therefore, hauing other employment, they were the lesse molested. *Calanus*, one of *Alexanders* Captaines, made an Expedition into their Country; where hee was vanquished. They had after-wards to doe with a Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, that madethem somewhat more humble. And thus they shuffled, as did the rest, vntill the reigne of *Prusias*, whom we haue already sometimes mentioned.

## §. VII.

*The Towne of Cios taken by Philip, at the instance of Prusias, King of Bithynia, and cruelly destroyed. By this and like actions, Philip growes hatefull to many of the Greekes: and is warred vpon by Attalus King of Pergamus, and by the Rhodians.*

**P***rusias* as aneighbour King, had many quarrels with *Attalus*; whose greatnesse he suspected, He therefore strengthened himselfe, by taking to wife the daughter of *Philip*; as *Attalus*, on the contrary side, entred into a strict Confederacie with the *Etolians*, *Rhodians*, and other of the Greekes. But when *Philip* had ended his *Etolian* warre, and was deuiuing with *Antiochus* about sharing betwene them two the Kingdome of Egypt, wherein *Ptolome Philopater* a friend vnto them both was newly dead, and had left his sonne *Ptol. Epiphanes* a yong childe his heire, the Bithynian entreated this his Father-in-law to come ouer into Asia, there to winne the Towne of the *Ciani*, and bestow it vpon him. *Prusias* had no right vnto the Towne, nor iust matter of qurell againt it: but it was fitly seated for him; and therewithall rich. *Philip* came, as one that could not well deny to helpe his Sonne-in-law. But hereby he mightily offended no small part of Greece. Embassadors came to him whilest he lay at the siege, from the *Rhodians*, and diuers other States: intreating him to forsake the enterprise. He gaue dilatorie, but otherwise gentle answers: making shew as if he would condescend to their request, when he intended nothing lesse. At length he got the Towne: where, euen in presence of the Embassadors, of whose sollicitation he had seemed to regardfull, hee omitted no part of cruelty. Hereby hee rendered himselfe odious to his neighbours, as a perfidious and cruell Prince. Especially his fact was detested of the *Rhodians*, who had made vehement intercession for the poore *Ciani*: and were aduertised by Embassadors of purpose sent vnto them from *Philip*. That, howsoeuer it were in his power to winne the Towne as soone as hee listed: yet in regard of his loue to the *Rhodians*, He was contented to giue it ouer. And by this his clemency, the Embassadors said, that he would manifest vnto the world, what slanderous tongues they were, which noyed abroad such reports, as went of his fallhood and oppression. Whilest the Embassadors were declaring at Rhodes in the Theater to this effect, there came some that made a true relation of what had hapned: shewing that *Philip* had sacked & destroyed the Town of *Cios*, and, after a cruell slaughter of the Inhabitants, had made slaues of all that escaped the sword. If the *Rhodians* tooke this in great despite, no lesse were the *Etolians* inflamed againt him: since they had sent a Captaine to take charge of the Towne; being warned before by his doings at *Lysimachia* & *Chalcedon* (which he had withdrawn from their Confederacie to his owne) what little trust was to be reposed in the faith of this king. But most of all others was *Attalus* moued with consideration of the Macedonians violent ambition, & of his owne estate. He had much to lose; and was not without hope of getting much if he could make a strong Partie in Greece. He had already, as a new king, followed the example of *Alexanders* Captaines, in purchasing with much liberality the loue of the *Athenians*, which were notable Trumpeters of other mens vertue, hauing lost their owne. On the friendship of the *Etolians* hee had cause to presume; hauing bound them vnto him by good offices, many and great, in their late warre with *Philip*. The *Rhodians* that

were

were mighty at Sea, and held very good intelligence with the Egyptians, Syrians, and many other Princes and States hee easily drew into a streight alliance with him; by their hatred newly conceived againt *Philip*.

Vpon confidence in these his friends; but most of all, in the ready assistance of the *Rhodians*, *Attalus* prepared to deal with the Macedonian by open warre. It had bene vnreasonable to procrastinate, and expect whereto the doings of the Enemy tended; since his desire to fasten vpon Asia was manifest, and his fallhood no lesse manifest, than was such his desire; They met with him shortly not farr from *Chios*, and fought with him a battaile at Sea: wherein though *Attalus* was driven to runne his owne shippe on ground, hardly escaping to land: though the Admirall of the *Rhodians* took his death's wound; and though *Philip* after the battaile tooke harbour vnder a Promontorie; by which they had fought, so that he had the gathering of the wracks vpon the shoare: Yet so far as he had suffered far greater losse of ships and men, than had the Enemy: and since he durst not in few dayes after put forth to Sea, when *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* came to braue him in his Port; the honour of the victory was adiudged to his Enemies. This notwithstanding, *Philip* afterwards beleaged and wonne some Townes in *Caria*: whether only in a brauery, and to despite his opposites; or whether vpon any hopefull desire of conquest, it is vnertain. The stratageme, by which hee wonne *Prinassus*, is worthy of noting. He attempted it by a Myne: and finding the earth so stony, that it resisted his worke, he neuertheless commanded the Pioners to make a noise vnder ground; and secretly in the night-time he raised great Mounds about the entrance of the Myne, to breed an opinion in the beleaged, that the work went maruellously forward. At length he sent word to the Towns-men, that by his vnder-mining, two acres of their wall stood onely vpon wooden proppes, to which if he gaue fire, and entred by a breach, they should expect no mercy. The *Prinassians* little thought, that he had fetcht all his earth and rubbish by night a great way off, to raise vp those heapes which they saw; but rather that all had bene extracted out of the Myne. Wherefore they suffered themselves to be out-faced, and gaue vp the Towne as lost, which the Enemy had no hope to winne by force. But *Philip* could not stay to settle himselfe in those parts. *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* were too strong for him at Sea, and compelled him to make haste back into Macedon, whither they followed him all the way in manner of pursuit.

## §. VIII.

*The Romans, after their Carthaginian warre, seeke matter of quarrell againt Philip. The Athenians vpon slight cause, proclaime warre againt Philip; moued thereto by Attalus; whom they flatter. Philip winnes diuers Townes: and makes peremptory answer to the Roman Ambassadors. The furious resolution of the Abydeni.*

**T**hese Asiaticque matters, which no way concerned the Romans, yet serued well to make a noyse in Rome; and fill the peoples heads, if not with a desire of making warre in Macedon, at least with a conceit that it were expedient so to doe. The Roman Senate was perfectly informed of the state of those Eastern Countries; and knew, that there was none other Nation than the Greeks, which lay between them and the Lordship of Asia. These Greeks were factious, and seldome or neuer at peace. As for the Macedonian, though length of time, and continuall dealings in Greece cure since the reignes of *Philip* and *Alexander*, had left no difference betwene him and the *Naturalis*; yet most of them abhorred his Dominion, because he was originally forsooth a Barbarian: many of them hated him vpon ancient quarrels: and they that had bene most beholding vnto him, were neuertheless weary of him, by reason of his personall faults. All this gaue hope, that the affaires of Greece would not long detain the Roman Armies: especially since the diuisions of the Country were such, that euery petty Estate was apt to take counsaile apart for it selfe; without much regarding the generality. But the poore Commonalty of Rome had no great affection to such a chargeable enterprise. They were already quite exhausted, by that grievous war with *Hannibal*: wherein they had giuen by Loane to the Republike, all their money: neither had they as yet receiued; neither did they receive vtill fifteene or sixteene yeeres after this, their whole summe backe againe. That part of payment also which was already made, being not in present mony, but much of it in Land: it behoued them to rest a while; and bestow the

more

more diligence in tilling their grounds, by how much they were the lesse able to bestow cost. Wherefore they took no pleasure to heare, that *Attalus* and the Rhodians had sent Embassadors to sollicite them against *Philip*, with report of his bold attempts in Asia: or that *M. Aurelius*, their Agent in Greece, had sent letters of the same tenour to the Senate, and magnified his intelligence, by setting out the preparations of this dangerous enemy, that solicited not only the Townes vpon the Continent, but all the Islands in those Seas, visiting them in person, or sending Embassadors, as one that meant shortly to hold warre with the Romans vpon their owne ground. *Philip* had indeede no such intent: neither was he much too strong either of himself, or by his alliance in Greece, to be resisted by *Attalus* and the Rhodians, especially with the helpe of the *Aetolians* their good friends, (and in a manner) his owne professed enemies. But such things must be published abroad, if onely to predispose men vnto the warre, and giue it the more honest colour.

*Philip* was a man of ill condition; and therefore could not thrive by intermedling in the affaires of those that were more mighty than himselfe. He was too vnskillfull, or otherwise too vnapt, to retaine his old friends: yet would he needs be seeking new caemices. And hee found them such, as hee deferred to haue them: for he offered his helpe to their destruction, when they were in misery, and had done him no harme. It behoued him therefore, either to haue restrained his forces to the vtmost in making warre vpon them; or in desisting from that iniurious course, to haue made amends for the wrongs so past, by doing friendly offices of his owne accord. But he, hauing broken that League of peace which is of all other the most naturall, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, vnlesse they thinke themselves iustly prouoked; was afterwards too fondly persuaded, that he might well be secure of the Romans, because of the written Couenants of peace betweene him and them. There is not any forme of oath, whereby such articles of peace can be held inuiolable, save onely \* *by the water of Styx*, that is, by *Necessitie*: which whilest it binds one partie, or both vnto performance, making it apparant, that he shall be a loser who starts from the Conditions; it may so long (and so long onely) be presumed, that there shall be no breach. Till *Hannibal* was vanquished, the Romans neuer hearkened after *Philip*: for necessity made them let him alone. But when once they had peace with Carthage, then was the River of *Stryx* dried vp: and then could they sweare as \* *Mercurie* did in the Comedie, by their owne selues, euen by their good swords, that they had good reason to make warre vpon him. The Voyage of *Scopar* into Africke, and the present warre against *Attalus*, were matter of quarrell as much as needed: or if this were not enough, the Athenians helped to furnish them with more.

The Athenians, being at this time Lords of no more than their owne barren Territory, tooke state vpon them neuertheless, as in their ancient fortune. Two yong Gentlemen of Acarnania entring into the Temple of *Ceres*, in the dayes of Initiation, (wherein were deliuered the mysteries of Religion, or rather of idolatrous superstition, vainly said to bee auailable vnto felicitie after this life) discovered themselves by some impertinent questions, to be none of those that were initiated. Hereupon they were brought before the Officers: and though it was apparant, that they came into the place by mere error, not thinking to haue therein done amiss; yet, as it had bene for some haynous crime, they were put to death. All their Country-men at home took this in ill part; and sought to reuenge it as a publike iniurie, by warre vpon the Athenians. Procuring therefore of *Philip* some Macedonians to help them, they entred into Attica: who wasted it with fire and sword, and carried thence a great booty. This indignitie stirred vp the high-minded Athenians; and made them thinke vpon doing more, than they had ability to performe. All which at the present they could doe, was to send Embassadors to king *Attalus*; gratulating his happy successe against *Philip*, and intreating him to visit their Citie. *Attalus* was hereto the more willing; because hee vnderstood that the Roman Embassadors, hovering about Greece for matter of intelligence, had a purpose to be there at the same time. So he went thither, accompanied, besides his owne followers, with some of the Rhodians. Landing in the Piræus, he found the Romans there, with whom hee had much friendly conference: they reioicing that he continued enemy to *Philip*; & He being no lesse glad, when he heard of their purpose to renew the war. The Athenians came out of their Citie, all the Magistrates, Priests, and Citizens, with their wiues and children; in as solemn a pompe as they could deuise, to meet and honour the King. They catertained the

\* *Sir Fr. Bacon* de sap. Veterum.

\* *Plaut. Aul. phila.*

the Romans that were with him, in very louing manner: but towards *Attalus* himselfe they omitted no point of obseruance, which their flattery could suggest. At his first comming into the Citie they called the people to Assembly: wherethey desired him to honour them with his presence, and let them heare him speake. But he excused himselfe, saying, That with an euill grace he should recount vnto them those many benefits, by which hee studied to make them know what loue he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit, that hee should deliuer in writing, what he would haue to be propounded. He did so. The points of his Declaration were; first, what he had willingly done for their sake: then, what had lately passed betweene him and *Philip*; lastly, an exhortation vnto them, to declare themselves against the Macedonian, whilest hee with the Rhodians, and the Romans, were willing & ready to take their part: which if they now refused to doe, he protested, that afterwards it would be vaine to craue his helpe. There needed little intreatie: for they were as willing to proclaim the warre, as he to desire it. As for other matters, they loaded him with immoderate honours; and obtained, That vnto the ten Tribes, whereof the body of their Citizens consisted, should be added another, and called after his name; as if he were in part one of their Founders. To the Rhodians they also decreed a Crowne of Gold, in reward of their vertue; and made all the Rhodians free Citizens of Athens.

This began a great noyle of warre, wherein little was left vnto the Romans for their part; *Attalus* and the Rhodians taking all vpon them. But while these were vainly mispending the time, in seeking to draw the *Aetolians* to their partie; that contrary to their old manner were glad to be at quiet: *Philip* wonne the Townes of Maronea and *Aenus*, with many other strong places about the Hellespont. Likewise passing ouer the Hellespont, he laid siege vnto Abydus; and wonne it, though he was faine to stay there long. The towne held out, rather vpon an obstinate resolution, and hope of succour from *Attalus* and the Rhodians, than any great ability to defend it selfe against so mighty an Enemy. But the Rhodians sent thither onely one *Quadrivene* Gallie; and *Attalus* no more than three hundred men; farre too weak an aide to make good the place. The Roman Embassadors wondred much at this great negligence, of them that had taken so much vpon them.

These Embassadors *C. Claudius*, *M. Emilius*, and *P. Sempronius*, were sent vnto *Ptolomee* Euerghanes king of Egypt, to acquaint him with their victory against *Hannibal* and the Carthaginians; as also to thank him for his fauour vnto them shewed in that war; and to desire the continuance thereof; if they should need it against *Philip*. This Egyptian king was now in the third or fourth yeere of his Reigne, which (as his Father *Philopater* had done before him) hee beganne a very yong boy. The courtelie for which the Romans were to thanke him, was, that out of Egypt they had lately bene supplied with Corne, in a time of Extreame Dearth; when the miseries of War had made all their owne Prouinces vnable to relieue them. This message could not but bee welcome to the Egyptian: since it was well knowne, how *Philip* and *Antiochus* had combined themselves against him, conspiring to take away his Kingdome. And therefore it might in reason be hoped, that he, or his Councell for him, should offer to supply the Romans with Corne: since this their Macedonian Expedition concerned his Estate no lesse than theirs.

But as the errand was for the most part complementall: so had the Embassadors both leasure and direction from the Senate, to looke vnto the things of Greece by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that *M. Emilius*, the yongest of them should stoppe aside, & visite *Philip*, to try if he could make him leaue the siege of Abydus; which else hee was like to carry. *Emilius*, comming to *Philip*, tels him, that his doings are contrary to the League that he had made with the Romans. For *Attalus* and the Rhodians, vpon whom he made warre, were Confederate with Rome; and the towne of Abydus, which he was now besieging, had a kind of dependencie vpon *Attalus*. Hereto *Philip* answered, That *Attalus* and the Rhodians had made warre vpon him; and that he did onely require them with the like. Doe you also (said *Emilius*) requite these poore *Athyacis* with such terrible warre, for any the like Inuasion by them first made vpon you? The King was angry to heare himselfe thus taken short: and therefore hee roundly made answer to *Emilius*; It is your youth, Sir, and your beautie, and (about all) your being a Roman, that maketh you thus presumptuous. But I would wish you

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to remember the League that ye have made with me, and to keepe it: if ye doe otherwise, I will make ye vnderstand, that the Kingdome, and Name of Macedon is in matter of warre, no lesse noble than the Roman. So he dismissed the Embassador; and had the Towne immediately yielded to his discretion. The people had entertained a resolution, to haue died e- uery one of them, and set their Towne on fire; binding themselves hereto by a feare- full oath, when Philip denied to accept them vpon reasonable Conditions. But hauing in desperate fight, once repelling him from the Breach, lost the greatest number of their Youth: it was thought meet by the Governours and Ancients of the Citie to change this resolution, and take such peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their Gold and Silver to Philip: about which whilst they were busie, the memory of their oath wrought so effectually in the younger sort; that, by exhortation of their Priests, they fell to murdering their women, children, and themselves. Hereof the King had so little compassion, that He said, he would grant the *Abydeni* three dayes leasure to die: and to that end forbade his men to enter the town; or hazard themselves in interrupting the violence of those mad fooles.

## §. IX.

The Romans decre warre against Philip, and send one of their Consuls into Greece, as it were in defence of the Athenians their Confederates. How poore the Athenians were at this time both in quality and estate.

His calamity of the *Abydeni*, was likened by the Romans vnto that of the *Saguntines*: which indeed it neerely resembled; though Rome was not alike interested in the quarrell. But to helpe themselves with pretence for the warre, they had found out another *Saguntum*, euen the Citie of Athens: which if the Macedonian should winne, then rested there no more to doe, than that hee should presently imbarke himselfe for Italie; whither he would come, not as *Hannibal* from *Saguntum* in five months, but in the short space of five dayes sayling. Thus *P. Sulpitius* the Consul told the multitude, when he exhorted them to make warre vpon Philip; which at his first propounding they had denied. The example of *Pyrhus* was by him alledg- ed; to shew, what Philip, with the power of a greater kingdome, might dare to vnder- take: as also the fortunate Voyage of *Scipio* into *Africa*, to shew the difference of making warre abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their owne Country. By such argu- ments was the Commonalty of Rome induced to beleue, that this war with the Macedo- nian was both iust and necessary. So it was decreed: and immediately the same Con- sul hastened away towards Macedon, hauing that Prouince allotted vnto him before; & all things in a readinesse, by order from the Senate; who followed other Motiues, than the people must be acquainted with. Great thanks were giuen to the Athenian Embassa- dors, of their constancie (as was said) in not changing their faith at such times as they stood in danger of being besieged. And indeed great thanks were due to them, though not vpon the same occasion. For the people of Rome had no cause to thinke it a benefit vnto themselves, that any Greeke Town, refusing to sue vnto the Macedonian for peace, requested their helpe against him. But the Senate intending to take in hand the Con- quest of the Easterne parts, had reason to giue thanks vnto those, that ministered the occasion. Since therefore it was an vntrue suggestion, That Philip was making readie for Italie: and since neither *Attalus*, the Rhodians, nor any other State in those quarters, desired the Romans to giue them protection: these busie-headed Athenians, who falling out with the *Acarnanians*, and consequently with Philip, a matter of *May-game*, (as was shewed before) sent Embassadors into all parts of the World, euen to *Ptolemy* of Egypt, and to the Romans, as well as to *Attalus* and others their neighbors; must be accepted as cause of the warre, and Authors of the benefit thence redounding.

Neuertheless as it looses to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence: the doings of *P. Sulpitius* the Consul were such, as might haue argued Athens to be the least part of his care. He failed not about Peloponnesus, but tooke the ready way to Macedon, and Landing about the Riuer of *Apfus*, betwene *Dyrrachium* & *Apollonia*, there began the Warre. Soone vpon his comming, the Athenian Embassadors were with him, and craved his helpe: whereof they could make no benefit whilst hee was farre from them. They bemoaned themselves as men besieged, and intreated him to deliuer them.

them. For which cause he sent vnto them *C. Claudius* with twenty gallies, and a compe- tent number of men: but the maine of his forces hee retained with him, for the prole- quution of a greater deligne. The Athenians were not indeed besieged: onely some Ra- uers from Chalcis, in the Ile of *Euboea*, and some bands of aduenturers out of Corinth, vied to take their shippes and spoyle their fields, because they had declared themselves against King Philip, that was Lord of the two townes: The robberies done by these Pyrats and Free-booters, were by the more eloquent than war-like Athenians, in the declining Age of their Fortune and Vertue, called a Siege. From such detriment the arriual of *Claudius*, and shortly after of three Rhodian Gallies, easily preserued them. As for the Athenians themselves, they that had been wont, in ancient times, to vndertake the con- quests of Egypt, Cyprus, and Cilic; to make war vpon the great Persian King, and to hold so much of Greece in subiection, as made them redoubtable vnto all the rest; had now no more than three shippes, and those open ones, not much better than long boates. Yet thought they not themselves a whit the worse men, but stood as highly vpon the glory and vertue of their Ancestors, as if it had been still their owne.

## §. X.

The Towne of Chalcis in Euboea, taken and sackt by the Romans and their Associates, that lay in Garrison at Athens. Philip attempteth to take Athens by surprise: wasteth the Coun- try about, and makes a iourney into Peloponnesus. Of Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedemon, and his wife. Philip offers to make warre against Nabis for the Achaeans. He returneth home through Attica, which he spoyleth againe: and prouides against the Enemies. Some exploits of the Romans. Diuers Princes ioyne with them. Great labouring to draw the *Ætolians* in- to the warre.

Philip returning home from Abydus, heard newes of the Roman Consul his being about Apollonia. But ere he stirred forth to giue him entertainment, or perhaps before hee had well resolved, whether it were best a while to sit still, and trie what might be done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make opposition, and resist these Inuaders with all his forces: he receiued aduertisement from Chalcis of a grievous mishap there befallen him, by procurement of the Athenians. For *C. Claudius* with his Romans, finding no such worke at Athens as they had expected, or was answer- able to the fame that went abroad, purposed to doe somewhat that might quicken the warre, and make his owne employment better. Hee grew soone weary of sitting as a Scare-crow, to sue the Athenians grounds from spayle; and therefore gladly tooke in hand a businesse of more importance. The town of Chalcis was very negligently guarded by the Macedonian Souldiers therein, for that there was no Enemy at hand; and more negligently by the Townes-men, who reposed themselves vpon their Garri- son. Hereof *Claudius* hauing aduertisement, sailed thither by night, for feare of being descryed: and arriuing there a little before breake of day, tooke it by Scalado. Hee killed no mercy, but slew all that came in his way: and warning men to keepe it, (vnlesse he should haue left the heartlesse Athenians to their owne defence) Hee set it on fire; consuming the Kings Magazines of Corne, and all provisions for Warre, which were plentifully filled. Neither wore He and his Associates contented with the great abund- ance of spoyle which they carried about their shippes, & with inlarging all those, whom Philip as in a place of most securitie, kept there imprisoned: but, to shew their despight and hatred vnto the King, they oustrewed and brake in pieces the Stewages to him there erected. This done, they hastened away towards Athens: where the newes of their exploit was like to be joyfully welcomed. The King lay then at Demetrias about some twenty miles thence; whether when these tidings, or part of them, were brought him, though he saw that it was too late to remedie the matter; yet he made all haile to take reuenge. He thought to haue taken the Athenians, with their trusty friends, busie at worke in ran- sacking the towne, and loading themselves with spoyle: but they were gone before his comming. Five thousand light-armed foot hee had with him, and three hundred horse: whereof leauing at Chalcis onely a few to bury the dead, hee marched from thence away speedily toward Athens: thinking it not vnpossible to take his enemies, in the joy of their Victory, as full of negligence, as they had taken Chalcis. Neither had he much failed of his expectation, if a Foot-post than good Scout, for the Citie vpon the borders, had not descryed him a farre off, and swiftly carried word of his approach



to Athens. It was mid-night when this Post came thither: who found all the Towne asleepe, as fearelesse of any danger. But the Magistrates, hearing his report, caused a trumpet out of their Cittadell to sound the Alarme, and with all speede made ready for defence. Within a few houres *Philip* was there: who seeing the many lights, and other signes of busie preparation vsuall in such a case, vnderstood that they had newes of his coming; and therefore willed his men, to repose themselves till it were day. It is like, that the paucitie of his followers did helpe well to animate the Citizens, which beheld them from the walls. Wherefore though *Clandius* were not yet returned (who was to fetch a compassse about by sea, and had no cause of haste) yet hauing in the towne some mercenarie Souldiers, which they kept, of their owne, besides the great multitude of citizens, they aduised to issue forth at a gate, whereto they saw *Philip* make approach. The king was glad of this; reckoning all those his owne, that were thus hardie. Hee therefore onely willed his men to follow his example; and presently gaue charge vpon them. In that fight hee gaue singular prooffe of his valour: and beating downe many of the Enemies with his owne hands, draue them with great slaughter backe into the citie. The heat of his courage transported him further, than discretion would haue allowed, euen to the very gate. But he retired without harmetaking; for that they which were vpon the Towers ouer the gate, could not vse their casting weapons against him, without much indangering their owne people that were thronging before him into the city. There was a Temple of *Hercules*, a place of exercise, with a Groue, and many goodly Monuments besides, neere adioyning vnto Athens: of which he spared none, but suffered the rage of his anger to extend, euen vnto the sepulchres of the dead. The next day came the Romans, and some Companies of *Attalus* his men from *Egina*; too late in regard of what was already past: but in good time to prevent him of satisfying his anger to the full, which as yet he had not done. So he departed from thence to Corinth, and hearing that the Achæans held a Parliament at Argos, Hee came thither to them vnexpected.

The Achæans were desiring vpon warre: which they intended to make against *Nabis* the Tyrant of Lacedæmon: who being started vp in the room of *Machaniadas*, did greater mischief than any that went before him. This Tyrant relied wholly vpon his mercenaries: and of his subiects had no regard. He was a cruell oppressor; a greedy extortioner vpon those that liued vnder him: and one that in his natural condition smelt rankly of the Hangman. In these qualities, his wife *Apaga* was very fitly matched with him, since his dexteritie was no greater in spoyling the men, than hers in fleecing their wives; whom she would neuer suffer to beeat quiet, till they had presented her with all their jewels and apparell. Her husband was so delighted with her propertie, that hee caused an Image to be made, liuely representing her; & apparelled it with such costly garments as she vsed to wear. But it was indeed an Engine, seruing to torment men. Heereof hee made vse, when he meant to trie the vertue of his Rhetorick. For calling vnto him some rich man, of whose money he was desirous; hee would bring him into the room where this Counterfait *Apaga* stood, and there vse all his art of perswasion, to get what he desired, as it were by good will. If he could not so speed, but was answered with excuses, then heeooke her the refractory denier by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his Wife *Apaga* (who sate by in a Chaire) could perswade more effectually. So hee ledde him to the Image, that rose vp and opened the armes, as it were for imbracement. Those armes were full of sharpe yron nayles, the like whereof was also sticking in the breasts, though hidden with her clothes: and herewith she griped the poore wretch, to the pleasure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his cruell death. Such, and worse (for it were long to tell all here that is spoken of him) was *Nabis* in his Governement. In his dealings abroad hee combined with the *Ætolians*, as *Machaniadas* and *Iphicrates* had done before him. By these he grew into acquaintance with the Romans; and was comprehended in the League which they made with *Philip*, at the end of their former warre. Of *Philopemenus* vertue he stood in feare; and therefore durst not prouoke the Achæans, as long as they had such an able Commander. But when *Cycliades*, a farre worse Capitaine, was their Prætor; and all, or the greatest part of their Mercenaries were discharged; *Philopemenus* being also gone into Crete, to follow his beloued occupation of Warre; then did *Nabis* fall vpon their Territory; and wasting all the fields, made them distrust their own safetie in the Townes.

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Against this Tyrant the Achæans were preparing for warre, when *Philip* came among them; and had let downe, what proportion of Souldiers euery Citie of their Corporation should furnish out. But *Philip* willed them, not to trouble themselves with the care of this businesse; forasmuch as he alone would ease them of this warre, and take the burden vpon himselfe. With exceeding ioy and thanks they accepted of this kinde offer. But then he told them, That, whilst he made warre vpon Lacedæmon, He ought not to leaue his owne Townes vnguarded. In which respect he thought they would be pleased, to send a few men to Corinth, & some Companies into the Ile of Eubœa; that so he might securely pursue the warre against *Nabis*. Immediately they found out his denice; which was none other, than to engage their Nation in his warre against the Romans: Wherefore their Prætor *Cycliades* made him answer, That their Lawes forbade them to conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than those for which it was assembled. So passing the Decree, vpon which they had agreed before, for preparing warre against *Nabis*, he brake vp the Assembly, with euery mans good liking; whereas in former times, he had bene thought no better than one of the Kings Parasites.

It grieved the King to haue thus failed in his purpose with the Achæans. Neuertheless he gathered vp among them a few Voluntaries; and so returned by Corinth backe into Attica. There he met with *Philocrates* one of his Captaines, that with two thousand men had bene doing what harme he might vnto the Countrey. With this addition of strength, he attempted the Castle of Eleusine, the Haven of Pyrcus, and euen the citie of Athens. But the Romans made such haste after him by Sea, thrusting themselves into euery of these places; that he could no more than wreake his anger vpon those goodly Temples, with which the Land of Attica was at that time singularly beautified. So hee destroyed all the works of their notable Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble; which they had in plenty, of their owne; or, hauing long agoe bene masters of the Sea, had brought from other places, where best choyce was found. Neither did he onely pull all downe: but caused his men to breake the very stones, that they might be vsueruiceable to their reparation. His losse at Chalcis being thus reuenged vpon Athens, hee went home into Macedon: & there made prouision, both against the Roman Consul that lay about Apollonia; and against the Dardanians, with other his bad neighbors, which were likely to infect him. Among his other cares he forgot not the *Ætolians*: to whose Parliament, shortly to be held at Naupactus, he sent an Embassage, requesting them to continue in his friendship. Thus was *Philip* occupied.

*Sulpicius* the Roman Consul encamped vpon the Riuer of Apfus. Thence hee sent forth *Apustius*, his Lieutenant, with part of the Army, to waste the borders of Macedon: *Apustius* tooke sundry Castles and Townes, vsing such extremity of sword and fire at Antipatria, the first good Towne which hee wonne by force, that none durst afterwards make resistance, vnlesse they knew themselves able to hold out. Returning towards the Consul with his spoyle, he was charged in Rere, vpon the passage of a brooke, by *Athenagoras* a Macedonian capitaine: but the Romans had the better, & killing many of these enemies, tooke prisoners many more; to the increase of their booty, with which they arriued in safety at their camp. The successe of this Expedition, though it were not great, yet serued to draw into the Roman friendship, those that had formerly no good inclination to the Macedonian. These were *Pleuratus*, the son of *Scordilaidas* the Illyrian: *Aminander* King of the Athamanians, and *Bato* the sonne of *Longarus*, a Prince of the Dardanians. They offered their assistance vnto the Consul, who thanked them: and said, That he would shortly make vse of *Pleuratus* and *Bato*, when hee entred into Macedon: but that the friendship of *Aminander*, whose Country lay betwene the *Ætolians* and the Thessalies, might be perhaps auailable with the *Ætolians*, to stirre them vp against *Philip*.

So the present care was wholly set vpon the *Ætolian* Parliament at hand. Thither came Embassadors from the Macedonian, Romans, & Athenians. Of which the Macedonian spake first, and said: That as there was nothing fallen out, which should occasion the breach of peace betwene his master and the *Ætolians*: so was it to be hoped, that they would not suffer themselves, without good cause, to be caried away after other mens fancies. He prayed them to consider, how the Romans heretofore had made shew, as if their warre in Greece tended only to the defence of the *Ætolians*, and yet notwithstanding had been angry, that the *Ætolians*, by making peace with *Philip*, had no longer

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need of such their Patronage. What might it be that made them so busie, in obtruding their protection vpon those that needed it not? Surely it was euen the generall hatred, which these Barbarians bore vnto the Greeks. For euen after the same sort had they lent their help to the Mamertines: and afterwards deliuered Syracuse, when it was oppressed by Carthaginian tyrants, but now both Syracuse & Messina, were subiect vnto the Rods and Axes of the Romans. To the same effect he alledged many examples; adding, That in like sort it would happen to the Aetolians: who if they drew such masters into Greece, must not looke hereafter to hold, as now, free Parliaments of their owne, wherein to consult about Warre and Peace: the Romans would ease them of this care, & send them such a Moderator, as went euery yeere from Rome to Syracuse. Wherefore he concluded, that it was best for them, whilst as yet they might, and whilst one of them as yet could helpe the other, to continue in their League with *Philip*: with whom if at any time, vpon light occasion, they happened to fall out, they might as lightly be reconciled: and with whom they had three yeeres ago made the peace which still continued, although that the very same Romans wereth. against it, who sought to breake it now. It would haue troubled the Romans, to frame a good answer to these obiections. For the Macedonian had spoken the very truth, in shewing wherunto this their Patronage, which they offered with such importunitie, did tend. Wherefore the Athenians were set on by them to speake next: who had store of eloquence, and matter of reerimination enough, to make *Philip* odious. These affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the Macedonian Embassadour, to call the Romans by the name of Barbarians: knowing in what barbarous manner his owne king had, in few daies past, made Warre vpon the gods themselves, by destroying all their Temples in Attica. Herewithall they made a pittifull rehearsal of their owne calamities: and said, that if *Philip* might haue his will, Aetolia, and all the rest of Greece, should feele the same that Attica had felt; yea that Athens it selfe, together with *Atinerna*, *Imbra*, *Ceres*, and other of the gods, were like to haue felt, if the walles and the Roman armes had not defended them.

Then spake the Romans: who excusing, as well as they could, their owne oppression of all those, in whose defence they had heretofore taken Armes, went roundly to the point in hand. They said, that they had of late made Warre in the Aetolians behalfe, and that the Aetolians had without their consent made peace: whereof since the Aetolians must excuse themselves, by alledging that the Romans, being busied with Carthage, wanted leisure to giue them aide conuenient: so this excuse being now taken away, and the Romans wholly bent against their common Enemy, it concerned the Aetolians to take part with them in their war and victory, vnlesse they had rather perish with *Philip*.

It might easily be perceived, that they which were so vehement, In offering their help ere it was desired, were themselves carried vnto the warre by more earnest motives, than a simple desire to helpe those friends, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may haue been the cause, why *Dorymachus* the Aetolian Prator shifted them off awhile with a dilatorie answer: though he told his Country-men, That by reseruing themselves, till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with those it had the better fortune. His answer was, first, in generall termes; That ouermuch haste was an enemy to good counsaile: for which cause they must further deliberate, ere they concluded. But coming neerer to the matter in hand, Hee passed a Decree, That the Prator must at anytime call an Assembly of the States, and therein conclude upon that business, any Law to the contrary notwithstanding: whereas otherwise it was vnlawfull to treat of such affaires, excepting two of their great Parliaments, that were held at set times.

## §. XI.

The meeting of *Philip* with the Romans, and skirmishing with them on his borders. The Aetolians renade his dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of *Attalus* and the Romans else.

*Philip* was glad to heare, that the Romans had sped no better in their sollicitation of the Aetolians. Hee thought them hereby disappointed in the very beginning, of one great helpe; and meant himselfe to disappoint them of another. His sonne *Perseus*, a very boy, was sent to keepe the Streights of Pelagonia against the Dardani-ans;

Dardani-ans; hauing with him some of the Kings Councell, to gouerne both him and his Army. It was iudged, as may seeme, that the presence of the Kings sonne, how yong-fower, would both encourage his followers, and terrifie the enemies, by making them at least beleue, that hee was not weakely attended. And this may haue bene the reason, why the same *Perseus*, a few yeeres before this, was in like manner left vpon the borders of Aetolia by his father; whom earnest businesse called thence another way. No danger of enemies being left on either hand: it was thought, that the Macedonian Fleet vnder *Heraclides*, would serue to keepe *Attalus*, with the Rhodians and Romans, from doing harme by Sea, when the Kings backe was turned; who tooke his journey Westward against *Sulpicius* the Consul.

The Armes met in the Countrey of the *Deffaretij*, a people in the vtmost borders of Macedon towards Illyria, about the mountaines of Candavia; that running along from Haemus in the North vntill they ioine in the South with Pindus, inclose the Westerne parts of Macedon. Two or three dayes they lay in fight the one of the other, without making offer of battaile. The Consul was the first that issued forth of his Campe into the open field. But *Philip* was not confident in the strength which hee had then about him; and therefore thought it better to send forth some of his light-armed Mercenaries, and some part of his horse, to entertaine them with skirmish. These were easily vanquished by the Romans, and driuen backe into their Campe. Now although it was so, that the king was vnwilling to hazard all at first vpon a Cast, and therefore sent for *Perseus* with his Companies, to increase his owne forces: yet being no lesse vnwilling to lose too much in reputation; He made shew a day after, as if he would haue fought. Hee had found the aduantage of a place fit for ambuill, wherein hee bestowed as many as hee thought meet of his Targettiers: and so gaue charge to *Athenagoras*, one of his Captains to prouoke out the Romans to fight, instructing both him and the Targettiers, how to behaue themselves respectiue, as opposunitie should fall out. The Romans had no mistrust of any ambuill, hauing fought vpon the same ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might haue sustained some notable detriment, if the kings directions had bene well followed. For when *Athenagoras* began to fall backe, they charged him so hotly, that they deaue him to an hasty flight, and pursued him as hard as they were able, but the Captaines of the Targettiers, not staying to let them runne into the danger, dis-couered themselves before it was time, and thereby made frustrate the worke, to which they were appointed. The Consul hereby gathered, that the king had some desire to trie the fortune of a battaile: which he therefore presented the second time; leading forth his Army, and setting it in order, with Elephants in the front: a kinde of help which the Romans had neuer vsed before, but had taken these of late from the Carthaginians. Such are the alterations wrought by Time. It was scarce about foure score yeeres ere this, that *Pyrrhus* carried Elephants out of Greece into Italy, to assaile the Romans, who had neuer seene any of those beasts before. But now the same Romans (whilst possibly some were yet aliue, which had known that Expedition of *Pyrrhus*) came into Macedon, bringing Elephants with them: whereof the Macedonians and Greeks haue none. *Philip* had patience to let the Consul braue him at his Trenches: wherein he did wisely: for the Roman had greater need to fight, than Hee. *Sulpicius* was vnwilling to lose time: neither could he, without great danger, lying so neere the Enemy, that was strong in Horse, send his men to fetch in come out of the fields. Wherefore he remoued eight miles off: presuming that *Philip* would not adventure to meet him on euery ground; and so the more boldly hee suffered his Forragers to ouer-runne the Countrey. The king was nothing sorry of this; but permitted the Romans to take their good pleasure: euen till their presumption, and his owne supposed feare, should make them carelesse. When this was come to passe, hee tooke all his horse, and light-armed foot, with which hee occupied a place in the mid-way, betweene the Forragers and their Campe. There hee stayed in Court with part of his forces; to keepe the passages that none should escape. The rest he sent abroad the Countrey, to fall vpon the straglers: willing them to put all to the sword, and let none run home with newes to the Campe. The slaughter was great: and those which escaped the hands of them that were sent abroad to scowre the fields, lighted all or most of them vpon the king and his companies in their flight: soas they were cut off by the way. Long it was ere the Campe had newes of this. But in the end there escaped some: who though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter went:

went: yet by telling what had happened to themselves, raised a great tumult. *Sulpicius* hereupon sends forth all his horse, and bids them helpe their fellowes where they saw it needfull: He himselfe with the Legions followed. The companies of Horse diuided themselves, accordingly as they met with aduertisements vpon the way, into many parts: not knowing where was most of the danger. Such of them as lighted vpon *Philips* Troupes, that were caualling the field, tooke their task where they found it: But the maine bulke of them fell vpon the King himselfe. They had the disauantage; as coming fower, and vnprepared, to one that was ready for them. So they were beaten away: as their fellowes also might haue beene, if the King had well bethought himselfe, and giuen ouer in time. But while, not contented with such an haruest, he was too greedily about a poore gleane; the Roman Legions appeared in fight: which emboldened their horse to make a re-charge. Then the danger apparant, enforced the Macedonians to looke to their owne safetie. They ran which way they could: and (as men that lie in waite for others, are feldome heedfull of that which may befall themselves) to escape, the Enemy, they declined the fairest way; so as they were plunged in *Marthes* and *Bogges*, wherein many of them were lost. The Kings horse was slaine vnder him: and there had hee bene cast away, if a louing subiect of his had not alighted; mounted him vpon his owne horse; and deliuered him out of perill, at the expence of his owne life, that running on foot was ouertaken and killed.

In the common opinion *Philip* was charged with improuident rashnes; and the Consul, with as much dullnesse, for his dayes seruice. A little longer stay would haue deliuered the king from these enemies without any blow: since when all the fields about them were wasted, they must needs haue retired backe to the Sea. On the other side, it was not thought vnlikely, That if the Romans following the king, had set vpon his Campe, at such time as hee fled thither, halfe amazed with feare of being either slaine or taken, they might haue wonne it. But that Noble Historian, *Lince*, (as is commonly his manner) hath iudiciously obserued, That neither the one, nor the other, were much too blame in this dayes worke. For the maine body of the Kings Armie lay safe in his Campe; and could not be so astonished with the losse of two or three hundred Horse, that it should therefore haue abandoned the defence of the Trenches. And as for the King himselfe, he was aduertised, that *Pleuratus* the Illyrian, and the Dardanians, were fallen vpon his Countrey; when they found the passage therinto open, after *Perseus* was called away from custody of the Streights. This was it which made him aduerture to doe somewhat betimes; that he might let the Romans going the sooner, and afterwards looke vnto his troublesome neighbours. In consideration of this, *Philip* was desirous to cleere himselfe of the Romans, as soone as he might. And to that purpose hee sent vnto the Consul; requesting a day of truce for buriall of the dead. But in stead of so doing, he marched away by night, and left fires in his Camp to beguile the enemy, as if he had not stirred out of the place. *Sulpicius*, when he heard of the Kings departure, was not slow to follow him. He ouertook the Macedonians in a place of strength, which they had fenced (for it was a woody ground) by cutting downe trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was most open. In making of such places good, the Macedonian *Phalanx* was of little vse; being a square battell of pikes, not fit for euery ground. The Archers of Crete were iudged, and were indeed, more seruiceable in that case. But they were few, and their arrows were of small force against the Roman shields. The Macedonians therefore helped them by flinging of stones. But to no purpose. For the Romans got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This victory (such as it was) layd open vnto the Consul some poore Townes thereabout; which partly were taken by strong hand, partly yeelded for feare. But the spoyle of these, and of the fields adioyning, was not sufficient to maintaine his Army; and therefore he returned backe to Apollonia.

The Dardanians, hearing that *Philip* was come backe, withdrew themselves apace out of the Countrey. The King sent *Athenagoras* to waite vpon them home, whilst he himselfe went against the *Ætoliens*. For *Damocritus* the Prator of the *Ætoliens*, who had reserved himselfe and his Nation vnto the euent of things, hearing report, that *Philip* was beaten once & againe; as also that *Pleuratus* & the Dardanians were fallen vpon Macedonia; grew no lesse busie on the sudden, than before he had bene wile. He perswaded his Nation to take their time: and so, not staying to proclaime warre, ioyned his forces with *Antimander* the Athamian; and made inuasion vpon Thessaly. They tooke and

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cruelly sacked a few Townes: whereby they grew confident; as if, without any danger, they might doe what they listed. But *Philip* came vpon them ere they looked for him: and killing them as they lay dispersed, was like to haue taken their Camp; if *Aminander*, more warie than the *Ætoliens*, had not helped at need, and made the Retreat through his owne mountainous Countrey.

About the same time; the Roman Fleet, assisted by *Attalus* and the Rhodians, had taken some small Islands in the *Ægean Sea*. They tooke likewise the Towne of *Oreum* in the Isle of *Eubœa*; and some other places thereabout. The Townes were giuen vnto *Attalus*, after the same Compact that had formerly bene made with the *Ætoliens*: the goods therein found were giuen vnto the Romans; and the people, for slaues. Other attempts on that side were hindered; either by foule weather at Sea; or by want of daring, and of meanes.

### §. XII.

*Villius the Roman Consul wastes a yeere to no effect, in warre of the Gaules in Italy. An Embassie of the Romans to Carthage, Masaniissa, and Vermina. The Macedonian prepares for defence of his Kingdome: and T. Quintus Flamininus is sent against him.*

Thus the time ranne away: and *P. Villius* a new Consul, tooke charge of the warre in Macedonia. He was troubled with a Mutinie of his oldest Souldiers: whereof two thousand, hauing serued long in Sicil and Africk, thought themselves much wronged, in that they could not bee suffered to looke vnto their owne estates at home. They were (belike) of the Legions that had serued at Cannæ: as may seeme by their complaint, of hauing bene long absent from Italy; whither faine they would haue returned, when by their Colonels they were shipped for Macedonia. How *Villius* dealt with them, it is vncertaine. For the History of this yeere is lost: whereof the misse is not great, since he did nothing memorable. *Valerius Antius*, as we finde in *Lince*, hath adorned this *Villius* with a great exploit against *Philip*. Yet since *Lince* himselfe, an Historian to whom few of the best are matchable, could finde no such thing recorded in any good Author; we may reasonably beleuee, that *Villius* his yeere was idle.

In the beginning of this Macedonian War, the Romans found more trouble than could haue bene expected with the Gaules. Their Colonie of *Placentia*, a goodly and strong Towne, which neither *Hannibal*, nor after him *Asdrubal*, had bene able to force, was taken by these Barbarians, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like sort *Cremona* was attempted; but saued her selfe, taking warning by her neighbours calamitie. *Amilcar* a Carthaginian, that staid behinde *Asdrubal*, or *Mago*, in those parts; was now become Captaine of the Gaules, in these their enterprises. This when the Romans heard, they sent Embassadors to the Carthaginians: giuing them to vnderstand, That, if they were not wearie of the peace, it behooued them to call home, and deliuer vp, this their Citizen *Amilcar*, who made war in Italy. Hereunto it was added (perhaps lest the message might seeme otherwise to haue fauoured a little of some feare) That of the Fugitiue Slaues belonging to the Romans, there were some reported to walke vp and downe in Carthage: which if it were so, then ought they to be restored backe to their Masters; as was conditioned in the late Peace. The Embassadors that were sent on this errand, had further charge to treat with *Masaniissa*, as also with *Vermina* the sonne of *Syphax*. Vnto *Masaniissa*, besides matter of complement, they were to signifie what pleasure hee might doe them, by lending them some of his Numidian Horse, to serue in their Warre against the Macedonian. *Vermina* had entreated the Senate, to vouchsafe vnto him the name of King; and promised thereafter to deserue it, by his readinesse in doing them all good offices. But they were somewhat scrupulous in the matter: and said, That hauing bene, and being still (as they tooke it) their Enemy, He ought first of all to desire peace; for that the name of King, was an honour which they vsed not to conferre vpon any, saue onely vpon such as had royally deserued it at their hands. The authoritie to make peace with him, was wholly committed vnto these Embassadors, vpon such termes as they should thinke fit, without further relation to the Senate and People. For they were then busied with greater cares. The Carthaginians made a gentle answer, That they wholly disclaimed *Amilcar*: banishing him, and confiscating his goods. As for the Fugitiues: they had restored as many as they could finde; and would in that point, as farre as was requisite;

requisite, giue satisfaction to the Senate. Herewithall they sent a great proportion of Corn to Rome; and the like vnto the Armie that was in Macedon. King *Masaniſſa* would haue lent vnto the Romans two thousand of his Numidian Horſe: but they were contented with halfe the number; and would accept no more. *Vermina* met with the Embaſſadours, to giue them entertainment, on the borders of his Kingdome; and without any diſputation, agreed with them vpon termes of peace.

Thus were the Romans buſied in taking order for their Macedonian Warre, that they might pursue it ſtrongly, and without interruption. As for *Amilcar* and his Gaules: they laide ſiege vnto Cremona; where *L. Furius* a Roman Prætor came vpon them, fought a battaile with them, and ouercame them. *Amilcar* the Carthaginian died in this battaile; and the fruit of the victorie was ſuch, as both made amends for loſſes paſt, and left the worke eaſie to thoſe, that afterwards ſhould haue the managing of warre among thoſe Gaules. So was there good leiſure to thinke vpon the buſineſſe of Macedon: where *Philip* was carefully prouiding to giue contentment vnto his Subiects, by puniſhing a bad Counſailour whom they hated; alſo to aſſure vnto himſelfe the Achæans, by rendering vnto them ſome Townes that he held of theirs; and finally to ſtrengthen his Kingdome, not onely by exerciſing and trayning his people, but by fortifying the paſſages that led thereinto out of Epirus. This was in doing, when *Vilius*, hauing vnprofitably laboured to finde way into Macedon, taking a journey (as *Sulpicius* had done before him) wherein he could not be ſupplied with victuals, determined at length to trie a new courſe. But then came aduertement, that *T. Quintius Flaminius* was choſen Conſul, and had Macedon allotted him for his Prouince; whole coming was expected; and he very ſhortly arrived at the Armie.

### §. XIII.

*The Romans begin to make warre by negotiation. T. Quintius winnes a paſſage againſt Philip. Theſſaly wiſted by Philip, the Romans, and Aſtolians. The Achæans ſurſaking the Macedonian, take part with the Romans. A treatie of peace, that was vaine. Philip deliuerſ Argos to Nabis the Tyrant, who preſently enters into League with the Romans.*

**T**He Romans had not bene wont in former times, to make Warre after ſuch a trifling manner. It was their uſe, to giue battaile to the Enemy, as ſoone as they met with him. If he reſuſed it, they beſieged his Townes: and ſo forced him to trie the fortune of a day, with his diſadvantage in reputation, when he had long forborne it (as it would be interpreted) vpon knowledge of his owne weakneſſe. But in this their Warre with *Philip*, they began to learne of the ſubtle Greekes, the art of Negotiation: wherein hitherto they were not growne ſo ſincere, as within a little while they proued. Their Treſury was poore, and ſtood indebted, many years after this, vnto priuaten, for part of thoſe monies that had bene borrowed in the ſecond Punicke Warre. This had made the Commonaltie auerſe from the Macedonian warre; and had thereby driven the Senators, greedy of the enterprize, to make uſe of their cunning. Yet being weary of the ſlow pace wherewith their buſineſſe went forward, they determined to increaſe their Armie, that they might haue the leſſe need to rely vpon their Confederates. So they leuied eight thouſand Foot, and eight hundred Horſe (the greater part of them of the Latines) which they ſent with *T. Quintius Flaminius*, the new Conſul into Macedon. Their Nauie, and other meanes could well haue ſerued, for the ſetting forth and transportation of a greater Armie: but by training themſelves to the moſt of their ability, they ſhould (beſides other difficulties incident vnto the ſuſtenage of thoſe that are too many and too farre from home) haue bred ſome iealouſie in their friends of Greece, and thereby haue loſt ſome friends, yea, perhaps haue increaſed the number of their enemies more than of their owne Souldiers. This preſent augmentation of the forces was very requiſite, for that *Attalus*, about the ſame time, excuſed himſelfe vnto them, by his Embaſſadours; requeſting that either they would vndertake the defence of his Kingdome againſt *Antiochus*, who invaded it, or elſe that they would not take it vn-courteouſly, that hee quitted the Warre with *Philip*, and returned home, to looke vnto that which more concerned him. Their answer was remarkable. They ſaid, That it was not their manner to uſe the ayde of their friends, longer than their friends had good opportunitie, and could alſo bee well contented to afford it.

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That they could not honeſtly take part with *Attalus*, their good friend though he were, againſt *Antiochus*, whom they held in the like account; but, That they would deale with *Antiochus* by Embaſſadours, and (as common friends vnto both of the Kings) doe their beſt to perſwade an attonement betwene them. In ſuch louing faſhion did they now carry themſelves, towards their good friend the King *Antiochus*; who reciprocally at their intreaty, withdrew his Army from the kingdome of *Attalus*. But how little they regarded theſe termes of friendſhip, after that once they had made an end with *Philip*, it will very ſoone appeare.

*T. Quintius* haſting away from Rome, came betimes into his Prouince, with the ſupply decreed vnto him; which conſiſted, for the moſt part, of old Souldiers, that had ſerued in Spaine and Africk. He found *Vilius* the old Conſul, (whom at his coming hee preſently diſcharged) & king *Philip* of Macedon, encamped one againſt the other, in the Streights of Epirus; by the riuer of Apus or Aous. It was manifeſt, that either the Romans muſt fetch a compaſſe about, and ſeeke their way into Macedon, through the poore Countrey of the Daſſaretians; or elſe winne, by force, that paſſage which the King defended. In taking the former way, they had already two yeeres together miſpent their time, and bene forced to returne backe without profit, for want of victuals: whereof they could neither carry with them ſtore ſufficient, nor finde out the way. But if they could once get ouer theſe Mountains, which diuided the South of Epirus from Theſſaly, then ſhould they enter into a plentifull Countrey; and, which by long dependance on the Macedonian, was become (in a manner) part of his kingdome, whereof it made the South border. Neuertheleſſe, the deſire of winning this paſſage, was greater than the likelihood. For the Riuer of Apus, running along through that valley which alone was open betwene the Mountaines, made it all a deep Marſh and vnpaſſable Bogge: a very narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the maine rocke by mans hand. Wherefore *Quintius* aſſayed to climbe in the Mountaines: but finding himſelfe diſappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his enemy, who neglected not the guard of them that was very eaſie, he was compelled to ſit ſtill, without doing any thing for the ſpace of forty daies.

This long time of reſt gaue hope vnto *Philip*, that the war might bee ended by compoſition, vpon ſome reaſonable termes. He therefore ſo dealt with ſome of the Epirots, (among whom hee had many friends) that hee and the Conſull had a meeting together. But nothing was effected. The Conſull would haue him to ſet all Townes of Greece at libertie; and to make amends for the iniuries, which he had done to many people in his late warres. *Philip* was contented to giue libertie to thoſe whom hee had ſubdued of late: but vnto ſuch, as had bene long ſubiect vnto him and his Anceſtors, hee thought it againſt all reaſon, that hee ſhould relinquish his Clayme and dominion ouer them. He alſo ſaid, That as farre forth as it ſhould appeare that hee had done wrong vnto any Towne or people whatſoeuer, He could well be pleaſed to make ſuch amends, as might ſeeme conuenient in the iudgement of ſome free State, that had not bene intereſted in thoſe quarrells. But herewithall *Quintius* was not ſatisfied. There needed (he ſaid) no iudgement or compromiſe; for ſo much as it was apparant, that *Philip* had alwaies bene the Inuader; and had not made warre, as one prouoked, in his owne defence. After this alteration, when they ſhould come to particulars: and when the Conſull was required to name thoſe Towns, that he would haue to be ſet at libertie; the firſt that he named were the Theſſalians: Theſe had bene ſubiects (though conditionally) vnto the Macedonian Kings, euer ſince the daies of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Philip* his Father. Wherefore, as ſoone as *Flaminius* had named the Theſſalians, the king in a rage demanded what ſharper condition hee would haue laid vpon him, had hee bene but vanquiſhed. And herewithall abruptly hee ſang away; reſuſing to heare any more of ſuch diſcourſe.

After this the Conſull ſtroue in vaine two or three dayes together, to haue preuailed againſt the difficulties of that paſſage which *Philip* kept. When he had well wearied himſelfe, and could not reſolue what courſe to take: there came to him an Heard-man ſent from *Charopus* a Prince of the Epirots that fauoured the Romans, who hauing long kept beaſts in thoſe Mountaines, was thoroughly acquainted with all by-paths, and therefore undertooke to guide the Romans, without any danger, to a place where they ſhould haue aduantage of the Enemy. This guide, for feare of treacherous dealing, was ſiſt bound;

bound : and being promised a great reward, in case hee made good his word, had such Companies as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They trailed by night (it being then about the full of the Moone) and rested in the day-time, for feare of being discouered. When they had recovered the hill-tops, and were about the Macedonians, (though vndiscouered by them, because at their backs) they raised a great smoke, whereby they gaue notice of their successe vnto the Consul. Some skimmishes, whilst these were on their journey, *T. Quintius* had held with the Macedonian; thereby to auert him from thought of that which was intended. But when on the third morning he saw the smoke aile more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his men had attained vnto the place whither they were sent, hee pressed as neere as he could vnto the Enemies <sup>10</sup> Campe, and assailed them in their strength. He preuailed as little as in former times, vntill the shoutings of those that ran downe the hill, and charged *Philip* on the backe, astonished so the Macedonians, that they betooke themselves to flight. The King, vpon first apprehension of the danger, made all speed away to saue himselfe. Yet anon considering, that the difficulty of the passage must needs hinder the Romans from pursuing him : hee made a stand at the end of foue miles, and gathered there together his broken troupes, of whom he found wanting no more than two thousand men. The greatest losse was of this Campe and prouisions : if not rather perhaps of his reputation; for that now the Macedonians began to stand in feare, lest being driuen from a place of such advantage, they should hardly make good their party against the Enemy, vpon equal ground. <sup>20</sup> Neither was *Philip* himselfe much better perswaded. Wherefore he caused the Thessalians, as many of them as in his lastie retreat hee could visit, to forsake their Townes and Countreie, carrying away with them as much as they were able, and spoyling all the rest. But all of them could not be perswaded, thus to abandon (for the pleasure of their king) their ancient habitations, and all the substance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly resisted him; which they might the better doe, for that he could not stay to vse any great compulsion. He also himselfe tooke it very grieuouly, that he was driuen to make such waste of a most pleasant and fruitfull Countreie, which had neuer been well affected vnto him : so that a little hinderance did serue, to make him breake off his purpose, and withdraw himselfe home into his kingdome of Macedon.

The *Atolians* and *Athamanians*, when this fell out, were euen in a readinesse to invade Thessaly; whereinto the wayes lay more open, out of their severall Countreies. When therefore they heard for certainty, that *Philip* was beaten by the Romans : they foresawed not the occasion, but made all speed, each of them to lay hold vpon what they might. *T. Quintius* followed them within a little while : but they had gotten so much before his coming, that he, in gleaming after their haruest, could not finde enough to maintaine his Army. Thus were the poore Thessalians, of whose liberty the Romans a few dayes since had made shew to be very desirous, wasted by the same Romans and their Confederates; not knowing which way to turne themselves, or whom to auoyde. *T. Quintius* wonne Phaleria by assault : Metropolis and Piera yeelded vnto him. Rhage <sup>40</sup> he besieged : and hauing made a faire breach, yet was vnable to force it; so stoutly it was defended both by the Inhabitants, and by a Macedonian garrison therein. *Philip* also at the same time, hauing somewhat recollected his spirits, honored about Tempe with his Army, thrusting men into all places, that were like to be distressed. So the Consul, hauing well-neere spent his victuals, and seeing no hope to preuaile at Rhage; brake vp his siege, and departed out of Thessaly. He had appointed his ships of burden to meete him at Anticyra, an Italian Towne of Phocis, on the Gulph of Corinth : which Countreie being friend to the Macedonian, he presently invaded; not so much for hatred vnto the people, as because it lay conueniently seated between Thessaly and other regions, where in he had business, or was shortly like to haue. Many Townes in Phocis he wonne by assault : in many were yeelded vp vnto him for feare; and within short space hee had (in effect) mastered it all.

In the same time *L. Quintius* the Consuls brother, being then Admirall for the Romans in this warre, joyncd with King *Attalus* and the Rhodian Fleete. They wonne two Cities in Euboea; and afterward laid siege vnto Cenchree, an Haven and Arcenall of the Corinthians on their Easterne Sea. This enterprize did somewhat helpe forward the Achazans, in their desire to leaue the part of *Philip* : since it might come to passe, that Corinth it selfe, ere long time were spent; & that Cenchree, with other places appertaining <sup>50</sup>

to Corinth, now very shortly should be readred vnto their Nation, by fauour of the Romans.

But there were other Motiues, inducing the Achazans to preferre the friendship of the Romans, before the patronage of *Philip*; whereto they had beene long accustomed. For this King had so many wayes offended them in time of peace, that they thought it the best counsell to rid their hands of him; whilst being intangled in a dangerous warre, hee wanted meanes to hinder the execution of such counsaile, as they should hold the safest. His tyrannous practises to make himselfe their absolute Lord : His poisoning of *Aratus* their old Gouverneur : His false dealing with the Messenians, Epirots, and other people their Confederates, and his owne dependants : together with many particular outrages by him committed; had caused them long since to hold him as a necessary euill, euen whilst they were vnable to be without his assistance. But since by the vertue of *Philopemen*, they were growne somewhat confident in their owne strength, so as without the Macedonians helpe they could as well subsist, as hauing him to friend; then did they only thinke how euill he was; and thereupon reioyce the more, in that hee was become no longer necessary. It angered him to perceiue how they stood affected : and therefore hee sent murderers, to take away the life of *Philopemen*. But failing in this enterprize; and being detected, he did thereby onely set fire to the Wood, which was thoroughly drie before, and prepared to burne. *Philopemen* wrought so with the Achazans, that no discourse was more familiar with them, than what great cause they had to withdraw themselves from the Macedonian. *Cycliadas*, a principall man among them, and lately their Prætor, was expelled by them, for shewing himselfe passionate in the cause of *Philip*; and *Aristarchus* chosen Prætor, who laboured to ioyne them in societie with the Romans.

These newes were very welcome to *T. Quintius*. Embassadors were sent from the Romans, and their Confederates, King *Attalus*, the Rhodians, and Athenians, to treat with the Achazans, making promise, that they should haue Corinth restored vnto them, if they would forsake the Macedonian. A Parliament of the Achazans was held at Sycion, to deliberate and resolve in this weightie case. Therein the Romans and their adherents desired the Achazans, to ioyne with them in making warre vpon *Philip*. Contrariwise, <sup>30</sup> the Embassadors of *Philip*, whom he had also sent for this business, admonishing the Achazans of their Alliance with the king, & of their faith due vnto him; requested them, that they would be contented to remaine as Neuters. This moderate request of *Philips* Embassadour, did no way aduance his Masters cause. Rather it gaue the Achazans to vnderstand, That hee, who could bee satisfied with so little at their hands, knew himselfe vnable to gratifie them in any reciprocall demand: Yet were there many in that great Councell, who remembering the benefices of *Philip* and *Antigonus*, laboured earnestly for the preservation of the ancient League. But in fine, the sense of late iniuries, and expectation of like or worse from him in the future; preuailed against the memorie of those old good turnes, which hee, (and *Antigonus* before him) had partly sold vnto them, and partly had vsed as baits, whereby to allure them into absolute subiection. Neither was it perhaps of the least importance; That the Romans were strong, and likely to preuaile in the end. So after much altercation, the Decree passed, That they should thenceforward renounce the Macedonian, and take part with his enemies in this warre. With *Attalus* and the Rhodians, they forthwith entred into societie : with the Romans (because no League would bee of force, vntill the Senate and people had approoued it) they forbore to decree any societie at the present, vntill the returne of those Embassadors from Rome, which they determined to send thither of purpose. The Megalopolitans, Dymeans, and Argiues, hauing done their best for the Macedonian, as by many respects they were bound; rose vp out of the Councell, and departed before the passing of the <sup>50</sup> Decree, which they could not resist, nor yet with honesty thereto giue assent. For this their good will, and greater, which they shortly manifested, the Argiues had so little thanks; that all the rest of the Achazans may be the better held excused, for escaping how they might, out of the hands of so fell a Prince.

Soone after this, vpon a solempne day at Argos, the affection of the Citizens discomredit selfe so plainly, in the behalfe of *Philip*, that they which were his Partisans within the Towne, made no doubt of putting the Citie into his hands, if they might haue any small assistance. *Philotes*, a Lieutenant of the Kings, lay then in Corinth, which he had manfully defended against the Romans and *Attalus*. Him the Conspirators drew to

Argos; whither coming on a sudden; and finding the Multitude ready to buye with him, He easily compelled the Achaean Garrison to quit the place.

This getting of Argos; together with the good defence of Corinth and some other Townes, as it helped *Philip* a little in his reputation; so they gave him hope to obtaine some good end by Treatie, whilst as yet with his honour he might seeke it: and when (the Winter being now come on) a new Consul would shortly be chosen; who should take the worke out of *Titus* his hands; if it were concluded this sooner. *Titus* had the like respect vnto himselfe; and therefore thought best, since he could not bee done, to pre-dispose things vnto a Conclusion, for his owne reputation. The meeting was appointed to be held on the Sea-shore, in the Bay then called the Malian, or Læmian Bay, now (as is supposed) the Gulf of *Stron*, in the Argæan Sea, or *Archeipelago*. Thither came *Titus*, with *Aminander* the Athamanian; an Embassador of *Attalus*, the Admirall of Rhodes; and some Agents for the Ætolians and Achæans. *Philip* had with him some few of his own Captaines, and *Cycladus*, lately banished for his sake out of Achaia: Here he came on shore: though fearing (as he said) none but the immortal Gods; yet misdoubting some treachery in the Ætolians. The demands of *Titus* in behalfe of the Romans, were, That he should let all Cities of Greece at libertie; deliuer vp to the Romans and their Confederates, all prisoners which he had of theirs, and Renegadoes; likewise whatsoeuer he held of theirs in Illyria; and whatsoeuer about Greece by Asia he had gotten from *Ptoleme* then King of Egypt, after his fathers death. *Attalus* demanded restitution to be made, entire of Ships, Townes, and Temples, by him taken and spoyled in the late warre betweene them. The Rhodians would haue againe the Countrie of *Peræ*, lying ouer against their Land, as also that he should withdraw his Garrisons, out of diuers Townes about the Hellespont, and other Hauens of their friends. The Achæans desired restitution of Argos and Corinth; about the one of which they might, not vniuilly, quarrell with him; the other had beene long his owne by their consens. The Ætolians took vpon them angerly, as Patrons of Greece; willing him to depart out of it, euen out of the whole Countrie, leauing it free; and withall to deliuer vp vnto them, whatsoeuer he held that had at any time bene theirs. Neither would they herewithall content; but insolently declaimed against him, for that which he had lately done in Thessaly; corrupting (as they said) the rewards of the Victors, by destroying, when hee was vanquished, those Townes which else they might haue gotten. To answer these malapert Ætolians, *Philip* commanded his Gallie to be rowed neerer the shore. But they began to plee him afresh: telling him, that hee must obey his betters, unless hee were able to defend himselfe by force of Armes. He answered them, (as he was much giuen to gybing) with sundry scoffes; and especially with one, which made the Roman Consul vnderstand, what manner of companions these Ætolians were. For hee said, That he had often dealt with them; as likewise the best of the Greeks; desiring them to abrogate a wicked Law, which permitted them to take spoyle from spoyle: yet could he get no better an answer, than that they would sooner take Achaia out of Ætolia. *Titus* wondered what might be the meaning of this strange Law. So the King told him, That they held it a laudable custome, as often as warre happened betwene their friends, to hold vp the quarrell by sending voluntaries to serue on both sides; that should spoyle both the one and the other. As for the libertie of Greece, He said it was strange that the Ætolians should bee so careful thereof, since diuers Tribes of their owne, which hee there named, were indeed no Grecians; wherefore hee would faine know, whether the Romans would giue him leaue to make slaues of those Ætolians, which were no Greeks. *Titus* hereat smiled and was no whit offended, to heare the Ætolians well ratled vp; touching whom hee began to vnderstand, how odious they were in all the Countrie. As for that generall demand of setting all Greece at libertie, *Philip* acknowledged, that it might well become the greatest end of the Romans; though hee would also consider, what might become his owne dignitie. But that the Ætolians, Rhodians, and other petty Estâtes, should thus presume, and vnder countenance of the Romans, to take vpon them; as if by their great might hee should bee thereunto compelled: it was, hee said, a strange and ridiculous insolence. The Achæans hee charged with much ingratitude; reciting against them some Decrees of their owne; wherein they had laden both *Antigon* and him, with more than humane honours. Next hee said, that he would reder Argos vnto them; but, as touching Corinth, that he would sit still deliberate with *Titus* himselfe.

Thus

Thus he addressed himselfe wholly to the Roman Generall, vnto whom if he could giue satisfaction, he cared little for all the rest. With *Attalus* and the Rhodians, his late war, (hee said) was onely defensiu; they hauing bene the offerers; or if he gaue them any occasion, it was onely in helping *Præsus*, his sonne-in-law; neither did he see why they should rather seeke amends at his hands, than he at theirs. For whereas they complained, that, spoyling a Temple of *Venus*, he had cut downe the Grove, and pleasant walks thereabouts: what could he doe more, than send Gardners thither with young plants; if one King of another would stand to aske such recompence? Thus he icied the matter out; but offered neuertheless, in honour of the Romans, to giue back the Region of *Peræ* to the Rhodians; as likewise to *Attalus*, the Ships and Prisoners of his, whereof he had then possession. Thus ended that dayes conference, because it was late: *Philip* requiring a nights leisure to thinke vpon the Articles, which were many, and hee ill provided of Counsaile, wherewith to aduise about them. For your being so ill provided of Counsaile, said *Titus*, you may euen thanke your selfe; as hauing murdered all your friends, that were wont to aduise you faithfully. The next day *Philip* came not, vntill it was late at night; excusing his long stay by the weightinesse of the things propounded, whereon he could not suddenly tell how to resolue. But it was beleued, that hee thereby sought to abridge the Ætolians of leisure to rail at him. And this was the more likely; for that he desired conference in priuate with the Roman Generall. The summe of his discourse, as *Titus* afterward related it, was, That he would giue the Achæans both Argos and Corinth; as also that he would render vnto *Attalus* and the Rhodians, what he had promised the day before; likewise to the Ætolians, that hee would grant some part of their demands; and to the Romans, whatsoeuer they did challenge. This when *Titus* his associates heard, they exclaimed against it, saying, That if the king were suffered to retaine any thing in Greece, he would shortly get possession of all which he now rendred vp. The noise that they made came to *Philips* eare: who thereupon desired a third day of meeting; and protested, that if he could not perswade them, he would suffer himselfe to bee perswaded by them. So the third day they met early in the morning: at what time the king intreated them all, that they would with sincere affection hearken vnto good offers of peace; and immediately conclude it, if they could like well of those Conditions, which he had already tendred; or otherwise, that they would make truce with him for the present, and let him send Embassadors to Rome, where he would referre himselfe to the courtisie of the Senate.

This was euen as *Quintus* would haue it: who stood in doubt, lest a new Consul might happen to defraud him of the honour, which he expected by ending of the warre. So he easily preuailed with the rest, to assent hereunto: forasmuch as it was Winter, a time vnfit for seruice in the warre; and since, without authoritie of the Senate, he should be vnable to proceed resolutely either in warre or peace. Further hee willed them to send their severall Embassadors to Rome, which intimating vnto the Senate, what each of them required, should easily hinder *Philip*, from obtaining any thing to their prejudice. Among the rest he perswaded King *Aminander*, to make a journey to Rome in person: knowing well, that the name of a King, together with the confluence of so many Embassadors, would serue to make his owne actions more glorious in the Citie. All this tended to procure, that his own Command of the Armie in Greece might be prorogued. And to the same end had he dealt with some of the Tribunes of the people at Rome: who had already (though as yet he knew not so much) obtained it for him, partly by their authoritie, partly by good reasons which they alleaged vnto the Senate.

The Embassadour of the Greeks, when they had audience at Rome, spake bitterly against the King, with good liking of the Senate; which was more desirous of victorie, than of satisfaction. They magnified the honourable purpose of the Romans, in vnder-taking to set Greece at libertie. But this (they said) could neuer bee effected; yelless speciall care were taken, that the King should be dispossessed of Corinth, Chalcis, & Demetrias. In this point they were so vehement, producing a Map of the Countrey, and making demonstration how those places held all the rest in seruilitie; that the Senate agreed to haue it euen so as they desired. When therefore the Embassadors of *Philip* were brought in, and began to haue made a long Oration; they were briefly cut off in the midst of their Preface, with this one demand: whether their Master would yield up Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias. Hereto they made answer, That concerning those places, the

N n n n 2

King



King had giuen them no direction or Commission what to say, or doe. This was enough. The Senate would no longer hearken to *Philips* desire of peace; wherein they said hee did no better than trifle. Yet might his Embassadors haue truly said, That neither the Aetolians, Achæans, nor any of their fellows, had in the late Treaty required by name, that Chalcis & Demetrias should be yeelded vp. For which of them indeed could make any chime to either of these Townes? As for Coriath, whereto the Achæans had some right; (though their right were no better, than that hauing stolne it from One Macedonian King in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away by bargaining vnto an Other.) *Philip* had already condescended to giue it backe vnto them. And this perhaps would haue bene alleged, euen against the Greekes, in excuse of the King, by to some of *T. Quintius* his friends; that so he might haue had the honour to conclude the warre, if a successe had bene decreed vnto him. But since he was appointed to continue Generall: neither his friends at Rome, nor he himselfe, after the returne of the Embassadors into Greece, cared to giue eare vnto any talke of peace.

*Philip*, seeing that his Achæans had forsaken him, and ioyned with their common Enemies; thought euen to deale with them in the like manner, by reconciling himselfe vnto *Nabis*, whom they hated most. There were not many yeeres past, since the Lacedæmonians vnder *Cleomenes*, with little other helpe than their owne strength, had bene almost strong enough both for the Macedonians & Achæans together. But now the condition of things was altered. *Nabis* his force consisted in a manner, wholly in his Mercenaries: for he was a Tyrant, though stiling himselfe King. Yet he sorely vexed the Achæans: and therefore seemed to *Philip* one likely to stand him in great stead, if he could be wonne. To this purpose it was thought meet, that the Towne of Argos, which could not otherwise be easily defended, should be consigned ouer into his hands; in hope, that such a benefit would serue to tie him fast vnto the Macedonian. *Philotes* the kings Lieutenant, who was appointed to deale with *Nabis*, added further, That it was his Masters purpose to make a straight alliance with the Lacedæmonian, by giuing some daughters of his owne in marriage vnto *Nabis* his sons. This could not but be well taken. Yet *Nabis* made some scruple in accepting the Towne of Argos; vnlesse by decree of the Citizens themselves he might be called into it. Hereabout *Philotes* dealt with the Argiues: so but found them so auerle, that, in open assembly of the people, they detested the very name of the Tyrant, with may railing words. *Nabis* hearing of this, thought hee had thereby a good occasion to robbe and fleece them. So hee willed *Philotes*, without more ado, to make ouer the Towne which he was ready to receiue. *Philotes* accordingly did let him with his Army into it by night; and gaue him possession of the strongest places therein. Thus dealt *Philip* with the Argiues: who for very loue had forsaken the Achæans, to take his part. Early in the morning, the Tyrant made himselfe Master of all the Gates. A few of the principall men, vnderstanding how things went, fled out of the Citie at the first tumult. Wherefore they were all banished, and their goods confiscated. The rest of the chiefe Citizens that staid behinde, were commanded to bring forth, out of hand, all their Gold and Silver. Also a great imposition of money was laid vpon all those, that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were dismissed without more ado. But if any stood long vpon the matter: or played the theecus, in purloining their owne goods; they were put to the whip, and, besides losse of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done, the Tyrant began to make popular Lawes: namely such, as might serue to make him gracious with the rascall multitude: abrogating all debts, and diuiding the Lands of the rich among the poore. By such art of oppressing the great ones, it hath bene an old custome of Tyrants, to assure themselves of the Vulgar for a time.

As soone as *Nabis* had gotten Argos, he sent the newes to *T. Quintius*, and offered to ioyne with him against *Philip*. *Titus* was glad of it: so as he tooke the paines to crosse ouer the Streights into Peloponnesus, there to meet with *Nabis*. They had soone agreed (though King *Attalus*, who was present with the Consul, made some cauil touching Argos) and the Tyrant lent vnto the Roman six hundred of his Mercenaries of Crete: as also he agreed with the Achæans, vpon a Truce for foure moneths, reseruing the small conclusion of peace betweene them vntill the Warre of *Philip* should be ended; which after this continued not long.

The battaile at Cynephele, wherein *Philip* was vanquished by *T. Quintius*.

*T. Quintius*, as soone as hee vnderstood that hee was appointed to haue Command of the Army, without any other limitation of time, than during the pleasure of the Senate, made all things ready for diligent pursuit of the Warre. The like did *Philip*: who hauing failed in his negotiation of peace, and no lesse failed in his hopes of getting *Nabis* to friend in that Warre, went afterwards wholly to relię vpon his owne force.

*Titus* had in his Army about sixe and twenty thousand; and *Philip* a proportionable number. But neither of them knew the others strength, or what his Enemy intended to doe. Onely *Titus* heard that *Philip* was in Thessaly, and thereupon addressed himselfe to *Sepulchum* in out. They had like to haue met vnawares, nere vnto the Citie of Phere: where the vant-carriers on both sides discovered each other, and sent word thereof vnto their severall Captaines. But neither of them were ouer hasty, to commit all to hazard vpon so short warning. The day following each of them sent out three hundred footes, with as many light armed foot, to make a better discouerie. These met, and fought a long while: returning finally backe into their severall Campes, with little damage vnto either side. The Country about Phere was thicke set with Trees; and otherwise full of Gardens and mud-walles; which made it vnproper for seruice of the Macedonian *Phalanx*. Wherefore the King dislodged, intending to remove backe into *Sepulchum* in the Frontier of Macedon, whither he might be plentifully serued with all necessaries. *Titus* conceived aight his meaning; and therefore purposed also to march thitherwards; were it so to waste the Country. There lay betweene them a great ledge of hills, which hindered the one from knowing what course the other took. Neuertheless they encamped not farre asunder, both the first and the second night; though neither of them vnderstood what was become of the other. The third day was very tempestuous; and forced each of them to take vp his lodging, where hee found it, by chance. Then sent they forth discouersers againe, in greater number than before. Their meeting together, held a long fight, wherein at first the Macedonians had the worse. But *Philip* soon set in such strong supply, that at the resistance of the Aetolians had not bene desperate, the Roman and his fellows had bene driven backe into their Campe. Yet all resistance on either hand, the Macedonians premised: so that *Titus* himselfe was faine waiting for with his Legions, that were not a little discouraged, by the defeat of all their horse, & a number of those which were in fight.

It was altogether besides the kings purpose, to put the fortune of a battaile in trial: that day, with so much of his Estate as might thereon depend. But the newes came to him thicke and tumultuously, how the enemy fled, and how the day was his owne. If hee could see occasion, that like whereof he should not often finde. This caused him to alter his purpose: in so much as hee embayled his men, and climbed vp those hills, which, for that the knops thereon had some resemblance vnto Dogs heads, were called, by a word signifying as much, *Cynephele*. As soone as hee was on the hill-top; hee did him good to see, that they of his owne light armature were busie in fight, almost at the very Campe of the Enemies, whom they had repelled so farre. Hee had also liberte to choose the ground, as might serue best his advantage; for as much as the Romans were quartered from all parts of the hill. Most of this good measure hee could make, no great vnto the youngnesse of the place among those Dogs heads, as they were called, having nothing especially for his *Phalanx*. Neuertheless hee found some better place, wherein to set his battaile, and gave order vnto his Captaines, to follow with the rest, in the railing of the enemy. While hee was doing this: hee perceived that the light men and light armature began to strike, as being faine vpon the Roman Legions, by force whereof they were driven to resolye. Hee set forward to helpe them, and they no lesse readily drew vnto him, for as much as the Romans not farre behind them, did not mount in the same manner, as the Macedonians did.

At this point hee began to climb the hill; *Philip* surrounded those of his *Phalanx* to charge him, but hee remained where hee was. Here *Titus* found an extreme difficult piece

of worke. For this *Phalanx*, being a great square battaile of armed pikes, like in all points to those which are now vsed in our moderne Warres: and being in like manner vsed, as are ours; was not to be resisted by the Roman Targettiers, as long as the *Phalanx* it selfe held together vndissolued. The Macedonians were embattailed in very close order: so that two of them stood opposite to one of the Romans; as also the pikes of the first ranke, had their points advanced two or three foot before their fore-man. Wherefore it is no maruaile, if the Romans gaue back: every one of them being troubled (as it were) with tenne enemies at once; and not able to come neerer to the next of them, than the length of a doozen foot or thereabout. *Titus* finding this, and not knowing how to remedie it; was greatly troubled: for that still the *Phalanx* bare downe all which came in the way. But in the meane while hee obserued, That they which were appointed by *Philip* to make his left wing, were not able through the much vneuenness of the ground, to put themselves in order: so as either they kept their places on the Hill-tops; or else (which was worse) vpon desire either of beholding the pastime, or of seeming to be partakers in the worke, ran foolishly along by the side of their fellowes, which were occupied in fight.

Of this their disorder hee made great and present vse. Hee caused the right wing of his Battaile to march vp the hill, against these ill-ordered troups: his Elephants leading the way, to increase the terrour. The Macedonians were readier to dispute what should be done in such a case, than well aduised what to doe; as hauing no one man appointed, to command that part in chiefe. Indeed if they should haue done their best, it could not haue serued; since the ground whereon they stood, made their weapons vneusefull. For let it be supposed, that *Philip* hauing fixe and twenty thousand in his Armie (as hee is said to haue bene equall to the Enemy in number) had foure thousand Horse, foure thousand Targettiers, and foure thousand light-armed: so shall there remaine foureteen thousand Pikes; whereof he himselfe had embattailed the one halfe in a *Phalanx*, the other halfe in the left wing, are they whom *Quintius* is readie now to charge. The *Phalanx* hauing usually sixteene in File, must, when it consisted of seuen thousand, haue well-neere foure hundred and fortie in ranke: but foure hundred would serue, to make a Front long enough; the other fortie or seuent and thirtie Files might bee cut off, and reckoned in the number of the Targettiers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore, as *Polybius* doth, to every man of them three foote of ground: this Front must haue occupied twelue hundred Foote, or two hundred and fortie paces; that is, very neere a quarter of a myle in length. Such a space of open Champaigne, free from in-emburance of Trees, Ditches, Hillocks, or the like impediments; that must of necessitie disioyne this close battaile of the *Phalanx*; was not euery where to bee found. Here at Cynoscephalæ *Philip* had so much room, as would only suffice for the one halfe of his men, the rest were faine to stand still and looke about them, being hindered from putting themselves in order, by the roughnesse of the *Dogges heads*. But the Romans, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindered from coming vp vnto them; nor found any difficulty in mairting those enemies, whose feet were in a manner bound by the discommodity of the place. The very first impression of the Elephants, caused them to giue backe; and the coming on of the Legions, to breake themselves to flight. A Roman Tribune or Colonell, seeing the victory on that part assured, left the prosecution of it vnto others: and being followed by twenty Ensignes or Maniples; that is, (as they might fall out) by some two thousand men, tooke in hand a notable piece of worke; and mainly helpfull to making of the victory complete. He considered that *Philip*, in pursuing the right wing of the Romans, was runne on so farre, as that himselfe with his fellowes, in mounting the hill to charge the left wing of the Macedonians, was already gotten above the Kings head. Wherefore hee turned to the left hand: and making downe the hill after the Kings *Phalanx*, fell vpon it in the Rere. The hindermost ranks of the *Phalanx*, all of them indeed (since the first shot, were accustomed, when the battells came to ioyning, to carry their pikes vpright, and with the whole weight of their bodies to thrust on their fore-men: and so were they doing at the present. This was another great inconuenience in the Macedonian *Phalanx*. That it serued neither for offence nor defence, except onely in front. For though it were so, that *Alexander*, when hee was to fight with *Darius* in Melopontus, arranged his *Phalanx* in such order, that all the fore sides of it were as so many fronts looking sundrie wayes,

wayes, because he expected that he should be encompassed round: yet is it to be vnderstood, that herein he altered the vsual forme; as also at the same time hee embattailed his men in loose order, that so with ease they might turne their weapons, which way need should require. Likewise it is to be considered, That *Alexander's* men being thus disposed, were fit onely to keepe their owne ground, not being able to follow vpon the Enemy, vnlesse their hindermost ranks could haue marched backwards. But in this present case of *Philip*, there was no such prouision for resistance. Therefore his men, being otherwise vnable to helpe themselves, threw downe their weapons, and fled. The king himselfe had thought vntill now, that the fortune of the battaile was euery where alike; and the day his owne. But hearing the noyse behind him, and turning a little aside with a troupe of Horse, to see how all went: when he beheld his men casting downe their weapons, and the Romans at his backe on the higher ground; He presently betook himselfe to flight. Neither staid he afterwards in any place (except only a small while about Tempe, therto to collect such as were dispersed in this ouerthrow) vntill he was gotten into his owne Kingdome of Macedon.

There died of the Roman Armie in this battaile, about seuen hundred: of the Macedonians about eight thousand were slaine; and fixe thousand taken prisoners.

## §. XV.

*T. Quintius falleth out with the Aetolians; and grants truce vnto Philip, with conditions, vpon which the peace is ratified. Liberty proclaimed vnto the Greeks. The Romans quarrell with Antiochus.*

THE Aetolians wonderfully vaunted themselves; and desired to haue it noysed, through all Greece, that the victory at Cynoscephalæ was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeed the most of the bootie; by sacking the Macedonian Campe, whilst the Romans were busied in the chase. *Titus* therefore being offended both at their vain-glory, and at their rauenous condition; purposed to teach them better manners; by regarding them as slightly, as they thought highly of themselves. He also well perceiued, That by vsing them with any extraordinary laud, he should greatly offend the rest of his Confederates in Greece; who detested the Aetolians much more vehemently; than euer they had done the Macedonians. But this displeasure brake not forth yet a while.

After the battaile *Titus* made hie vnto Larissa, a citie of Thessalie; which hee presently tooke. Before his coming, *Philip* had sent thither one of his Courtiers to burne all his letters, and passages whatsoeuer in writing, betwixt him and others: of which many were here kept. It was well done of the King, that among the cares of so much aduersity, hee forgot not to provide for the safety of his friends. Yet by his thus doing, they of Larissa might well perceiue, that he gaue them as already lost. Wherefore we finde not that they, or any of their Neighbors, did make delay of opening their gates to *Titus*. At the same time, the town of Leucas bordering vpon Acarnonia, was taken by the Roman Fleet: and very soone after, all the Acarnanians, a warlike Nation, and in hatred of the Aetolians euer true to *Philip*, gaue vp themselves vnto the Romans, hearing of the victory at Cynoscephalæ. The Rhodians also were then in hand with the conquest of *Perisus*, a Region of the Continent ouer against the Island, whereof they had demanded restitution, in the late Treaty of Peace. They did herein more manly, than any other of the Greeks: forasmuch as they awaited not the good leisure of the Romans; but with an Army of their own, & some helpe which they borrowed of the Achæians, & other their friendlie que battell to *Dinocrates* the kings Lieutenant, wherein they had the victory, & so consequently recovered the whole Prouince. Hee angred *Philip* more than all this; that the Argonians gathered courage out of his affliction, to invade his Kingdome; waiting and spying, as if all had been abandoned to their discretion. This made him gather an Army in all hast of fixe thousand foot and fixe hundred horse: wherewith coming vpon them, hee draue them with little or no losse of his owne, and great slaughter of theirs, hasting out of the Kingdome. Which done, He returned to Thessalonia.

In this one enterprise He had successe answerable to his desire: but feeling what bad fortune accompanied his affaires, in all other parts at the same time, he thought it wise to yeeld vnto necessity; and therefore sent in all haste *Lamachus* and *Demosthenes*,

with

with *Cephala* the banished Abban, in whom he reposed much confidence, and advisors vnto *Titus*. These had conference a long while in private, with *Titus* and some of his Roman Colonels, by whom they were gently entertained, and in very friendly wise dissuaded. It seemed that they had Commission, to referre all vnto *Titus* his owne discretion; *Philip* himselfe in few daies after did. There was granted vnto him a Truce for fiftene dayes: in which time, the king himselfe might come and speake with the Roman General. In the mean season many suspicious rumours went of *Titus*, as if he had been corrupted with great rewards from the king, to betray the Greeks his Confederates. Of these bruits the Aetolians were chiefe authors, who being wont to regard neither friendship nor honestie, where profited them a wrong way, iudged alike of all men to elfe. But against the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and *Philip*, *Titus* sent letters vnto his Associates, willing them to haue their Agents ready by a time appointed, at the entrance of *Fempe*, where the Treaty should bee held. There when they were assembled, they entered into consultation before the kings arrival; what should be most expedient for the common benefit of them all, & for euery estate in particular. The poynting *Aminander* besought them all, & especially the Romans, that they would thinke vpon him; and considering his weakenesse which he confesse, make such provision, that after the Romans had turned their backs, and were gone home, *Philip* might not wreake his anger vpon him who was not able to resist. Then spake *Alexander* one of the Aetolians: who commending *Titus* for so much as he had thus assembled the Confederates to aduise vpon their own good, and had willed them to deliuer their minds freely; adding, That in the meane of the purpose which he had in hand, he was vnto be reuiled: for that by making peace with *Philip*, hee could neither assure the Romans of their quiet, nor the Greeks of their liberty. There was he found none other mind to be had of the warre, which could agree either with the purpose of the Senate or people of Rome, or with the faire promises made by *Titus* himselfe vnto the Greeks, than the chafing of *Philip* quid out of his kingdom. And to this effect he made a long discourse. But *Titus* answered, That this Aetolian was ill acquainted, either with the good nature of the Senate and people of Rome, or with the laudable customes which they generally held; for that it was not the manner of the Romans, to seeke the vtter destruction of any king, or Nation, at such times as they first made warre with them; vntill by some rebellion they found it a matter of necessity, to take such a rigorous course. And hereof he alledged the Carthaginians as a notable example: adding, That victory, to generous minds, was onely an incitement to moderation. As concerning the publick benefit of Greece: it was the faire expedient, that the kingdom of Macedonia should be greatly weakened and brought low; not that it should be vtterly destroyed: forasmuch as it serued as a barre to the Thracians, Gauls, and a multitude of other sauage Nations, which would soon ouerflow the whole continent of Greece, if this kingdom were not interposed. Wherefore, he concluded, that if *Philip* would yeeld vnto those demands, whereunto hee had pressed him in the former Treaty, then was there no reason to denie him peace: As for the Aetolians: if they thought otherwise, it should be at their owne pleasure, to take counsaile apart for themselves as they thought good. Then began *Phanias*, another of the Aetolians, to say, than all was come to nothing, for that too long *Philip* would trouble all the Greeks, no lesse than he had done already before. But *Titus* interrupted him, & bid him leaue his babbling, saying, That himselfe would take such order, as that *Philip* were hee quenched so deuorous should hee not forth nor haue it in his power to molest the Greeks any more. And so hee departed.

The next day King *Philip* came in, whom *Titus* welcomed friendly: and suffering him to repose himselfe that night by his Counsell the day following; wherein the King yeelded vnto all that had bene required at his hands, offering yet further to stand to the good nature of the Senate, if they would haue more added to the Conditions. *Phanias* the Aetolian, insuiling ouer him, said it was to bee hoped, that he would then at length giue up to the Aetolians, a number of townes (which hee there named) adding, That he would either he would, or no, his answer was that they might thinke that all. But *Titus* interposing himselfe, said it should bee otherwise. These were the towne names, and should beall remade of them, and destroyed, which had long agoe had refused to submitte selfe to the Empire of the Romans, & therefore should now be giuen to the Aetolians. Hereat *Phanias* enuious, that it was no great victory, thus hee demanded of the

Townes

Townes that had sometime belonged vnto their Common-weale. Rather he willed *Titus* to consider, that by an ancient Couenant betwene them and the Romans, all the Townes taken ought to be their owne, and the Romans to haue nothing saue the pillage and captiues. It is true, that there had bene such a condition in the former warre: but it ceased to be of any validity, as soone as the Aetolians made peace with *Philip*. And thus much *Titus* gaue them to vnderstand; asking them whether they thought it reasonable, that all the towne in Greece, which had let in the Romans by composition, should be deliuered into subiection of the Aetolians. The rest of the Confederates were very much delighted, with these angry passages between the Roman and the Aetolians: neither had they great reason to feare any hard measure, since *Titus* was so earnest in behalf of those Thesalians, to giue them liberty, though they had stood out against him, euen till very feare made them open their gates. Wherefore they opposed not themselves; but gaue their consent willingly vnto a Truce for foure Moneths.

The chiefe cause that moued *Titus* to grant peace so readily to the Macedonian, besides that laudable custome by him before alledged; was, the fame of *Antiochus* his coming with an Armie from Syria, and drawing neere toward Europe. Hee had also perhaps yet a greater motive, euen the consideration that his successor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the warre should happen to be protracted. And he was in the right: For when his letters, together with Embassadors from the Macedonian, and sundry States of Greeke, came vnto Rome, new Consuls were chosen: who, (especially the one of them) stood very earnestly against the peace; alleging frivolous matter of their owne suspicion, in hope to get the honour of concluding the warre. The Senate began to be doubtfully affected, betwene the Embassadors of *Philip*, offering to stand to whatsoeuer was demanded, and the letters of *Titus* pressing them to accept this offer, on the one side, and the importunitie of the Consul on the other, who said, that all these goodly shewes were fraudulent, and that the king would rebell, as soone as the Armie was called out of Greece. But the matter was taken out of the Senators hands by two of the Tribunes, that referred it to an Assembly of the People, by whose foueraigne authority it was concluded, that Peace should be granted vnto the king. So tenne Embassadors were sent from Rome ouer into Greece: in which number were they, that had bene Consuls before *Titus*; and it was ordained by their aduice, that *Titus* should goe through with the businesse of Peace. These would very faine haue retained those three important Cities, of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, vntill the state of Greece were somewhat better settled. But finally *Titus* prevailed so, that Corinth was (though not immediately) rendered vnto the Achaeans; and all the other Greeke townes which *Philip* held, as well in Asia as in Greece, restored vnto libertie.

The Conditions of the Peace granted vnto *Philip*, were, That before the celebration of the next *Ishmian Games*, he should withdraw his garrisons out of all the Greeke townes which he held, and consignethem ouer to the Romans: That he should deliuer vnto them all Captiues that he had of theirs, and all *Renegado's*: Likewise all his shippes of warre, reseruing to himselfe onely fise of the lesser sort, and one of extraordinary greatnesse, wherein sixteen men laboured at euery oare: Further, that he should pay a thousand talents, the one halfe in hand, the other in ten yeeres following, by cuen portions. Hereto *Linie* adds, That he was forbidden to make warre out of Macedonia, without permission of the Senate. But I finde not that he obserued this Article, or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Four hundred talents he had already deliuered to *Titus*, together with his younger son *Demetrius*, to remaine as hostage for his true dealing in this matter of peace, at such time as he lately sent his Embassadors to Rome when it was promised, that the money, and his sonne, should be restored backe vnto him, if the Senate were not pleased with the agreement. Whether this money were reckoned as part of the thousand talents, I cannot finde: and it seemeth otherwise, forasmuch as young *Demetrius*, who, together with those foure hundred talents, was giuen for hostage, remained still in custody of the Romans, as a part of the bargain which *Titus* formerly had made. Letters also were then sent by *Titus* vnto *Prusias* king of Bythinia: giuing him to vnderstand what agreement was made with *Philip* in behalfe of the Greeks; and how the Senate held it reasonable, that the *Ciani*, most miserably spoyled and oppressed by *Philip*, to gratifie this Bythinian his son-in-law, should be restored to liberty, & permitted to enioy the same benefit of the Romans, which other of their nation did. What

effect

effect these letters wrought, it was not greatly materiall; since the Romans were shortly busied with *Antiochus*, in such wise that they had not leisure to examine the conformity of *Proculus* to their will.

All Greece reioycied at the good bargain which *Titus* had made with *Philip*. Only the Aetolians found themselves agreed that they were vterly neglected; which was to the rest no small part of their contentment. The Boeotians continued to fauour the Macedonian; and thereby occasioned much trouble vnto themselves. There were some among them well affected to the Romans: who seeing how things were like to goe, made their complaint vnto *Titus*; saying, that they were no better than lost, for the good will which they had borne vnto him; vnlesse at this time, when he lay close by them with his Armie, their Prætor, which was head of the opposite Faction, might be made away. *Titus* refused to haue a hand in the execution, yet neuertheless did animate them in their purpose. So they committed the fact, and hoped to haue kept themselves vndiscovered. But when the murder came out, and somewhat was confessed by those which were put to torture: the hatred of the people brake out violently against the Romans; in such wise, that howsoeuer they durst not take Arms against them, yet such of them as they found stragling from their Campe, they murdered in all parts of the Country. This was detected within a while, and many of the dead bodies found. Hereupon *Titus* requires of the Boeotians, to haue the murderers deliuered into his hands; and for five hundred souldiers, which he had lost by them, to haue paid vnto him five hundred Talents. In stead so of making any such amends, they paid him with excuses; which hee would not take as good satisfaction. He sends Embassadors to the Achæans and Athenians, informing them what had hapned: and requested them not to take it amisse, though he dealt with these their friends as they had deserved. Herewithall he falls to wasting their Country; and besiegeth two such townes of theirs, as did seeme to be most culpable of the murders lately done. But the Embassadors of the Achæans and Athenians, (especially of the Achæans, who offered, if he needed them, to helpe him in this warre; yet befought him rather to grant peace vnto the Boeotians) prevailed so far with him; that he was pacified with thirty Talents, and the punishment of such as were knowne offenders.

In like sort, though not so violently, were many States of Greece distracted: some among them reioycing that they were free from the Macedonian, others greatly doubting that the Roman would proue a worse neighbour. The Aetolian would haue been glad of any Commotion; and therefore published rumours abroad, That it was the purpose of the Romans, to keepe in their owne hands all those places, wherein *Philip* lately had his Garrisons. Little did they, or the rest of the Greekes, conceiue, that this Macedonian Warre serued as an introduction to the Warre to bee made in Asia against King *Antiochus*; where grew the fruit, that was to be reaped of this and many other victories. Wherefore to stay the progresse of bad rumours, when the *Isthmian games* were held, which in time of peace were neuer without great solemnity and concourse: *Titus* in that great assembly of all Greece, caused proclamation to be made by sound of Trumpet to this effect, That the Senate and people of Rome, & *Titus Quintius Flaminius* the General, hauing vanquished king *Philip* and the Macedonians, did will to be at libertie, free from Impositions, free from Garrisons, and liuing at their own Lawes, the Corinthians, Phocians, Locrians, Euboeans, Achæans of Phthiotis, Magnetians, Theffalians, & Perrhæians. The suddenesse of this Proclamation astonished men: so as though they applauded it with a great shout; yet presently they cried out to heare it againe, as if they durst scarce credit their owne eares. The Greekes were Crafts-masters in the Art of giuing thanks; which they rendered now to *T. Quintius* with so great affection, as that they had well-near smothered him, by thronging officiously about him.

This good will of the Greekes, was like to be much more auailable vnto the Romans in their warre against *Antiochus*, than could haue bene the possession of a few Townes, yea or of all those Prouinces which were named in the Proclamation. Vpon confidence hereof, no sooner were the *Isthmian games* at an end, than *Titus*, with the Romans that were of his Councell, gaue audience to *Hagesias* and *Lysias*, king *Antiochus*'s Embassadors: whom they willed to signifie vnto their Lord, That he should doe well to abstaine from the free Cities in Asia, and not vexe them with warre: as also to restore whatsoever he had occupied, belonging to the kings, *Ptolomie* or *Philip*. Moreover they willed him by these his Embassadors, that he should not passe ouer his Army into Europe;

adding, That some of them would visit him in person etc. it were long, to take with him further concerning those points. This done, they fell to accomplishing their promises vnto the Greekes, to the rest they gave what they had promised. But the Phocians and Locrians they gaue vnto the Etolians, whom they thought it no wisdom to offend, ouermuch, being shortly to take a greater worke in hand. The Achæans of Phthiotis they annexed vnto the Theffalians, all saueth the town of Thebes in Phthiotis, the same which had bene abandoned by *T. Quintius* to the Etolians in the last Treaty with *Philip*. The Etolians contended very earnestly about *Pharfallus* and *Leucas*. But they were put off with a dilatory answer, and reiected vnto the Senate: for howsoeuer somewhat the Councell might fauour them; yet was it not meet that they should haue their will, as if they were in despight of *Titus*. So the Achæans were restored Corinth, Triphylia, and Hæreal; so the Corinthians were made free and freed (though the Romans yet a while kept the *Argos* in their hands) for that all which were partakers of the Achæan Common wealth, enjoyed their liberty in as absolute manner, as they could desire. To *Pleuratus* the Illyrian were given one or two places, taken by the Romans from *Philip*: and vpon *Antiochus* were bestowed those Castles, which he had gotten from *Philip* during this warre, to reigne in them & the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his Achæanians. The Rhodians had bene their owne Caruets. *Antiochus* was dead a little before the Victory, and therefore lost his share. Yet many that were with *Titus* in Councell, would haue giuen the Townes of *Oreum* and *Eretria*, in the Ile of Euboea, to his sonne and the sonne of King *Eumenes*. But finally it was concluded, that these as well as the rest of the Subiects, should be suffered to enioy their libertie. Orestis, a little Prouince of the kingdom of Macedonia bordering on Epirus, and lying towards the Ionian Sea, had yielded vnto the Romans long ere this, and since continued true to them: for which cause it was also set at libertie, and made a free estate by it selfe.

These busineses being dispatched: it remained, that all care should be vsed, not how to auoid the warre with King *Antiochus*, but how to accomplish it with most ease and propriety. Wherefore Embassadors were sent both to *Antiochus* himselfe, to picke matter of quarrell, and about vnto others, to pre-dispose them vnto the assisting of the Romans therein. What ground and matter of Warre against this king the Romans now had, or shortly after found: as also how their Embassadors and Agents deale and sped abroad; I referre vnto another place.

## CHAP. V.

The Warres of the Romans with *ANTIOCHUS* the Great, and his Adherents.

## §. 1.

What Rites of the races of *Seleucus* and *Ptolomie*, reigned in Asia and Egypt before *Antiochus* the Great.

*Seleucus Nicator*, the first of his race, king of Asia and Syria, dyed in the end of the hundred twenty and fourth Olympiad. He was treacherously slaine by *Ptolomie Ceramus*, at an Altar called *Argos*; hauing (as is said) been warned before by an Oracle, to beware of Argos; as the fatal place of his death. But I neuer haue read that any mans life hath bene preferred, or any mischief auoyded, by the predictions of such Diuinitish Oracles. Rather I beleue, That many such predictions of the Heathen Gods, haue beene antedated by their Priests or by others, which deuised them after the event.

*Antiochus* Soter, the sonne and heire of this *Seleucus*, was dearly beloued of his Father: who surrendered vnto him his owne wife *Stratonice*, when hee vnderstood how much the young Prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore *Ptolomie Ceramus* had great cause to feare, that the death of *Seleucus* would not be vntreuged by this his Successor:

But

But *Antiochus* was contented to be pacified, either with gifts, or perhaps only with faire words, containing himselfe within Asia, and letting *Ceramus* enjoy that quietly, which he had purchased in Europe with the blood of *Selenus*. It is said of this *Antiochus*, that although he married with the Queene *Stratonice* in his Fathers life; yet out of modesty he forbore to embrace her, till his Father was dead. So that perhaps his incestuous loue was partly, if not chiefly, the cause of his not prosecuting that reuenge; whereunto Nature should haue vrged him. Afterwards hee had warres with *Antigonus Gonatus*, and with *Nicomedes* King of Bithynia. Also *Lutarius* and *Comerius*, Kings or Captaines of the Gauls, were set vpon him by the fame *Nicomedes*. With these hee fought a great bataile: wherein though otherwise the Enemies had all aduantage against him, yet by the terror of his Elephants, which affrighted both their Horses and them, he won the Victory. He tooke in hand an enterprize against *Ptolomie Philadelphus*: but finding ill success in the beginning, he soon gaue it ouer. To this King *Antiochus Soter* it was, that *Berosus* the Chaldean dedicated his History of Assyria; the fame, which hath since been excellently falsified by the Frier *Annius*. Hee left behinde him one sonne, called *Antiochus Theos*; and one daughter, called *Apame*, that was married vnto the king of Cyrene. So he died about the end of the hundred twentie and ninth Olympiad, or the beginning of the Olympiad following, in the fiftieth or one and fiftieth yeer of the kingdom of the *Greekes*, when he had reigned nineteene yeeres.

*Antiochus*, surnamed *Theos*, or they said, had this vaine and impious title giuen to him, by Rattery of the Milesians; whom he deliuered from *Timarchus*, a Tyrant that oppressed them. Hee held long and difficult, but fruitlesse, warre with *Ptolomie Philadelphus* King of Egypt; which finally he compounded, by taking to wife *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolomie*.

Of these two Kings, and of this Lady *Berenice*, *S. Hierome* and other Interpreters haue vnderstood that Prophecie of *Daniel*: The Kings daughter of the South, shall come to the king of the North, to make an agreement; and that which followeth.

*Ptolomie Philadelphus* was a great loue of Peace and Learning; and (setting apart his incestuous marriage with his owne sister *Arifina*) a very excellent Prince: howsoever, the worthiest of all that race. It was He, that built and furnished with Bookes, that famous Librarie in Alexandria: which to adorne, and to honour the more, He sent vnto *Elezar* then high Priest of the Iewes, for the Bookes of *Moses* and other Scriptures. The benefits of this King vnto the Iewes, had formerly bene very great: for he had set at libertie many of them, as his Father held in slavery throughout all Egypt; and hee had sent vnto the Temple of God in Ierusalem very rich Presents. Wherefore *Elezar* yeelding to the Kings desire, presented him with an Hebrew coppie: which *Ptolomie* caused to be translated into Greek, by seventy two of the most graue & learned persons that could be found among all the Tribes. In this number of the 72. Interpreters, or (as they are commonly called) the *Seuante*, *Iesus* the sonne of *Syrach*, is thought by *Genebrard* to haue bene one: who that he liued in this Age, it seems to me very sufficiently proued by *Ianfenius*, in his Preface vnto Ecclesiasticus. The whole passage of this business of *Philadelphus* and the High Priest, was written (as *Iosephus* affirms) by *Arifinus* that was employed therein. Fortie yeeres *Ptolomie Philadelphus* was king, reckoning the time wherein he ioyntly reigned with his Father. He was exceedingly beloved of his people; and highly magnified by Poets, and other Writers. Towards his end he grew more voluptuous, than he had bene in his former yeeres: in which time he boasted, that he alone had found out the way how to liue for euer. If this had bin referred vnto his honourable deeds, it might haue stood with reason: otherwise, the Gowne, with which he was often troubled, was enough to teach him his owne error. Hee was the fifth of the Kings, deriued from *Alexanders* Successors, that entered into League with the Romans: as also of his Off-spring was the last among those Royall Families, which by then was rooted vp.

*Antiochus Theos* had another wife, called *Lodice*, at such time as he married with *Berenice* the daughter of this *Ptolomie*. After his second marriage, he vsed his first wife with no better regard, than if she had bene his Concubine. *Lodice* hated him for this: yet he neuer desired not to seeke reuenge vntill her owne sonne *Selenus Calpurnius* was of ability to be king. This was two or three yeeres after the death of *Ptolomie Philadelphus*: at what time the poisoned her husband *Theos*; and by permission of *Selenus* her son, murdered

*Berenice*,

and together with a sonne that he had borne to her, which was *Antiochus*, than *Antiochus* his sonne, together with the young Prince his sonne, a while in the Sanctuary at Delphos; and then sent only some Greekes, which he prepared to do, but her brother *Antiochus* himselfe, king of Egypt, came out against her with an Army, though too late, for the young Prince before he was killed, and a sonne of her brother, and a sonne of *Antiochus* himselfe, were killed. *Antiochus* himselfe, being wounded by his brother, was killed. His death was highly officious at his wicked nature, which he had discouraged in his first marriage. Wherefore it was like, that his first wife, would haue bene a much better wife, if *Berenice* herselfe, who came against him, had not bene drawn backe in his owne Countie, by those Commotions there in hand. For there were none that could haue stood against *Ptolomie*, in defence of their owne king: but rather they sided with the Egyptian, who took the first hand, and was rewarded her with death as she had well deserved. Wherefore *Antiochus* being freed from this iussion, by occasion of those domesticall troubles which assailed *Elezar*, went into Egypt, where about a dangerous peece of warre, euen to make warre vpon his owne Subjects, because of their bad affection towards him, as in had bin much better, by well-defecting to haue charged their hatred into loue. A great fleet he prepared: in furnishing and manning, whereof he was at such charges, that he feared lest himselfe, any other hope, if that should miserie, that hee, embarked himselfe, and putting to Sea, did aneete with such a tempest, as hee could not escape, and a very few of his friends that hardly escaped. This tempest, hauing left him nothing left in a manner than his naked body, turned newe hee to his great good, as anon after it seemed. For when his Subjects understood, what for the gods sake hee was conuicted, they punished him for his offences: they had commiseration of his Estate, and, presuming that hee would therefore become a new man, offered vnto him their seruice with great alacritie. This reuined him, and filled him with such spirit, as thinking himselfe well enough able to deale with the Egyptian, he made ready a mighty Army for that purpose. But his fortune was no better, or Land than it had bene at Sea. Hee was vanquished by *Ptolomie* in a great battle: whence hee escaped hardly, no better attended, than after his late shipwracke. Having therefore backe to *Antiochus*, and fearing that the enemy would soon be at his heels, he wrote vnto his brother *Antiochus* the sonne of *Antiochus*, who lay then in Asia, praying him to bring succour with all speed, and promising recompence of his faith and diligence, the Dominion of a great part of Asia. *Antiochus* was then but fourteene yeeres old, but extremely ambitious; and therefore glad of such an occasion to make himselfe great. He leuied a mighty Armie of the Gauls; where with he set forward to helpe his brother, or rather to get what he could for himselfe. Herof *Ptolomie* being advertised: and hauing no desire to put him to a harder more than hee needed,ooke Truce with *Antiochus* for tenne yeeres. No sooner was *Antiochus* freed from this care of the Egyptian war, but his brother *Antiochus* came vnto him, and would fight with him, as knowing himselfe to haue the better Army. So *Antiochus* was vanquished againe, and fled himselfe, with few about him, that he was verily supposed to haue perished in the battaile. Thus did Gods iudice take vengeance of those murders by which the Crowne was purchased; and killed (as might haue bene thought) on the head of this bloody King, *Antiochus*, was very glad to heare of his brother death, as if thereby hee had purchased his heards desire. But the Gauls, his Mercenaries, were gronder than Hee. For when he led them against *Eumenes* King of Pergamus, being in hope to get honour by making a Conquest in the beginning of his Reigne, these perfidious Barbariansooke countaile against him, and desired how to stripe him of all that hee had. They thought it very likely, that there were none of the Royall house to make head against them, in would be in their power, to doe what should be best pleasing to themselves in the lower Asia. Wherefore they laid hands on *Antiochus*, and enforced him to take some small summe of money, as if he had bene their Prisoner. Neither were they contented, but made him enter into such a composition with them, as they attended his little profit, in the meane while *Antiochus* had gathered an Army, and prepared once more to try his fortune against his brother. *Eumenes* hearing of this, thought the reason for himselfe, to make his profit of their discord, and rising fought with him, and was beaten; which is no great marvel, since he had gathered no more than a few of the Gauls his own soldiers.

O o o o

than

Genebrard.  
Iust. Martijn  
Pareus.

Dan. c. 11. v. 6.

Aug. de Civ.  
Dei. l. 6. c. 4.  
Iust. Martijn.  
c. 6.

Concerning  
that Booke  
which now  
goes vnder the  
name of *Arifinus*;  
many  
learned men,  
& among the  
rest *Lodovicus*  
*Pius*, hold opi-  
nion that it is  
counterfeited,  
and the inuen-  
tion of some  
late Author.  
Surely it is  
were to be suf-  
fered in the  
time of *Ioseph*;  
it may be now  
much more  
easily falsified.  
Ed: since a new  
Edition of it is  
come forth,  
purged from  
falsities (as the  
Papistes terme  
those bookes,  
wherein they  
haue changed  
what they  
please) and set  
forth by *M. de*  
*deuotus* at  
Colen An.  
Dom. 1578.



than of the enemy with whom he had to deale. After this, *Antiochus* wonne much in *Asia*, whilst *Antiochus* went against his brother. In the second battell, fought between the brethren, *Seleucus* had the better hand. And *Antiochus* fled into *the Taurus*; (which surname was given him, because he fought his prey upon every one, without care whether he were provoked or not) foared away as farre as hee could, both from his brother, and from his owne Gaules. Having fought a great compasse through *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, He fell at length in *Cappadocia*, where his father-in-law King *Antiochus* took him vp. He was entertained very lovingly in outward shew, but with a meaning to betray him. This he soone perceived: and therefore, betooke him to his wings againe, though he knew not well, which way to best his flight. At length he resolved to throw himselfe vpon *Ptolemy*; his owne conscience telling him, what eult he had meant vnto *Seleucus* his brother; and therefore what little good he was reciprocally to expect at his hands. In *Indie* he can finde no sure harbour. *Ptolemy* well vnderstood the perfidious and turbulent nature of this *Antiochus*. Wherefore he layd him vp in close prison: whence though by means of an harlot, he got out; yet flying from his keepers, hee fell into the hands of the eues, by whom he was murdered. Neere about the same time died *Seleucus*. The Parthians and Bactrians had rebelled against him, during his wars with his brother. He therefore made a iourney against *Asiatus* founder of the Parthian kingdome: where in his eult fortune, or rather Gods vengeance, adhered so closely to him, that he was taken prisoner. *Asiatus* dealt friendly with him, and dismissed him, hauling euery way to men him royall entertainment; but in returning home, he bracke his necke by a fall from his horse, and so ended his villany reigne of twenty yeeres. He had to wife *Lathie* the sister of *Andromachus*, one of his most trusty Capitallies: which was father vnto that *Asiatus*, who making his aduantage of this affliction, became shortly after (as he styled himselfe) a king, though rather indeede, a great troubler of the world in those parts. By *Lathie* he had two sonnes; *Seleucus* the third, surnamed *Euergetes*; and *Antiochus* the third, called after wards the Great.

*Seleucus* *Cerdanus* reigned onely three yeeres, in which time he made warre vpon *Antiochus* the first, that was King of *Pergamus*. Being weake of body through sicknesse, and in want of money, he could not keepe his mita of warre in good order: and finally hee was slaine by treason of *Nicanor* and *Apantus* a Gaul. His death was reuenged by *Antiochus*, who slue the Traitors, and tooke charge of the Armie: which he ruled very wisely, and faithfully a while; *Antiochus* the brother of *Seleucus*, being then a Child.

## II.

The beginning of the Great *Antiochus* his reigne. Of *Ptolemy* *Euergetes*, and *Philopator* Kings of Egypt, warre betweene *Antiochus* and *Philopator*. The rebellion of *Molo*, an expedition of *Antiochus* against him. The continuance of *Antiochus* his Egyptian warre: with the passages betweene the two Kings: the victory of *Ptolemy*, and peace concluded. Of *Achaeus*, and his rebellion, his greatnesse, and his fall. *Antiochus* his expedition against the Parthians, Bactrians, and Indians, some part of the Kings reigning in India, after the death of the Great *Alexander*.

*Antiochus* was scarcely fifteen yeeres old, when hee began his reigne, which lasted sixe and thirty yeeres. In his Minortie, He was wholly gouerned by one *Hermias*, an ambitious man, and one which inuigined all verue, that he found in any of the Kings: faithfull seruants. This wilde quality in a Countour of such great place, how harmful it was vnto his Lord, and finally vnto himselfe, the successe of things will shortly discouer.

Soone after the beginning of *Antiochus* his reigne, *Ptolemy* *Euergetes* King of Egypt died; and left his heire *Prochus* *Philopator*, a young Boy likewise, as his selfe, where been remembred. This was that *Euergetes*, who reliqued *Antiochus* and the Achaeans, who afterwards took part with *Clitus*, and longely entertained him, when hee was chased out of Greece by *Antigonus* *Gonatas*. He annexed vnto his Dominion the Kingdome of *Cyrene*, by taking to wife *Berenice* the daughter of King *Nepes*. He was the third of the *Ptolemies*; and the last good King of the race. The name of *Euergetes*, or the doer of good, was given to him by the Egyptians: for so much for the great spoyle which he brought home, after his victories in Syria; as for that he reuenged some of those

those Images or Idols, which *Cambyses*, when hee conquered Egypt, had carried into Persia. He was ready to haue made warre vpon the Iewes, for that *Antiochus* their high Priest, out of more counterfeits of money refused to pay vnto him his yearly tribute of 60 talents: but he was pacified by the wisdom of *Jesphus* a Iew, to whom afterwards hee let in firme the Tributes and Customes that belonged vnto him in those parts of Syria which he held. For *Caesarea*, with *Palestina* and all those parts of the Countrey that lay neere vnto Egypt, were held by the Egyptians; either as having false to the share of *Ptolemy* the first, at such time as the great *Antigonus* was vanquished and slaine in the battell at *Ipsus*; or as being won by this *Euergetes*, in the trouble some and vnhappy reigne of *Seleucus* *Callinicus*. The victories of this *Euergetes* in Syria, with the contentions that lasted for many succeeding ages betweene the *Ptolemies* and the *Seleucides*, were all foretold by *Daniel* in the Prophecies before cited, which is expounded by *S. Hierome*. This *Ptolemy* *Euergetes* reigned sixe and twenty yeeres, and dyed towards the end of the hundred thirty and ninth Olympiad. It may seeme by that, which we finde in the Prologue vnto *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach* his booke, that he should haue reigned a much longer time. For *Sirachides* there saith that he came into Egypt in the eight and thirtieth yeere, when *Euergetes* was king. It may therefore be, That either this king reigned long together with his father: or that those eight and thirty yeeres, were the yeeres of *Iesus* his owne age; if not perhaps reckoned (as the Iewes did other whiles reckon) from some notable accident that had befallen them.

Not long after the death of *Euergetes*, *Hermias* the Counsaile, and in a manner the Protector of King *Antiochus*, incited his Lord vnto warre against the Egyptians; for the recouerie of *Caesarea* and the Countreies adioyning. This counsaile was very vnseasonably giuen, when *Molo*, the kings Lieutenant in Media, was broken out into rebellion, and sought to make himselfe absolute Lord of that rich Countrey. Neuertheless *Hermias*, being more froward than wise, maintained stiffly, that it was most expedient, and agreeable with the kings honour, to send forth against a rebellious Captaine, other Capitaines that were faithfull, whilst He in person made warre vpon one, that was like himselfe, a king. No man durst gaine-say the resolution of *Hermias*; who therefore sent *Xenatas* an Achaeus, with such forces as he thought expedient, against the Rebel, whilst in the meane season an Armie was preparing for the kings expedition into *Caesarea*. The king hauing marched from *Apamea* to *Laodicea*, and so ouer the Deserts into the Vallie of *Masfias*, betweene the Mountaines of *Libanus* and *Anti-libanus*, found his way there stopped by *Theodorus* an *Aetolian*, that serued vnder *Ptolemy*. So hee consumed the time there a while to none effect: and then came newes, that *Xenatas*, his Captaine, was destroyed with his whole Armie, and *Molo* thereby become Lord of all the Countrey, as farre as vnto *Babylon*.

*Xenatas*, whilst he was yet on his iourney, and drew neere to the Riuer of *Tygris*; receiued many aduertisements by such as fled ouer vnto him from the Enemy. That the followers of *Molo* were, for the most part, against their wills, drawne by their Commander to beare armes against their king. This report was not altogether false; but *Molo* himselfe stood in some doubt lest his followers would leaue him in time of necessity. *Xenatas* therefore making shew, as if he had prepared to passe the Riuer by Boats in face of his Enemy; left in the night time such as he thought meete to defend his Campe; and with all the floure of his Armie went ouer *Tygris*, in a place tenne miles lower than *Molo* his Campe. *Molo* heard of this, and sent forth his horse to giue impediment: but hearing that *Xenatas* could not so bee stopped, hee himselfe dislodged, and tooke his iourney towards *Media*; leauing all his baggage behinde him in his Campe. Whether hee did this, as distrusting the faith of his owne souldiers; or whether thereby to deceiue his enemy; the great follie of *Xenatas* made his stratagem prosperous. For *Xenatas*, hauing borne himselfe proudly before, vpon the countenance of *Hermias*, by whom he was aduanced vnto this charge, did now presume, that all should giue way to his authority, without putting him to much trouble of vsing the sword. Wherefore he suffered his men to feast, with the provisions which they found ready in the forsaken Campe: or rather he commanded them so to doe, by making Proclamation, That they should cherish vp themselves against the iourney, which he intended to take next day, in pursuit of the Rebels that fled. And to the same purpose hee busied himselfe, in transporting the remainder of his Armie, which hee had left on the other side of *Tygris*. But *Molo* went



no further that day, than he could easily returne the same night. Wherefore vnderstanding what good rule the Kings men kept: he made such haste backe vnto them, that he came vpon them early in the morning; whilst they were yet heavy with the wine and other good cheere, that they had spent at supper. So *Xenetus* and a very few with him, died fighting in defence of the Campe: the rest were slaughtered, without making resistance; and many of them, ere they were perfectly awake. Likewise the Campe on the other side of Tygris, was easily taken by *Melo*: the Captaines flying thence, to save their owne liues. In the heat of this victorie, the Rebél marched vnto Seleucia, which he presently tooke: and, mastering within a little while the Province of Babylonia, and all the Countrey downe to the Red-Sea, or Bay of Persia, Hee hastned vnto Susa; where at his first comming, he won the City: but failing to take the Castle that was exceeding strong, returned backe to Seleucia, there to giue order concerning this businesse.

The report of these things comming to *Antiochus*, whilst he lay (as is said before) in the Vale of Marisyas, filled him with great sorrow, and his Campe with trouble. He tooke counsaile what to doe in this needfull case; and was well aduised by *Epigenes* the best man of warre he had about him, to let alone this enterprise of Coelosyria; and bend his forces thither, where more need required them. This counsaile was put in execution with all conuenient haste. Yet was *Epigenes* dismissed by the way, and soone after slain, by the practise of *Hermias*; who could not endure to heare good counsaile giuen, contrary to his owne good liking and allowance. In the iourney against *Melo*, the name and presence of the King was more auailable, than any oddes which he had of the Rebél in strength. *Melo* distrusted his owne followers: and thought, that neither his late good successe, nor any other consideration, would serue to hold them from returning to the kings obedience; if once they beheld his person. Wherefore he thought it safest for him to assaile the Kings Campe in the night time. But going in hand with this, Hee was discovered by some that fled out from him to the King. This caused him to returne backe to his Campe: which, by some error, tooke alarme at his returne; and was hardly quieted, when *Antiochus* appeared in sight. The King was thus forward in giuing battaile to *Melo*, vpon confidence which he had that many would reuolt vnto him. Neither was he deceived in this his beliefe. For not a few men, or Ensignes, but all the left wing of the enemy, which was opposite vnto the King, changed side forthwith as soone as euer they had sight of the kings person; and were ready to doe him seruice against *Melo*. This was enough to haue wonne the Victorie: but *Melo* shortned the worke, by killing himselfe, as did also diuers of his friends, who for feare of torments preuented the Hang-man with their owne swords.

After this Victorie came ioyfull newes, that the Queene *Laudice*, daughter of *Mithridates* king of Pontus, which was married vnto *Antiochus* a while before, had brought forth a sonne. Fortune seemed bountifull vnto the King: and therefore he purposed to make what vse he could, of her friendly disposition while it lasted: Being now in the Easterne parts of his kingdome, He iudged it conuenient to visit his Frontiers, were it only to terrifie the Barbarians, that bordered vpon him. Hereunto his Counsailler *Hermias* gaue assent: not so much respecting the Kings honour, as considering what good might thereby happen to himselfe. For if it should come to passe, that the King were taken out of the world by any casualtie: then made he no doubt of becoming Protector to the young Prince; and thereby of lengthning his owne Gouernement. *Antiochus* therefore went against *Artabazanes*, who reigned among the Atropatians; hauing the greatest part of his kingdome, situate betwene the Caspian & Euxine Sea. This barbarous King was very old and fearefull; and therefore yielded vnto whatsoeuer conditions it pleased *Antiochus* to lay vpon him. So in this iourney *Antiochus* got honour, such as well contented him; and then returned homewards. Vpon the way, a Physician of his brake with him as concerning *Hermias*, informing him truly how odious he was to the people; and how dangerous he would be shortly vnto the kings owne life. *Antiochus* beleued this, hauing long suspected the same *Hermias*; but not daring for feare of him to vtter his suspicions. It was therefore agreed, that he should be made away on the sudden: which was done, he being trined forth by a sleight, a good way out of the Campe, and there killed without warning or disputation. The King needed not to haue vsed so much art, in ridding his hands of a man so much detested. For howsoeuer he seemed gracious whilst he was aliue: yet they that for feare had bene most obsequious to him

him, whilst he were in case to do them hurt, was as ready as the foremost, to speake of him as he had deserved; when once they were secure of him: Yea, his wife and children lying then at Apamea, were stoned to death by the wifes and children of the Citizens, whose indignation brake forth the more outragiously, the longer that they had bene concealed.

About these times, *Achæus* (of whom we spake before) thinking that *Antiochus* might happen to perish in some of these Expeditions which he tooke in hand; was bold to set a Diademe vpon his owne head, and take vpon him as a king. His purpose was to haue invaded Syria: but the fame of *Antiochus*'s his returning thitherwards, made him quit the enterprise; and studied to set some handsome colour on his former presumption. It is very strange, that *Antiochus* neither went against *Achæus*; nor yet dissembled the notice which he had taken, of these his traiterous purposes: but wrote vnto him, signifying that he knew all; and vpbraiding him with such infidelity, as any offender might know to be vnparadonable. By these meanes he emboldned the Traytor: who being already detected, might better hope to maintain his former actions by strong hand, than to excuse them, or get pardon by submission. *Antiochus* had at that time a vehement desire to recover Coelosyria, or what else he could, of the Dominions of *Ptolemie Philopater* in those parts. Hee began with Seleucia a very strong City neere to the mouth of the Riuer Orontes, which ere long hee wonne, partly by force, partly by corrupting with brybes the Captaines that lay therein. This was that Seleucia, whereto *Antigonus the great*, who founded it, gaue the name of Antigonia: but *Seleucus* getting it shortly after, called it Seleucia; and *Ptolemie Evergetes* hauing lately won it, might if it had so pleased him, haue changed the name into Ptolemais. Such is the vanity of men, that hope to purchase an endlesse memoriall vnto their names, by workes proceeding rather from their greatnesse, than from their vertue; which therefore no longer are their own; than the same greatnesse hath continuance. *Theodotus* the Atolian, he that before had opposed himselfe to *Antiochus*, and defended Coelosyria in the behaue of *Ptolemie*; was now grown sorry, that he had vsed so much faith & diligence, in seruice of an vnthankfull and luxurious Prince. Wherefore as a Mercenarie, he began to haue regard to his owne profit: which thinking to finde greater, by applying himselfe vnto him that was (questionlesse) the more worthy of these two kings; He offered to deliuer vp vnto *Antiochus* the Cities of Tyrus & Ptolemais. Whilst he was dealing about this treason, and had already sent messengers to king *Antiochus*: his practice was detected & he besieged in Ptolemais by one of *Ptolemies* Captaines, that was more faithfull than himselfe. But *Antiochus* hastning to his rescue, vanquished this Captaine who met him on the way: and afterwards got possession, not onely of Tyrus and Ptolemais, with a good fleet of the Egyptian kings that was in those Hauens: but of so many other Townes in that Countrey, as emboldned him to thinke vpon making a iourney into Egypt it selfe. *Agathocles* and *Socibius* bore all the sway in Egypt at that time: *Ptolemie* himselfe being loth to haue his pleasures interrupted, with businesse of so small importance, as the safety of his kingdome. Wherefore these two agreed together, to make prouision as hastily, and yet as secretly as might be, for the war; and neuertheless, at the same time, to presse *Antiochus* with daily Embassadours to some good agreement. There came in the heat of this businesse, Embassadours from Rhodes, Byzantium, & Cyzicus, as likewise from the Atolians, according to the vsuall countesse of the Greekes, desiring to take vp the quarrell.

These were all entertained in Memphis, by *Agathocles* and *Socibius*: who intreated them to deale effectually with *Antiochus*. But whilst this treaty lasted, great preparations were made at Alexandria for the warre: wherein these two Counsaillers perswaded themselves reasonably, that the victory would be their own; if they could get, for money, a sufficient number of the greeks to take their parts. *Antiochus* heard only what was done at Memphis, and how desirous the Gouernours of Egypt were to be at quiet: whereunto he gaue the readier beliefe, not onely for that he knew the disposition of *Ptolemie*, but because the Rhodians, & other Embassadours, coming from Memphis, discoursed vnto him all after one manner; as being at decelud by the cunning of *Agathocles* & his fellow: *Antiochus* therefore hauing wearied himselfe, at the long siege of a Town called Dura, which he could not winne: & being desirous to refresh himselfe & his Armie in Seleucia, during the winter which then came on, granted to the Egyptian a truce for foure moneths,

moneths, with promise that hee would be ready to hearken vnto equal Conditions, when they should be offered. It was not his meaning to be so courteous, as hee would faine haue seemed, but onely to lull his enemies asleepe, whilest he tooke time to refresh himselfe; and to bring *Achus* to some good order, whose treason daily grew more open and violent. The same negligence which he thought the Egyptian would haue vsed, He vsed himselfe, as presuming, that when time of the yeere better serued, little force would be needfull; for that the Townes would voluntarily yeeld vnto him, since *Ptolemie* provided not for their defence. Neuerthelesse, he gaue audience to the Embassadors, and had often conference with those that were sent out of Egypt: pleasing himselfe well, to dispute about the iustice of his quarrell, which he purposed shortly to make good by the sword, whether it were iust or no. He said, that it was agreed betwene *Seleucus* his Ancestor, and *Ptolemie* the sonne of *Lagi*, That all Syria, if they could winneit from *Antigonius*, should bee giuen in possession to *Seleucus*: and that this bargain was afterwards ratified, by generall consent of all the Confederates, after the battaile at Iplu. But *Ptolemies* men would acknowledge no such bargain. They said, that *Ptolemie* the sonne of *Lagi*, had wonne Ctesolysia, and the Provinces adioyning for himselfe: as also th it he had sufficiently gratified *Seleucus*, by lending him forces to recouer his Province of Babylon, and the Countreies about the Riuer of Euphrates. Thus whilest neither of them greatly cared for peace; they were, in the end of their dispute, as farre from concluding as at the beginning. *Ptolemie* demanded restitution; *Antiochus* thought, that he had not as yet gotten all that was his owne: Also *Ptolemie* would needs haue *Achus* comprehended in the League betwene them, as one of their Confederates. But *Antiochus* would not endure to heare of this, exclaiming against it as a shamefull thing, that one King should offer to deale so with another, as to take his Rebelle into protection, and seek to ioyn him in Confederacie with his own Soueraigne Lord. When the Truce was expired, and *Antiochus* prepared to take the field again: contrary to his expectation he was informed, That *Ptolemie*, with a very puissant Armie, was coming vp against him out of Egypt. Setting forward therefore to meet with the Enemy, he was encountered on the way by those Captaines of *Ptolemie*, that had resisted him the yeere before. They held against him the passages of Libanus, whence neuerthelesse hee draue them: and, proceeding onward in his iourney, wonne so many places, that he greatly increased his reputation; and thereby drew the Arabians, with diuers of the bordering people, to become his followers. As the two Kings drew neere together: many Captaines of *Ptolemie* forsooke his pay, and fled ouer to *Antiochus*. This notwithstanding, the Egyptian had the courage to meet his enemy in the field. The battell was fought at Raphia: where it was not to be decided, whether the Egyptians or Asiaticques were the better Souldiers (for that the strength of both Armies consisted in Mercenaries, chiefly of the Greeks, Thracians, and Gauls) but whether of the Kings was the more fortunate. *Ptolemie*, with *Arfinoe* his Sister and Wife, rode vp and downe encouraging his men; the like did *Antiochus* on the other side: each of them rehearsing the braue deeds of his Ancestors; as not hauing of their owne, whereby to value themselves. *Antiochus* had the more Elephants: as also his, being of Asia, had they been fewer would haue beaten those of Africke. Wherefore by the aduantage of those beasts, Hee draue the Enemies before him, in that part of the battaile wherein he fought himselfe. But *Ptolemie* had the better men: by whose valour he brake the Grosse of his Enemies battaile, and won the victory; whilest *Antiochus* was heedlesly following vpon those, whom he had compelled to retire. *Antiochus* had brought into the field, about seuentie thousand foot, and fixe thousand horse; whereof though hee lost scarce ten thousand foot, and not foure hundred horse; yet the fame of his overthrow tooke from him all those places which he had lately won. When therefore he was returned home to Antioch: He began to stand in feare, lest *Ptolemie* and *Achus*, setting vpon him both at once, should put him in danger of his whole Estate. This caused him to send Embassadors to the Egyptian to treat of peace: which was readily granted; it being much against the nature of *Ptolemie* to vex himselfe thus with the tedious businesse of warre. So *Ptolemie*, hauing staid three moneths in Syria, returned home into Egypt, clad with the reputation of a Conqueror, to the great admiration of his subjects, and of all those that were acquainted with his voluptuous and slothfull condition.

*Achus* was not comprised in the league betwene these two Kings: or if hee had beene

been included therein, yet would not the Egyptian haue taken the paines, of making a second expedition for his sake. The best was, that he thought himselfe strong enough, if fortune were not too much against him, to deale with *Antiochus*. Neither was he confident without great reason: For besides his many victories, whereby hee had gotten all that belonged vnto *Antiochus* on this side of *Taurus*, Hee had also good successe against *Antiochus* King of Pergamus: that was an able man of warre, and commanded a strong Armie. Neither was hee, as *Molo* the Rebelle had beene, one of meane regard otherwise, and carried beyond himselfe by apprehending the vanpage of some opportunitie: but Cousin german to the King, as hath beene shewed before; and now lately the Kings brother-in-law, by taking to wife a younger daughter of the same *Mithridates* King of Pontus, which was also called *Laodice*, as was her sister the Queene, *Antiochus* his wife. These things had added maiestie vnto him; and had made his followers greatly to respect him, euen as one to whom a Kingdome was belonging. Neither made it a little for him, that King *Ptolemie* of Egypt held him in the nature of a friend: and that King *Antiochus* was now lately vanquished in the battaile at Raphia; and had thereby lost all his gettings in Syria. But all these hopes and likely-hoods came to nothing: For the King of Pontus, if hee would meddle in that quarrell betwene sonnes-in-law, had no reason to take part against the more honourable. As for the Egyptian: He was not onely slothfull, but hindered by a rebellion of his owne subjects, from helping his friends abroad. For the people of Egypt, of whom *Ptolemie*, contrarie to the manner of his Progenitors, had armed a great number to serue in the late expedition; beganne to entertaine a good opinion of their owne valour, thinking it not inferior to the Macedonian. Hereupon they refused to suffer as much as formerly they had done: since they lesse esteemed, than they had done, the force of the Kings Mercenarie Greekes, which had hitherto kept them in streight subiection. Thus brake out a warre betwene the king and his subjects: wherein though the ill-guided force of the multitude was finally broken; yet king *Ptolemie* thereby wasted much of his strength, and much of his time, that might haue bene spent, as he thought, much better in reuelling; or, as others thought, in luccouring *Achus*. As for *Antiochus*, Hee had no sooner made his peace with the Egyptian, than he turned all his care to the preparation of warre against *Achus*. To this purpose he entred into League with *Attalus*; that so he might distract the forces of his Rebelle, and finde him worke on all sides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were such, that within a while he had pent vp *Achus* into the Citie of Sardes; where he held him about two yeeres besieged. The Citie was very strong, and well victualled: so as there appeared not, when the second yeere came, any greater likelihood of taking it, than in the first yeeres siege. In the end, one *Lagoras* a Cretan found means how to enter the Towne. The Castle it selfe was vpon a very high Rocke, and in a manner impregnable, as also the Towne-wall adioyning to the Castle, in that part which was called the *Sauve*, was in like manner situate vpon steepe Rockes, and almost inaccessible; that hung ouer a deepe bottom, whereinto the dead carcases of Horses, and other beasts, yea, and sometimes of men, vsed to be throwne. Now it was obscured by *Lagoras*, that the Ravens and other birds of prey, which hanted that place by reason of their food which was there neuer wanting, vsed to flie vp vnto the top of the Rocks, and to pitch vpon the walles, where they rested without any disturbance. Observing this often, he reasoned with himselfe, and concluded, that those parts of the Wall were left vnguarded, as being thought vnapproachable. Hereof he informed the king: who approved his iudgement, & gaue vnto him the leading of such men, as hee desired for the accomplishing of the enterprize. The success was agreeable to that which *Lagoras* had afore conceived: and though with much labour, yet without resistance, he scaled those rocks, and (whilest a generall assault was made) entred the towne in that part; which was at other times vnguarded, then vnthought vpon. In the same place had the Persians, vnder *Cyrus*, gotten into Sardes; when *Crasus* thought himselfe secure on that side. But the Citizens tooke not warning, by the example of a losse manie ages past; and therefore out of memorie, *Achus* held still the Castle: which not onely seemed by nature impregnable, but was verie well fortified with all necessaries; & manned with a sufficient number, of such as were to him well assured. *Antiochus* therefore was constrained to waste much time about it; hauing none other hope to preuaile, than by famishing the inclosed. Besides the usual tediousnesse of expectation, his businesse called him thence away into the higher Asia, where the Ba-

trians, and Parthians with the Hyrcanians, had crested Kingdoms taken out of his Dominions, vpon which they still inroched. But hee thought it not safe, to let *Cathartes* breake loose againe. On the other side there were some Agents of *Ptoleme* the Egyptian, and good friends vnto *Achews*; that made it their whole studie, how to deliuer this besieged Prince. If they could rescue his person, they cared for no more: but presumed that when he should appeare in the Countreyes vnder *Taurus*, he would soone haue an Armie at command, and bee strong enough to hold *Antiochus* as hardly to worke as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one *Bolis* a Cretan, that was acquainted well with all the wayes in the Countrey, and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult passages among those Rockes, whereon the Castle of Sardes stood. Him to they tempted with great rewards, which he should receiue at the hands of *Ptoleme*, as well as of *Antiochus*, to doe his best for performance of their desire. He vnderooke the businesse: and gaue such likely reasons of bringing all to effect, that they wrote vnto *Achews*, by one *Arianus*, a trustie messenger, whom *Bolis* found meanes to conuigh into the Castle. The faith of these Negotiators *Achews* held most assured. They also wrote vnto him in priuie Characters, or Chiphers, wherewith none saue he and they were acquainted: whereby he knew, that it was no fained deuiſe of his Enemies, in the name of his friends. As for the messenger, hee was a trustie fellow, and one whom *Achews* found, by examination, heartily affected vnto their side. But the Contents of the Epistle, which were, That he should be confident in the faith of *Bolis*, and of one *Cambylus* to whom *Bolis* had wonne vnto the businesse, did somewhat trouble him. They were men to him vnknewne: and *Cambylus* was a follower of *Antiochus*; vnder whom he had the command of those Cretans, which held one of the Forts that blocked vp the Castle of Sardes. Neuertheleſſe other way to escape he saw none, than by putting himselfe to some aduventure. When the messenger had therefore passed to and fro: it was at length concluded, That *Bolis* himselfe should come speake with *Achews*, & conduct him forth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the rest, saue only by *Bolis* and *Cambylus*, which were Cretans, and as all their Countreymen, some few excepted, haue beene, and still are; false knaues. These two held a consultation together, that was, as *Polybius* obserues it, rightly Critical: neither concerning the safety of him whose deliuey they vnderooke, nor touching the discharge of their owne faith; but onely how to get most with least adoe and danger to themselves. Briefly they concluded, That first of all they would equally share betwene them ten Talents, which they had already receiued in hand: and then, That they would reueale the matter to *Antiochus*; offering to deliuer *Achews* vnto him, if they might be well rewarded both with present money, and with promise of consideration aniuersable to the greatnesse of such a seruice, when it should be dispatched. *Antiochus* hearing this promise of *Cambylus*, was no lesse glad, than were the friends of *Achews* well pleased with the comfortable promises of *Bolis*. At length when all things were in readinesse on both sides, and that *Bolis* with *Arianus* was to get vp into the Castle, and conueigh *Achews* thence: Hee first went with *Cambylus* to speake with the King, who gaue him very priuie audience; and confirmed vnto him by word of mouth the assurance of his liberall promises. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honest man, and of one that was faithfull vnto *Ptoleme* whom he had long serued; He accompanied *Arianus* vp into the Castle. At his coming thither, Hee was louingly entertained, yet questioned at large by *Achews*, touching all the weight of the businesse in hand. But hee discoursed so well, and with such gravity; that there appeared no reason of distrusting either his faith or iudgement. Hee was an olde Souldiour, had long bene a Captaine vnder *Ptoleme*, and did not thrust himselfe into this businesse; but was inuited by honourable and faithfull men. Hee had also taken a safe course, in winning (as it seemed) that other countreymen of his, who kept a Fort that stood in their way; and thereby had already sundry times giuen safe passage and repassage vnto *Arianus*. But againe all these comfortable hopes, the importance of so great an aduventure stirred vp some diffidence. *Achews* therefore dealt wisely, and sayde, That he would yet stay in the Castle a little longer: but that hee meant to send away with *Bolis* three or foure of his friends; from whom when he receiued better aduertisement, concerning the likelyhood of the enterprize, then would he issue forth himselfe. Hereby heooke order, not to comit himselfe wholly vnto the faith of a man vnknewne. But as *Polybius* well notes, he did not consider that he

\* Among these few I doe not except none, calling himselfe *Arianus*, to a *draw* a Cretan who in one of his late thanselle Li-bels, wherein hee aduouch our King, *Cretigian*, and Country, with all the good & worthy men of whom hee could learne the names, hath, by insinuating in some twice, belied me; in calling me a Puritan, and one that haue bene dangerous vnto my Soueraigne. It is an honour to be ill spoken of by so diligent a supporter of Treasons, and Architect of Leuesin regard whereof I may not denie him the consideration of Cretigian no lesse voluminous, than he is in multiplicity of name is beyond any the Cretans in elder times, that were alwaies 7 yeers, enill brasse, and slow bellies.

\* *Polybius* lib. 5.

he played the Cretian with a man of Crete: which is to say, That he had to doe with one, whose leauey could not be avoided by circumspection. *Bolis* and *Cambylus* had layd their plot thus. That if *Achews* came forth alone, then should he easily be taken by the ambush prepared for him: if he were accompanied with many of his friends, then should *Arianus* be appointed to lead the way, as one that of late had trodden it oft; & *Bolis* following behinde, should haue an eye vpon *Achews* to prevent him not onely from escaping in the tumult, but from breaking his owne necke, or otherwise killing himselfe: to the end that being taken aliue, Hee might be to *Antiochus* the more welcome Present. And in such order came they now forth: *Arianus* going before as Guide; the rest following, as the way serued, and *Bolis* in the Rere. *Achews* made none acquainted with his purpose, till the very instant of his departure. Then signified he the matter to his Wife *Lepide*, and comforting her with hope as well as he could, appointed foure of his speciall friends to beare him companies. They were all disguised: and one of them alone tooke vpon him to haue knowledge of the Greek tongue; speaking & answering as need should require, for all as if the rest had bene Barbarians. *Bolis* followed them, craftily deuiſing vpon his businesse, and much perplexed. For (saith *Polybius*) Though he were of Crete, and prone to farmise any thing to the mischiefe of another: yet could hee not see in the darke, nor know which of them was *Achews*, or whether *Achews* himselfe were there. The way was very vncleane, and in some places dangerous; especially to those that knew it not. Wherefore they were faine to stay in diuers places: and helpe one another vp or downe. But vpon euery occasion they were all of them very officious towards *Achews*; lending him their hands, and taking such care of him, as easily gaue *Bolis* to vnderstand, that he was the man: and so by their vnseasonable duty, they vndid their Lord. When they came to the place where *Cambylus* lay in wait, *Bolis* whistled, & presently clasped *Achews* about the middle, holding him fast that he could not stirre. So they were all taken by the Ambush, and carried forthwith to *Antiochus*: who fate vp watching in his Pavilion, expecting the euent. The fight of *Achews*, brought in bound vnto him, did so astonish the king, that he was vnable to speake a word, and anon brake out into weeping. Yet was he before informed of the plot, which might haue kept him from admiration: as also the next morning betimes assembling his friends together, Hee condemned *Achews* to a cruell death; which argues, that hee was not moued with pity towards this vnhappy man. Wherefore it was the generall regard of calamities, incident vnto great fortunes, that wring from him those teares: as also the rarity of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder: though it be so, that such a course as this of his, in employing two mischieuous knaues against one Traiour, doth not rarely succeed well; according to that Spanish Proverbe, *A vntraydor dos alleuſos*. The death of *Achews* brought such astonishment vpon those which held the Castle, that after a while they gaue vp the place and themselves vnto the King; whereby he got entire possession of all to him belonging in the lesser Asia.

Some yeeres passed after this, ere *Antiochus* was ready for his Expedition against the Parthians and Hyrcanians. The Parthians were a little Nation of obscure beginnings, and commonly subiect vnto those that ruled in Media. In the great shuffling for Prouinces, after the death of *Alexander*; the Governement ouer them was committed by *Antipater* to one *Philip*, a man of small regard; shortly they fell to *Eumenes*; then to *Antigonus*; and from him, together with the Medes, to *Seleucus*: vnder whose posterity they continued vntill the Reigne of *Seleucus Callinicus*, being ruled by Lieutenants of the Syrian kings. The lustfull insolencie of one of these Lieutenants, together with the misfortune of *Callinicus*, that was vanquished and thought to be slaine by the Gaules; did stirre vp *Asaces*, a Noble man of the Countrey, to seeke reuenge of injuries done, and animate them to rebell. So hee flue the kings Lieutenants; made himselfe king of the Parthians and Lord of Hyrcania; fought prosperously with those that disturbed him in his beginnings; and tooke *Seleucus Callinicus* prisoner in battaile, whom hee royally entertained and dismissed. Hereby hee wonne reputation as a lawfull king: and by good government of his Countrey, procured vnto himselfe such loue of his Subjects, that his name was continued vnto his successors; like as that of the *Ptolemies* in Egypt, & that of the *Cæsars* afterwards in Rome. Much about the same time the Badrians rebelled: though these at length, and all belonging vnto the Seleucide beyond Eufrates, increased the Parthians dominion. Now *Antiochus* went against them with so strong an army, that

that they durst not meete him in plaine field; but kept themselves in woods, for places of strength, and defended the Streights and passages of Mountaines. The resistance they made availed them not. For *Antiochus* had with him so great a multitude, and so well fortified, as he needed not to turne out of the way, from those that lay fortified against him, in Woods & Streights betwene their mountaines; it being easie to spare out of so great a number, as many as fetching a compass about, might eyther get about the enemies heads; or come behinde, and charge them on the backe. Thus did hee often trispy against them his light armature: wherewith he caused them to dislodge, and glieway vnto his Phalanx; vpon which they durst not adventure themselves in open ground. *Asiaces*, the second of the name, (for his father was dead before this) was then King of Parthia: who though hee was confident in the fidelity of his owne subiects; yet feared to encounter with so mighty an invader. His hope was, that the bad wayes, and Deserts, would have caused *Antiochus*, when he was at Ecbatane in Media, to giue over the journey, without proceeding much further. This not so falling out: Hee caused the Wells and Springs in the Wildernesse, through which his enemy must passe, to bee dammed vpon and spoiled. By which means, and the resistance before spoken of, when he could not preuaile, He withdrew himselfe out of the way, suffering the Enemy to take his pleasure for a time, in wasting the Countrey: wherewith without some victorie obtained, he could make no long abode. *Antiochus* herby found, That *Asiaces* was nothing strongly prouided for the war. Wherefore hee marched through the heart of Parthia: and then forward into Hyrcania where hee wanne Tambrace, the chiefe City of that Prouince. This indignitie, and many other losses, caused *Asiaces* at length, when he had gathered an Armie that seemed strong enough, to adventure a battaile. The issue thereof was such as gaue to neither of the kings hope of accomplishing his desires, without exceeding difficultie. Wherefore *Asiaces* craued Peace, and at length obtained it: *Antiochus* thinking it not amisse, to make him a friend, whom he could not make a subiect.

The next expedition of *Antiochus*, was against *Euthydemus* King of the Bactrians; one that indeede had not rebelled against him or his Ancestors: but hauing gotten the kingdom from those that had rebelled, kept it to himselfe. With *Euthydemus* hee fought a battaile by the Riuer Arius, where he had the victory. But the victory was not so greatly to his honour; as was the testimony which he gaue of his owne priuate valour, in obtaining it. Hee was thought that day to haue demeaned him more courageously, than did any one man in all his Armie. His horse was slaine vnder him; and he himselfe received a wound in his mouth, whereby he lost some of his teeth. As for *Euthydemus*, He withdrew himselfe backe vnto the furthermost parts of his kingdom, and afterwards protracted the warre, seeking how to end it by composition. So Embassadors passed betwene the Kings: *Antiochus* complaining, That a Countrey of his was vnjustly vsurped from him: *Euthydemus* answering, That he had wonne it from the children of the Vsurers; and further, That the Bactrians, a wilde Nation, could hardly be retained in order, saue by a King of their owne; for that they bordered vpon the Scythians, with whom if they should ioyne, it would be greatly to the danger of all the Prouinces that lay behinde them. These allegations, together with his owne wearinesse, pacified *Antiochus*, and made him willing to grant Peace, vpon reasonable Conditions. *Demetrius*, the sonne of *Euthydemus*, being a goodly Gentleman, and employed by his father, as Embassador in this Treaty of Peace, was not a little auailable vnto a good conclusion: for *Antiochus* liked him so well, that he promised to giue him in marriage, one of his owne daughters; and therewithall permitted *Euthydemus* to retaine the kingdom, causing him neuerthelesse to deliuer vp all his Elephants; as also to binde himselfe by oath, to such Couenants as he thought requisite.

So *Antiochus* leauing the Bactrian in quiet, made a journey ouer Caucasus, and came to the borders of India, where he renewed with *Sappagafenus*, king of the Indians, the society that had bene betwene their Ancestors. The Indians had remained subiect vnto the Macedonians, for a little while, after *Alexanders* death. *Eumenes* in his warre against *Antigonus*, raised part of his forces out of their Countrey. But when *Antigonus* (after his victory) turned Westward, and was ouer-busied in a great ciuil warre: then did one *Sandrocottus*, an Indian, stirre vp his Countrey-men to Rebellion; making himselfe their Captaine, and taking vpon him, as Protector of their libertie. This Office

for and Title hee soone changed, though not without some contention, into the Name and Maiestie of a king. Finally hee got vnto himselfe (hauing an Armie of sixe hundred thousand men) if not all India; yet as much of it as had bene *Alexanders*. In this Estate he had well confirmed himselfe; ere *Selenus Nicator* could find leisure to call him to account. Neither did He faint, or humble himselfe, at the coming of *Selenus*; but met him in the field, as ready to defend his owne; so strongly and well appointed, that the Macedonian was contented, to make both peace and affinity with him, taking onely a reward of fifty Elephants. This League, made by the Founders of the Indian and Syrian kingdoms, was continued by some Offices of loue betwene their children, and now renewed by *Antiochus*: whose number of Elephants were increased therupon, by the Indian king, to an hundred and fiftie: as also he was promised, to haue some treasure sent after him; which he left one to receiue. Thus parted these two great kings. Neither had the Indians, from this time forward, in many generations, any businesse worthy of remembrance with the Western Countreyes. The posteritie of *Sandrocottus*, is thought to haue retained that kingdom vnto the dayes of *Augustus Caesar*: to whom *Porus*, then reigning in India, sent Embassadors with Presents, and an Epistle written in Greeke: wherein, among other things, He said, That He had command ouer sixe hundred kings. There is also found, scattered in sundrie Authors, the mention of some which held that kingdom, in diuers Ages, euen vnto the time of *Constantine the Great*: being all peradventure of the same race. But *Antiochus*, who in this Treatie with *Sappagafenus* carried himselfe as the worthier person, receiuing Presents; and after marching home through Drangiana and Carmania, with such reputation, that all the Potentates not onely in the higher Asia, but on the higher side of Taurus, humbled themselves vnto him, and called him *The Great*: saw an end of his owne Greatnesse within few yeeres ensuing, by presuming to stand vpon points with the Romans, whose Greatnesse was the same indeed, that his was onely in seeming.

## S. III.

The lewd reigne of Ptolemie Philopator in Egypt: with the tragick end of his sonnes; where he was dead. *Antiochus* prepares to marrie on the young child Ptolemie Epiphanes, the son of Philopator. His irresolution in preparing for diuers marriages at once. His voyage towards the Hellespont. Hee seeks to hold amitie with the Romans, who make friendly shew to him; intending neuerthelesse to haue warre with him. His doings against the Hellesponts, which the Romans made the first ground of their quarrell to him.

THIS expedition being finished, *Antiochus* had leisure to repose himselfe a while; and studie which way to conuert the terror of his puissance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or three yeeres *Ptolemie Philopator* died; leauing his son *Ptolemie Epiphanes*, a young Boy, his successor in the kingdom, vnlike by him to bee well defended, against a neighbour so mighty and ambitious. This *Ptolemie* surnamed *Philopator*, that is to say, a lover of his Father, is thought to haue had that surname giuen him in meere derision; as hauing made away both his Father and Mother. His young yeeres, being newly past, his childhood when he began to reigne, may seeme to discharge him of so horrible a crime, as his Fathers death: yet the beaustifull of all his following life, makes him not vnlike to haue done any mischiefe, whereof hee could bee accused. Hauing woone the battaile at Raphiah, He gaue himselfe ouer to sensuality; and was wholly gouerned by a Strumpet called *Agathoclea*. At her instigation Hee murdered his owne wife and sister; which had aduentured her selfe with him, in that onely dangerous Action by him vndertaken and performed with honour. The Lieutenant shipes off his Prouinces, with all Commands in his Armie, & Offices whatsoever, were wholly referred vnto the disposition of this *Agathoclea*, and her brother *Agathocles*, and *Onchicris* a filthy Bawd that was mother vnto them both. So these three gouerned the Realme at their pleasure, to the great griefe of all the Countrey, till *Philopator* died: who hauing reigned seuentee yeeres, left none other issue than *Ptolemie Epiphanes*, a child of five yeeres old, begotten on *Agathoclea* that was his sister and wife. After the kings death, *Agathoclea* began to take vpon him; as Protector of young *Epiphanes*, and Gouernour of the Land. He assembled the Macedonians (which were the Kings ordinary forces in pay, not all borne in Macedonia, but the race of those that abode in Egypt with *Ptolemie* the first, and

and would not be accounted Egyptians, as neither would the Kings themselves, and bringing forth vnto them his sister *Agathocles*, with the young King in their armes, began a solemne Oration. He told them, That the deceased father of this their King, had committed the childe into the armes of his sister, but vnto the faith of them: on whose valiant right hands, the whole state of the kingdome did now relye. He besought them therefore that they would be faithfull, and, as great neede was, defend thoir king against the treason of one *Tlepolemus*, an ambitious man, who traitorously went about to stir the Diadem vpon his own head, being a mere stranger to the Royall blood. Herewith all he produced before them a witness, that should iustifie his accusation against *Tlepolemus*. Now though it were so, that he deliuered all this with a fained passion of sorrow, to and counterfeiting teares: yet the Macedons that heard him, regarded not any word that he spake; but stood laughing, and talking one to another, what a shamelesse dissembler he was, to take so much vpon him, as if he knew not how greatly he was hated: And to brake vp the Assembly: He that had called it, being scarce aware how *Agathocles* therefore, whom the old Kings fauour had made mighty, but neither wise nor well qualified, thought to goe to worke, as had formerly been his manner, by vsing his authority, to the suppression of those that he dislied. He haied out of a Temple the mother-in-law of *Tlepolemus*, and cast her into prison. This filled Alexandria with rumors, and made the people (though accustomed to suffer greater things, whilst they were committed in the old Kings name) to meete in knots together, and vtter one to another their mindes, where in they had conceived extreame hate, against these three pernicious misgouernours of the old king. Besides their consideration of the present Inurie done to *Tlepolemus*, they were some what also moued with feare of harme, which, in way of requital, *Tlepolemus* was likely to doe vnto the Citie. For He was, though a man most vnapt for Gouernment, as afterwards he proued; yet no bad Souldier, and well beloued of the Armie. It was also then in his power, to stop the prouision of victuals which was to come into Alexandria. As these motiues wrought with the people: so by the remedy which *Agathocles* vsed, were the Macedons more hastily, and more violently stirred vnto vtore. He secretly apprehended one of their number, whom hee suspected of conspiracie against him, and deliuered him vnto a follower of his own, to be examined by torture. This poore Souldier was caried into an inner room of the Palace, and there stripped out of all his apparrell to be tormented. But whilst the whippes were brought forth, and all things euen in a readinesse for that purpose, there was brought vnto the minister of *Agathocles*, a sad report of *Tlepolemus* his being at hand. Hereupon the Examiner, and his Torturers, one after another, went out of the room; leaving *Maeragenes* the Souldier alone by himselfe, and the doores open. He perceiving this, naked as he was, conuerged himselfe out of the Palace, and got vnto the Macedonians, of whom he found some in a Temple that by at dinner. The Macedonians were as fierce in maintenance of their Priuiledges, as are the Turkes Ianizars. Being assured therefore that one of their fellows had thus bene vsed; they fell to Armes in a great rage, and began to forge the Palace: crying out, That they would see the king, and not leaue him in possession of such a dangerous man. The whole multitude in the Citie, with lowd clamours, made no lesse ado than the Souldiours, though to lesse effect. So the old Lawd *Oenambis* fled into a Temple: her sonne and Daughter stayed in the Court, vntill the king was taken from them; and they, by his permission which he easily gaue, and by appointment of those that now had him in their hands, deliuered vp to the furie of the people. *Agathocles* himselfe was stabbed to death, by some which therein did the office of friends; though in manner of enemies. His sister was dragged naked vp and downe the streets; as was also his mother, with all to them belonging: the enraged multitude committed vpon them a barbarous execution of iustice, beating them, pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in pieces.

These troubles in Egypt, serued well to stirre vp King *Antiochus*, who had very good leasure, though he wanted all pretence, to make warre vpon young *Ptolemie*. *Philip* of Macedon had the same desire to get what part he could of the chilles estate. But it happened well, that *Ptolemie* *Philopator* in the Punicke Warre, which was now newly ended, had done many good offices vnto the Romans. Vnto them therefore the Egyptians addressed themselves, and craved helpe against these two Kings, who though they secretly maligned one the other, yet had entered into covenants to diuide betwene them all

all that belonged vnto this Orphan; whose Father had bene Confederate with them both. So *M. Lepidus* was sent from Rome, to protect from all violence the king of Egypt, especially against *Antiochus*. As for the Macedonian, He was very soone found buked, with warre at his owne doores. Also *Scopas* the Aitolian, being a Pensioner to the Egyptian, was sent into Greece to raise an Armie of Mercenaries. What *Lepidus* did in Egypt, I doe not finde: and therefore thinke it not improbable, that he was sent thither only one of the three Embassadors, in the beginning of the Warre with *Philip*. As hee bene shewed before. As for *Scopas*; He shortly after went vp into Syria with his Armie, where winning many places, among the rest of his Acts, he subdued the Iewes, who seeme to haue yielded themselves a little before vnto *Antiochus*, at such time as they saw him prepare for his Warre, and despaired of receiuing helpe from Egypt. But it was not long ere all these victories of *Scopas* came to nothing. For the very next yeere following, which was (according to *Eusebius*) the same yeere that *Philip* was beaten at Cyrenecephaly; *Antiochus* vanquished *Scopas* in battaile, and recovered all that had bin lost. Among the rest, the Iewes with great willingnesse returned vnder his obedience; and were therefore by him very gently entreated.

The Land of Egypt this great King did forebake to invade; and gaue it out, that hee meant to bestow a daughter of his owne in marriage vpon *Ptolemie*: either, hoping, as may seeme, that the Countie would willingly submit it selfe vnto him, if this young child should happen to miscarry; or else that greater purchase might be made in the Western parts of Asia, whilst *Philip* was held out-laboured by the Romans. It appears that hee was very much distracted; hunting (as we say, two Hares at once with one Hound. The quarrells betwene *Attalus*, *Philip*, and the Greekes, promised to afford him great aduantage, if he should bring his Armie to the Hellespont. On the other side, the state of Egypt being such as hath bene declared, seeme deadily to be swallowed vp at once. One while therefore he tooke what he could get in Syria: where all were willing (and the Iewes among the rest, though hitherto they had kept faith with the Egyptian) to yield him obedience. Another while, leaving Egypt alone, He was about to make inuasion vpon *Attalus* his kingdome; yet suffered himselfe easily to be perswaded by the Roman Embassadors, and desisted from that enterprize. Having thus farre gratified the Romans; He sends Embassadors to the Senate, to conclude a perfect amity betwene him and them. It is not lightly to be overlooked, That these his Embassadors were louingly entertained at Rome; and dismissed, with a Decree and answer of the Senate, altogether to the honour of King *Antiochus*. But this answer of the Romans was not sincere; being rather framed according to regard of the Kings good liking, than of their owne intent. They had not yet made an end with *Philip*: neither would they gladly bee troubled with two great warres at once. Wherefore, not standing much vpon the nice examination of what belonged vnto their honour, they were content to giue good words for the present. In the meane time *Antiochus* fights with *Scopas* in Syria, and shortly prepares to winne some Townes elsewhere, belonging vnto *Ptolemie*; yet withall hee sends in Armie Westward, intending to make what profit he can of the distractions in Greece. Likewise it is considerable, as an argument of his much irresolution, How notwithstanding his attempts vpon both of their kingdomes, hee offered one of his daughters to *Ptolemie*, and another to *Eumenes* the sonne of *Attalus*, newly King of Pergamus: seeking each of their friendship, at one and the same time, when hee sought to make each of them a spoyle. Thus was hee acting and deliberating at once; being carried with an inexplicable desire of repugnancies, which is a disease of great, and ouer-swelling fortunes. Howsoeuer it was, Hee sent an Armie to Sardes by Land, vnder two of his owne sonnes: willing them there to stay for him; whilst he himselfe with a Fleet of an hundred Gallies, and two hundred other vessels, intended to passe along by the Coasts of Cilicia and Caria, taking in such places as held for the Egyptian. It was a notable Act of the Rhodians, that, whilst the warre of *Philip* lay yet vpon their hands, they aduentured vpon this great *Antiochus*. They sent vnto him a proud Embassage: whereby they gaue him to vnderstand, That if he passed forward beyond a certaine Promontorie in Cilicia, they would meet him and fight with him; not for any quarrell of theirs vnto him; but because he should not ioine with *Philip* their enemy, and helpe him against the Romans. It was insolently done of them, neither seemed it otherwise, to prescribe such limits vnto the King: yet he tempered himselfe, and without



any shew of indignation gaue a gentle answer; partly himselfe to their Embassadors; partly vnto their whole Citie, by Embassadors which he thither sent. He shewed his desire, to renew the ancient Confederacies between his Ancestors and them: and willed them not to be afraid, lest his comming should tend vnto any hurt, either of them, or of their confederates. As touching the Romans whom they thought that he would molest: they were he said, his very good friends; whereof, he thought there needed no better proofe, than the entertainment and answer by them newly giuen to his Embassadors.

The Rhodians appeare to haue been a cunning people, and such as could foresee what weather was like to happen. This answer of the King, and the relation of what had passed between his Embassadors and the Senate, moued them not a whit; when they were to informed shortly after, that the Macedonian warre was ended at the battaile of Cynoscephala. They knew that *Antiochus* his turne would be next; and prepared to be forward on the stronger side. Wherefore they would not be contented to sit still; vnlesse the Townes on the South Coast of Asia, belonging to *Ptolomie* their friend and Confederate, were suffered to be at quiet. Herein also they did well, for that they had euer been greatly beholding to all the race of the *Ptolomies*. They therefore, in this time of necessity, gaue what aide they could vnto all the subjects of the Egyptian in those parts. In like manner did king *Enmenes*, the sonne of *Attalus*, prognosticate as concerning the war that followed between *Antiochus* and the Romans. For when king *Antiochus* made a friendly offer, to bestow one of his daughters vpon him in marriage: He excused himselfe, and would not haue her. *Attalus* and *Philetarus*, his brethren, wondred at this. But he told them, that the Romans would surely make war vpon *Antiochus*; and therein finally preuaile. Wherefore he said, That by abstaining from this affinity, it should be in his power to ioyne with the Romans, and strengthen himselfe greatly with their friendship. Contrariwise, if he leaned to *Antiochus*: as hee must be partaker in his overthrow, so was he sure to be oppressed by him, as by an ouer-mighty neighbour, if he happened to win the victory.

*Antiochus* himselfe wintered about Ephesus: where he took such order as he thought conuenient, for the reducing of Smyrna and Lampfacus to obedience; that had vsurped their liberty, and obstinately stroue to maintaine it, in hope that the Romans would protect them. In the beginning of the Spring he sailed vnto the Hellespont: where hauing won some Townes that *Philip* had gotten not long before this, he passed ouer into Europe side, and in short space mastered the Chersonesus. Thence went he to Lyfismachia: which the Thracians had gotten & destroyed, when *Philip* withdrew his garrison thence, to employ it in the Roman war. The *Aetolians* objected as a crime vnto *Philip*, in the conference before *T. Quintius*, that he had oppressed Lyfismachia, by thrusting therinto a garrison. Hereupon *Philip* made answer, that his garrison did not oppress the town, but saue it from the Barbarians: who tooke and sackt it, as soone as the Macedonians were gone. That this answer was good & substantiall, though it were not acceptable as such, might appeare by the miserable case, in which *Antiochus* found Lyfismachia at his coming thither. For the town was vtterly razed by the Barbarians; and the people carried away into slavery. Wherefore the king tooke order to haue it re-edified: as also to redeeme those that were in bondage; and to recollect as many of the Citizens, as were dispersed in the Country thereabout. Likewise he was carefull to allure thither, by hopefull promises, new inhabitants, and to replenish the Citie with the wonted frequencie. Now to the end that men should not be terrified from comming thither to dwell, by any feare of the neighbour Thracians: he tooke a iourney in hand against those barbarous people, with the one halfe of his Army, leauing the other halfe to repair the Citie. These paines he tooke, partly in regard of the conuenient situation, & former glory of Lyfismachia; partly for that he thought it highly redounding vnto his owne honour, to recouer & establish the dominion in those parts which his fore-father *Seleucus Nicator* had won from *Lysimachus*, and thereby made his kingdome of greater extent, than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition he shall dearly pay: and as after that victory against *Lysimachus*, the death of king *Seleucus* followed shortly; so shall a deadly wound of the kingdome founded by *Seleucus* ensue very speedily, after the reconquest of the same Countie, which was the last of *Seleucus* his purchases.

## §. IIII.

*The Romans hold friendly correspondence with Antiochus, during their warre with Philip: after which they quarrell with him. The doings of Hannibal at Carthage: whence he is chased by his enemies, and by the Romans: His flight vnto the King Antiochus. The Aetolians murmure against the Romans in Greece. The warre of the Romans and Achians, with Nabis the Tyrant of Laedemon. The departure of the Romans out of Greece. T. Quintius his Triumph, Peace denied to Antiochus by the Romans.*

**F**OR the Romans, though they were vnable to smother their desire of warre with *Antiochus*, whereof notice was already taken both by their friends and by their enemies: yet was it much against their will to keepe the rumour on foot, which they meant shortly to make good, of this intended warre, so long as they wanted matter of quarrell; whereof they were furnished, by this enterprize of the Kings about Lyfismachia. It was not long, since King *Attalus*, a friend and helper of the Romans in their warre with *Philip*, could obtaine of them none other helpe against *Antiochus*, than Embassadors to speake for him, because the one of these kings was held no lesse a friend than the other. Neither did there afterwards passe between them any other offices, than very friendly. *Antiochus* at the request of their Embassadors, withdrew his Inuasion from the kingdome of Pergamus: also very shortly after he sent Embassadors to them, to make a perfect League of amitie betweene them. This was whilst as yet they were busied with *Philip*, and therefore had reason to answer his good will with good acceptance: as they did in outward shew. But when the Macedonian war was at an end, and all, or most of all the States in Greece, were become little better than Clients vnto the Romans; then was all this good correspondence changed, into termes of worfe, but more plaine meaning. For *T. Quintius*, with his ten Counsaillors sent from Rome, requited as hath bin shewed before) with a commination of war, this kings gratulation of their victory; as also his long-proffessed amitie, and desire to continue in the same.

These ten Counsaillors were able to informe *T. Quintius*, and acquaint him with the purpose of the Senate: whereof yet it seemes that he was not ignorant before; since, in regard of *Antiochus*, he was the more inclinable vnto peace with *Philip*. It was therefore agreed, when they diuided themselves to make progresse through diuers quarters of Greece for the execution of their late Decree, That two of them should visite King *Antiochus*; and the rest, where occasion serued, vse diligence to make a partie strong against him. Neither was the Senate at Rome vnmindfull of the businesse: wherein left *T. Quintius*, with his ten Assitants, should happen to forget any thing to their parts belonging, *L. Cornelius* was sent from Rome, of purpose to deale with the king about those controuersies, that were between him and *Ptolomie*. What other priuate instructions *Cornelius* had; we may coniecture by the manning of this his Embassage. For coming to Selymbria: and there vnderstanding that *P. Villius* and *L. Tarentius*, hauing bin sent by *Titus*, were at Lyfismachia, He hastened thither, whither also came *P. Lentulus* (another of the ten Counsaillors) from Bargilla, to be present at the Conference. *Hegesias* and *Lysias* were also there; the same, who had lately brought from *Titus* those peremptorie Conditions, which the Embassadors present shall expound vnto their Master. After a few daies *Antiochus* returned from his Thracian Expedition. The meeting and entertainment between him and these Romans, was in appearance full of loue. But when they came to treat of the businesse in hand; this good mood was quite altered. *L. Cornelius*, in two or three words, briefly deliuered his errand from Rome: which was, That *Antiochus* had reason to deliuer backe vnto *Ptolomie* those Townes of his, whereof he had lately gotten possession. Heereunto he added, and that very earnestly; That hee must also giue vp the Townes of late belonging vnto *Philip*; and by him newly occupied. For what could be more absurd, than such folly in the Romans, as to let *Antiochus* enioy the profit of that warre, wherein they had laboured so much, and hee done nothing? Further he warned the king, that he should not molest those Cities that were free: and finally He demanded of him, vpon what reason he was come ouer with so great an Armie into Europe; for that other cause of his iourney there was none probable, than a purpose to make warre vpon the Romans? To this the King made answer, That hee wondred why the Romans should so trouble themselves, with thinking



upon the matters of Asia: wherewith hee prayed them to let him alone; euen as hee, without such curiositie, suffered them to doe in Italie what they thought good. As for his coming ouer into Europe: they saw well enough what businesse had drawne him thither; namely, the warre against the barbarous Thracians: the rebuilding of Lysimachia, & the recovery of Townes to him belonging, in Thrace & Chersonesus. Now concerning his title vnto that countrie, He deriued it from *Seleucus*: who made conquest thereof, by his victory against *Lysimachus*. Neither was it so, that any of the places in controuersie betwene him and the other Kings, had bene still of old belonging to the Macedonians or Egyptians; but had bene seized on by them, or by others from whom they received them, at such times as his Ancestors, being Lords of those Countreies, were hindred by multiplicitie of businesse, from looking vnto all that was their own. Finally he willed them, neither to stand in fear of him, as if he intended ought against them from Lysimachia; since it was his purpose to bestow this citie vpon one of his sons, that should reigne therein: nor yet to be grieued with his proceedings in Asia, either against the free cities, or against the king of Egypt; since it was his meaning to make the free Cities beholding vnto himselfe, and to ioyne ere long with *Ptolomie*, not onely in friendship, but in a bond of neere affinitie. *Cornelius* hauing heard this, and being perhaps vnablen to refute it; would needs heare further, what the Embassadors of Smyrna and of Lampfacus, whom he had there with him, could say for themselves. The Embassadors of Lampfacus being called in, beganne a tale; wherein they seemed to accuse the king before the Romans, as it were before competent Iudges. *Antiochus* therefore interrupted them, and bade them hold their peace, forasmuch as hee had not chosen the Romans, but would rather take the Citizens of Rhodes, to be Arbitrators betwene him and them.

Thus the Treatie held some few dayes, without any likelihood of effect. The Romans, hauing not laid their complaints in such sort, as they might be a conuenient foundation of the warre by them intended: nor yet hauing purpose to depart well satisfied, & thereby to corroborate the present peace, were doubtful how to order the matter, in such wise as they might neither too rudely, like boistrous Gallo-Greeks, pretend onely the goodnesse of their swords; nor yet ouer-modestly, to retaine among the Greeks an opinion of their iustice, forbore the occasion of making themselves great. The king on the other side was wearie of these tedious guests; that would take none answer, and yet scarce knew what to say. At length came newes, without any certaine author, That *Ptolomie* was dead. Hereof neither the king, nor the Romans, would take notice, though each of them were desirous to hasten into Egypt: *Antiochus*, to take possession of the Kingdom, and *L. Cornelius*, to prevent him thereof, and set the Countrie in good order. *Cornelius* was sent from Rome Embassador, both to *Antiochus* and to *Ptolomie*: which gaue him occasion to take leaue, & prepare for his Egyptian voyage. Both he, and his fellow Embassadors, had good leaue to depart all together: and the king forthwith made ready, to be in Egypt with the first. To his sonne *Seleucus* he committed his Army, and left him to oversee the building of Lysimachia: but all his Sea-forces hee tooke along with him, and sailed vnto Ephesus. Thence hee sent Embassadors to *T. Quintius*: whom he requested to deale with him in this matter of peace, after such sort as might stand with honestie and good faith. But as he was further proceeding on his voyage, he was perfectly informed that *Ptolomie* was aliue. This made him beare another way from Egypt: and afterwards a tempest, with a grievous shipwracke, made him without any further attempt on the way, glad to haue safely recovered his Port of Seleucia. Thence went he to Antiochia, where he wintred: secure, as might appeare, of the Roman warre.

But the Romans had not so done with him. During the Treaty at Lysimachia, at leastwise not long before or after it) one of their Embassadors that had bene sent vnto the Macedonian, gaue him counsaile, as in a point highly tending to his good; not to rest contented with the Peace which was granted vnto him by the Romans, but to desire society with them, whereby they should be bound to haue the same friends and enemies. And this he aduised him to doe quickly, before the Warre brake out with *Antiochus*; lest otherwise he might seeme, to haue awaited some fit occasion of taking Armes againe. They who dealt thus plainly, did not meane to be satisfied with weak excuses. In like manner some of the Greeks were solicited; and particularly the *Aetolians*, That

That constantly & faithfully they should abide in the friendship of the people of Rome. It was needlesse to say plainly whereto this entreatie tended: the froward answer made by the *Aetolians*, declares them to haue well understood the purpose. They complained, that they were not alike honoured by the Romans after the Victory, as they had bene during the Warre. They that so complained were the most moderate of them. Others cryed out that they had bene wronged, and defrauded of what was promised vnto them: vpbraiding withall the Romans, as men to them beholding; not only for their Victory ouer *Philip*, but euen for helping them to set foot in Greece, which else they neuer could haue done. Hereto the Roman gaue gentle answers: telling them that there was no more to doe, than to send Embassadors to the Senate, and vtter their griefes; and then should all be well.

Such care tooke the Romans in Greece, for their Warre intended against *Antiochus*. The same hereof arriving at Carthage, gaue matter vnto the enemies of *Hannibal*, wherewith both to picke a thanke of the Roman Senate, and to chase out of their citie this honourable man, whom they so greatly hated. He had of late excrcised his vertue against them in the Ciuill administration; and giuen them an ouerthrow, or two, in the long Robe. The Iudges at that time bore all the sway in Carthage: holding their places during life; and hauing subiect vnto them, the liues, goods, and fame of all the rest. Neither did they vse this their power with moderation; but conspired in such wise together, that who so offended any one of them, should haue them all to be his enemies; which being once knowne, He was sure to be soone accused and condemned. In this their impotent rule of the citie, *Hannibal* was chosen Prator. By vertue of which Office, though he was superiour vnto them during that yeere: yet had it not been their manner to beare much regard vnto such an annuall Magistrate, as at the yeres end must bee accountable to them, if ought were laid vnto his charge. *Hannibal* therefore sending for one of the Quaestors, or officers of the Tresurie, to come and speake with him: the proud Quaestor set lightly thereby, and would not come. For he was of the aduerser Faction to *Hannibal*; and men of his place were to be chosen into the Order of Iudges: in contemplation whereof, he was filled already with the spirit of future Greatnesse. But hee had not to doe with such a tame Prator, as were they that had occupied the place before. *Hannibal* sent for him by a Pursuant; and hauing thus apprehended him, brought him into iudgement before a publique assembly of the people. There he not onely shewed, what the vndutifull stubbornnesse of this Quaestor had bene; but how vsufferable the insolencie of all the Iudges at the present was: whose vnbridled power made them to regard neither Lawes nor Magistrates. To this Oration when hee perceived that all the Citizens were attentue and fauourable; hee forthwith propounded a Law, which passed with the generall good liking; That the Iudges should be chosen from yeere to yeere, and no one man bee continued in that Office two yeeres together. If this Law had bene passed, before hee passed ouer Iberus: it would not perhaps haue bene in the power of *Hanno*, to haue brought him vnto necessity of reforming another grievance, concerning the Roman Tribute. This Tribute the Carthaginians were faine to leuie by Taxation laid vpon the whole Commonaltie, as wanting money in their publique Tresurie, wherewith to defray either that, or diuers other needfull charges. *Hannibal* considering this, beganne to examine the publique Reuenues; and to take a perfect note, both how much came into the Tresurie, by wayes and meanes what soeuer; and in what sort it was thence laid out. So he found, That the ordinary charges of the Common-wealth did not exhaust the Tresurie: but that wicked Magistrates, and corrupt Officers, turning the greatest part of the monies to their owne vse, were thereby faine to load the people with needlesse burdens. Hereof hee made such plaine demonstration, that these Robbers of the common Treasure were compelled to restore, with shame, what they had gotten by knauerie: and so the Carthaginians were freed from the necessitie of making such poore shifts, as formerly they had vsed, when they knew not the value of their owne Estate. But as the vertue of *Hannibal*, was highly commended by all that were good Citizens: so they of the Roman Faction, which had, since the making of the peace vntill now, little regarded him, beganne to rage extremely, as being by him stript of their ill-gotten goods, and ill-employed authoritie, both at once, euen when they thought themselves to haue been in full possession of the vanquished Carthage. Wherefore they sent letters to their friends

at Rome: wherein they complained, as if the *Barchine* Faction grew strong againe, and *Hannibal* would shortly be in armes. Questionlesse, if oppressing the Citie by iniustice, and robbing the Treasure, were the onely way to hold Carthage in peace with Rome: these Enemies to the *Barchines* might well crye out, That hauing done their best already to keepe all in quiet, they saw none other likelihood than of Warre. But hauing none other matter to alledge, than their owne inuentions: they said, That *Hannibal* was like vnto a wilde beast, which would neuer be tamed: That secret messages past betwene him, and King *Antiochus*: and that he was wont to complaine of idlenesse, as if it were harmefull to Carthage; with what else to like effect they could imagine. These accusations they directed not vnto the Senate: but addressing their letters craftily, euery one to the best of his owne friends at Rome, and such as were Senators; they wrought so well, that neither publicke notice of their Conspiracie was taken at Carthage; nor the authority of the Roman Senate, wanting to the furtherance of their malicious purpose. Onely *P. Scipio* is said to haue admonished the *Fathers*, that they should not thus dishonourably subscribe, and become Seconds to the accusers of *Hannibal*: as if they would oppress, by suborning or countenancing false witness against him, the man, against whom in warre they had not of long time preuailed, nor vsed their Victory in such base manner, when they obtained it. But the Romans were not all so great-minded as *Scipio*: they wished for some such aduantage against *Hannibal*; and were glad to haue found it. Three Embassadors they sent ouer to Carthage, *C. Sernilius*, *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Claudius* 20 *Marcellus*: whose very names import sufficient cause of bad affection to *Hannibal*. These hauing past the Sea, were entertained by those that had procured their coming; and, being by them instructed how to carry themselves, gaue out, That they were sent to end some controuersies, betwene the Carthaginians and *Masaniissa*. But *Hannibal* had kept such good espiall vpon the Romans, that he knew their meaning well enough: against which he was neuer vnprepared. It were enough to say, That he escaped them by flight: but in the actions of so famous a man, I hold it not impertinent to rehearse the particularities. Hauing openly shewed himselfe, as was his manner, in the place of Assembly. He went forth of the Towne when it began to waxe darke, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his determination; though such as he might well trust. He had appointed Horses to be in a readinesse at a certaine place: whence riding all night, He came to a Tower of his owne by the Sea-side. There had hee a Ship furnished with all things needfull, as hauing long expected the necessitie of some such iourney. So hee bade 30 *Africke* farewell; lamenting the misfortune of his Countrey, more than his owne. Passing ouer to the Ile of *Cercina*; hee found there in the Hauen some Merchants shippes of Carthage. They saluted him respectfully: and the chiefe among them began to enquire, whither hee was bound. Hee said, Hee went Embassador to Tyre: and that he intended there in the Island to make a sacrifice; whereto hee inuited all the Merchants, and Masters of the Ships. It was hote weather: and therefore hee would needes hold his Feast vpon the shore; where, because there wanted court, He made 40 them bring thither all their sailes and yards to be vsed in stead of Tents. They did so; and feasted with him till it was late at night: at which time he left them there asleepe: and putting to Sea, held on his course to Tyre. All that night, and the day following, He was sure not to be pursued. For the Merchants did neither make haste to send any newes of him to Carthage, as thinking him to be gone Embassador: neither could they, without some losse of time, such of them as made most speed homeward, get away from *Cercina*; being busied awhile in fitting their tackle. At Carthage, the misse of so great a person was diuersly considered. Some ghesse dright, That he was fled. But the more common opinion was, That the Romans had made him away. At length came newes where he had bene scene: and then the Roman Embassadors, hauing none other errand thither, accused him (with an euill grace) as a troubler of the Peace; whereby they onely discovered the mischief by them intended against him, and the malice of their Senate; mistaking the while their purpose, and causing men to vnderstand, that He fled not thus without great reason.

*Hannibal* coming to Tyre, the Mother-Citie of Carthage, was there entertained Royally: as one, in whose great worth and honour the Tyrians, by reason of affinity betwene their Cities, thought themselves to haue interest. Thence went hee to *Antioch*; and, finding the King departed, visited his son in *Daphne*: who friendly welcommed

med him, and sent him vnto his Father at Ephesus, that exceedingly reioyced at his coming.

As *Antiochus* had cause to be glad, in that he had gotten *Hannibal*: so had the Romans no great cause to be therefore sorrie; otherwise than as they had much disgraced themselves, by discouerie of their impotent malice, in chasing him thus out of his Countrey. For he would not proue alike easie vnto this great Commander, to make stout Souldiers of base *Asiaticques*; as it had bin by his trayning and discipline, to make very seruiceable and skillfull men of Warre of the Spaniards, Africans, Gauls, and other Nations, that were hardie, though vnexperienced. Or were it supposed, that one mans worth, especially being so extraordinary, could alter the nature of cowardly people: yet was it therewithall considerable, that the vanities of *Antiochus*, the pride of his Court, the baseness of his Flatterers, and a thousand other such vexations, would bee farre more powerfull in making vnprofitable the vertue of *Hannibal*; now a desolate and banished man; than had bin the villanie of *Hanno* and his Complices, hindering him in those actions wherein he had the high Command, and was seconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this Great Carthaginian, would onely help to ennoble the Roman Victory: or if it further serued to hearten *Antiochus*, and make him lesse carefull to auoid the war; then should it further serue, to iustifie the Romans in their quarrell. And it seemes indeed that it was no little part of their care, to get a faire pretence of making warre. For *Antiochus*, as is said before, hauing newly sent Embassadors to *T. Quintius*, requiring that the Peace might faithfully be kept: it was not probable, that hee had any meaning to take Armes; vnlesse by mere violence he were thereto enforced. Onely the *Aetolians* were greatly suspected, as a turbulent people, desirous of innovation, and therefore practising with this Great King; whom they wished to see among them in Greece. In this regard, and to appease them; they had of late bene answered with gentle words by one of the ten Counsaillours, That the Senate would grant them whatsoever with reason they should aske. But this promise was too large, and vnaduised. For when their Embassadors came to Rome, the Senate would grant them nothing; but wholly referred them to *T. Quintius*, who fauoured them least. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to 30 right themselves: otherwise than by speaking such words, as might hasten the Romans out of Greece for very shame; who had no desire to be thence gone.

The daily talke at Rome was of war with *Antiochus*; but in Greece, when the Romans would leaue the Countrey. For the *Aetolians* were wont to vpbraid the rest of the Greeks with the vain libertie which the Romans had proclaimed, saying, That these their Deliuerers had laid heauy fetters vpon them, than formerly they did weare; but yet brighter and fairer, than those of the Macedonian: likewise, that it was a gracious act of *Titus*, to take from the legs of the Greeks their chaine, and tie it about their necks. There was indeed no cause of tarrying longer in Greece, if the Romans had no other meaning than what they pretended. For *Philip* made no delay, in accomplishment of that which 40 was laid vpon him: all the Townes of Greece were at libertie, and the whole Countrey at peace, both with the Romans, and within it selfe. As for *Antiochus*; hee made it his daily fault, That the Peace betwene him and Rome, such as it was, might bee confirmed, and strengthened by a League of more assurance. Neuertheless, *T. Quintius* would needs feare that *Antiochus* meant forthwith to seize vpon Greece, as soone as hee and his Armie were thence departed. And in this regard, hee retained still in his owne hands *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and the *Acrocorinthus*: by benefit of which Townes, he might the better withstand the dangerous Inuasion like to be made by *Antiochus*. Suteable vnto the doings of *Quintius* were the reports of the ten Embassadors, that had bene sent ouer to assist him; when they returned backe into the Citie. *Antiochus*, they said, would questionlesse fall vpon Greece: wherein he should find not onely the *Aetolians*, but *Nabis* the 50 Tyrant of *Lacedaemon*, ready to giue him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way, than to doe somewhat against these their suspected enemies: especially against *Nabis*, who could worst make resistance; whilst *Antiochus* was farre away in Syria, and not intencue to his businesse. These reports went not onely current through the Citie, among the Vulgar; but found such credit with the chiefe of the Senate, that in the following yeere, against which time it was expected that *Antiochus* should be ready to take his great enterprise in hand; *P. Cornelius Scipio* the African, desired, and obtained, a second Consulship, with intention to be Generall in the Warre, against the King and his

*Hannibal*.

*Hannibal.* For the present, the businesse with *Nabis* was referred vnto *Titus*; to deale with him as hee thought good. This would be a faire colour of his longer tarriance in Greece. Therefore he was glad of the employment; whereof also hee knew that many of the Greekes would not be sorry; though for his owne part, he wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For *Nabis* had entred into friendship with him, two or three yeeres before this, as is already shewed, whilst he had warre with *Philip*; and had further beene contented for the Romans sake to be at peace with the Achæans; neither since that time had he done any thing, whereby he should draw vpon himselfe this Warre. Hee was indeed a detestable Tyrant, and hated of the Achæans; as one, that besides his owne wicked Conditions, had formerly done to them great mischief. *Titus* therefore had a plausible Theme, wheron to discourse before the Embassages of all the Confederate Cities; Which he caused to meet for that purpose at Corinth. He told them, That in the war with *Philip*, not only the Greekes, but the Romans themselves, had each their motives apart (which he there briefly rehearsed) that should stirre them vp, and cause them to be earnest. But in this which he now propounded to them concerning *Nabis*, the Romans had none other interest, than onely the making perfect of their honour, in setting all Greece at liberty: which noble Action was in some sort maimed, or incomplete, whilst the noble City of Argos was left in subiection to a Tyrant, that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged vnto them, the Greekes, duely to consider, whether they thought the deliuerance of Argos a matter worthy to be vndertaken; or whether otherwise to avoid all further trouble, they could be well contented to leave it as it was. This concerned them, and not the Romans: who in taking this worke in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the Greekes themselves. The Athenian Embassador made answer hereunto very eloquently, and as pleasing as hee could deuise. Hee gaue thanks to the Romans for what was past; extolled their vertues at large; and magnified them highly in regard of this their Proposition: wherein vnrequested they freely made offer to continue that bounty, which at the vehement request of their poore Associates, they had already of late extended vnto the Greekes. To this Hee added, That great pitié it was to heare, such notable vertue & high deserts ill spoken of by some: which tooke vpon them, out of their owne imagination, to foretell what harme these their Benefactors meant to doe hereafter: when as Thankfulness rather would haue required an acknowledgement of the benefits and pleasures already receiued. Euery one found the meaning of this last clause, which was directly against the *Ætoli*ans. Wherefore *Alexander* the *Ætolian* rose vp, and told the Athenians their owne: putting them in minde of their ancient glorie, in those times when their City had beene the Leader of all Greece, for defence and recovery of the liberty generall: from which honour they were now so farre faine, that they became Parasites vnto those whom they thought most mighty; and by their base assentation, would leade all the rest into seruitude. Then spake Hee against the Achæans, Clients that had beene a long time vnto the Macedonian; and fouldiers of *Philip*, vntill they ranne away from his aduersitie. These, Hee said, had gotten Corinth, and must now haue warre be made for their sakes, to the end that they might also be Lords of Argos: whereas the *Ætoli*ans, that had first made warre with *Philip*, and alwayes beene friends vnto the Romans, were now defrauded of some places, anciently to them belonging. Neither did he thus containe himselfe, but objected vnto the Romans, fraudulent dealing: forasmuch as they kept their Garrisons in Demetrias, Chalcis, and the Acrocorinth, hauing beene alwayes wont to professe, That Greece could neuer be at libertie, whilst those places were not free. Also now at last, what else did they seeke by this discourse of warre with *Nabis*, than businesse wherewith to finde themselves occupied, that so they might haue some seeming cause of abiding longer in the Country: But they should doe well, if they meant as they spake, to carry their Legions home out of Greece: which could not indeed be free, till their departure. As for *Nabis*, the *Ætoli*ans themselves did promise, & would vndertake, That they would either cause him to yeeld to reason, and relinquish Argos freely, withdrawing thence his Garrison; or else compell him by force of Armes, to submit himselfe to the good pleasure of all Greece; that was now at vnitie. These words had beene reasonable, if they had proceeded from better men. But it was apparant, that no regard of the common liberty wrought so much with these *Ætoli*ans; as did their owne rauentous desire of oppressing others, and getting vnto themselves, that worfe would vse it, the whole Dominion in Greece, which *Philip* had

had lost. Neither could they well dissemble this; making it no small part of their grievance, That the old League was forgotten: wherein it had beene couenanted, That the Romans should enioy the spoyle of all, but leaue the Townes and Lands in possession of the *Ætoli*ans. This, and the remembrance of a thousand mischiefs by them done in former times, made the whole assembly, especially the Achæans, cry out vpon them: entreating the Romans to take such order before they went, that not onely *Nabis* might be compelled to doe right; but the *Ætolian* theues bee enforced to keepe home, and leaue their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleasure of *Titus*: who saw, that by discountenancing the *Ætoli*ans, Hee was become the more gracious with all the rest. But whether it pleased him so well that *Antiochus* his Embassadors did presently after lie hard vpon him, to draw the peace to some good conclusion, it may bee greatly doubted. Hee cast them off with a slight answer: telling them, That the ten Embassadors or Counsaillours which had beene sent vnto him from Rome, to bee his assistants in these matters of weight, were now returned home; and that, without them, it was not in his power to conclude vpon any thing.

Now concerning the Lacedæmonian warre; it was very soone ended. For *Titus* vsed the helpe of all his Confederates; and made as great preparation against *Nabis*, both by Land and Sea, as if hee should haue had to doe with *Philip*. Besides the Roman forces, King *Eumenes* was with a Naue, and the Rhodian Fleet, were inuited to the seruice: as also *Philip* of Macedon sent aid by Land; doing therein poorely, whether it were to get fauor of the Romans, or whether to make one among the number, in seeking reuenge vpon *Nabis*, that had done him iniurie. But the most forward in this Expedition were the Achæans, who set out ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse. As for the *Ætoli*ans: rather to hold good fashion, and sound their dispositions, than in hope to speed, their helpe was required; whereof they excused themselves as well as they thought best. Thus are the Achæans now become the prime friends of the Romans in Greece; hauing remoued the *Ætoli*ans from that degree of fauour: like as they themselves hereafter (though not in all haste) shall be supplanted of the same Lacedæmonians, against whom they are now marching.

Some of the Argiues, more bold than wise, began a conspiracie against the Lacedæmonians that held their Towne, meaning to open their gates vnto the Roman. But ere *Titus* drew neere, they were all detected and slaine: excepting a very few, that escaped out of the Towne. The fame of this Commotion, caused the *Ætoli*ans to march apace, toward Argos; with hope to be there, before things were acquit. But there was no fit within the Walls: the execution done vpon the first mouers, hauing terrified all the rest of the Citizens. *Titus* then thought it better, to assaile *Nabis* in the head of his strength at Lacedæmon, than to consume time about other places; especially at Argos: for the freedom whereof since the Warre was made, pitié it were, that the calamities of the warre should thereon fall most heauily.

*Nabis* had in readinesse an Army of fifteene thousand, wherewith to defend himselfe against these Inuaders. Fiuie thousand of them were Mercenaries: the rest, of his owne Countrie; but such as were of all others the worst, as manumitted slaues, malefactors and base peasants, vnto whom his Tyranny was beneficiall. Of the good and worthy Citizens he stood in doubt; and since he could not hope to win their loue, his meaning was to hold them quiet by feare. He called them all to an assembly: and compassing them round in with his Armie, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within themselves; they might, hee said, hope the better to withstand the common Enemie. But forasmuch as turbulent heads were inuited by light occasions, to raise tumults, and worke dangerous treason: it seemed vnto him the safest, and (withall) the mildest course, to arrest before-hand, and put in ward, all those whom he found most reason to suspect. So should he keep them innocent perforce; and thereby preferue not only the City and his owne person from danger, but them also for the punishment, which else they might haue incurred. Hereupon hee cites and apprehends about fourescore of them; whom hee leades away to prison, and the next night putteth them all to death. Thus was hee sure that they neither should offend, nor yet breake loose. As for the death of them, if it should happen to be noyed abroad: what could it else doe than terrifie the people; who must thereby vnderstand, that it was a mortal crime to bee suspected? And to the same purpose his cruelty extended it selfe vnto

some poore wretches : whom he accused of a meaning to flie to the Enemie. These were openly whipt through all the streets, and flaine. Hauing thus aſrighted the Citizens : He turned the more freely all his thoughts toward the Enemie, that came on apace. He welcomed them with a fallie : wherein, as commonly happens, the Souldiers of the Towne had the better at first ; but were at length repelled with losse. *Titus* abode not many daies before Sparta : but ouer-ran the Countrey ; hoping belike to prouoke the Tyrant forth to battaile. The Roman Fleet at the same time, with king *Eumenes* and the Rhodians, laid siege vnto Gytheum, the onely or principall Town that *Nabis* had. Like-ly they were to haue taken it by force, when there appeared hope of getting it by trea-son. There were two Gouernours within the Towne equall in authoritie : whereof the one, either for feare, or desire of reward, had a purpose to let in the Romans. But the other finding what was in hand, and being somewhat more faithfull, flue the Traitor ; after whose death, he himselfe alone made the better defence. Yet when *T. Quintius* with part of his Armie came thither to Gytheum : this Captaine of the Towne had not the heart to abide the vttermost, and await what either Time or his Master might doe for him, but was contented to giue vp the place ; yet vpon Condition, to depart in safety to Sparta with his Garrison. *Pythagoras*, the sonne in law of *Nabis*, and brother vnto his wife, was come from Argos, whereof he had the Gouernment, with a thousand Souldiours Mercenaries, and two thousand Argiues : it being (as may seeme) the Tyrants purpose, to relieue Gytheum : which he thought would haue held longer out. But when they heard that it was lost, then began they to thinke vpon finishing the warre, by some reasonable Composition. *Pythagoras* therefore was sent his Limbadaour to *Titus* : requesting onely that he would appoint a time and place for *Nabis* to meet and speak with him. This was granted. In that Parlee the Tyrant spake very reasonably for himselfe : prouing, that he suffered wrong, and had done none, and that by many good arguments ; whereof the summe was, That whatsoeuer they now did, or could object vnto him, was of elder date than the League which they had made with him. Whereupon hee inferred, That neither for his keeping the Towne of Argos, nor for any other cause by them alleaged, they ought to make warre vpon him ; since Argos, and all other their allegations, whatsoeuer, had not hindered them, in time of their more need of him, from entering into that League with him, which was neuer broken on his part, nor ought to bee on theirs. But *Quintius* was not herewith satisfied. He charged him with Tyrannie, and gaue instance, as easily he might, of diuers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points, forasmuch as they knew this *Nabis* to be guiltie, before they made Peace and Confederacie with him ; it was expedient, that some other cause of this Inuasion should be alleaged. Wherefore he said further, That this Tyrant had occupied Messene, a Towne Confederate with the Romans : That he had bargained to ioyne with *Philip* ; when he was their enemy, not onely in League, but also in affinity : and that his Fleet had robbed many of their ships, about the Cape of Malca. Now touching this Pyracie, since in the Articles by *Titus* propounded vnto *Nabis*, there was no restitution mentioned, other than of ships, by him taken from the Greeks his neighbours, with whom hee had long held warre : it may seeme to haue bene objected, onely by way of Complement, and to enlarge the volume of those complaints, that were otherwise very sinuolous. As for Messene, and the bargain of Alliance made with *Philip* : they were matters foregoing the League, that was made betweene the Romans and this Tyrant ; and therefore not to haue bene mentioned. All this it seemes that *Aristonius*, the Prator of the Achæans, very well perceived : who therefore doubting lest the Romans, (that were wont to talke so much of their own iustice, honour, and faithfull dealing) should now relent, and forbear to molest him, who, though a wicked man, was yett their Confederate, and had neuer done them wrong ; framed his discourse to another end. He entreated *Nabis* to consider well of his owne estate ; & to settle his fortunes, whilest he might do it without hazzard : alledging the examples of many Tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour-cities, and therein committed great outrages ; yet were afterwards contented to surrender their Estates, and liued in great securitie, honour, and happinesse, as priuate men. Thus they discouered vntill night. The next day *Nabis* was contented to relinquish Argos ; and requested them, to deliuer vnto him in writing their other demands, that hee might take counsaile with his friends. The issue of all was, That, in regard of the charges, whereat the Confederates must bee, for maintenance of an Armie to lie in Leaguer all that

that Winter (as there was no hope of making short worke) before the City of Sparta : they were contented to make peace with the Tyrant, vpon such Conditions as *Titus* should thinke meet. Besides the restitution of Argos, and all the places thereon depending ; *Titus* propounded many other Conditions to *Nabis*, and some of them very grievous. He would not suffer the Lacedæmonians to haue ought to doe in the Ile of Crete ; no, nor to make any Confederacies ; nor warre, either in that Island or else where ; not to build any Towne or Caste vpon his owne Lands ; not to keepe any other shipping, than two small barks ; besides many other troublesome iniunctions ; with imposition of an hundred talents in siluer to be paid out of hand, and sicke talents yearly, for eight yeeres next ensuing. For obseruance of these Couenants hee demanded siue hostages, such as he himselfe should name ; and one of them to bee the Tyrants owne sonne. If it had bene the meaning of *Titus*, to withdraw the warre from *Nabis*, because it was not grounded vpon iustice : then had it bene enough, if not more than enough, to take Argos from him ; which he himselfe did offer, though it were for feare, to deliuer vp. But if it were thought reasonable, to dispense a little with the Roman faith, in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound vnto the state of their best friends in Greece, by the extirpation of this Tyrannie : then should this enterprife, when once it was taken in hand, hee bin prosecuted vnto the very vtmost. As for this middle course which the Romans held : as it was not honourable vnto them, to enrich themselves by the spoyle of one that had not offended them : nor pleasing to the Achæans, who iudged it euer after a great blemish to the noble acts of *Titus* : so did it minifter vnto the Ætolians, and to such as curiously pried into the faults of those which tooke vpon them to be Patrons of Greece, no barren Subject of malicious discourse. For since *Philip*, a King, and descended of many famous Kings, might not be suffered by these Masterly Romans, to hold any one of these Countreies or Towns in Greece, that had belonged vnto his Ancestors : it was thought very strange, that Lacedæmon ; once the most famous Citie among all the Greekes, was by the same Romans left in possession of a Tyrant, that had vsurped it but yesterday : and hee therein rooted by their authoritie, as their friend and Confederate. *Nabis* on the other side thought himselfe vnmiserically dealt withall, by the selfe-same Romans, whose amity he had preferred in time of a doubtfull warre, before the loue and affinity of the Macedonian king, that had committed the Citie of Argos into his hands. But finally he dealt with the Macedonian : and finally was hee dealt with by those, to whom hee did betake himselfe. Among these Articles propounded, there was nothing that pleased him ; saue onely that for the banished Lacedæmonians, (of whom a great number were in the Roman Campe ; hauing among them *Agæopolis* the naturall King of Sparta, that being a young child was driuen out by *Lycurgus*, the first of the Tyrants) there was made no prouision, to haue them restored vnto their Citie and Estates ; but onely leaue required for as many of their wives, as would be so contented, to liue abroad with them in banishment. Wherefore hee forbore to giue consent vnto these demands : and sustained an assault or two ; hoping belike that the enemies would soone bee wearie. But his fearfull nature shortly ouercame the resolution, which the sense of these iniuries had put into him. So yeelding vnto all that had bene propounded, hee deliuered the hostages ; and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at Rome by the Senate and People. From this time forward, He thought the Romans farre more wicked than himselfe ; and was ready vpon the first aduantage, to doe them all the mischief that he could.

The Argiues had heard news that Lacedæmon was euen at point of being taken. This erected them, and gaue them heart to thinke vpon their owne good. So they aduentured to set vpon the Garrison ; which was much weakened, by the remooue of the three thousand carried thence by *Pythagoras* to helpe the Tyrant at Sparta. There needed vnto their libertie no more, than that all of them ioyntly should set their hands to the getting of it ; which no sooner they did than they obtained it. Presently after this came *T. Quintius* to Argos, where hee was ioyfully welcomed. Hee was deferuently acknowledged as author of that benefit, whereon the Citizens had layed hold without staying for him : and that he might the better entitle himselfe thereto, he caused the liberty of the Argiues to be proclaimed at the Nemean games ; as ratifying it by his authority. The Citie was annexed againe to the Councell of Achæia ; whereby the Achæans were not more strengthened, than the Argiues themselves were secured from danger of relapse, into

into the same extremities out of which they had newly escaped.

After this, *Titus* found little business or none wherewith to set on worke his Army in Greece. *Antiochus* was about to send another Embassage to Rome, desiring peace and friendship of the Senate. Things being therefore in appearance wholly disposed vnto quiet, *Scipio* the African, that was chosen Consul at Rome, could not haue his desire, of being sent Commander into Greece. The vnsincere meaning of *Antiochus*, and the tumultuous disposition of the *Atolians*, were held as considerations worthy of regard: yet not sufficient causes of making War. Neither appeared there any more honest way, of comforting the *Atolians*, and of thoroughly perswading all the Greeks (which was not to be neglected, by those that meant to assure vnto themselves the Patronage of Greece) that the good of the Country, was their sole intent: than by withdrawing thence their Legions, and leaving the Nation vnto it selfe, till occasion should be ripe, and call them ouer againe. Wherefore after *Titus* had spent a Winter there, without any matter of employment, either found, or at any neere distance appearing; hee called an Assembly of Delegates, from all parts of Greece to Corinth: where he meant to bid them farewell. There hee recounted vnto them all that had passed since his comming into those parts, and willed them to value the Roman friendship, according to the difference of estate, wherein the Romans found and left them. Hereto he added some wholesome counsell; touching the moderate vse of their libertie, and the care which they ought to haue of liuing peaceably, and without faction. Lastly he gaue vp *Acrocorinthus* to the *Achaens*, withdrawing thence the Roman Garrison, & promising to do the like (which very soone he did) at *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*; that so it might be knowne, what lyers the *Atolians* were, who had accused the Romans, of a purpose to retaine those places. With ioyfull acclamations did the Greeks testifie their good liking of that which *Titus* had said and done: as also (at his request) they agreed, to ransom and enlarge all Romans, that had bene sold into their Country by *Hannibal*.

Thus *Titus* crowned his actions in Greece with an happy end: and by leaving the Countrey before his departure was vrged, left them behinde him the memory of his vertue and benefits, vntainted by ielousie & suspicion of any euill meaning. At his comming to the City, he had the honour of a Triumph, which was the goodliest of all that Rome had vntill that day beheld. Three daies together he shew of his pomp continued; as being set out with the spoyle of a Countrey, more abundant in things worthy of such a spectacle, than any wherein the Romans had before made Warre. All sorts of Armes, with Statues and cutious pieces of Brasse or Marble, taken from the Enemy, were carried in the first dayes Pageant. The second day, was brought in, all the treasure of Gold and Siluer: some in the rude Masse vnwrought, some, in diuers sorts of Coine; and some, in Vessels of sundry kindes, that were the more highly prized by the workmanship. Among these were tenne shields, all of Siluer; and one of pure Gold. The third day *Titus* himselfe entered the Citie in his Triumphant Chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and foureteen Crownes of Gold, bestowed vpon him by diuers Cities. There were also led the beafts for Sacrifice; the Prisoners, and the hostages: among which, *Demetrius* the sonne of King *Philip*, and *Armenes* the sonne of *Nabis*, were principall. After him followed his Army; and (which added much grace, and good liking, to the shew) the Roman Captiues, by his procurement redeemed from slavery in Greece.

Not long after this Triumph, he procured audience of the Senate for many Embassages, that were come out of Greece and Asia. They had all very fauourable answers, excepting those of King *Antiochus*: whom the Senate would not heare, but referred ouer to *T. Quintius*, and thence that had bin his Counsaillors; because their business was laid to be somewhat intricate. Hereat the Kings Embassadors wondred. They said vnto *Titus* & his Associates, That they could not discern wherein consisted any perplexity of their message. For all Treaties of peace and friendship, were either betwene the Victor and the vanquished; between those, that hauing warred together, were vpon equal termes of aduantage; or betwene those that had liued alwayes in good agreement, without any quarrell. Vnto the Victor, they said, that the vanquished must yeeld; and patiently endure the imposition of some Conenants, that else might seeme vnreasonable. Where Warre had bene made, and no aduantage gotten: there was it vsuall to demand, and make restitution of things and places claimed, gotten, or lost; accordingly as both parts could

could agree. But betwene those which had neuer fallen out, there ought no Conditions of establishing friendship to be proposed: since it was reasonable, that each part should hold their owne; and neither carry it selfe as superiour vnto the other, in prescribing ought that might be troublesome. Now of this last kinde, was the league & friendship that had bene so long in conclusion, betwixt *Antiochus* and the Romans. Which being so: they held it strange, that the Romans should thus insist on points no way concerning them, and take vpon them to prescribe vnto the King, what Cities of Asia hee should set at libertie; from what Cities they would giue him leaue to exact his wonted Tributes; either putting, or not putting, his Garrisons into them, as the Senate should thinke fit. Hereto *Quintius* answered, that since they went so distinctly to worke, hee would also doe the like. Wherefore he propounded vnto them two Conditions, and gaue them their choyce whether to accept: Either that it should be lawful for the Romans, to take part in Asia with any that would seeke their friendship; Or if King *Antiochus* misliked this, and would haue them forbear to meddle in Asia, that then he should abandon whatsoever he had gotten in Europe. This was plaine dealing, but no reasonable nor pertinent answer, to that which the Kings Embassadors had propounded. For if the Romans might be hired to abstaine from Asia, by the gift of all that *Antiochus* had lately wonne in Europe: then did not the affaires of *Smyrna*, *Lampacis*, or any other Asiaticques, whom they were pleased to reckon as their Confederates, binde them in honour to make warre with a King that fought their loue, and had neuer done them injury. But they knew very well, that *Antiochus* could not without great shame be so base, as to deliuer vp vnto them the Citie of *Lyfimaquia*, whereon of late he had bene at so much cost; in building it vp euen from the foundation, and repeopling it with Inhabitants, that had all bene dispersed, or captiue to the Barbarians. And so much the Embassadors with great indignation alledged: saying, That *Antiochus* desired friendship of the Romans; but so, as it might stand with his honour. Now in point of honour, the Romans tooke vpon them as if their cause were faire the superiour. For it was, they said, their purpose, to set at liberty those Towns, which the King would oppresse and hold in subiection: especially since those Towns were of Greekish blood and language, and sell in that regard vnder the patronage, which Rome had afforded vnto all Greece besides. By this colour they might soon haue left *Antiochus* king of not many subiects on the hither side of *Euphrates*. Neither did they forbear to say, That, vnlesse hee would quit what he held in Europe, it was their meaning not onely to protect those which relied vpon them in Asia; but therein to make new Alliances: namely (as might be vnderstood) with such as were his subiects. Wherefore they vrged his Embassadors to come to a point, and tell them plainly which of these two Conditions their King would accept. For lacke of a pleasing answer, which the Embassadors could not hereto make; little wanted of giuing presently defiance to the King. But they suffered themselves to be entreated, and were contented once againe to send ouer *P. Villius*, and others that had bin already with the King at *Lyfimaquia*; by whom they might receiue a final answer, whether these demands made by *Quintius* and his Associates would be accepted, yea, or no. By this respite of time, and the fruitlesse Treaties ensuing, *Antiochus* got the leisure of two yeeres, or thereabouts, to prepare for warre; finding in the Romans all that while, no disposition to let him liue in peace.

### §. V.

Of the long warres which the Romans had with the Gaules, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of *M. Porcius Cato*. Injuries done by *Massinissa* to the Carthaginians, that sue to the Romans for iustice in vaine.

THE Insubrians, Bojians, & other of the Cisalpine Gaules, together with the Ligurians, made often, and (in a manner) continuall warre vpon the Romans in Italy, euen from such time as *Hannibal* and his brother *Mago* departed thence, vntill such time as they themselves were utterly subdued: which was not, before the Romans were almost at the very height of their Empire. These Nations, hauing serued vnder *Mago* for wages, and afterwards hauing gotten *Amilcar* a Carthaginian, to be their Leader vnto them all, as hath bene already shewed; by this their fellowship in

Armes, grew to bee such willing partakers each of others fortune, that seldome afterwards either the Gauls or Ligurians did stir alone, but that their companions, hearing it, were ready to second them. How the Romans first prevailed, and got large possessions in *Gallia Cisalpina*, now called Lombardie; it hath bin long since rehearsed between the first and second *Punicke* Wars. As also it hath since appeared, how they lost the greatest part of their hold in that Countrie, by means of *Hannibal* his passage there-through. Neither is it likely that the re-conquest would have beene more difficult or tedious vnto the Romans, than was the first purchase: if, besides the greater employments which they had of their Armes abroad, their forces appointed vnto this warre, had not beene distracted by the Ligurians; that alwayes made them to proceed warily, having an eye to the danger at their backs. The Ligurians were a stout nation, light and swift of bodie, well practised in laying ambushes, and not discouraged with any overthrow, but forthwith ready to fight againe. Their Countrie was mountainous, rough, wooddie, and full of straight and dangerous passages. Few good Townes they had; but many Castles, exceedingly well fortified by nature: so as without much labour, they could neither be taken nor belied. They were also very poore; and had little or nothing that might give contentment vnto a victorious Armie that should spoyle their Land. In these respects, they served excellently well, to traine vp the Roman Souldiers to hardnesse & military patience: teaching them (besides other exercises of warre) to endure much, and live contented with a little. Their quarrell to Rome, grew partly from their loue vnto the Gauls, to their neighbours and companions, partly from their delight in robbing & spoyleing the Territories of their borderers, that were subiect vnto Rome. But their obstinate continuance in the Warre which they had begun, seemes to haue bin grounded vpon the Condition of all Saluages; To be friends or foes, by custome, rather than by Iudgement: and to acknowledge no such vertue in Leagues, or formall conclusions of Peace, as ought to hinder them from vsing their aduantage, or taking reuenge of iniuries when they returne to minde. This qualitie is found in all, or most of the West-Indians: who, if they be demanded a reason of the Warres betweene them and any of their neighbours, doe very commonly this answer, *It hath still bene the custome for vs and them, to fight one against the other.*

Disputes ouerthrowes, though none that were great, these Ligurians gaue vnto the Romans: but many more, and greater, they received. Often they fought peace, when they found themselves in distresse; and brake it againe as often, when they thought it profitable so to doe. The best was, that as their Countrie was a good place of exercise vnto the Romans, so out of their owne Countrie they did little harme: not sending any great Armes farre from home; perhaps, because they knew not how to make warre, save on their owne ground.

The Countrey of Spaine, as it was the first part of the Continent out of Italy that became subiect vnto the Romans: so was it the last of all their Provinces, which was wholly & thoroughly by them subdued. It is likened in figure by some Geographers vnto an Ox-hide; & the Romans found in it the property of that Ox-hide, which *Calanus* the Indian shewed vnto the Great *Alexander*, as an Embleme of his large Dominions. For, treading vpon any side of it, the further parts would rise from the ground. And thus was it with Spaine. Seldome did it happen, that those parts from which the Roman Armes lay furthest, were not vp in rebellion. The Spaniards were a very hardie Nation, and easily stirred vp to armes; but had not much knowledge in the Art of warre, nor any good Captaines. They wanted also (which was their principall hinderance) good intelligence among themselves: and being diuided into many small Signiorities, that had little other communion than of language, they seldome or neuer provided in generall for the common good of their Countrie; but made it their chiefe care, each of them to looke vnto their owne Territorie. Such priuate respects made them often to fall asunder, when many had vnitd themselves together, for chasing out of the Romans. And these were the causes of their often overthrowes: as desire of liberty, rather than complaint of any wrong done to them, was the cause of their often taking armes.

The Carthaginians had beene accustomed, to make euacuation of this Cholerick Spanish humour; by employing as Mercenaries in their warres abroad, those that were most likely to be vniquiet at home. They had also taken Souldiers from one part of the Countrey, and vied them in another: finding meanes to pay them all, out of the profits which

which they raised vpon the whole Countrie; as being far better husbands, and of more dexterity than were the Romans, in that kinde. But contrariwise the Romans, vying the seruice of their owne Legions, and of their sure friends the Latines, had little businesse for the Spaniards; and therefore were faine to haue much businesse with them. Spaine was too far distant, and withal too great, for them to send ouer Colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the course that they tooke in Italy. Wherefore it remained, that they should alwayes maintaine such Armes in the Countrie, as might serue to hold it in obedience perforce; and such heedfull Captaines, as might be still ready to oppose the Barbarians in their first Commotion. This they did: and thereby held the Countrie; though seldome in peace.

Very soone after the departure of *Scipio*, there was raised warre in Spaine against the Romans, euen vpon the same generall ground, that was the foundation of all the Spanish Warres following. It was thought vnreasonable, that the Spaniards should one while helpe the Carthaginians against the Romans, and another while the Romans against the Carthaginians, safely forgetting to help themselves against those that were strangers, yet vsurped the Dominion ouer them. But the forces which *Scipio* had left behinde him in that Countrie, being well acquainted with the manner of Warre in those parts, suppressed this Rebellion by many victories: and together with subiection, brought peace vpon the Countrie; which lasted five yeeres. This victory of the Romans, though it happily ended the Warre: yet left it still remaining the cause of the Warre; which after five yeeres brake out againe. The Spaniards fought a battaile with the Roman Proconsull, whom they slew; and had a great Victory, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happy successe of their Warres in Greece, made the Romans thinke it enough to send thither two Prators, and with each of them some two Legions. These did some what: yet not so much, but that *M. Porcius Cato*, who was Consull the yeere following, and sent into that Prouince; found at his coming little lesse to doe, than the reconquering of all Spaine. But it fell out happily, that all the Spaniards were not of one minde: some were faithfull to Rome; and some were idle beholders of the paines that otherstooke. Yet when *Cato* had wonne a great victory vpon the chieftest of them; they rose against him in many parts of the Countrey, and put him vnto much new trouble. Whilest he was about to make a journey against those that were as yet vnsubdued: some of the lately vanquished, were euen ready to rebell. Hee therefore disarmed them: which they tooke so heauily, that many of them slew themselves for very griefe. Hearing of this; and well vnderstanding, that such desperation might worke dangerous effects; Hee called vnto him the principall among them: and commending vnto them peace and quietnesse, which they neuer had disturbed but vnto their owne great losse, He prayed them to deuise what course might be taken, for holding them assured vnto Rome, without further trouble. None of them could, or would giue counsaile in a matter of this nature. Having therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their inuention barren in this kinde of Subiect; Hee gaue expresse charge, That vpon a day appointed they should throw downe the walls of all their Townes. Afterwards he carried the Warre about from place to place; and with singular industry finished it in short time. Neither thought he it any disgrace to him or to Rome, in this time of danger, to imitate the Carthaginians, and hire an Army of the Celtiberians, against other of their Countreimen: excusing the indignity, such as it seemed, with a iest, That if he were vanquished and slaine, then should he need to pay them nothing; whereas if he had the Victory, hee could pay them with the Enemies money. Finally, He brought the warre to good end, that in long time after, though Spaine were often troublesome, yet was it in no danger of being lost. He increased also the publike Reuenues in that Prouince, by causing some Mines of Iron and Silver to be wrought, that had before laine vnregarded. Herein hee did benefit the Common-wealth, by a vertue much agreeable to his owne peculiar disposition.

For this *M. Cato* was not onely very notable in the Art of war, which might well be termed the Occupation of the Romans; but so well furnished with all other vsfull qualities, that very little was wanting in him, which might seeme requisite to the accomplishment of a perfect man. He was very skillfull in the Roman Lawes, a man of great Eloquence, & not vnprofitable in any businesse either priuate or publick. Many bookes he wrote: whereof the principall were, of the Roman antiquities, & of husbandry. In matter



of husbandrie he was notable, and thereby most increased his substance; being of meane birth, and the first of his Houle. Strong of bodie he was, and exceeding temperate: so as he liued in perfect health to very old age. But that which most commended him vnto the better sort of the Romans, was his great synceritie of life, abstinence from bribes, and fashioning himselfe to the ancient laudable Customes of the Citie. Herein he had merited singular commendations, if the vehemencie of his nature had not caused him to maligne the vertue of that Noble *Scipio* the African, and some other worthy men; that were no lesse honest than himselfe, though farre lesse rigid, and more gallant in behaviour. Otherwise, Hee was a very good Citizen, and one of such temper, that he could fashion himselfe to all occasions; as if he were neuer out of his Element. He loued businesse so well, or rather hated vice so earnestly; that euen vnto the end of his life, He was exercised in defending himselfe, or accusing others. For at the age of fourescore & sixe yeeres, He pleaded in his owne defence: and foure yeeres after, he accused *Sergius Galla* vnto the People. So began the Nobility of *Caro* his familie; which ended in his great grand-child *M. Cato* the Vtican: one, that being of like vertue and seruencie, had all his good purposes dash't, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of such Nobilitie and Greatnesse as this his Ancestor had continually vexed.

The Spanish warres, after *Cato* his departure out of the Countrey, though they were not very dangerous, yet were they many; and the Countrey seldom free from insurrection, in one part or other. The Roman Prætors therefore, of which two euery yeere to were sent ouer Commanders into Spaine (that was diuided into Governments) did rarely faile of such worke, as might afford the honour of Triumph. One slew thirtene thousand Spaniards in a battell; another tooke littie Townes; and a third enforced many States of the Countrey to sue for Peace. Thus euery one of them, or most of them, did some laudable seruice; and yet so, that commonly there were of men, townes, and people, new that rebelled, in stead of the old that were slain, taken, or reclaimed. At the causes hereof, I haue already pointed; and therefore thinke it enough to say, That the businesse in Spaine required not the employment of a Roman Consul, from such time as *Cato* thence departed, vntill the Numantian Warre broke out, which was very long after.

In all other Countries to the West of the Ionian Seas, the Romans had peace; but so had not the Carthaginians. For when *Hannibal* was gone from them, and that the enemies of the *Barthine* Houle promised all felicitie which Rome could grant, vnto themselves & their obedient Citie: *M. Janissia* fell to disputing with the sword, about the title to the best part of their Lands. He began with *Emporia*, a fruitfull Region about the lesser Syrtis: wherein among other Cities was that of *Leptis*, which daily paid a Talent vnto Carthage for Tribute. This Countrey the Numidians challenged; & by winning some part of it, seemed to better his claime vnto the whole. Hee had a great advantage: for that the Carthaginians might not make any warre, without leaue obtained from their Masters the Romans. They had none other way of redresse, than by sending to Rome for their Complaint of his doings. And surely they wanted not good matter to alledge, if the Indges had bene vnpartiall. For besides that *Scipio*, in limiting out to them their bounds, had left them the possession of this Countrey: *M. Janissia* himselfe, now very lately pursuing a Rebelle that fled out of his Kingdome, desired leaue of the Carthaginians, for himselfe to passe through it in his way to Cyrene: thereby acknowledging (had it otherwise bene questionable) that the Countrey was theirs. This notwithstanding, *M. Janissia* had where-with to iustifie his proceedings, especially vnto the Roman Senate. He gaue the *Fathers* to vnderstand by his Embassadors, what faithlesse people the Carthaginians were, and how ill-affected to the State of Rome. There had lately been sent vnto them from *Hannibal*, one that should perswade them to take part with *Antiochus*. This man they had examined vpon some suspition of his errand; yet neither arresting him nor his ship, had thereby afforded him meanes to escape. Hence the Numidian concluded, That certainly it was their purpose to rebell; and therefore good policie to keepe them downe.

As for the Countrey of *Emporia*: it had alwayes, he said, bene theirs that were able to hold it by strong hand: and so belonged sometime vnto the Numidian kings; though now of late it was in possession of the Carthaginians. But if truth were knowne, the Citizens of Carthage had not any very warrantable title vnto any more ground, than that

that whereon their Citie stood; or scarcely to so much. For they were no better than strangers in Affrick, that had gotten leaue there to build vpon so much ground, as they could encompass with an Ox-hide cut into small thongs. Whatseuer they held without such a compasse, was purchased by fraud, and wrongfull encroachments. This considered, *M. Janissia* requested of the Senate, That they would not adiudge vnto such vsurers, the Countrey sometimes appertaining to the Ancestors of him their assured friend. The Romans hauing heard these allegations on both sides, found the matter so doubtful, that they could not on the sudden tell what to determine. Wherefore because they would doe nothing rashly; they sent ouer three Embassadors, of whom *P. Scipio* the African was one and the chiefe, to decide the controuersie: yet secretly giuing them instructions, to leaue all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The Embassadors followed their directions, and left all doubtful. So was it likely, that *M. Janissia* with a strong Armie should quickly preuaile, against those that could no more than talke of their right, and exclaime against the wrong. By such Arts were the Carthaginians held, not onely from stirring in fauour of King *Antiochus*, if they had thereto any disposition; but were prepared by little and little vnto their final destruction: that came vpon them, when the Romans had leisure to expresse the utmost of their hatred.

## §. VI.

The *Ætolians* labour to provoke *Antiochus*, Philip, and Nabis, to warre vpon the Romans by whom they held themselves wronged and disgraced. Nabis besiegeth Gythium, and wasteth some part of *Achaia*. The exact skill of Philopemen, in advantage of ground: whereby hee utterly vanquisheth Nabis. *Antiochus* being denied Peace by the Romans, ioynes with the *Ætolians*. The *Ætolians* surprize *Demetrius*; and by killing Nabis, their Confederates, seize vpon *Sparta*. But they are driven out by the Citizens: who at Philopemen his perswasions annex themselves to the *Achaians*.

ALL Greece being at peace, and the Roman Armies thence departed; it grieved much the *Ætolians* to thinke, that they who had promised vnto themselves the whole spoyle of *Philip*, and the highest reputation among the Greeks; were not onely disappointed of their couetous hopes, but quite forsaken by their ancient dependants; and of all other the most vnregarded. Yet was there made a great access to their Estate; by adding much vnto them, of that which had been taken from the Macedonian. This might well haue sufficed them, if their desires had not bene immoderate; and their indignation more vehement, than their desire. But they were, not so pleased with that which they had, since they thought it no more than part of their due; as they were vexed with the denial of that which they claimed, and with finding themselves to be wholly disesteemed, wherein they thought that they had vnseparable wrong. Wherefore they deuided, in a Parliament which they shortly held, by what meanes they best might right themselves; and giue the Romans a sorrowful knowledge of the difference, between their enmity and friendship. To this purpose they soone agreed, as concurring all in one affection; That they would not onely perswade *Antiochus* to make war vpon the Romans, as one to whom the Romans had long refused Peace; but that they would deal with the King of Macedon their ancient enemy, and with *Nabis* the Tyrant of Lacedæmon, to ioyne altogether in a new Confederacy: whose ioynt forces could not in all likelihood, but far surmount those of the Romans, *Achaians*, *Rhodians*, and King *Eumenes*, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enterprise, which the *Ætolians* tooke in hand; and well beseeching them, for they were great daunters. They sent Embassadors to all these Kings, with perswasions, as they thought most forcible. But *Philip* was irrelolute; and *Antiochus* willing to try first all other courses. *Nabis* the Lacedæmonian, who neither as *Philip* had lost much, nor (as *Antiochus*) was in feare of any warre; yet shewed himselfe of all other the most forward: and not staying so much as to seeke any good pretence, beganne immediately to lay siege vnto Gythium; that had bene lately taken from him by the Romans. The *Achaians*, to whose care chiefly *Tullus* at his departure had commended the affaires of Peloponnesus, were not slow to admonish *Nabis* of his duty: neither would they haue staied long from reprehending his violence by open Warre; had not some of them thought it wisdome to

to aske counsaile of the Romans, and particularly of *T. Quintim*, before they engaged themselves in a businesse of such importance. Whilēt thus they spent time in sending Embassadors, and were aduised by *Quintim* to let all alone, and to waite for the coming of the Roman forces that would shortly be amongst them: *Nabis* was bold to giue them iustt cause of complaint, by wakening their owne Territorie.

*Philopemen* was then Prætor of the Achæans, who had long bin absent in Crete; making war there for his mindes sake & recreation. Vnto him the Achæans referred themselves, giuing him leaue to order the warre at his pleasure; either staying till the Romans came, or doing otherwise, as he should thinke best. He made all haſte to relieue Gytthem by Sea; fearing lest the Towne, and the Achæan Garrison within it, should be lost, if to heved any delay. But *Philopemen* was so bad a Sea-man, that hee knew not a strong Ship from a rotten. Hee made a *Quadrirème* Gallie his Admirall, that had fourecore yeeres agoe bene counted a gallant vesseſſell, in the Naue of *Antigonius Gamatar*. Neither was the rest of his Fleet so good, as might encounter with that of the Lacedæmonian. Onely it fell out well, that he committed himselfe to a light Pinnace or Brigandine, that fought better with their wings, than with her tallons. For his Admirall Gallie was stemmed at the first; and being rotten with age, sprang so many leakes, and tooke in water so fast, that she was faine to yeeld without further resistance. When the rest of the Fleet saw what was become of their Admirall, all were presently discouraged, and saued themselves with what speed they could. But *Philopemen* was not herewith daunted. If hee had failed in Sea-service, which was none of his Occupation, He said, that he would make amends by Land. The Tyrant withdrew part of his Armie from the siege of Gytthem, to stop the Achæans if they should invade the Countrey. But vpon these which were placed in guard of Laconia, *Philopemen* came vnexpected; fired their Camp, and put all, saue a very few of them, to the sword. Then marched hee with all his Army towards Lacedæmon: within ten mile whereof he was, when the Tyrant met him that had already taken Gytthem. It was not expected that *Nabis* would haue bene ready for them so soon. Or if he should come from Gytthem, with any part of his forces: yet was it thought that hee must ouertake them, and charge them in the Rere. They marched therefore almost secretly, in a long Troupe reaching some five miles; hauing their Horse, and the greatest part of their Auxiliaries at their backs, to beare off any sudden impression. But *Nabis*, who formerly vnderstood, or at least suspected, what course they would take, appeared in the front of them with all his Armie; encamped there where they meant to haue lodged. It was the custome of *Philopemen*, when he walked or trauelled abroad with his friends, to marke the situation of the Countrey about him; and to discouise, what might befall an Armie marching the same. He would suppose, That hauing with him there such a number of Souldiers, ordered and sorted in such manner, and marching towards such a place; he were vpon that ground encountered by a greater Armie, or better prepared to the fight. Then would hee put the question, whether it were meet for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a stand: what peece of ground it were meet for him to seize vpon: and in what manner he might best doe it in what fort he should order his men: where bestow his Carriages, and vnder what Guard: in what fort encampe himselfe: and which way march the day following. By such continual meditation, Hee was growne so perfect, that hee did neuer meet with any difficultie, whence hee could not explicate himselfe and his followers. At this time hee made a stand: and hauing drawne vp his Rere, Hee encamped neere vnto the place where hee was; within halfe a mile of the Enemy. His baggage, with all thereto belonging, he bestowed on a Rocke; encompassing them round with his Souldiours. The ground was rough, the wayes bad, and the day almost quite spent; so as *Nabis* could not at the present greatly molest him. Both Armies were to water at one Brooke; whereto the Achæans lay the neerer. This watering therefore was like to minister the first occasion of skirmish. *Philopemen* vnderstood this; and layd an ambush in place conuenient; wherein to the Mercenaries of *Nabis* fell, and were slaughtered in great numbers. Presently after this, hee caused one of his owne Auxiliaries to goeto the Tyrant; as a fugitiue, and tell him, that the Achæans had a purpose to get between him and Lacedæmon; wherby they would both debarre his returne into the Citie, and withall encourage the people to take Armes for the recouerie of their freedome. The Tyrant hearing this, marched hastily away; and left his Campe, which hardly otherwise would haue bene forced.

Some

Some Companies he made to stay behinde, and shew themselves vpon the Rampart; thereby to conceale his departure. But *Philopemen* was not so to be beguiled. Hee easily wonne the Campe, and gaue chase to *Nabis*: whose followers being ouertaken, had no courage to turne about and make head. The enemies being thus disperſed, and fled into Woods, where they lay in couert all that day, *Philopemen* conceived aught, that their feare and necessitie would teach them to creepe homewards, and saue themselves, when it grew darke. Wherefore in the Euening, when hee had gathered together all those of his Light-armature, which had followed the chase whilēt it was day, He led forth the rest that had well refreshed themselves, & occupied the two most ordinary passages vnto Lacedæmon. So *Nabis* his men, when it was darke night, perceiuing in *Philopemen* Campe great store of lights, thought that all had bene at rest: and therefore aduentured to make an escape home. But they were so way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into Sparta. Thirty dayes together after this, did *Philopemen* waſt the Countrey round about, whilēt *Nabis* durst not issue forth of his Towne; and then returned home, leauing the Tyrant in a manner without forces.

The Roman Embassadors were then in Greece, & *T. Quintim* among them, labouring to make their partie strong against *Antiochus* & *Nabis*, whom they knew to bee solicited by the Etolians. Very faire countenance they also made vnto *Philip*; and with comfortable promises drew him to make shew, whatsoeuer hee thought, of good correspondence. They promised to restore vnto him his sonne: and were contented to let him hope, that he should receiue other fauours at their hands; and regaine possessions of many places, by them taken from him. Thus did the Romans prepare for warre against *Antiochus* in Greece, whilēt their Embassadors that were with him in Asia, denied otherwise to grant him Peace, than if he would yeelde vnto one of the Conditions, by them so often propounded. The long absence of this King in Syria, where he had accomplished the marriage betweene *Ptolome* and his daughter; together with the death of yong *Antiochus* the kings sonne, which happened during the Treatie, and hindered, or seemed to hinder the King, from giuing audience in person to the Embassadors; caused them to returne home to Rome; as vncertaine of their answer as at their setting forth. One thing that might haue bene, and partly was, beneficiall vnto them, they brought to passe during their abode at Ephesus; either by cunning, or (as *Liue* rather thinke) by chance. Finding *Hannibal* there, they discouised often with him, and blamed him for hauing thus fled vnto *Antiochus*, vpon a causelesse suspicion wherein he held the Romans; that honoyred his vertue, and intended him no harme. Many haue affirmed that *P. Scipio* was one of these Embassadors; and that he, among other discourses with *Hannibal*, demanded once, which of all the famous Captaines that had liued, *Hannibal* iudged the most worthy? So *Hannibal* gaue to *Alexander* of Macedon the first place: to *Pyrrhus* the second: and the third he challenged vnto himselfe. But *Scipio* who thought his owne title better, than that it ought to be so forgotten: asked yet further, What wouldst thou haue said then, *Hannibal*, if thou hadst vanquished me? To whom the Carthaginian replied, Then would not I haue giuen the first place to *Alexander*, but haue claimed it as due vnto my selfe. Now whether this were so, or otherwise: the often and friendly conference of *Hannibal* with the Roman Embassadors, made him in suspected of *Antiochus*; who therefore did forbear a while to vse his counsell. Yet afterwards, when *Hannibal* perceiued this change in the King: and plainly desiring him to tell the cause thereof, heard what it was; He easily recouered his former grace, and credit. For hee told how his Father had caused him to sweare at the Altars, when he was a little boy, That he neuer should be friend vnto the Romans. Wherefore he willed the king not to regard any vaine fumes: but to know thus much, That so long as he thought vpon warre with Rome, so long would *Hannibal* doe him all good seruice: whereas contrariwise if he intended to make peace, then should it behooue him to vse the counsaile of some other man.

The Etolians, and their friends, were no lesse busie all this while, in making their partie strong against the Romans, than were the Romans, in mustering vp their friends in Greece. They had tooſten dealt with *Antiochus*, vanishing much of their owne forces, and arrogating to themselves the honour of the victory against *Philip*; that finally they preuailed with him; especially when the Roman Embassadors had left him without hope of peace, vnles he would buy it at a deare rate. They dealt in like sort with the Macedonian.

But

But in vaine. He vnderstood the Romans, and himselfe, too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improve their own forces to the vttermost: as knowing, that all the burthen must lie vpon *Antiochus* and themselves, without helpe from any; save onely from some few that were discontented in Greece. Whilest they were about this, and had with them an Embassador of the king *Antiochus*, that animated them to resolution: the Athenian Embassadors, whom *Titus* had requested to be at their meeting, stayed their vehemencie a little; by exhorting them, not to conclude rashly, without first hearing the Romans, that lay neerer at hand. For want of a ready answer hereto, they were contented to approve the motion. *Titus* hearing this, thought the businesse worthy of his presence. For since *Antiochus* had now declared himselfe againe the Romans: it would be no small piece of seruice, to withdraw from his friendship, those by whose encouragement he had made the aduventure. Wherefore he came to their *Panatholium*, or great Assembly of the Nation; where he forgot nothing that might serue to appease them. He willed them to consider the weight of the enterprise which they took in hand; whereby Greece was like to become a Champaigne-field, on which, to the ruine of the Country, the Romans, and king *Antiochus*, that commanded no small part of the World, should fight for the Matterie: the *Ætoliens*, as Masters in that kind of Fence, setting them on, and becoming \* the Sticklers. As for those grievances which did thus exasperate them, and vrge them to such violent courses, Hee willed them to consider how slight they were, and how much better they might doe to send Embassadours to Rome, that should either pleade their right in the Senate, or (if their right vnto the places which they claimed, were not good) make request to haue what they desired: than thus to set the world in an vprore, and be afterwards the first that should repent it. But what he said, or could say, it skilled not much. They had already done ill, to make the Embassador of the king, whose helpe they had sought, waite so long for an answer, and stay doubting what good end they should make with the Romans. Neither was it newes vnto them to heare those comfortable words, That, by sending to Rome, they might happen to obtain what they desired; either as their right, or els by way of fauour. For with such Terms had they been fasted once already: and were by the Senate reiectcd vnto *Titus*: who, hauing it in his owne power, gaue them no satisfaction; yet would now againe referre them to the Senate. This was onely losse of time, and might abate their credit with *Antiochus*. Wherefore without more adoe they made a Decree, That King *Antiochus the Great* should be entreated to come ouer into Greece, as well to set the country at libertie, as also to decide the controuersies depending between the Romans and *Ætoliens*. Such a Decree they would not haue made, had they not vnderstood the kings minde before. Hauing made it, they forgot no point of brauery, whereby to vaunt themselves to the Kings Embassadours, and against the Romans. *Titus* desired of their Prætor, to let him see a Copie of this new Decree. The Prætor answered, That then he had other things to doe: but that this Decree, and their further answer, they would shortly let him know, if hee came to their campe in Italy vpon the riuier of *Tibris*. Gentler words would haue done better, as the *Ætoliens* are like to vnderstand hereafter. But hauing thus begun, they meant henceforth to goe roundly to worke. The care of the warre they referred vnto the more private Council of their Nation; that no occasion might slip, in waiting for the Authority of a generall Assembly. The *Apocleti* (so were the Priuie Councell of *Ætolia* called) went as hotly to worke as any of the yongest heads could haue done. They laid a plot, how to get into their hands at one time the Townes of *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Sparta*: to each of which they sent men for the purpose. *Demetrias* they tooke vpon the suddens; entering, some of them as friends to conduct home a principall man of the Citie: who for speaking words against *T. Quintus*, had bene drinen to flee thence, but was, by intercession of those that loued him, againe recalled. His *Ætolian* companions, that were not many, seized vpon a Gate; whereat they let in a Troupe which they had left not far behind them; and so fell to murdering the chiefe of the Roman Faction. At *Chalcis* they sped not so well. Thither also they had a banished man to bring home: but they came so strong, that their purpose was discovered, and the Town prepared to defend it selfe against them. Being therefore demanded the cause of this hostilitie, they gaue a gentle answer, saying, That they came not thither as enemies, but onely to deliuer the Towne from the Romans; who more insolently dominated ouer it, than euer the *Macedonians* had done. By which Rhetoricke they prevailed no more, than they could doe by plain force.

force. For the Towne-men replied, That they neither found any abridgement of their libertie, nor needed any Garrison to keep them from the Romans, from whom they neither feared any danger, nor receiued iniurie. So this businesse was dashed. The attempt vpon *Sparta* was more strange and desperate. *Nabis* their good friend, was Lord of the Towne, styling himselfe King: but, more truly by all men called Tyrant. He had well-necesse lost all, by means of the ouerthrow which *Philopamen* had lately giuen him: since, he durst not stirre abroad; and daily expected the mischiefe, that on all sides threatened him: Wherefore hee sent messengers, one after another, to the *Ætoliens*; requesting them, That as He had bene flow to stirre in their behalfe, but adu ventured himselfe vpon the vtmost of danger, when all others were backward; so they would be pleased to send him what helpe they might, since his bad fortune had caused him presently to neede it. It hath bene often said, That the rauenous *Ætoliens* were onely true to themselves, and regarded neither faith nor friendship otherwise than as it might conduce to their owne ends. And so dealt they now. For since *Nabis* his mercenary forces, which upheld his Tyranny, were in a manner consumed: they thought it expedient for their Estate, to put him out of the way; & by so doing, to assure *Lacedæmon* vnto themselves. To this purpose, they sent thither *Alexamenus*, one whom they thought a man fit for such a worke. To him they gaue a thousand Foot, and thirtie Horse, chosen for the purpose. These thirtie were by *Democritus* the Prætor brought into the Councell of the *Apocleti*, where they were commanded to be no wiser than they should be, nor to thinke that they were sent to make warre with the *Achaens*, or to doe ought elsse, save onely what *Alexamenus* should command them; which were it neuer so desperate, and in seeming against all reason; yet must they vnderstand, that vnlesse they performed it, they should haue no good welcome home. So *Alexamenus* came to the Tyrant, whom hee encouraged with braue words: telling him that *Antiochus* was already in Europe, and would be anon in Greece, meaning to couer all the Land and Sea with his mighty Armies; and that the Romans were like to finde other manner of worke, than of late with *Philip*: since the Elephants of this great king, without other helpe, would suffice to tread them downe. As for the *Ætoliens*, He said, that if need should so require, they would presently send away to *Lacedæmon* all the forces that they could raise: But that they were very desirous at the present, to make as goodly a muster as they could before the great king, which caused them to send him thither afore with no greater company. Hereupon he willed *Nabis* to take heart, bring forth his men, that had bin long pent vp in the Citie; and traine them without the wals: as if shortly he should employ them in worke of conquest, rather than defence. *Nabis* was glad of this: and daily exercised his men in the field; riding vp and downe with this *Alexamenus*, and no more than three or foure horse about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exercise, *Alexamenus* made it his fashion to step aside alone to his *Ætoliens*, and say somewhat as he thought fit: which done, he still returned againe to *Nabis*. But when hee saw time for the great worke that he had in hand: He then went aside to his thirty horsemen, and bade them remember the taske enioyned them at their setting forth; telling them that they were all in case of banished men, vnlesse they would anone come vp to him, and helpe him to finish that which they should see him take in hand. Herewithall the Tyrant beganne to draw neere them: and *Alexamenus* making towards him, charged him on the sudden, and strucke him downe. The thirtie *Ætoliens* neuer stood to deliberate vpon the matter: but all flew in; and, before any succour could arriue, had made an end of this wretched *Nabis*. Presently vpon the fact committed, the Tyrant his Mercenaries ranne vnto the dead body: where in stead of seeking reuenge, they stood foolishly gazing as beholders. *Alexamenus* with his *Ætoliens* hastied into the Citie, and seized on the Palace: where he fell to ransacking the Treasure; and troubled himselfe with none other care, as though all were already done. Such of his followers as were dispersed in the Towne, did also the like; with the greater indignation of the Citizens: who seeing themselves free by the death of the Tyrant, could not indure to see those that had slaine him, beginne to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the townes was shortly in Armes: and for lacke of another Capitaine, they tooke a little Boy of the Royall stocke, that had bene brought vp with *Nabis* his children; whom they mounted vpon a good Horse, and made him their Chiefe. So they fell vpon the *Ætoliens* that were idly stragling about; and put them all to the sword. *Alexamenus* with

with not many of his Company, were slaine in keeping the Citadell: and those few that escaped thence into Arcadia, were taken by the Magistrates, who sold them all as bond-slaves. In this doubtfull Estate of things at Lacedæmon, *Philopamen* came thither: who calling out the chiefe of the Citie, and speaking such words vnto them, as *Alexamenus* should haue done after he had slaine the Tyrant; easily perswaded them for their owne good and safety, to incorporate themselves with the Achæans. Thus by the enterprise, no lesse d' honourable than difficult, of the Aetolians, and the small, but effectuall, traualle of *Philopamen*, the Achæans made a notable purchase: and Lacedæmon, that had hitherto bin gouerned either by kings, or by Tyrants that called themselves kings, became the member of a Common-wealth, wherof the name had scarce any reputation, when Sparta ruled ouer all Greece.

## §. VII.

*Antiochus, perswaded by Thoas the Aetolian, comes ouer into Greece, ill attended, Sunday passages betwene him, the Aetolians, Chalcidians and others. He wins Chalcis, and thereby the whole Ile of Eubœa. The vanitie of the Kings Embassadors and the Aetolians, with the Citie answer of Titus to their discourse, before the Achæans. That it concerned the Greekes to haue d' fised peace, betwene the Romans and Antiochus; as the best assurance of their owne libertie. Of many petty Estates that fell to the King. Of Aminander; and an idle vanitie, by which King Philip was lost. Hannibal giues good counsaile in vaine. Some Townes wonne in Thessalie. The King retires to Chalcis; where hee marieth a young Wife, and reuels away the rest of winter. Upon the coming of the Roman Consul all forsake Antiochus. He with two thousand Aetolians keeps the Streights of Thermopyle. He is beaten, and flies into Asia: leaving all in Greece vnto the Victors.*

**A**ntiochus was troubled much in Asia with *Smirna* and *Lampsacus*, that would not hearken to any Composition. He thought it neither safe nor honourable, to leaue them Enemies behinde him; and to winnethem by force, was more than hitherto he was able. Yet was hee desirous with all speede conuenient to shew himselfe in Greece; where he had bin told, that his presence would effect wonders. It was said, That in all the Countrie there was a very small number, which bore heartie affection vnto the Romans: That *Nabis* was already vp in Armes: That *Philip* was like a Bandog in a chaine, desiring nothing more than to breake loose, and that the Aetolians, without whom the Romans had done nothing, nor nothing could haue done, were ready to conferre vpon him the greatnesse, which they had vnworthily bestowed vpon insolent Barbarians. Of all this the least part was true. Yet that which was true made such a noyse as added credit vnto all the rest. Whilseth therefore the King was thinking to send *Hannibal* into Africke, there to molest the Romans, & so giue him the better leisure of vsing his owne opportunities in Greece: *Thon* the Aetolian came ouer to him, & bad him lay all other care aside; for that his Country-men had already taken *Demetrius*; a Towne of inaine importance, that should giue him entertainment, whence he might proceede as became the greatnesse of his vertue and fortune. This did serue to cut off all deliberation. As for *Hannibal*; *Thon* was bold to tell the king, first, That it was not expedient for him to diuide his forces at such a time, when the very reputation of his numbers, brought into Greece, might serue to lay open vnto him all places, without neede of vsing violence: and secondly, That in any such great enterprise there could not be chosen a more vsitanto to be employed in the kings seruice, than was that famous *Hannibal* the Carthaginian. For he said, That the king should as greatly feele the losse of a Fleet; or Armie, perishing vnder such a notable Commander if his fortune were bad, as if the King had miscarried vnder one of meaner qualitie: whereas neuertheless *Hannibal* presently should haue all the honour, and not *Antiochus*. In this regard he was of opinion, That such a renowned Warriour should be alwayes nere vnto the kings person, to giue aduice: which being followed as often as it was found commodious, the good successe would wholly redound vnto the honour of him that had the soueraigne Command; such of the King himselfe. *Antiochus* gladly hearkened vnto this admonition; being ielous of the vertue, that shined brighter than the Maieutie of his owne fortune. And therupon he laid aside the determination, which tended more to the aduancement of his desires, than did any thing else by him then or after thought vpon.

Presently

Presently after this He made ready for Greece. Before his setting forth, in a tiuolous pompe of ceremony, he went vp from the Sea-side to *Ilium*; there to doe sacrifice to *Minerva* of Troy. Thence passing ouer the *Ægean Sea*, He came to *Demetrius*. *Eurylochus* the Megnetian, the same whom the Aetolians had lately waited on at home; when by that present he won *Demetrius*; was now the chiefe man & Ruler of his Nation. He therefore with his Countrey-men, in great frequentie, came to doe their duties to the King *Antiochus*, and bid him welcome. The King was glad of this: and took it as a signe of good lucke; to be so entertained at the beginning. But it may be suspected, that the Magistrates found not the like cause of ioy: For whereas they had expected a Fleet and Armie somewhat like to that of *Xerxes*: they saw three hundred ships; of which, no more than fortie were seruicable for the Warres; with an Armie of ten thousand Foot, fiftie hundred Horse; and six Elephants. The Aetolians no sooner heard of his coming, than they called a Parliament; & made a Decree, whereby they invited him into their Countrie. He knew before that they would so doe, and was therefore well onward on his way towards them; when they met him that brought the Decree. At his coming to *Lamia*, the Aetolians gaue him as ioyfull entertainment as they could denife. Being brought in to their Councell, He made an Oration: wherein he desired them to hold him excused, that he came not followed with a greater Armie. This was, he said, in true estimation a signe of his good will: in that he said not to make all things ready, but hasted vnto their aide, euen whilst the season was vsit for navigation. Yet it should not be long, ere the hope of all those which had expected him, would be satisfied vnto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all Greece with Armies, and all the Sea coast with his Fleets. Neither would he spare for any charge, traualle, or danger, to follow the businesse which he had undertaken: euen to driue the Romans and their authoritie out of Greece; leaving the Countrey free indecde, and the Aetolians therein the chiefe. Now as the Armies that were following him, should be very great: so was it his meaning, that all prouisions to them belonging should be correspondent; because hee would not be any way burdened vnto his Confederates. But at the present he must needs entreat them, hauing thus hastily come ouer vnto their aide, vnprouided of many necessaries: that they would helpe him with Corne and other victuals, whereof he stood in neede. So he left them to their consultation: the conclusion whereof was, after a little dispute, for a vaine motion was made by some, that the differences betwene the Romans and them, should be put by Compromise to the decision of *Antiochus*; That they would yeelde vnto the Kings desire, and assist him with all their forces. Here we may obserue, how vaine a thing it is for an absolute Prince to engage himselfe, as did *Antiochus*, in a businesse of dangerous importance, vpon the promised assurance of a State that is merely popular. For if the vehemencie of *Thon*, and some other of that Faction, had not preuailed in this Councell: the Aetolians, for gaine of two or three Townes, yea for hope of such gaine that might haue deceived them; were like to haue abandoned this King their friend, vnto the discretion of the Romans. And what remedy had there beene; if this had so fallen out? He could haue beemoaned himselfe to *Thon*, and complained of the wrong; but he must haue bene contented with this answer, That the fault was in those of the opposite side; whom *Thon* would therefore haue pronounced to be very wicked men. It happened much better for the present; though in the future it proued much worse, both for him, and for the Aetolians. He was chosen Generall of all their forces: and thirtie Commissioners were appointed to be about him, as a Councell of Warre for the Nation. These armed such as readily they could, whilst it was in dispute where they should beginne the Warre. *Chalcis* was thought the meetest place to be first undertaken: whether if they came suddenly, they should not peraduenture neede to vse much force. The King had brought with him into Aetolia but a thousand Foot; leaving the rest behinde him at *Demetrius*. With these he hasted away directly toward *Chalcis*; being overtaken by no greater number of the Aetolians, which accompanied him thither. At his coming, the Magistrates, and some of the chiefe Citizens, issued forth to parle with him. There the Aetolians beganne, as they had lately done before, to tell, how the Romans had onely in words and false semblance, set Greece at libertie. But such libertie, as might be true and vsfull, they said, would neuer be obtained; vntill by remoouing the necessitie of obeying their pleasure that were most mightie, euery seuerall Estate had where to finde redresse of any preiudice. And to this end was the great *Antiochus* come thither; a King well

well able to counterpoise, yea to ouerweigh the *Romans*: who neuertheless desired them onely, to ioine with him in League, as that if either the *Romans* and Hee should offer them wrong, they might keepe in their power, to seeke redresse at the others hands. The Chalcidians made hereto the same answer, which, to the like allegations, they had made not long before: That their freedom was not imaginarie, but absolute, for which they were to thanke the *Romans*; without whose good liking, they would enter into no new confederacie. That which they spake of themselves, they could likewise asseure of all the *Greekes*: forasmuch as none of them payed any Tribute, was kept vnder, by any Garrison, or liued otherwise than by their owne *Lanes*, and without being tied vnto conditions which displeased them. Wherefore they wondered, why the King should thus trouble himselfe, to deliuer Cities that were already free. But since hee, and the *Ætoli-ans*, requested their friendship: they besought both him, and the *Ætoli-ans*, to doe a friendly Office, in departing from them quietly, and leauing them in such good case as they were. With this answer the King departed: for he was not, as then, strong enough to force them. But very soone after, he brought thither a greater power, which terrified them, and made them yeelde: before all the succours could arriue, which *Titus* had sent for their defence.

The chiefe Citie of Eubœa being thus gotten, all the rest of the Iland shortly yielded to *Antiochus*. Foure or fise hundred Roman Souldiers, that came ouer-late to haue defended Chalcis, reposed themselves at Delium, a little town of Boœtia, lying ouer against the Iland; where was a Temple and Groue, consecrated vnto *Apollo*, that had the priu-  
ledge of an inuolable Sanctuary. In this place were some of them walking, and behol-  
ding the things there to be seene, whilst others were busied as they found cause: with-  
out feare of any danger; as being in such a place, and no warre hitherto proclaimed. But  
*Menippus*, one of *Antiochus* his Captains, that had wearied himselfe in many vaine Tre-  
aties of peace, tooke aduantage of their carelesnesse, and vled them with all extremie of  
warre. Very few of them escaped: fiftie were taken; and the rest slaine. Hereat *Quintus*  
was grieved: yet so, as it pleased him well to consider, that his *Romans* had now more  
iust cause than before, to make warre vpon the King.

*Antiochus* liked well these beginnings, and sent Embassadors into all quarters of Greece, in hope, that his reputation should perswade very many to take his part. The wisest sort returned such answers, as the Chalcidians had done. Some reserved themselves vntill he should come among them: knowing that either, if he came not, He must hold them excused for not daring to stirre; or, if he came, the *Romans* must pardon their iust feare, in yeelding to the stronger. None of those that lay farre off, ioined with him in true meaning; save the *Elcans*, that alwayes fauoured the *Ætoli-ans*, and now feared the *Achæans*. Little reason there was, that he should thinke to draw the *Achæans* to his partie. Neuertheless he assayed them, vpon a vaine hope that the enuie, which *Titus* was said to beare vnto *Philopemens* vertue, had bred a secret dislike betwene that Nation & the *Romans*. Wherefore both Hee and the *Ætoli-ans* sent Embassadors to the Councell at *Ægium*; that spared not braue words, if the *Achæans* would haue beene so taken. The Kings Embassa-  
dour told of great Armies & Fleets that were comming; reckoning vp the *Dahans*, *Medians*, *Elimæans* & *Caducians*, names that were not euery day heard of, and therefore as he thought, the more terrible. Then told he them what notable men at Sea, the *Sydo-  
nians*, *Tyrians*, *Arabians*, and *Pamphilians* were; such in deepe as could not be resisted. Now concerning money and all warlike furniture: it was, he said, well knowne, that the Kingdomes of Asia had alwayes thereof great plenty. So as they were much deceived: who considering the late warre made against *Philip*, did thinke that this with *Antiochus* would proue the like: the case was too farre different. Yet this most powerful King, that for the liberty of Greece was come from the vtmost parts of the East, requested no more of the *Achæans*, than that they would hold themselves as neutrall, and quietly looke on, whilst He tooke order with the *Romans*. To the same effect spake the *Ætolian* Embassa-  
dour, & further added, that in the battell at *Cynosephale*, neither *Titus* had done the part of a Generall, nor the *Romans* of good Souldiers: but that both He & his Armie had beene there destroyed, had they not beene protected by vertue of the *Ætoli-ans*, which carried the day. *Titus* was present at the Councell, and heard all this: to which he made as fit answer, as could haue beene desired. He told the *Achæans*, That neither the Kings Embassa-  
dour, nor the *Ætolian*, did so greatly labour to perswade those vnto whom they addressed

addressed their Orations; as to vaunt themselves the one vnto the other. So as a man might well discern, what good correspondence in vanitie it was, that had thus linck-  
ed the King and the *Ætoli-ans* together. For euen such bragges as here they made, before the *Achæans*, who knew them to be lyars, had the *Ætoli-ans* also made vnto King *Antiochus*: proclaiming the victory ouer *Philip* to be merely their Act: and the whole Country of Greece to be dependant on them. Interchangeably had they beene fea-  
red by the King, with such tales as his Embassa-dour told euen now, of *Dahans*, and *A-  
radians*, & *Elimæans*, and a many others: that were all but a company of *Syrians*, such as were wont to be sold about for bondslaves, and good for little else. These diuers  
names of rascall people were, he said, like to the diuersitie of *Venison*, wherewith a friend of his at Chalcis (no such vanter as were these Embassadors) had sometime feasted him. For all that varietie, wherewith he wondered, was none other, as his Host then merrily told him; than so many pieces of one tame swine, drest after severall fashions with varietie of  
lawces. Setting therefore aside this vanity of idle pompe: it were good to make iudge-  
ment of the great King, by his present doings. He had, notwithstanding all this great noyse, no more than tenne thousand men about him: for which little Armie hee was  
saue in a manner, to begge victuals of the *Ætoli-ans*; and take vp money at vsurie, to defray his charges. And thus he ranne vp and downe the Country; from *Demetrias* to *Lamia*, thence backe to Chalcis, and being there shut out, to *Demetrias* againe. There were the *frays* of lyes: wherewith since both *Antiochus* and the *Ætoli-ans* had each de-  
luded other; meet it was that they should, as perhaps already they did, repent, whilst wi-  
ser men tooke heed by their example. To a fauourable Auditory much perswasion is needlesse. The *Achæans* did not loue so well the *Ætoli-ans*, as to desire that they should become Princes of Greece: but rather wished to see them, of all other, made the veriest  
abjects. Wherefore they stood not to hearken after newes, what *Antiochus* did, how hee sped in Eubœa, or what other Cities were like to take his part: but readily proclaimed warre against him, and against the *Ætoli-ans*.

How the hatred betwene these two Nations grew inueterate, sufficiently appeares in the story foregoing. Now haue they gotten each their Patrons, the one, the *Romans*, the other, King *Antiochus*. Herein did each of them vnwisely: though farre the greater blame ought to be laid on the turbulent spirits of the *Ætoli-ans*. For when the *Romans* departed out of Greece, and left the Countie at rest: there was nothing more greatly to haue beene desired, than that they might neuer finde occasion to returne with an Armie thither againe. And in this respect ought the *Greekes* to haue fought, not how *Smyrna* and *Lampfacus* might recouer their liberty (which had neuer been held a matter worth regarding, vntill now of late) but how the powers of the East and West, diuided and kept asunder by their Countie, as two Seas by an Isthmus or neck of land, might be kept from ouerflowing the barre that parted them. Neither had the *Romans* any better pretence for their seeking to make free those base *Asiaticques*, which originally were  
Greekish, than the general applause, wherewith all the nation entertained this their louing offer. Yet were *Lysimachia*, and the townes in Thrace, lately gotten by *Antiochus*, pre-  
tended as a very great cause of feare, that should moue them to take armes euen in their owne defence. But if all Greece would haue made intercession, and requested that things might continue as they were, promising jointly to assist the *Romans*, with their whole forces both by Land and Sea, whensoever King *Antiochus* should make the least offer to stirre against them: then had not onely this quarrell beene at an end; but the Roman Patronage ouer the Country, had beene farre from growing, as soone after it did, into a Lordly rule.

The *Achæans* were at this time, in a manner, the only Nation of Greece, that freely & generously declared themselves altogether from the *Romans*, their friends & benefactors. All the rest haue doubtfull answers of hope vnto both sides: or if some few, as did the *Thessalians*, were firm against *Antiochus*, yet helped they not one another in the quarrel, nor shewed themselves his enemies, till he pressed them with open force. The *Boeotians* willingly received him, as soone as he entred vpon their borders, not so much for feare of his power, as in hatred of *Titus* and the *Romans*, by whom they had bin somewhat hardly vled. *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, besides his old friendship with the *Ætoli-ans*, was caught with a bait, which it may be doubted, whether he did more foolishly swallow, or *Antiochus* cast out. He had married the daughter of an *Arcadian*, that was an



idle-headed man, and wanted himselfe to be defended from *Alexander* the Great, naming his two sonnes, in that regard, *Philip* and *Alexander*; *Philip*, the elder of these brethren, accompanied his sister to the poore Court of *Adamania*: where having made it folly knowne, by talking of his Pedegree; Hee was iudged by *Antiochus* and the *Actolians*, a man fit for their turnes. They made him believe, that in regard of his high parentage, and the famous memory of *Alexander* his forfather; it was their purpose to bestow the best for the conquest of Macedonia on his bellofer: since no man had thereto good title as he. But for the enabling of them hereto, it behooved him to draw *Aminandus* to their party, that so they might the sooner haue done with the Romans. *Philip* was highly pleased herewith; and by perswasions of himselfe, or of his sister, effected as much as they desired. But the first piece of seruice done by this imaginary king (whether it proceeded from his owne phrenzie, in hope to get love of the Macedonians that should be his subjects, or whether from some vanity in king *Antiochus* that employed him) wrought more harme to his friends, than he and *Aminandus* were able to doe good. There were two thousand men committed to his leading: with which he marched vnto *Cynopsephale*, there to gather vp the bones of the slaughtered Macedonians; whom their King had suffered all this while to lie vnburied. The Macedons troubled not themselves to thinke on this charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit at all: but king *Philip* took it in high indignation; as intended merely vnto his despight. Wherefore he presently sent vnto the Romans; and gaue them to vnderstand, that he was ready with all his power to aid them wherein they should be pleased to vlt him.

The *Actolians*, *Magnetians*, *Euboeans*, *Bœotians*, & *Athamanians*, hauing now all ioynd with him; *Antiochus* tooke counsaile of them about the prosecution of the warre in hand. The chiefe question was, Whether it were meet for him to invade *Theſſalie*, that would not hearken to his perswasions; or Whether to let all alone vntill the Spring: because it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing, and some another; confirming each his owne sentence, with the weightiest reasons which he could alledge; as in a matter of great importance. *Hannibal* was at this meeting: who had long bene cast aside, as a vessel of no vse; but was now required to deliuer his opinion. He freely told the king; That what he should now vnderstand, was then the same which he would haue spoken, had his counsaile at any time before been asked since their coming into Greece. For the *Magnetians*, *Bœotians*, & other their good friends, which how so willingly took their parts: what were they else than so many poore Estates; that wanting force of their owne, did adioyne themselves for feare vnto him, that was strongest at the present; and would afterwards, when they saw it expedient, be as ready to fall to the contrary side, alledging the same feare for their excuse? Wherefore he thought most behoouefull, to win King *Philip* of Macedonia vnto their partie: who (besides that being once engaged, he should not afterwards haue power to recoyle and forsake them at his pleasure) was a mighty Prince; and one that had meanes to sustaine the Roman Warre with his proper forces. Now that *Philip* might be easily perswaded to ioyne with them; the benefit likely to redound vnto himselfe, by their societie, was a very strong Argument: though inindeed what neede was there, of prouing by inference the likelihood of this hope? For, said Hee, *Theſe Actolians here present; and namely, this Thoas, being lately Embassadour from them into Asia, among other Motiues which he then vsed to excite the King vnto this Expedition, insisted mainly on the same point. He told vs that Philip was moved beyond all patience, with the Lordly insulence of the Romans: likening that king to some wilde beast, that was chained or locked vp within some grate, and would faine breake loose. If this be so: let vs breake his chains, and pull downe the grate, that he may regaine his libertie, and satisfie his angry stomack, upon those that are common Enemies to vs and him. But if it prove otherwise, and that his feare be greater than his indignation: then shall it behooue vs to looke vnto him; that he may not seeke to please his good masters the Romans, by offending vs. Your sonne Seleucus is now at *Lysmachia*, with part of your Armie: if *Philip* will not hearken to your Embassage, let Seleucus be in readinesse, to fall vpon Macedon, and finde him workers to defend his owne on the other side, without putting vs here to trouble. Thus much concerning *Philip*, and the present War in Greece. But more generally for the managing of this great enterprise, wherein now you are embarked against the Romans; I told you my opinion at the beginning: whereas had you then giuen care, the Romans by this time should haue heard other news, than that *Chalcis* in *Eubœa* was become ours; *Italic* and *Gauls* should haue been on fire with war; and*

little to their comfort, they should haue vnderstood, that *Hannibal* was againe come into *Italy*. Neither doe I see what should hinder vs euen now from taking the same course. Send for all your Fleet and Armie hither (but in any case let Ships of burden come along with them, laden with store of victuals: For as the case now stands, we haue here too few hands, and too many mouths.) Wherefore let the one halfe be employed against *Italy*; whilst you in person with the other halfe, carrying on this side the Ionian Sea, may both take order for the affaires of Greece, and therewithall make countenance, as if you were euen ready to follow vs into *Italy*: yea, and be ready to follow vs indeed, if it shall be requisite. This is my aduice; who though perhaps I am not very skilfull in all sorts of war, yet how to war with the Romans, I haue been instructed by long experience, both to their cost and mine owne. Of this counsaile which I giue, I promise you my faithfull and diligent seruice for the execution: but what counsaile I neuer you please to follow, I wish it may be prosperous. Many were pleased with the great spirit of the man, and said he had spoken brauely: but of all this was nothing done; saue onely that one was sent into *Asia*, to make all things ready there. In the meane while they went in hand with *Theſſaly*; about which they had before disputed. There when they had wonne one Towne by force, many other places, doubting their owne strength, were glad to make submission. But *Larissa*, that was chiefe of the Countrey, stood out: not regarding any terrible threats of the King, that lay before the walls with his whole Armie. This their faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For *M. Babius*, a Roman Proprietor, did send helpe thither. Likewise *Philip* of Macedonia professed himselfe Enemy vnto *Antiochus*; whereby the fame of the succour comming to *Larissa*, grew such, as wrought more than the succour could haue done, had it arriued. For *Antiochus* perceiuing many fires on the Mountaines toppes afarie off; thought that a great Armie of Romans and Macedonians had bene comming vpon him. Therefore excusing himselfe by the time of the yeere; He brake vp his siege, and marched away to *Chalcis*. At *Chalcis* he fell in loue with a young Maiden, daughter vnto a Citizen of the Towne; whom, without regard of the much disproportion that was betweene them, both in yeeres and fortune, he shortly married; and so spent the Winter following, as delightfully as he could, without thinking vpon the war in hand. His great men and Captaines followed his example; and the souldiers as readily imitated their Captains: in such wise that when he took the field, he might evidently perceiue in what loose manner of discipline his Armie had passed the Winter. But *M. Atilius Glabrio*, the Roman Consul, shal meet him very shortly, and helpe him to reclaime them from this loosenesse of nuptiall Reuels; by setting them to harder exercise.

*M. Atilius* was chosen Consul with *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*. The war against *Antiochus* fell to him by lot; whereas otherwise Hee was no way so honourable, as *Nasica* his Colleague: vnto whom fell a charge, of far lesse credit and importance. *Nasica*, besides the great Nobility of his Family, had bin long since, in time of the *Punicke* warre, crowned with the title of *The best man in Rome*: when the Senate, for very feare and superstition, durst not haue so pronounced him, had they not so thought him, as being commanded by Oracle, That none other man than the very best, should entertaine an old stone, which the Diuell then taught them to call *The Mother of the gods*. But no prerogative of Birth, Vertue, or good Opinion, gaue such aduantage to the better man, as to make choice of his owne Prouince; or arrogate more vnto himselfe, than his lot should afford him. This vnpartiall distribution of employments, helped well to maintaine peace and concord. *P. Scipio* therefore was appointed to make warre against the *Boijans*; wherein hee purchased the honour of a Triumph, nothing so glorious as was that of his Colleague; though purchased with harder seruice, requiring the more abilitie in matter of war. But *M. Atilius* went ouer into Greece, with ten thousand Foot, two thousand Horse, & fifteen Elephants. *Ptolomie* King of Egypt, notwithstanding his late Alliance with king *Antiochus*; and *Philip* king of Macedonia; had lately sent Embassadours to Rome, making offer to come each of them in person with all his forces into *Aetolia*, there to assist the Consul in this warre. *Ptolomie* sent also gold and silver, toward the defraying of charges; as one that meant none other than good earnest. But he was too young, and dwelt too farre off. So his money was returned vnto him with thanks; and his louing offer as louingly refused. Vnto *Philip*s Embassadours answer was made, that this his friendly offer was gratefully accepted: and that the Senate and People of Rome would thinke themselves beholding to him, for the assistance that Hee should giue to *Aetolia* the



Consul. *Masaniissa* likewise, and the Carthaginians, did strive, which of them should bee most forward in gratifying the Romans. Each of them promised a great quantitie of graine, which they would lend partly to Rome, partly to the Army in Greece. And here in *Masaniissa* farre out-went the poore city of Carthage; as also, in that he offered to lend the Consul five hundred Horse, and twenty Elephants. On the other side, the Carthaginians undertooke to let out a Fleet at their own charges; and to bring in at one payment all the Tribute-money, which was behinde, and ought to be discharged by many yeerly pensions. But the Romans did neither think it good, to let them arme a Fleet; nor would let them redeeme themselves out of Tribute, by paying all at once. As for the Come, it was accepted, with Condition, That they should be contented to receive the price of it.

The haſtie and ridiculous iſſue of this war, that began with ſuch noiſe and preparations, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great, between the Roman and the Aſiatick ſouldier. *Antiochus* had gotten this Spring a few townes of Acarnania, after the ſame maner as he had prevailed in other parts of Greece; partly by faire words, and treaſon of the Rulers; partly by terror, that was like to proue their excuſe, when they ſhould againe forſake him. But King *Philip* and *Babius*, hauing recovered many places; and the Roman Conſul being arrived, againſt whom none made reſiſtance; He was glad to withdraw himſelfe. *Antiochus* fled out of his Athamania: which the Macedonian tooke and enioyed; as in recompence of his good ſeruiſe to the Romans. *Philip*, the brother of *Antiochus*'s wife, was taken by the Conſul; made a mocking ſtocke, & ſent away priſoner to Rome. The Theſſalians vſed much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yeelding to the King. All their cities, one after other, gaue vp themſelues: the Garrifons of *Antiochus*, compounding onely for their owne liues, and departing vnarmed: yet ſo, that a thouſand of them ſtayed behind, and tooke pay of the Romans. This did wonderfully perplexe *Antiochus*, who hauing withdrawne himſelfe to Chalcis, and hearing how things went, cried out vpon his friends: and ſaid, That they had betrayed him. He had taken a great deale of toyle during one halfe of a Winter, and ſpent the other halfe in ſuch Nuptials, as were little to his honour: after which, in time of need, Hee found all the promiſes of the *Ætolians* meerely verball: and himſelfe reduced into tearmes of great extremitie. Hee therefore admired *Hannibal* as a wiſe man, yea a very Prophet, that had fore-ſcene all this long before. Neuertheleſſe He ſent word to the *Ætolians*, that they ſhould now make ready all their forces: as conſidering their own need to be no leſſe than his. But the *Ætolians* had cauſe to thinke, that they themſelues were ſhamefully diſappointed by *Antiochus*, who hauing promiſed to doe great wonders, was in all this while ſeconded by no greater numbers out of Aſia, than ſo many as would fill vp the ſame ten thouſand which he firſt brought over. Yet came there ſome of them, though fewer than at any time before, which ioined with him. Hereat the king was angry: and could get no better ſatisfaction, than that *Thon* and his fellowes had done their beſt, in vaine, to haue made all the Nation take Armes. Since therefore neither his owne men came out to him out of Aſia, nor his friends of Greece would appeare in this time of danger: Hee ſeized vpon the Streights of Thermopylae, as meaning to defend them againſt the Romans, vntill more helpe ſhould come. Of the Streights of Thermopylae: there hath been ſpoken enough\* before, vpon many occaſions: and then chiefly, when they were defended by *Leonidas* againſt the huge Armie of *Xerxes*. Wherefore it may eaſily be conceiued, how the Romans, that landed about Apollonia, and ſo came ſtowards into Theſſalie, were vnable to paſſe that Iedge of Mountaines, diuiding the one halfe of Greece; vnleſſe they could win this difficult entrance. But there was great difference betweene *Leonidas* and *Antiochus*. The former of theſe, with an handfull of men, defended this paſſage two or three daies together, againſt a World of men coming to invade the Country. The latter, hauing taken vpon him to doe great miracles, and effect what he liſted himſelfe in Greece: did commit himſelfe vnto the ſafety of this place, when he was charged by not many more than he had in his owne Armie. There whileſt he lay, He ſent earneſt meſſengers one after another to the *Ætolians*, intreating them not to forſake him thus; but at leaſt wiſe now to helpe, and keepe the toppes of the Mountaines, left the Romans finding any by-path, ſhould come downe vpon him. By this importunity, he got of them two thouſand, that vndertook to make good the few paſſages: by which onely, and not without extreme difficulty, it was poſſible for the Enemy to aſcend. The Roman Conſul in like ſort, prepared to force the

the Streights, without ſtaying to expect king *Philip*: that was hindered by ſickenſſe from accompanying him. He had with him *M. Percius Cato*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, that had both of them bene Conſuls. Theſe he ſent forth by night with two thouſand men, to ſee whether by any meanes they could get vp to the *Ætolians*. He himſelfe encouraged his Armie: not onely by telling them, with what baſe conditioned enemies they had to deale; but what rich kingdomes *Antiochus* held, that ſhould bountifully reward them if they were victors. This was on the day before the battaile. All that night *Cato* had a foreboding (for what happened vnto *L. Valerius* is vn certaine, ſaue onely that he failed in his intent) and ſo much the worſe, for that he had no ſkilfull guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tired, with climbing vp ſteepe Rocks and crooked wayes: He commanded them to repoſe themſelues; whileſt Hee, being a very able man of body, took in hand the diſcouery, accompanied with no more than one of like mettle to himſelfe. After a great deale of trouble, He found at length a path: which he tooke to be, as indeede it was, the beſt way leading vnto the Enemies. So thither he brought his men; and held on the ſame path till toward break of day. It was a place not hanted, becauſe in time of peace there was a faire way through the Streights below, that required no ſuch trouble of climbing; neither had this entrance of the Thermopylae bin ſo often the Seat of War, as might cauſe any trauailers to ſearch out the paſſages of thoſe deſolate Mountaines. Wherefore the way that *Cato* followed, though it were the beſt: yet did it lead him to a bogge at the end, which would ſuffer him to paſſe no further. So he ſtaid there vntill day-light; by which he diſcouered both the Campe of the Greeks vnderneath him; and ſome of the *Ætolians* very neere vnto him, that were keeping watch. He therefore ſent forth a luſtie Crue of his men, whom he thought fitteſt for that ſeruiſe; and wiled them by any meanes to get him ſome priſoners. This was effected: and hee thereby vnderſtood, that theſe *Ætolians* were no more than fix hundred; as alſo that king *Antiochus* lay beneath in the Valley. So hee preſently ſet vpon the *Ætolians*, overthrow them, ſlew a great part of them, and chaſed the reſt, that by flying into their Campe, guided him vnto it. The fight was already begun betweene the Armies below: and the Romans, that had eaſily repelled the kings men, and driuen them into their Campe, found in a manner a deſperate piece of worke to aſſault the Campe it ſelfe; which occupied the whole breadth of the Streights; was notably fortified, and not only defended by *Antiochus* his long Pikes, which were beſt at that kinde of ſeruiſe; but by Archers and ſlingers that were placed ouer them on the Hill-side, and powred down a ſhowre of weapons on their heads. But *Cato* his approach determined the matter. It was thought at firſt that the *Ætolians* had bene comming to helpe the Kings men: but when the Roman Armes and enſignes were diſcouered, ſuch was the terror, that none made offer of reſiſtance; but all of them forſooke the Campe, and fled. The ſlaughter was not great: for that the badneſſe of the way did hinder the Roman Army from making purſuit. Yet this dayes loſſe draue *Antiochus* out of Greece, who directly fled to Chalcis; and from thence with the firſt opportunitie, got him backe into Aſia.

All the Cities that had embraced the friendſhip of *Antiochus*, prepared forthwith to entertaine the Romans, and intreat for pardon: ſetting open their gates; and preſenting themſelues vnto the Conſul, in manner of ſuppliants. Briefly, in few dayes all was recovered that *Antiochus* had gained: the *Ætolians* onely ſtanding out, becauſe they knew not what elſe to doe. Neither did the Conſul giue them any reſpite. At his returne from Chalcis he met with king *Philip* that hauing recovered health, came to ioyne with him againſt *Antiochus*: ouer whom ſince the victory was already gotten, Hee did gratulate vnto the Romans their good ſucceſſe; and offered to take part with them in the *Ætolian* Warre. So it was agreed, That the Conſul ſhould beſiege Heraclea; and *Philip*, Lamia: at the ſame time. Each of them plied his worke hard; ſpecially *Philip*, who ſaue would haue gotten Lamia before the Conſul ſhould come to helpe him. But it could not be. For his Macedonians that vſed to worke by Myne, were ouermuch hindered by the ſtonie ground. Yet was Lamia euen ready to be taken, when the Conſul, hauing won Heraclea, came thither; and told *Philip*, that the ſpoyle of theſe townes was a reward vnto thoſe that had fought at Thermopylae. Herewith *Philip* muſt be contented; and therefore went his way quietly. But *Antiochus*, that could ſo ill endure to ſee *Philip* in likelihood of thruſing by the Romans victory, got not Lamia himſelfe: vntill ſuch time as another Conſul was ready to caſt him of his charge.

The losse of Heraclea did so affright the Aetolians, that they thought no way safer than to desire peace. Yet had they sent vnto king Antiochus presently after his flight, entreating him not to forsake them vicerly, but either to returne with all those forces which he had purposed to bring into Greece, or if any thing withheld him from comming in person, at leastwise to help them with money and other aide. They prayed him to consider, that this did not onely concerne him in honour, but appertained vnto his owne safety: since it would be much to his hurt, if the Aetolians being wholly subdued, the Romans, without any Enemies at their backs, might set vpon him in Asia. He considered well of this, and found their words true. Therefore He deliuered vnto Nicander, one of their Embassadors, a summe of money, that might serue to defray the charges of the Warre: promising that ere long he would send them strong aide, both by Land and Sea. There, another of their Embassadors, Hec retained with him: who willingly stayed, that he might vrge the king to make his word good. But when Heraclea was taken from them, then did the Aetolians lay aside all hope of amending their fortune by the helpe of Antiochus; and made suite vnto the Consul to obtaine peace, vpon any reasonable Condition. The Consul would scarce vouchsafe to giue them audience, but said He had other businesse in hand; onely he granted them tenne dayes of Truce, and sent L. Palearius Flaccus with them to Hypata; willing them to make him acquainted with as much, as they would haue deliuered vnto him selfe. At their comming to Hypata; they began, as men fauouring their owne cause, to alledge how well they had deserved of the Romans. Whereto Flaccus would not hearken. He told them plainly, That the memory of such good Offices past, was quite obliterated by the malice which they had shewed of late. Wherefore he willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better they thought to doe so euen betimes, than to stay till they were reduced into termes of more extremity. Herevnto they agreed to commit themselves vnto the faith of the Romans; and to that effect sent Embassadors to the Consul. This phrase of committing vnto the faith; signified, in their vse of it, little else than the acknowledgement of a fault done, and the crauing of pardon. But the Romans vsed those words in another sense; and counted them all one, as *yielding to discretion*. Wherefore when the Consul heard them speake in this manner: He asked them whether their meaning were agreeable to their words. They answered that it was; and shewed him the Decree of their Nation, lately made to this purpose. Then said hee, I command you first of all, That none of you presume to goe into Asia, vpon any businesse priuate or publike: then, That ye deliuer vp vnto me Dicarchus the Aetolian, Menestratu the Epitro, Aminander the Athamanian, and such of his Countreimen as haue followed him in reuolting from vs. Whilest he was yet speaking: Phameas the Embassador interrupted him; and prayed him not to mistake the custome of the Greekes, who had yielded themselves vnto his faith; not vnto slaverye. What? (said the Consul) Doe ye stand to plead Custome with mee, being now at my discretion? Bring hither a chaine. With that, chaines were brought; and an iron collar by his appointment fitted vnto euery one of their neckes. This did so affright them, that they stood dumbe and knew not what to say. But Palearius and some others entreated the Consul, not to deale thus hardly with them, since they came as Embassadors; though since, their Condition was altered. Phameas also spake for himselfe: and said, That neither He nor yet the Aspetti or ordinarie Council of the Nation, were able to fulfill these iniunctions, without approbation of the generall Assembly. For which cause he entreated yet further ten dayes respit; and had granted vnto him Truce for so long.

This surcease of warre, during ten and other ten dayes together, began presently after the taking of Heraclea; when Philip had beene commanded away from Lamia, that else he might haue wonne. Now because of the indignitie herein offered vnto that king, and to the end that he might not returne home with his Armie, like one that could not be trusted in employment: especially the Romans being like hereafter to haue further neede of him, in the continuance of this Warre: He was desired to set vpon the Athamanians, and some other petty Nations their borderers, whilest the Consul was busie with the Aetolians; taking for his reward, all that hee could get. And he got in that space all Athamania, Perrhebia, Aperia, and Dolopia. For the Aetolians, hearing what had befallen their Embassadors, were so enraged, That although they were very ill provided for Warre, yet they could not indure to heare more talke of peace. And it happened,

that Nicander about the same time was come back from Antiochus, with money and hopeful promises: the Romans abiding still about Heraclea; & Philip hauing lately risen from before Lamia, yet not being far gone thence. While money Nicander conueighed into Lamia, by very vnusuall doctrine. But he himselfe being to passe further to the Assembly of the Aetolians, there to make report of his Embassyage; was very much perplexed: about this his journey, which lay betwene the Roman and Macedonian Campes. Yet he made the aduenturous keeping as farre as they could from the Roman side, fell vpon a Scation of Macedonians; by whom he was taken, and led vnto their King. He expected no good; but either to be deliuered vnto the Romans, or vnto ill enough by Philip. But he seemed, that the king had not hitherto considered well the indignitie, of his being sent away from Lamia. For he commanded his seruants to entreat Nicander friendly: and he himselfe being then at supper, did visit him as soone as he lost vnto glaying him to understand, That the Aetolians did now reape the fruits of their owne madness; forasmuch as they could neuer hold themselves contented; but would needs be calling strangers into Greece. They had pleased themselves well, in their acquaintance first with the Romans; & then with king Antiochus; but himselfe, being their neighbour, they could neuer well endure. It was now therefore, He said, high time for them to haue regard vnto his friend ship; whereof hitherto they had neuer made any myall: for surely their good affection, one vnto the other, would be much more appalable vnto each of them, than their small catching of aduantages; whereby they had wrought themselves much displeasure. Thus much the king willed Nicander to signify vnto his Countreymen; and priuately to hold in minde the courtesie which he then did him, in sending him safe home. So giuing him a Conuoy to gard him to Hypata; He louingly dismissed him. For this beneuolence Nicander was alwaies after dutifully affected to the Crowne of Macedonia: so as in the warre of Perseus he made himselfe suspected vnto the Romans; and therefore was had away to Rome, where he ended his life.

When the Consul vnderstood, that the Aetolians refused to make their submission; such wife as he required it: hee forthwith meane to prosecute the warre against them; without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make head against him at Naupactus: whither hee therefore directly marched, to try what they could do there. The siege of Naupactus was of greater length, than the Romans had preconceiued it to be: it was a strong City, and well manned. But Antiochus stood vpon point of honour; where he thought that he should haue beene a loser, by resting from before it without Victory. So he said there welcome all the following time of his Consulship, whilest the Macedonian king and the Achaeans made farre better vse of the Roman Victory. Philip, as is said before, being allowed to take in such places as had revolted vnto Antiochus, and were not hitherto reclaimed, won the strong Citie of Demetrias; and with an hastie course of Victory, subdued the Athamanians and others. The Achaeans called to accompt the Eleians and Messenians: which had long beene added to the Aetolian side; and followed it in taking part with Antiochus. The Eleians gave good words; whereby they saved themselves from trouble awhile. The Messenians being more stout, before they were invaded, had none other helpe when the Achaean Prator wasted their Countrey, than to offer themselves vnto the Romans. Titus was then at Corinth: to whom they lent word, That at this Commandment their gates should be opened; but that vnto the Achaeans to beare not their meaning, to yield. A message from Titus to the Achaean Prator, did suffice to call home the Armie, and finish the Warre: as also the peremptorie Command of the same Titus caused the Messenians to annex themselves vnto the Achaeans, and become part of their Common-weale. Such was now the Maiestie of a Roman Embassador. Titus did fauour the Achaeans; yet could not like it wel, that either they or any other should take too much vpon them. He thought it enough, that they had their libertie, and were strong enough to defend it against any of their neighbours. That they should make themselves great Lords, and able to dispute with the Romans vpon euen termes, it was no part of his desire. They had lately bought the Ile of Zacynthus; which had once been Philip's; and was afterward giuen by him to Aminander, who sent a Governour thither. But when Aminander in this present warre, was driven out of his owne Kingdome by Philip; then did the Governour of Zacynthus offer to sell the Island to the Achaeans; whom he found ready Chaphon. Titus liked not of this; but plainly told them, That the Romans would be their owne Casuers, and take what they thought good, of the Lands belonging to their

their Enemies; as a reward of the victory which they had obtained. It was becometh to dispute. Wherefore the Achæans referred themselves vnto his discretion. So hee told them that their Common wealth was like a Tontoye; whereof Peloponnesus was the shell; and that holding themselves within that compass, they were out of danger; but if they would needs be looking abroad, they should lie open to blowes; which might greatly hurt them. Having settled this thus in Peloponnesus, hee went ouer to Naupactus; where *Glabrio* the Consul had sent two Monarchs; that might haue bene farre better spent. There, whether out of compassion which hee had vpon the Etolians; or out of dislike of King *Philip* striving to faste; hee perswaded the Consul to grant vnto the besieged; & so the whole Nation so long Truce, that they might send Embassadors to Rome; and submitting themselves, craue pardon of the Senate. Most like it is, that *Naupactus* was in great danger: else would not the Etolians haue made such earnest suit as they did vnto *Rome*, for procuring of this fauour. But if *Glabrio* had bene sure to carry it; in any short space; it may well be thought hee would not haue gone away without the securing of that Towne, wherein was then the whole soure of the Nation, would haue made the promised submission much more humble and sincere. When they came vnto Rome, no curately could helpe them to better Conditions, than one of these two; That either they should wholly permit themselves to the good pleasure of the Senate; Or else pay a thousand Talents, and make neither Peace nor Warre with any, further than as the Romans should giue approbation. They had not so much money: neither could they well hope to bee gently dealt withall, if they should giue themselves away vnto discretion, which what it signified, they now vnderstood. Wherefore they desired to haue it set downe, in what points, and how farre forth they should yeeld vnto the good pleasure of the Senate. But hereof they could get no certaine answer: so that they were dismissed as enemies, after long and vaine attendance.

Whilest the Etolians were pursuing their hopes of peace, the Consul had little to doe in Greece; and therefore tooke vpon him grauely to set things in order among the troublesome Achæans. Hee would haue had them to restore the banished Lacedemonians home into their Countrey; and to take the Eleans into the fellowship of their Commonwealth. This the Achæans liked well enough; but they did not like it, that the Romans should be meddling in all occurrences. Wherefore they deferred the restitution of the banished Lacedemonians: intending to make it an Act of their own mere grace. As for the Eleans, they were loth to be beholding to the Romans, and thereby to disparage the Achæans: into whose Corporation they were desirous to be admitted, and saw that they should haue their desire, without such compulsive mediation.

The Roman Admirall *C. Lilius*, much about the same time, fought a battaile at Sea with *Polyxenidas* Admirall to the king *Antiochus*. King *Eumenes* brought helpe to the Romans, though it was not great: and five and twenty saile of Rhodians came after the battaile, when they were following the Chase. The kings Fleet was the better of saile: but that of the Romans the better manned. Wherefore *Polyxenidas* being vanquished in fight, was yet out of danger; as soone as he tooke himselfe to a speedy retreat.

And such end had the first yeeres warre, betwene King *Antiochus* and the Romans. After this, as many of the Greeks as had followed the vaine hopes of the Etolians, were glad to excuse themselves by feare; thinking themselves happy when by Embassadors they had obtained pardon. On the contrarie side, *Philip* of Macedon, Arch-enemie of late vnto the Romans, did now send to congratulate this their Victorie: and in recompence of his good affection, had restored vnto him *Demetrius* his younger sonne, whom some few yeeres they had kept as an hostage. Also King *Ptolomie* of Egypt, gratulating the Roman Victory, sent word how greatly all Asia and Syria were thereby terrified. In which regard hee desired the Senate not to forellow time; but to send an Armie, as soone as might be, into Asia: promising, that his assistance, wherein soeuer it pleased them to vse it, should not bee wanting. This *Ptolomie* was the sonne-in-law of King *Antiochus*: but he was the friend of Fortune. He vnderstood long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of the Contention, that the Romans were like to haue the vpper hand. The same did *Antiochus* now begin to suspect, who had thought himselfe a while as safe at Ephesus, as if he had bin in another world: but was told by *Hannibal*, That it was not so far out of Greece into Asia, as out of Italy into Greece; and that there was no doubt but the Romans would soon be there, & make him try the chance of a battell for his kingdom.

§. VIII.

## §. VIII.

*Lucius Scipio*, having with him *Publius* the African his elder brother, for his Lieutenant, is sent into Greece. Hee grants long Truce to the Etolians, that so he might at leisure passe into Asia. Much trouble some businesse by Sea; and diuers fights. An invasion vpon Eumenes his Kingdom; with the siege of Pergamum, rayzed by an handfull of the Achæans. *L. Scipio* the Consul comes into Asia: where *Antiochus* most earnestly desired peace, and is denied it. The battaile of Magnesia: wherein *Antiochus* being vanquished; yeeldeth to the Romans good pleasure. The Conditions of the peace. In what sort the Romans used their Victorie. *L. Cornelius Scipio*, after a most sumptuous triumph ouer *Antiochus*, is surmamed The Asiaticque, as his brother was stiled The African.

**L**ucius Cornelius Scipio, the brother of *P. Scipio* the African, was chosen Consul at Rome with *C. Lilius*. *Lilius* was very gracious in the Senate: and therefore being desirous (as generally all Consuls were) of the more honourable employment, offered to referre to the arbitrement of the Senate, if *L. Cornelius* would bee so pleased, the disposition of their Prouinces; without putting it to the hazzard of a Lotterie. *Lucius* hauing talked with his brother *Publius*, approved well of the motion. Such a question had not of long time been put vnto the Fathers: who therefore were the more desirous to make an vnblameable Decree. But the matter being otherwise somewhat indifferent; *P. Scipio* the African said openly thus much, That if the Senate would appoint his brother to the warre against *Antiochus*, He himselfe would follow his brother in that war, as his Lieutenant. These words were heard with such approbation; that the controuersie was forthwith at an end. For if *Antiochus* relied vpon *Hannibal*, and should happen to be directed wholly by that great Captaine: what better man could they oppose, than *Scipio*; that had bene victorious against that same Great Worthy? But indeed a worse man might haue serued well enough the turne. For *Hannibal* had no absolute Command, nor scarce any trust of great importance: excepting now and then in consultation, where his wisdom was much approved, but his liberty and high spirit as much disliked. It is worthy of remembrance; as a signe of the freedom that he vsed in his censures, euen whilest hee liued in such a Court. *Antiochus* murthered his Armie in presence of this famous Captaine: thinking, as may seeme, to haue made him wish, that he had bene serued by such braue men in Italy. For they were gallantly decked, both Men, Horses, and Elephants, with such costly furniture of Gold, Silver, and Purple; as glittered with a terrible brauery on a Sun-shine day. Whereupon the king, well pleasing himselfe with that goodly spectacle, asked *Hannibal* what he thought; and whether all this were not enough for the Romans. Enough (said *Hannibal*) were the Romans the most covetous men in all the world: meaning, that all his Cost vpon the backs of cowardly Asiaticque, was no better than a spoyle to animate good Souldiers. How little this answer pleased the King, it is easie to ghesse. The little vse that he made of this Carthaginian, testifies that his dislike of the man, caused him to lose the vse of his seruice, when he stood in greatest necessitie thereof.

The *Scipios* made all haste away from Rome as soon as they could. They carried with them, besides other Souldiers newly prest to the war, about five thousand Voluntaries, that had serued vnder *P. Africanus*. There was also a Fleet of thirty *Quinquerene* Gallies, and twenty *Triremes* newly built, appointed vnto *L. Aemilius Regillus*, that was chosen Admirall the same yeere for that voyage. At their comming into Greece, they found the old Consul *Glabrio* besieging *Amphyssa* a City of the Etolians. The Etolians after that they were denied peace, had expected him once againe at Naupactus. Wherefore so they not onely fortified that Towne: but kept all the passages thereto leading; which heedlesly, as in a time of confusion, they had left vnregarded the last yeere. *Glabrio* knowing this, deceiued their expectation, and fell vpon *Lamia*: which being not long since much weakened by *Philip*, and now by him attempted on the sudden; was carried at the second assault. Thence went he to *Amphyssa*: which he had almost gotten; when *L. Scipio*, his successor, came with thirteene thousand Foote, and five hundred Horse, and tooke charge of the Armie. The Towne of *Amphyssa* was presently forsaken by the Inhabitants, but they had a Castle, or higher Town, that was impregnable, whereinto they all retired. The Athenian Embassadors had dealt with *P. Scipio*, in behalfe of the Etolians:

lians : entreating him to stand their friend, and helpe them in obtaining some tolerable Condition of peace. He gaue them gentle words : and willed them to perfwade the Attolians, that they should faithfully and with true meaning desire it. This was gladly taken. But many messages passing to and fro : though *Polyxenus* continued to put them in good hope ; yet the Consul made still the same answer, with which they had been chafed from Rome. The conclusion was, That they should sue for a longer time of respite from warre : whereby at more leisure they might attend some better disposition of the Senate ; or any helpfull commoditie which time should afford. So they obtained halfe a yeeres truce : after which, the Winter was like to afford them another halfe yeeres leisure of breathing. Hereof were they not more glad, than was *P. Scipio* : who thought to all time lost, which with-held the Warre from passing ouer into Asia.

The businesse of Attolia being thus laid aside : and the old Consul *Glabrio* sent home into Italy : the *Scipio* marched into Thessaly ; intending thence to take their way by Land, through Macedon & Thrace vnto the Hellespont. Yet they considered, That hereby they muist commit themselves vnto the loyalty of King *Philip* : who might either do them some mischief by the way, if he were disposed to watch a notable aduantage : or at the least, would be vnfaithfull ; though he were not so couragious, yet might hee take such order with the Thracians, that euen for want of victuals, if by no greater inconuenience, they should be disgracefully forced to returne. Hee had promised them the utmost of his furtherance : wherein, whether he meant sincerely, they thought to make some triall, by causing a Gentleman to ride Post vnto him, and obserue his doings as he should take them on the sudden. The King was merry at a feast, and drinking, when the Messenger came : whom he louingly badde welcome ; and shewed him the next day, not only what prouision of victuals he had made for the Army, but how he had made bridges ouer the riuers, and mended the bad wayes by which they were to passe. With these good newes *Gracchus* returned backe in haste vnto the *Scipio's* : who entering into Macedon, found all things in a readinesse, that might helpe to aduance their iourney. The King entertained them royally, and brought them on their way, euen to the Hellespont : where they stayed a good while, vntill their Nauie was in readinesse to transport them into Asia.

Much was done at Sea in the beginning of this yeere ; though, for the most part, little of importance. *Polyxenidas*, the Admirall of *Antiochus*, was a banished Rhodian : true to the King ; and desirous of reuenge vpon his Countrymen that had expelled him. Hee, hearing that the Rhodian Fleet was at Samos, the Romans & *Eumenes* hauing not as yet put to Sea ; thought to doe somewhat vpon those that were so early in their diligence, before their followers should arriue to helpe them. Yet went he craftily to worke ; and sent word, as in great secretie, to the Rhodian Admirall, That if the sentence of his banishment might be repealed, He would, in requitall thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. After many passages to and fro, this was beleeued : and the Rhodian Admirall grew so carelesse, expecting still when he should receiue a watch-word from *Polyxenidas*, that hee himselfe was taken by *Polyxenidas* in his owne Hauens. The Kings Fleete set forth from Ephesus by night ; and, for feare of being discouered, resting one day in a harbour by the way, came the second night to Samos : where, by morning, it was ready to enter the Hauens. *Pausistratus* the Rhodian Admirall seeing this, thought it his best way of resistance, to bestow his men on the two head-lands or points of the Hauens ; so to guard the mouth of it : for that he saw no likelihood of defending himselfe by Sea. But *Polyxenidas* had already landed some Companies, in another part of the Island : which falling vpon the backe of *Pausistratus*, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his men aboard. This could not be without great confusion : so as the enemies tooke him out of all order ; and sunke or boarded all his Nauie, save excepted, that by a sudden deuice made shift to escape. Each of them hung out a burning Cresset vpon two poles, at the Beake-head : and then rowed forwards directly vpon the Enemy : who hauing not bethought himselfe what shift to make against such vnexpected danger of firing, was content to giue way into these desperate Gallies ; for feare lest they should burne together with themselves, a part of the Kings Fleete.

Not long after this, the Romans had some losse by tempest : whereof *Polyxenidas* could not take such aduantage as hee had hoped ; because, putting to Sea for that purpose, Hee was driuen backe againe by the like foule weather. But the Rhodians, to shew that they

they were not discouraged, for sooth to witte other Gallies : the Romans also with long *Eumenes* repaired their Fleet ; and all of them together, in great bodie, presented battails to *Polyxenidas*, before the Hauens of Ephesus : Where hee should not expect them : they went first in place to place, attacking many things as by their strength were enticed by the Rhodians, or perfwaded by some appearing hopes of siding good. Yet in some they little or nothing : for signs one while they were hindered by storms in Sea ; and another while by strong resistance, made against them at Land.

*Eumenes* with his Fleet, was compelled to forsake chace, and returne home to his defence of his owne kingdomes. For *Antiochus* waited all the goodnes about *Ikica* & *Pergamus* ; and leaving his home *Selinus* to haltege the royal Castle of *Pergamus* did with the rest of his Armie spoyle the whole Countrey thereabout. *Antiochus* the brother of King *Eumenes*, was therein *Pergamus*, hugging we him in no better men to defend the Castle, than were they that lay against it. Wherefore hee had a lincos stand in feare, being too much inferior in numbers. There came to his aid a thousand Foot, and an hundred Horse of the Achaeans : old souldiers all, and trayned by vnder *Philopomen*, whose Schooller, in the Art of warre, *Diophanes*, their Commande was. This *Diophanes*, beholding from the walls of *Pergamus*, which was an high Towne, the demaund of the Enemy began to disdain the such men as they should hold them besieged. For *Selanus* his Arme which was encamped at the hill tops, seeing that none durst talke forth vpon them, grew so carelesse : as otherwise, than by spoiling all behidd their backs, they seemed to forget that they were in an Enemies Countrey. *Diophanes* therefore spake with *Antiochus*, and told them that hee would goe forth by encampment and stand from the Enemy off hand : *Pergamus* thought him little better then mad. As for the besiegers, they would not helpe what his meaning was : but when they saw that he held himselfe quiet, they made a sort of his boldnesse ; and laughed to see with what an handful of men he looked so stoutly. So they returned vnto their former negligence, and founders. Which *Diophanes* perceiving, he commanded all his men to follow him, euen as fast as they well might : and he himselfe, with the hundred Horse, brake out at the sudden vpon the Station that was next at hand. Very few of the enemies had their Horses ready saddled, because few, as yet, had the hearts to make resistance : so as hee drue them all out of their Camp, and chased them as farre as he might safely see the shore : where hee slaughterd them, and tooke of his owne. Hereat all the Citizens of *Pergamus*, who had covered the walls of the Towne, men and women, to behold this spectacle, were very ioyfull ; and highly magnified the vertue of these Achaeans. Yet would they not therefore issue forth of their gates, to helpe the Achaeans in doing what remained to be done. The new day broke, and hee went forth *Diophanes* the second time ; who quietly rested a while in his old Station. When they had stayed many houres, looking who should begin : *Selanus* in the end order as he came, withdrew himselfe toward his lodging that was further off. *Diophanes* moved not whilst the Enemy was in fight : but as soone as the ground betweene them hindered the prospect, hee followed them in all haste, and soone overtaking them with his Horse, charged them in Rere ; so as he brake them, and with all his force hurled them at their heels, to their very Trenches. This boldnesse of the Achaeans, and the businesse of his owne men, caused *Selanus* to quit the siege, little to his honour. Such being the qualitie of these Asiaticques, *Philopomen* had cause to tell the Romans, That hee could not be victorie. For when *Antiochus* lay feasting at Chalcis after his marriage, and his vncle *dijors* betooke themselves to Ryot, as it had betene in a time of great security, a good man of warre might haue cut all their throates ; euen as they were tripling in their vncle and his houses ; which *Philopomen* said that he would haue done, had he bene Generall of the Achaeans, and not, as he then was, a priuate man.

*Antiochus* was full of businesse : and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deale of trouble, brought almost nothing to passe. Hee had bene at *Pergamus*, into which *Eumenes*, leaving the Romans, did push himselfe with a few of his Horse and light armature. Before *Pergamus* hee left his some as before hath bene shewed ; as went to Elai : whether he heard that *Antiochus* the Roman Admirall was come, to bring succour to *Eumenes*. There hee made an *Oratorie* of peace : about which to conferre, *Eumenes* was sent for by *Antiochus*, and came from *Pergamus*. But when it was considered, that no conclusion could be made without the Consul, this Treatie brake off. Then followed

the Oütridaw newly inducted into which cause *Antiochus* to giue order the siege of Pergamus: Afterward, *Antiochus* five, *Trochus* of *Stace* day worth of more were taken by the King: and the Syrian *Rhodes* being of *Phoenicia* and *Thyrs* Sayle, was beaten by the *Rhodian* which lyes of like number: But of this victory the *Rhodians* had no great cause to reioyce: for that *Antiochus* *Cathagari* who together with *Apollonius* a Countie of *Antiochus*, was *Antiochus* the *Syrians*, did them in manner as grieue hurt as they could doe to *Apollonius*; and hauing the victory taken out of his hand by *Apollonius* his fight, yet made such a feare, that the *Rhodians* durst not farre aduenture vpon him: Now of those *Adonis* which were by at *Paphlagonia* vnto the warre, the last and greatest was a *Gray* *Asio* *Bionaris* by Sea, against *Polyxenidas* the Kings Admirall. The battaile was fought by *Myonnesus* a Promontorie in Asia: where *Polyxenidas* had with him four-score *Antiochus* Gallies, and five of them greater, than any of the Romans. This being all the length which he could make by Sea, we may note the vanity of those brags, wherein *Antiochus* vaunted the last yeere: That his *Armada* should couer all the shores of *Orontes*. The Romans had eight and fiftie Gallies; the *Rhodians*, two and twenty: the *Rhodes* being the stronger build, and more stoutly manned; the *Rhodian* more light timbered and thin plancked, hauing all aduantage of speed and good Sea-men. Neither for they so help the thinckes by the same device, with which, five of their Gallies had lately escaped from *Sirios*. For with fire in their prowes they ran vpon the Enemy: who declining them for feare, laid open his side: and was thereby in greater danger of being demurked. After a long fight, the Kings Naue hoysted saile: and hauing a faire wind, bore away toward *Ephesus* at fast as they could. Yet some of their Gallies they left behind them: whereof thirtene were taken: all the rest burnt or sunke. The *Rhodes* and their full was lost only two or three shippes: but got hereby the absolute Mastrise of the Sea.

The report of this misaduenture, may seeme to haue taken from *Antiochus* all vse of reason. For as if no hope had beene remaining, to defend those places that he held in hope, he perfectly withdrew his Garrisons from *Lysimachia* which might easily haue beene kept, until the end of Winter following, and haue reduced the besiegers (which hee had bene continued continually) vnto termes of great extremitie. Hee also gaue out the siege of *Coppus*: and flying aside all thought saue onely of defence, drew together all his Armie, and fled for helpe to his father-in-law, King *Ariarathes* of *Cappadocia*.

The *Roman* Consul without impediment, not onely came to the *Hellepont*, but had yielded vnto him all places there belonging to *Antiochus* on Europe side. The Fleet was then also in readinesse, to transport him ouer into Asia: where *Eumenes* had taken such care before, that hee landed quietly at his owne good ease, euen as if the Countrie had bene his already. The first newes that he heard of the Enemy, was by an Embassador that came to sue for peace. This Embassador declared in his Masters name, That the *Romans* which had hindered him from obtaining peace of the Romans heretofore, did now perswade him, that hee should easily come to good agreement with them. For all disputations heretofore, *Smyrna*, *Lampacus*, and *Lysimachia*, had bene the places about which they varied. Seeing therefore the King had now already giuen ouer *Lysimachia*; and was further put off, not to trauel with the Romans about *Lampacus* and *Smyrna* (whom reason was there, why they should need to trouble him with warre: If it were his desire, that any other Townes vpon the Coast of Asia, not mentioned by them in any former Treaties, should bee also left at libertie, or otherwise deliuered into their hands: the King would not refuse to gratifie them therein. Briefly, let them take *Smyrna* of Asia: so as she bounds, diuiding them from the King, might not be vncertaine; and it should bee quietly put into their hands. If all this were not enough: the King would likewise beare halfe the charges, whereas they had bene in this warre. So praying the Romans to hold themselves content with these good offers, and not to be tedious vpon confidence of their fortune, hee expected their answer. These offers which the Embassador seemed so great, were iudged by the Romans to be very little. For they thought it reasonable, that the King should beare all the charges of the warre, since hee began through his owne fault: and that he should not onely depart out of these few Townes, which he held in *Asi* and *Ionis*; but quite out of Asia the lesse, and keep himselfe on the other side of Mount *Taurus*. When the Embassadors therefore saw, that

that better bargaing could be made, he dealt with *P. Scipio* in priuate: and to him hee promised a great quantitie of gold, together with the free restitution of his sonne, who (it is vncertaine by what assistance) was taken prisoner, and most honourably entertained by the King: *Scipio* would not hearken to the offer of gold: nor otherwise to the restitution of his sonne, than vpon Condition, That it might bee with making such a mends for the benefit, as became a priuate man. As for the publike business: Hee onely said thus much, That since *Antiochus* had already forsaken *Lysimachia*, and suffered the warre to take hold in his owne Kingdome; there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yeeld to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, said he, tell you my name; that I would aduise him to refuse no Condition, where- by he may haue peace.

The king was not any whit moued with this aduice. For seeing that the Consul demanded of him no lesse, than if he had bene already subdued: a little reason there was that he should feare to come to battaile; wherein he could lose, as he thought, no more, than by seeking to avoid it hee must giue away. Hee had with him three score and tenne thousand foot, and twelue thousand Horse, besides two and fiftie Indian Elephants, and many Chariots armed with hookes or fythes, according to the manner of the Easterne Countries. Yet was he nothing pleased, to heare that the Consul drew neere him apace as one hastning to fight. But howsoeuer he was affected, He made so little shew of feare, that hearing *P. Scipio* to lie sicke at *Sila*, He sent thither vnto him his sonne without ransom: as one both desirous to comfort this noble Warriour in his sickness, and without need desirous to retaine the young Gentleman for a pledge of his owne safetie. Thus ought his bounty to be constant. Otherwise it might be suspected, That herein hee dealt craftily. For since he could haue none other ransom of *Scipio*, than such as an honourable man, that had no great store of wealth, might pay: better it was to doe such a courtiesie before the battell, as would afterwards haue bene little worth; than to stay vntill the Romans, perhaps victorious, should exact it at his hands. *P. Scipio* was greatly comforted with the recouerie of his sonne: so as the ioy thereof was thought, to haue bene much available vnto his health. In recompence of the kings humanitie, Hee said onely thus much vnto those that brought him this acceptable Present, I am now able to make your King none other aduice, than by aduising him not to fight vntill

hee shall heare that I am in the Campe. What he meant by this, it is hard to coniecture. *Antiochus* refused to follow his counsaile, and therefore withdrew himselfe from about *Thyatira*, beyond the River of *Phrygia* or *Hyllus*, vnto *Magnesia* by *Sipylos*: where encamping, hee fortified himselfe as strongly as hee could. Thither followed him *L. Scipio* the Consul, and sat downe within foure miles of him. About a thousand of the kings Horse, most of them Gallo-Greeks, came to bid the Romans welcome: of whom at first they slew some; and were anon, with some losse, driuen backe ouer the River. Two daies were quietly spent, whilst neither the King nor the Romans would passe the water. The third day the Romans made the aduenture: wherein they found no disturbance, nor were at all opposed, vntill they came within two miles and a halfe of *Antiochus* his Campe. There as they were taking vp their lodging, they were charged by three thousand Horse and Foote: whom their ordinarie Corps du gard repelled. Foure daies together after this, each of them brought forth their Armies; and set them in order before the Trenches, without aduancing any further. The fift day the Romans came halfe way forward, and presented battaile; which the King would not accept. Thereupon the Consul tooke aduice what was to be done. For either they must fight vpon whatsoeuer disadvantage, or else resolute to abide by it all Winter, farre from any Countrey of their friends, and therefore subiect vnto many difficulties: vntill they would restore their honour by returning farre backe, to winter in a more convenient place; and so defer the warre vntill the next Spring. The Roman soldier was thoroughly perswaded of that Enemies base temper. Wherefore it was the generall Crie; That this great Armie should be assayed, euen in the Campe where it lay: as if rather there were so many beasts to be slaughtered, than men to bee fought with. Yet a day or two passed, in discouering the fortifications of *Antiochus*, and the safest way to set vpon him. All this while *P. Scipio* came not. Wherefore the King, being very loth to dishearten his men, by seeming to stand in feare of the Enemy, resolved to put the matter to trial. So when the Romans took the field againe, and ordered their Battells:



Hee also did the like, and advanced so farre, that they might vnderstand his meaning to fight.

The Roman Armie consisted of foure Legions, two Roman and two Latine: in each of which were five thousand and foure hundred men. The Latines, as vsually, were in the points, the Romans, in the maine battell. All of them, according to their wonted forme, were diuided into Maniples. The *Hastati* had the leading: after them follow the *Principes*, at such distance as was vsuall, and last of all, the *Triarij*. Now beside these, there were about three thousand Auxiliaries; partly Achazans, and partly such as belonged to *Eumenes*: which were placed in an equall Front beyond the Latines in the right wing. Vnmost of all (saue some five hundred Cretians, and of the Trallians) were almost three thousand Horse: of which, *Eumenes* had brought thither eight hundred; the rest being Roman. The left wing was fenced by the banke of the riuer: yet foure Troupes of horse were placed there, though such helpe seemed in a manner needlesse. Two thousand Voluntaries, Macedonians and Thracians, were left to guard the Campe. The Consul had with him sixteene African Elephants, which he bestowed in his Rere: forasmuch as had they come to fight with those of *Antiochus*, they onely would haue serued to discourage his men; as being sure to bee beaten: the Indian being farre the greater, and more courageous beastes: whereof *Antiochus* had likewise much aduantage in number.

The kings Armie being compounded of many Nations, diuersly appointed, and not all accustomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the severall kinds, in such wise as each might be of most vñe. The maine strength of his Foot consisted in sixteene thousand, armed all Macedonian-like, and called Phalangiers. These hee placed in the middle, and diuided into tenne Battalions: euery one hauing two and thirty in File, and fiftie in Front. Betweene euery Battalion were two Elephants, goodly beastes, and such as being adorned with Fignals, high Crests, Towers on their backs, and besides him that gouerned the Elephant, foure men in euery Tower, made a gallant and terrible shew. On the right hand of these were fiftene hundred Horse of the Gallo-Greeks: then, three thousand Barbd Horse: and a Regiment of almost a thousand Horse, called the *Agema*, that were all Medians, the choyce of the Countrey, and accompanied by some others. All which Troupes of Horse, diuided in their severall kinds, doe seeme to haue followed one another in depth, rather than to haue bin stretched out in Front. Adioyning vnto these, were sixteene Elephants together in one flocke. A little further to the right hand, was the kings owne Regiment; called the *Argaspiades*, or *Silverbields*, by a name borrowed from their furniture, but nothing like so valiant as those of the same name, that had serued vnder Great *Alexander*: then, twelue hundred Archers on horsebacke, three thousand light-armed Foot, two thousand and five hundred Archers of Mysia; with foure thousand Slingers and Archers of the Cirtzans, and Elymzans. On the left hand of the Phalangiers, were placed the like numbers of Gallo-Greeks, and Barbd Horse: as also two thousand horse that were sent from *Ariarathes*, with two thousand and seven hundred of diuers Nations; and a Regiment of a thousand Horse more lightly armed, that were called *The Kings Troup*, being Syrians, Phrygians, and Lydians. In front of all these Horse were the Chariots armed with hooks or fythes, and the Dromedaries, whereon sate Arabians with long Rapiers, that would serue to reach from those high Camels. Beyond these were, as in the right wing, a rabble of many Nations, Carians, Cilicians, Pamphylians, Pisidians, Cyttzans, Elymzans, and many others, hauing also with them sixteen Elephants. *Antiochus* himselfe commanded in the right wing: *Selenus* in the left: and three of his principall Captains commanded ouer the Phalangiers.

The first on-set was giuen by the Dromidaries, and armed Chariots: of which the one, being like to terrifie the Horse; the other, to breake the Squadrons of the Foote; *Eumenes* with a few light-armed Cretians, Archers, Darters, and Slingers, easily made frustrate the danger threatened by them both. For with shourtings, and noyses, and some wounds, they were driuen out of the field; and running backe vpon their owne men, did the same harme which they had intended to the Enemies. Wherefore the Roman Horse following this aduantage, charged vpon the left wing: whereas they found no resistance; some being out of order; others being without courage. It is shamefull to rehearse, and so strange, that it may hardly seeme credible: that the Phalangiers,

with

with such varieties of Auxiliaries, made little or no resistance; but all of them fled, in a manner, as soone as they were charged. Onely the king, *Antiochus* himselfe, being in the left wing of his owne battaile: and seeing the Latines, that stood opposite vnto him, weakly flanked with Horse: gaue vpon them courageously, and forced them to retire. but *M. Aemilius*, that had the Guard of the Roman Campe, issued forth with all his power to helpe his fellows: and, what by perswasion, what by threats, made them renew the fight. Succour also came from the right wing, where the Romans were already victorious: whereof when *Antiochus* discouraged the approach; Hee not onely turned his Horse about, but ranne away vpon the spur without further tarriance. The Campe was defended a little while: and with no great valour; though by a great multitude that were fled into it. *Antiochus* is said to haue lost in this battaile fiftie thousand Foot, and foure thousand Horse; besides those that were taken. Of the Romans, there were not slaine about three hundred Foot, and foure and twenty Horse: of *Eumenes* his followers five and twenty.

*Antiochus* fled to Sardes, and from thence to Apamea, the same night, hearing that *Selenus* was gone thither before. He left the custodie of Sardes, and the Castle there, to one whom he thought faithfull. But the Townes-men and Souldiers were so disinayed with the greatnesse of the Ouerthrow; that one mans faith was worth nothing. All the Townes in those parts, without expecting summons, yeelded vp themselves by Embassadours: whom they sent to the Romans, whilist they were on the way. Neither were many daies spent, ere *Antiochus* his Embassadour was in the Campe: hauing none other errand, than to know what it would please the Romans to impose vpon the king his Master. *P. Scipio* was now come to his brother, who obtained leaue to make the answer, because that it should bee gentle. They required no more than they had lately done: which was, that he should quite abandon his Dominions on this side Taurus. For their charges in that Warre, they required fiftene thousand Talents: five hundred in hand; two thousand and five hundred, when the Senate and People of Rome should haue confirmed the peace; and the other twelue thousand, in twelue yeeres next ensuing, by euening portions. Likewise they demanded foure hundred Talents for *Eumenes*; and some store of Corne, that was due to him vpon a reckoning. Now besides twentie hostages which they required, very earnest they were to haue *Hannibal* the Carthaginian, and *Thus* the Atolian, with some others who had stirred vp the King to this war, delivered into their hands. But any wise man might so easily haue perceiued, that it would be their purpose to make this one of their principall demands; as no great art was needfull to beguile their malice. The kings Embassadour had full commission, to refuse nothing that should be enioyned. Wherefore there was no more to doe, than to send immediately to Rome for the ratification of the Peace.

There were new Consuls chosen in the meane while at Rome, *M. Fuluius*, and *Cn. Manlius Valso*. The Atolians desired peace, but could not obtaine it: because they would accept neither of the two Conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed, That one of the Consuls should make warre vpon the Atolians, the other, vpon *Antiochus* in Asia. Now though shortly there came newes that *Antiochus* was already vanquished in battaile, and had submitted himselfe vnto all that could be required at his hands: yet since the State of Asia was not like to bee so thoroughly settled by one Victory, but that many things might fall out worthy of the Romans care; *Cn. Manlius*, to whom Asia fell by lot, had not his Prouince changed.

Soone after this, came the Embassadours of King *Antiochus* to Rome, accompanied with the Rhodians and some others: yea, by king *Eumenes* in person, whose presence added a goodly lustre to the businesse in hand. Concerning the peace to bee made with *Antiochus*, there was no disputation: it was generally approued. All the trouble was, about the distribution of the purchase. King *Eumenes* reckoned vp his owne deserts; and comparing himselfe with *Masaniissa*, hoped that the Romans would be more bountifull to him than they had beene to the Numidian, since they had found him a King indeed, whereas *Masaniissa* was onely such in title; and since both hee and his Father had alwayes beene their friends, euén in the very worst of the Roman fortune. Yet was there much adoe to make him tell what hee would haue: He still referring himselfe to their courtesie; and they desiring him to speake plaine. At the length hee craued they would bestow vpon him, as much of the Countrey by them taken from *Antiochus*, as they



had no purpose to keepe in their owne hands. Neither thought he it needfull, that they should trouble themselves with the care of giuing liberty to many of the Greeke Townes, that were on Asia side. For since the most of those Townes had bene partakers with the king in his Warre; it was no reason that they should be gainers by his overthrow. The Rhodians did not like of this. They desired the Senate to be truly Patrons of the Grecian liberty; and to call to minde, that no small part of Greece it selfe had bin subiect vnto Philip, and serued him in his Warre: which was not alledged against him as a cause why they should not be made free, after that Philip was overcome. But the maine point whereon they insisted, was this, That the Victory of the Romans against king Antiochus was so great; as easily might satisfie the desires of all their friends. The Senate was glad to heare of this; and very bountifullly gaue away so much; that euery one had cause to be well pleased.

Such end had the Warre against king Antiochus: after which, L. Cornelius Scipio, returning home, had granted vnto him the honour of a Triumph: the pompe whereof exceeded in riches, not onely that of Titus Quintius Flaminius, but of any ten that Rome had beheld vntill that day. Now forasmuch as the surname of The African had bene giuen vnto P. Scipio, it was thought convenient by some, to reward L. Scipio with the title of The Asiatick: which the fortune of his Victory had no lesse deserved; though the vertue, requisite to the purchase thereof, was no way correspondent.

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## §. 1 X.

The Ætolians, and the Gallo-Greeks, vanquished by the Roman Consuls Fuluius and Manlius. Manlius hardly obtains a Triumph: being charged among other obediencies with attempting to haue passed the bounds appointed as fatall to the Romans by Sibyll. Of Sibylls Prophecies, the Bookes of Hermes; and that Inscription, Simoni Deo Sancto. The Ingratitude of Rome to the two Scipio's: and that beginning and fallion among the Roman Nobilitie.

**M**ARCUS Fuluius and Cn. Manlius had the same charge diuided betwene them, 30 which L. Cornelius Scipio, now styled Asiaticus, had lately vndergone. It was found more than one mans worke, to looke at once to Greece and to Asia. And for this reason was it apparant, that L. Scipio had granted so long a Truce to the Ætolians. But since, in this long Interim of Truce, that haughtie little Nation had not sought to humble it selfe to the Roman Asiatike, it was now to bee brought vnto more lowly termes than any other of the Greekes. The best was, that so great a storme fell not vnexpected vpon the Ætolians. They had foreseene the danger, when their Embassadors were vtterly denied peace at Rome: and they had provided the last remedie, which was, to entreate the Rhodians and Athenians to become intercessours for them. Neyther were they so dejected, with any terrible apprehensions, that they could not well de- 40 uise, euen vpon helping themselves, by repurchase of Countries lost, where they spied aduantage.

Poorre king Aminander liued in exile among them, whilest Philip of Macedon kept for him, possession of his Lands and Castles. But the Athamanians (besides that many of them bore a naturall affection to their owne Prince) hauing bene long accustomed to serue a Mountaine Lord, that conuerued with them after an homely manner, could not endure the proud and insolent manner of command, vsed by the Captaines of Philip his Garrisons. They sent therefore some few of them to their King, and offered their seruice toward his restitution. At the first there were onely foure of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fiftie, which vndertook the worke. Yet assistance, that all the rest would follow, made Aminander willing to trie his fortune. Hee was at the borders with an thousand Ætolians, vpon the day appointed: at what time his two and fiftie aduenturers hauing diuided themselves into foure parts, occupied, by the ready assistance of the multitude, foure of the chiefe Townes in the Countrey, to his vse. The same of this good successe at first; with diuers letters running from place to place, whereby men were exhorted to doe their best in helping forward the Action, made the Lieutenants of Philip vnable to thinke vpon resistance. One of them held the Towne of Thacium a few dayes; giuing thereby some leisure vnto his King to pro-

prouide for the rescue. But when he had done his best, he was forced thence; and could onely tell Philip, whom he met on the way, that all was lost. Philip had brought from home sixe thousand men; of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in such a running march, hee left all saue two thousand behinde him, and so came to Atheneum, a little Athamanian Castle, that still was his, as being on the frontier of Macedon. Thence he sent Zeno, who had kept Theium awhile, to take a place lying on Argitheia, that was chiefe of the Countrey. Zeno did as he was appointed: yet neither hee, nor the king had the boldnes to descend vpon Argitheia; for that they might perceiue the Athamanians, all along the hill sides, ready to come downe vpon them; when they should be busie. Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a safe retreat: especially 10 when Aminander came in fight with his thousand Ætolians. The Macedonians were called back, from wards Argitheia, & presently withdrawn by their King towards his owne borders. But they were not suffered to depart in quiet at their pleasure. The Athamanians and Ætolians way-laid them, and pursued them so closely, that their retreat was in manner of a plaine flight, with great losse of men and armes, few of those escaping, that were left behinde, as to make a countenance of holding somewhat in the Countrey, vntill Philip his returne.

The Ætolians hauing found the businesse of Athamania so easie, made an attempt in their owne behalfe, vpon the Amphilochians and Aperantians. These had belonged vnto their Nation, & were lately taken by Philip; from whom they diligently recoiled and became Ætolian againe. The Dolopians lay next; that had bene euer belonging to the 10 Macedonian, and so did still purpose to continue. These tooke Arimes at first: but soone layed them away, seeing their neighbors ready to fight with them in the Ætolian quarrell, and seeing their owne king so hastily gone, as if he meant not to returne.

Of these victories the ioy was the lesse, for that neues came of Antiochus his last overthrow, and of M. Fuluius the new Consul his lasting with an armie into Greece. Aminander sent his excuses to Rome, praying the Senate, not to take it in despight, that hee had recovered his owne from Philip with such helpe as he could get. Neither seemes it that the Romans were much offended to heare of Philip his losses: for of this fault they neither were that pe correctors, nor earnest reprouers. Fuluius went in hand with the businesse; about which he came, and layed siege to Ambracia, a goodly Citie, that had 30 bene the chiefe seate of Pyrrhus his Kingdome. With this he began; for that it was of too great importance to be abandoned by the Ætolians: yet could not by them be relieved, vnlesse they would aduenture to fight vpon equal ground. To help the Ambracians, it was not in the Ætolians power: for they were, at the same time, vexed by the Illyrians at sea, and ready to be driuen from their new conquests by Perses the sonne of Philip, who innuaded the Counties of the Amphilochians and Dolopians. They were vnable to deale with so many at once; and therefore as earnestly sought peace with the Romans, as they stoutly made head against the rest. In the meane while the Athenian and Rhodian Embassadors came; who besought the Consul to grant them peace. It helped well that Ambracia made strong resistance, and would not be terrified, by any 40 violence of the Assailants, or danger that might seeme to threaten. The Consul had no desire to spend halfe his time about one Citie, and so bee driuen to leaue vnto his successeur the honour of finishing the Warre. Wherefore hee gladly hearkened vnto the Ætolians, and bade them seeke peace with faithfull intent, without thinking it ouer-deare, at a reasonable price; considering with how great a part of his Kingdome their friend Antiochus had made the same purchase. Hee also gaue leaue to Aminander, offering his seruice as a mediatur, to put himselfe into Ambracia, and trie what good his persuasions might doe with the Citizens. So, after many demaunds and excuses, the conclusion was such as was gricuous to the weaker, but not vnassurable. The same 50 Embassadors of the Athenians and Rhodians, accompanied those of the Ætolians to Rome, for procuring the confirmation of Peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needfull in this intercession; for that Philip had made a very gricuous complaint about the losse of those Countries, which they had lately taken from him. Heereof the Senate could not but take notice; though it did not hinder the peace, which those good Mediatours of Rhodes and Athens did earnestly sollicite. The Ætolians were bound to vphold the Maiestie of the people of Rome; and to obserue diuers Articles, which made them the lesse free; and more obnoxious to the Romans, than

any people of Greece, they having beene the first that called these their Masters into the Countre. The ile of Cephalenia was taken from them by the Romans: who kept it for themselves (as not long since they had gotten Zacynthus from the Achæans, by stifely pressing their owne right) that so they might have possession along the coast of Greece, whilset they seemed to forebare the Countrey. But concerning those places, whereto *Philip*, or others, might lay claime, there was set down an Order so perplexed, as would necessarily require to haue the Romans Iudges of their controuersies, when they should arise. And hereof good vse will bee shortly made: when want of employment elsewhere, shall cause a more Lordly Inquisition to be held, vpon the affaires of Macedon and Greece.

*Cn. Manlius*, the other Consul, had at the same time warre in Asia, with the Gallo-Greeks and others. His Armie was the same that had followed *L. Scipio*; of whose victorie, his acts were the consummation. He visited those Countries on the hither side of Taurus, that had scarce heard of the Romans; to whom they were abandoned by *Antiochus*. Among these were some petty Lords, or Tyrants, some free Cities, and some that were together at Warres, without regard of the great alteration that hapned in Asia. From euery of these hee got somewhat; and by their quarrells found occasion to visite those Prouinces, into which hee should else haue wanted an errand. Hee was cūen laden with booty, when, hauing fetcht a compass about Asia, he came at length vpon the Gallo-Greeks. These had long domineered ouer the Countre: though of late times, it was rather the fame and terror of their fore-past acts, than any present vertue of theirs, which held them vp in reputation. Of the Romans they had lately such trial, when they did serue vnder king *Antiochus*, as made them to acknowledge themselves farre the worse men. Wherefore they thought it no small part of their safetie, that they dwelt vpon the Riuer Halys, in an In-land Countre, where those enemies were not very like to search them out. But when such hopes failed, and when some Princes of their owne Nation, that had beene friends of *Eumenes*, exhorted the rest to yeeld: then there was no counsaile thought so good, as to forsake their houses and Countrey, and, with all that they could carrie or drue, to betake themselves vnto the high mountaines of Olympus and Margana. These mountaines were exceeding hard of ascent, though none should vndertake the custodie. Being therefore well manned and victualled for a long time, as also the naturall strength being helpt, by such fortification as promised greatest assurance: it was thought, that the Consul would either forebare the attempt of forcing them, or easily bee repelled; and that finally, when hee had staid there a while, winter, and much want, should force him to dislodge. Yet all this auailed not. For whereas the Gallo-Greeks had beene carelesse of furnishing themselves with casting weapons, as if stones would haue serued well enough for that purpose: the Romans, who came farre otherwise appointed, found greater aduantage in the difference of Armes, than impediment in disaduantage of ground. Archers and Slingers did easily preuaile against casters of stones; especially being such as were these Gallo-Greeks, who neither exercised in that manner of fight, nor hauing prepared their stones before-hand, but catching vp what lay next, the too great, and the too little, oftner than those of a fit size. Finally, the Barbarians, wanting defensive Armes, could not hold out against the Arrowes and weapons of the Roman light armature: but were driuen from a piece of ground, which they had vndertaken to make good, vp into their Campe on the top of the mountaine; and being forced out of their Campe, had none other way left, than to cast themselves headlong downe the steepe rockes. Few of their men did escape aliae: all their wiues, children, and goods became a prey vnto the Romans. In the very like manner, were the rest of that Nation overcome soone after, at the other mountaine: onely more of them saved themselves by flight, as hauing fairer way at their backs.

These warres being ended: *Fuluius* and *Manlius* were appointed by the Senate, each of them to retaine as Proconsul, his Prouince for another yeere. *Fuluius*, in his second yeere, did litle or nothing. *Manlius* gaue peace to those whom he had vanquished, as likewise to *Ariarathes* the Cappadocian, and some others, not by him vanquished, but submitting themselves for feare of the Roman armes. He drew from them all, what profit he could: and laid vpon them such conditions, as he thought expedient. He also did finish the league of peace with *Antiochus*; whereto hee swore, and receiued the Kings

oath

oath by Embassadors, whom he sent for that purpose. Finally, hauing set in order the matters of Asia, he took his way toward the Hellespont, laden with spoyle, as carrying with him (besides other treasures) all that the Gallo-Greeks had in so many yeers extorted, from the wealthy Prouinces that lay round about them. Neither did this Armie of *Manlius* returne home, rich in money alone, or cattell, or things of needfull vse, which the Roman souldier had beene wont to take as the onely good purchase; but furnished with sumptuous household-stuffe, and flaures of price, excellent Cookes, and Musicians for banquets, and in a word, with the feedes of that luxurie, which finally ouer-grew and choked the Roman vertue.

The Countrey of Thrace lay between Hellespont & the kingdome of Macedon, which way *Manlius* was to take his journey homeward. *L. Scipio* had found no impediment among the Thracians: either for that he passed through them, without any such booty as might prouoke them; or perhaps rather, because *Philip* of Macedon had taken order, that the Barbarians should not stirre. But when *Manlius* came along with a hugetraine of baggage, the Thracians could not so well contain themselves. Neither was it thought, that *Philip* tooke it otherwise than very pleasantly, to haue this Roman Armie robbed, & well beaten on the way. He had cause to be angry, seeing how little himselfe was regarded, and what great rewards were given to *Eumenes*. For he vnderstood, and afterwards gaue the Romans to vnderstand, that *Eumenes* could not haue abidden in his owne kingdome, if the people of Rome had not made warre in Asia: whereas contrariwise, *Antiochus* had offered vnto himselfe three thousand talents, and siffie ships of warre, to take part with him and the Etolians, promising moreover to restore vnto him all the Greeke Cities, that had been taken from him by the Romans. Such being the difference between him and *Eumenes*, when the warre began: he thought it no euen dealing of the Romans, after their victory, to giue away not only the halfe of Asia, but Chersonnecus & Lyflinacia in Europe, to *Eumenes*; whereas vpon himselfe they bestowed not any one Towne. It agreed not indeed with his Nobilitie to goe to Rome and begge Prouinces in the Senate, as *Eumenes* and the Rhodians had lately done. He had entertained louingly the two *Scipios*, which he thought the most honourable men in Rome; and was grown into neerer acquaintance with *Publius*, holding correspondence with him by letters, whereby hee made himselfe acquainted with the warres in Spaine and Africke. This perhaps he deemed sufficient, to breed in the Romans a due respect of him. But *Eumenes* tooke a surer way. For the *Scipios* had not a disposing of that which they wonne from *Antiochus*: as neither indeed had *Manlius*, nor the ten Delegates assisting him; but the Senate of Rome, by which those Delegates were chosen, and instructed how to proceed. When *Philip* therefore saw these vpstart kings of Pergamus, whom he accounted as base companions, aduanced so highly, and made greater than himselfe; yea himselfe vnregarded, contemned, and exposed to many wrongs: then found he great cause to wish, that he had not so hastily declared himselfe against *Antiochus*, or rather that he had ioyned with *Antiochus* and the Etolians, by whom he might haue beene freed from his insolent Masters. But what great argument of such discontentedness the Macedonian had, we shall very shortly be vrged to discourse more at large. At the present it was beleueed, that the Thracians were by him set on, to assaile the Romans passing through their Countrey. They knew all aduantages; and they fell, vnexpected, vpon the carriages, that were bestowed in the midst of the Armie; whereof part had already passed a dangerous wood, through which the baggage followed; part was not yet so farre aduanced. There was enough to get, and enough to leaue behind: though both the getting and the sauing, did cost many liues, as well of the Barbarians, as of the Romans. They fought vntill it grew to night: & then the Thracians withdrew themselves; not without as much of the bootie, as was to their full content. And of such trouble there was more, though lesse dangerous, before the

Armie could get out of Thrace into Macedon. Through the kingdome they had a faire march into Epirus; and so to Apollonia, which was their handle of Greece.

To *Manlius*, and to *Fuluius*, when each of them returned to the Citie, was granted the honour of Triumph. Yet not without contradiction: especially to *Manlius*, whom some of the ten Delegates, appointed to assist him, did very bitterly tax, as an vnworthy commander. Touching the rest of their accusation; it sufficeth that hee made good answer, and was approved by the chiefe of the Senate. One claufe is worthy of more particular consideration. Reprehending his desire to haue hindred the peace with *Antiochus*;

they



noble deedes confuted sufficiently the author of such false tales. And thus began the hatred: which being not regarded nor thought vpon by the *Scipio's*, whilst it was nourished by their enemy, brake out vpon aduantage, especially against *L. Scipio*: his brother being dead, or out of the way. A seuerer inquiry and iudgement being appointed of purpose against *Scipio*, matters were so carried, that he was scene condemned in a sum of money, far exceeding his ability to pay. For *non payment*, his body should haue been laid vp in prison: but from this rigour of the Law he was freed by *Tiberius Gracchus*, the same Tribune who had caused the suite against the African to be let fall. In his estate, which was confiscated to the vse of the Citie, when there neither appeared any signe of his hauing bene beholding to *Antiochus*, nor was found so much as what he had bene condemned to pay: then fell his accusers, and all whose hands had been against him, into the indignation of the People. But for this was *L. Scipio* no whit the better. His kindred, friends, and Clients made such a collection for him, as would haue set him in better estate than before, if he had accepted it. Hee tooke no more than such of his owne goods, as were of necessary vse, being redeemed for him by his nearest friends.

And thus began the ciuill warre of the *Tongue*, in the Roman pleadings: which had either not bene, or not bene much regardable, vntill now, since the Punicke Warre. Security of danger from abroad, and some want of sufficient employment, were especial helpees to the kindling of this fire: which first caught hold vpon that great Worthy, to whose vertue Rome was indebted, for changing into so great security her extreme danger. But these factious contentions did no long while contain themselves within heat of words, and cunning practice. For when the Art of leading the multitude, in such quarrells, some businesse, grew to perfection, they that found themselves ouer-matched by their aduersaries at this kinde of weapon, began to make opposition, first, with clubs & stones, afterward with swords, and finally, proceeded from frayes & murders in the streets, vnto battaile in the open field. *Cornelia*, daughter of *Scipio* the African, a Lady of rare vertue, that in honour of her two sonnes was more commonly named *Mother of the Gracchi*, saw those her two sons, whilst they were but yong, slaughtered in Rome, together with some of their friends, by those whom they opposed, and their death not reuenged by order of Law, but rather approved by the Senate. At these times the Senators began to take vpon them authoritie, more than was to them belonging. They conferred vpon the Consuls all the whole power of the Citie, vnder this forme, *Let the Consuls provide, that the Commonweale receiue no detrimēt*. By this Decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any Citizen enemy to the State, they thought to haue wonne a great aduantage ouer the multitude. But after the death of *C. Gracchus*, and of *Saturninus* a popular man, whom by such authority they did put out of the way; it was not long ere *Marinus*, a famous Captaine of theirs, was so condemned, who by force of armes returned into the Citie, and murdered all the principall Senators: whereupon began the ciuill warres; which giuing vnto *Sylla*, who preuailed therein, means to make himselfe absolute Lord of Rome, taught *Cesar*, a man of higher spirit, to affect and obtaine the like soueraign power, when by the like Decree of the Senate he was prouoked. It is true, that neuer any Consul had finally cause to reioyce, of his hauing put in execution such authority to him committed by the Senate. But as the furie of the multitude, in passing their Lawes, by hurling of stones, and other violence, made the Citie stand in need of a Soueraigne Lord: so the vehemency of the Senate, in condemning as enemies those that would not submit themselves, when they were ouer-topped by voyces in the House, did compell *Cesar*, or giue him at least pretence, to right himselfe by armes: wherewith preuailling against his aduersaries, hee tooke such order, that neither Senate nor people, should thenceforth be able to doe him wrong. So by intestine discord, the Romans consuming all or most of their principall citizens, lost their owne freedom, and became subiects vnto the arbitrary gouernment of one: suffering this change in three generations, after this beginning of their insolent rule, wherein they tooke vpon them as the highest Lords on earth, to doe euen what they listed. Yet had not Rome indeed attained hitherto vnto compleat greatnesse, nor beleeued of her selfe as if shee had, whilst a king sate crowned on the Throne of *Alexander*, continuing and vpholding the reputation of a former Empire. Wherefore this consumption of her honour was thought vpon betimes. How it was effected, the sequelle will discouer.

CHAP.

## CHAP. VI.

## The second Macedonian Warre.

## §. I.

The Condition wherein those Princes and Estates remained, which were associates of the Romans when the warre with *Antiochus* was finished. The Romans quarrell with *Philip*. They dealt insolently with the Achæans. The Macedonians, being vnreadie for warre, obtaines peace at Rome, by his sonne *Demetrius*; of whom thenceforth hee becomes zealous.



After the ouerthrow of *Antiochus*, although *Philip* of Macedonia, *Eumenes* King of Pergamus, the Commonweale of the Achæans, and all other the States of Greece, were gouerned by the same Lawes and Magistrates, as they formerly had bene, before the arriual of the Romans in those parts: yet in very truth (the publike declaration excepted) they were none other than absolute vassals to the People of Rome. For of those five Prerogatiues belonging to a Monarch, or vnto Soueraigne power, in whomsoever it rest; namely, To make Lawes, To create Magistrates, To arbitrate Peace and Warre, To beate Monie, and to reforme (as the French call it) *le dernier ressort*, or the last Appelles, the Romans had assumed foure; and the greatest of them so absolutely, that is, The Appelle, or last resort, as euery petty iniurie offered to each other by the forenamed Kings or States, was heard and determined either by the Roman Embassadors, or Commissioners, in those places whence the Complaint came, or otherwise by the Senators themselves within Rome; from whose arbitrement, or direction, if either King, or Common-weales, declined, He or they were beaten, and inforced to obedience; or had their Estates and Regalities vterly dissolved. Neuertheless it is true, that they had their owne Lawes, and Offices of their owne ordaining: yet so, as neither their Lawes were of force, when the Romans interposed their will to the contrary, neither was their election of Magistrates so free, as that they had not therein especial regard vnto the good pleasure of these their Masters.

And to such degree of seruitude the seuerall Estates of Greece did bow very gently: either as being thankfull for their deliuerance from a yoke more sensibly grievous; or, as being skillfull in the Art of flattery, and therein taking delight, since therein consisted their chiefe hope of thriving; or, as being more fearful of displeasing the strongest, than mindfull of their owne honour. But *Eumenes* liuing further off, and being most obsequious vnto the Romans, was not, of long time, questioned about any of his doings: his conformance vnto them in matter of warre & peace, together with the diuersion of their thoughts another way, giuing him leaue to vse his owne euen as he listed, vntill they should otherwise dispose of him. Neither was it a little auailable to him, that his kingdom bordered vpon the Nations, by them not thoroughly subdued. For vpon the same reason (as well as vpon his owne high deserts) were they, very louing vnto *Masaniissa*, and to his House, vntill Carthage was ruined, and their Dominion settled in Africke: as likewise afterwards to the kings of Mauritania, Cappadocia, and others holding people in subiection vnto themselves, by the Ministry of kings; especially of such Kings, as were vsfull and obsequious vnto them.

Now the Macedonian was of a more noble temper, & shewed himselfe not forgetfull of his owne former greatnesse, the honour of his race, or the high reputation of his kingdom. But such magnanimity was none otherwise confused by the Romans, than as want of due reuerence to their estate, & a valuation of himselfe against them: which, in the pride of their fortune, they could not indure. Wherefore notwithstanding that he had lately giuen passage to their Armies through his country, prepared the wayes for them; and furnished them both with victuals, and other things needfull, to transport them over the Hellespont into Asia, against *Antiochus*: yet vpon the complaint of *Eumenes*, and the States of Thessalie and Thrace, he was commanded to abandon the Cities of *Ænus* and *Maronea*,

Maronea, with all Pieces and Places demanded by any of his neighbours; whereof many of them he had lately conquered, by direction, licence, euen from the Romans themselves.

These townes of *Ænus* and *Maronea* had bene part of *Lysimachus* his Kingdome: who from Thrace Northwards, and to the North-west, extended his dominion very far. He is thought to haue made himselfe Lord of Transyluania: in which Prouince it is said, \* That innumerable Medals of gold haue bene found, in the age of our grandfathers, each of them weighing two or three crownes, and stamped with his Image on the one side, on the other side with *Victorie*. Of all these Lordships, the possession, or rather the title, for he liued not to settle his estate in Europe) fell to *Selenus Nicator* by right of war, wherein he vanquished and slew *Lysimachus*: as also, by the like right, *Ptolome Ceraunus* thought them his owne, when he had murdered *Selenus*. But the inundation of the Gaules, which the kingdome of Macedon could not sustaine, did shortly and easily wash away from that crowne, together with the more part of Thrace, all those hapes of land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by *Antigonus* the sonne of *Demetrius*, and his successors: though not much; for they were otherwise busied. The furie of the Gaules being ouer-past, those Countries which lately had bene oppressed by them, recovered their libertie; and not onely held it, but learned, some of them, especially the Dardaniens and wilde Thracians, to finde their aduantages, and make vse of them, euen vpon Macedon. Against the mischiefs commonly done by these, king *Philip* did prouide the most conuenient remedies: by shutting vp the wayes, whereby the Dardaniens might enter into his kingdome; and by occupying *Lysimachia*, with some other townes in Thrace, which he fortified, as Bulwarkes of his owne Countrey, against the Barbarians. Now, although it behooued him thus to doe, for the defence of his owne estate: yet forasmuch as these Townes were, in a manner, at absolute libertie, his possession of them was thought to partake more of violence than of iustice. And in this respect he was formerly accused by the *Ætoliens*, of wrongful vsurpation and oppression, in his hauing occupied *Lysimachia*. Heereunto hee made a good answer, That his Garrison did onely saue it from the Thracians: who, as soone as he thence withdrew his men, did seize vpon the Towne, and ruine it. The like perhaps he might haue said, touching *Ænus* and *Maronea*: That they were places vnable to defend themselves, and Gates, by which the Barbarians might haue entrance into his kingdome. But this Plea had not quailed him, in the disputation about *Lysimachia*: & in the present question, the Romans were not without their owne title; since *Antiochus* had gotten all the Countrey therabouts, whilst *Philip* was busied in his former warre: and since they, by their victory had gotten vnto themselves all the title, which *Antiochus* thereto could pretend. Wherefore he onely submitted his right vnto the good pleasure of the Senate: referring it vnto their disposition, Whether *Ænus* and *Maronea* should be set at libertie: whether left in his hand, or whether bestowed vpon *Eumenes*; who begged them, as an appendix to *Lysimachia* & *Chersonesus*, that were already his by their gift. What they would determine, he might easily perceiue, by the demeanor of their Embassadors towards him: who sitting as Iudges between him and all that made complaint vpon him, gaue sentence against him in euery controuersie. Neuerthelesse, he sent Embassadors to Rome, there to maintaine his right vnto these Townes, wherein he thought, that equitie (if it might preuaile) was wholly on his side. For he had holpen their Consuls in the warre against *Antiochus* and the *Ætoliens*: whilst whatsoeuer hee had gotten for himselfe, was now taken from him by their Embassadors: and would they now deprive him of those two Townes, lying so fitly for the guard of his kingdome, which he had gotten to himselfe out of the ruines of *Antiochus*, like as out of his owne ruines *Antiochus* had gotten in those quarters a great deale more? By such allegations either he was likely to preuaile, or at least wisely to gaine time, wherein he might bethinke himselfe what he had to doe. It was not long ere he had word from Rome, That the Senate were no more equall to him, than had bene their Embassadors. Wherefore, considering how insolently the Maronites had behaued themselves, in pleading against him for their liberty, hee tooke counsell of his owne passions; and (as by nature he was very cruell) gaue order to *Onomastus*, that was Warden of the Sea-coasts, to handle these Maronites in such sort, as they might haue little ioy of the libertie by them so earnestly desired. *Onomastus* employed *Cassander*, one of the kings men dwelling in *Maronea*, and willed him to let in the Thracians

\* Hist. of Strabo  
partly by Strabo  
Ptolemy lib. 5.

ians by night, that they might sacke the Towne, and vse all cruelties of warre. This was done: but so ill taken by the Roman Embassadors, who had better notice, than could haue bene feared, of these proceedings; that the King was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more strictly, than became his Maestie, to an accompt. He would haue remoued the blame from himselfe, and layed it euen vpon the Maronites; affirming, that they in heat of their Factions, being some inclinable to him, other some to *Eumenes*, had fallen into such outrage, that they had cut one anothers throates. And hereof he willed the Embassadors to enquire, among the Maronites themselves: as well knowing, that they who so ruined, were either his owne friends; or so terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durst not vtter an offensive word. But he found the Romans more seuer, and more thoroughly informed in the businesse, than to rest contented with such an answer. He was plainly told, That if he would discharge himselfe of the crime objected; he must send *Onomastus* and *Cassander* to Rome, there to be examined as the Senate should thinke fit. This did not a little trouble him. Yet he collected his spirits, and said, that *Cassander* should bear their disposition: but concerning *Onomastus*, who had not bene at *Maronea*, nor neere to it, he requested them not to presse him; since it stood not with his honour, so lightly to giue away his friends. As for *Cassander*, because hee should tell no tales; hee tooke order to haue him poisoned by the way. By this wee see, that the doctrine, which *Machiavel* taught vnto *Cesar Borgia*, to employ men in mischieuous actions, and afterwards to destroy them when they haue performed the mischiefe; was not of his owne inuention. All ages haue giuen vs examples of this goodly policie, the later hauing bene apt schoolers in this lesson to the more ancient: as the reigne of *Henry* the eighth here in England, can beare good witness; and therein especially the Lord *Cromwell*, who perished by the same vniust Law that himselfe had deuised, for the taking away of another mans life.

Such actions of *Philip* made an vnpleasant noise at Rome, & were like to haue brought vpon him the warre which he feared, before hee was ready to entertaine it. Wherefore he employed his younger son *Demetrius* as Embassador vnto the Senate: giuing him instructions, how to make answer to all complaints, and withall to deliuer his owne grievances, in such wise that if ought were amisse, yet might it appeare that hee had bene strongly vrged to take such courses. The summe of his Embassage was, to pacifie the Romans, and make all euen for the present. *Demetrius* himselfe was knowne to be very acceptable vnto the Senate; as hauing bene well approued by them, when he was hostage in Rome: and therefore seemed the more likely to preuaile somewhat; were it onely in regard that would be borne vnto his person.

Whilst this businesse with the Macedonian hung in suspense, and whilst hee, by his readinesse to make submission, seemed likely to diuert from himselfe some other way the Roman armes: the same Embassadors, that had bene Iudges betweene him and his neighbours, made their progresse through the rest of Greece; and tooke notice of the controuersies, which they found betwene some Estates in the Countrey. The greatest cause that was heard before them, was the complaint of the banished Lacedæmonians against the Achæans. It was objected vnto the Achæans, That they had committed a grievous slaughter vpon many Citizens of Lacedæmon: That vnto this cruelty they had added a greater, in throwing downe the walls of the Citie: as also further, in changing the Lawes, and abrogating the famous Institutions of *Lycorgus*. Hereto *Lycortas*, then Prætor of the Achæans, made answer, That these banished Lacedæmonians, who now tooke vpon them to accuse the Nation that had once protected them, were notoriously known to be the men, who had themselves committed that murder, whereof shamelesly they so laid the blame vpon others: the Achæans hauing onely called those vnto iudgement, they were supposed to be chiefe authors of a Rebellion against both them and the Romans; and these plaine titles hauing slaine them, vpon priuate, though iust hatred, as they were comming to make answer for themselves. Concerning their throwing downe the walls of Lacedæmon, he said it was most agreeable to *Lycorgus* his ordinance: who, hauing perswaded his Citizens to defend their Towne and libertie by their proper vertue, did inhibit vnto them all kindes of Fortifications: as the Retreats and Nests either of Cowards, or (whereof Lacedæmon had wofull experience) of Tyrants and Vsurers. Further he shewed, how the same Tyrants that had built these walls



and hemmed in the Spartans, had also quite abolished *Lycurgus* his ordinances; and gouerned the Citie by their owne lawlesse will. As for the Achæans; they communicated their owne Lawes, which they held for the best, or else would soone change them and take better, vnto the Lacedæmonians; whom they found without Lawes, or any tolerable forme of policie. For conclusion, *Lycortas* plainly tolde *App. Claudius* the chiefe of the Embassadors, That hee and his Countymen held it strange, being friends and faithfull Allies of the Romans, to see themselves thus constrained, to answer and giue account of their actions, as vassals and slaves to the People of Rome. For if they were indeed at libertie: why might not the Achæans as well require to be satisfied about that which the Romans had done at Capua, as the Romans did busie themselves, to take account how things went at Lacedæmon? For if the Romans would stand vpon their greatness; and intimate, as they began, that the liberty of their friends was nothing worth, longer than should please themselves to ratifie it: then must the Achæans haue recourse vnto those Agreements, that were confirmed by oath, & which without periurie could not be violated; as reuerencing, and indeed fearing the Romans, but much more, the immortal gods. To this bold answer of *Lycortas*, *Appius* found little to reply. Yet taking state vpon him; he pronounced more like a Master than a Judge, That if the Achæans would not be ruled by faire means, and earne thanks whilst they might, they should be compelled with a mischief, to doe what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This alteration was in the Parliament of the Achæans, which groned to heare the Lordly words of *Appius*. Yet feare preuailed above Indignation: and it was permitted vnto the Romans to doe as they listed. Hercuppon the Embassadors restored some banished and condemned men: but the Romane Senate, very soone after, did make void all iudgements of death or banishment, that had beene laid by the Achæans vpon any Citizen of Lacedæmon; as likewise they made it a matter of disputation, whether or no the Citie and Territory of Lacedæmon, should be suffered to continue a member of the Achæan Common-wealth; or taken from them, and made as it had beene an Estate by it selfe. By bringing such a matter into question, the Romans well declared, That they held it to depend vpon their owne will, how much or how little any of their confederates should be suffered to enioy: though by contributing Sparta to the Councell of Achæia, they discovered no lesse, as to them seemed, the loue which they bare vnto the Achæians, than the power which they had ouer them.

Into such slavery had the Greeks, & all kings and Common-wealths whatsoever, bordering vpon any part of the Mediterran Seas, reduced themselves; by calling in the Romans to their succour. They wanted not the good counsaile & perswasion of many wise and temperate men among them; They had also the examples of the Italians, Spaniards, Gauls and Africans, all subdued by the Romans, and, by seeking Patronage, made meere vassals; to instruct them, what in the like case they should expect: yet could not the true reasons of Estate and Policie so preuaile with them, but their private passions, & neighbouring hatred, which hath euermore bought reuenge at the price of self-ruine, brought them from the honour which they enioyed, of being free Princes and Cities, into most base and fearefull seruilitie.

All this made well for *Philip* of Macedon: who though he saw the Greeks very farre from daring to stirre against those, by whom both hee and they were kept in awe; yet was he not without hope, that (few of them excepted, whom the Romans by freeing from his subiection had made his implacable enemies) in heartie affection all the Countrey would be his, whensoever he should take armes, as shortly hee was like to doe. Young *Demetrius*, coming home from Rome, brought with him the desired ratification of peace; though qualified with much indigent foonge following. Hee had beene long vnto Rome, and heard with great fauour in the Senate: There, being confounded with the multitude of objections, whereto his youth, vnskillful in the Art of wrangling, could not readily make answer, he was permitted vnto him, to reade such brieue notes as he had recieued from his Father, and out of those the Senate were contented to gather satisfaction; more for *Demetrius* his owne sake, as they then said, and wrote into Macedon, than for any goodwille in the defence. Such pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the intercession of his sonne, together with some insolence of his sonne, growing (as appeared) from this fauour of the Romans, did increase in *Philip* his

his hatred vnto Rome, and breed in him a ialousie of his too forward sonne. To let him forward in these passions, there came daily new Embassadors from Rome, some bringing one commandement, some another, and some, requiring him to fulfill those things, which had beene imposed vpon him by their fore-goes. Neither were there wanting that obserued his countenance: and when hee had fulfilled all that was required at his hands; yet laid it to his charge that he had done things vnwillingly, and would be obedient, no longer than hee needed must. With these Embassadors young *Demetrius* was conuersant: rather perhaps out of simplicitie, and for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious respect; yet a great deale more than was pleasing to his father. So the rumour grew current through all Macedon, That *Persus*, the elder son of the king, should not succeed vnto his father, but that the Diademe should be conferred vpon *Demetrius*, if not by some other pretence, yet by more fauour of the Romans. This offended not onely *Persus*, but *Philip* himselfe: who suspected his younger sonne, as more Roman than his owne; and accordingly misconstrued all his doings. But ere we proceed vnto the bitter fruits of this ialousie, it will not be amisse, to speake of some memorable accidents that were in the meane time.

## § II.

The death of Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Scipio. That the Militarie profession is of all other the most unhappie: notwithstanding some examples, which may seeme to proue the contrary.

THE Romans, wanting other matter of quarrell in the Continent of Greece, had of late bene so peremptorie with the Achæans; that they seemed not vnlike to take part against them, in any controuersie that should bee moued. Hercuppon the Messenians, who against their will were annexed vnto the Achæan Commonwealth, hauing long bene of a contrary Faction thereto, grew bold to withdraw themselves from that Societie, with purpose to set vp againe an Estate of their owne, seuered from communion with any other. This was the deuice of some that were powerful in their Citie: who finding the multitude onely inclinable to their purpose, and not ouer-strongly affected in the businesse; were careful to seeke occasion of reducing things to such passe, that all their Citizens might bee entangled in a necessitie of standing out, and of not returning to the Achæan League. And hereupon they began to doe some acts of hostilitie, whereby it was probable that blood should be drawne, and either side so farre exasperated, that little hope of agreement would bee left. Vpon the fame of their commotion and proceedings; *Philopœmen*, then Prator of the Achæans, leuied such forces as hee could in haste, and went against them. Many principall Gentlemen of the Achæans, especially of the Megalopolitans, were soon in a readinesse to wait vpon him. Besides these, which were all, or for the most part, Horfemen he had some Auxiliaries out of Thracie and Crete, that usually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, he met with *Dinocrates*, Captaine of the Messenians, whom hee charged, and forced to runne. But whilst his horfemen were too earnest in following the chase, there arrived, by chance, a supply of five hundred from Messene, which gaue new courage vnto those that were fled. So the Enemies began to make head againe; and with the helpe of those, who very seasonably came to their aide, compelled *Philopœmen* his Horfemen to turne backe. *Philopœmen* himselfe had long bene sicke of an Ague, and was then very weake: yet the greatnesse of his courage would not suffer him, to bee negligent of their safetie, which had so willingly aduentured themselves vnder his conduct. Hee tooke vpon him to make the Retreat: and suffering his Horfemen to passe along by him in a narrow lane, he often turned about against the Messenians, whom his reputation, and the knowledge of his great worth, did terrifie from approaching ouer-nere to him. But it fell out vnappily, that being cast to ground by a fall of his Horfe, and being withall in very weake plight of body, he was vnable to get vp againe. So the Enemies came vpon him, and tooke him; yet scarce beleueed their fortune to be so good, although their eyes were witness. The first messenger that brought these newes to Messene, was so farre from being beleueed, that he was hardly thought to bee in his right wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the Citie ranne forth to meet him,



him; and beheld the spectacle seeming so incredible. They caused him to be brought into the Theatre, where they might satisfie themselves with beholding him. The greatest part of them had compassion on his misfortune: and in commemoration both of his vertue, and of the singular benefits by him done vnto them, especially in deliuering them from *Nabis* the Tyrant; began to manifest their good will for his deliuerie. Contrariwise, *Diomedes*, and his Faction were desirous hastily to take away his life: because they held him a man implacable; and one that would neuer leaue any disgrace, or injury done to him, vntreuenged. They durst not one trust another with the keeping of him: but committed him into a strong vault vnderground, that had beene made for the custody of their Treasure. So thither they let him downe fast bound, and with an engine laid an heauie stone vpon the mouth of the vault. There hee had not stayed long, ere his enemies had concluded his present death. The Hangman of the Citie was let downe vnto him, with a cup of poyson, which *Philopamen* tooke in his hand: and asking no more than whether the Horsemen were escaped, and particularly whether *Lycortas* was safe; when he heard an answer to his minde, hee said it was well: and so with a cheerefull countenance, dranke his last draught. He was seuentie yeeres old, and weakened with long sicknesse; whereby the poyson wrought the sooner, and easily tooke away his life. The Achaens, when they missed him in their sight, were maruellously offended with themselves, for that they had bene more mindefull to preserve their owne lues, than to looke vnto the service of so excellent a Commander. Whilest they were doubting what to doe in such a case: they got aduertisement of his being taken. All Achaia was in this report vehemently afflicted: so as Embassadours were forthwith dispatched vnto Mellene, craying his enlargement: and yet preparation made withall, to obtaine it by force, in case that faire means would not serue. *Lycortas* was chosen General of the Arme against Mellene: who coming thither, and laying siege to the Towne, enforced it in shortspace to yeeld. Then *Diomedes*, knowing what he was to expect, laid hands vpon himselfe, and made an end of his owne life. The rest of those that had bene partakers in this murder, were compelled to wait in bonds vpon the allies of *Alabon*: which were carried home in solemn pompe to *Megalopolis*; where they were all of them (that were at his funeral) as sacrificed to his Ghost whom they had offended. *Proculus*, a Roman Embassadour, was then in Greece; whence, vpon one occasion or other, the Roman Embassadours were seldom absent. Hee would haue entemedled in this businesse of Mellene, had not *Lycortas* made short worke, and left him nothing to doe.

About the same time was *T. Quintus Flaminius* sent Embassadour to *Prusias* King of Bithynia: not so much to withdraw him from prosecuting the war against *Eumenes*, as to entreat him, that he would deliuer *Hannibal*, the most spightful enemy in all the world vnto the Senate and People of Rome, into his hands. *Prusias* (therein vnworthy of the Crowne he wore) did readily condescend: or rather (as *Linie* thinks) to gratifie the Romans, he determined either to kill *Hannibal*, or to deliuer him aliuie to *Flaminius*. For vpon the first conference betweene the King and *Flaminius*, a troupe of Souldiers were directed to guard and environ the lodging where *Hannibal* lay. That famous Captaine hauing found cause before this to suspect the faith of *Prusias*, had deuised some secret falies vnderground to saue himselfe from any reasonable and sudden assault. But finding now that all parts about him were fore-closed, he had recourse to his last remedy: which he then was constrained to practise, as well to frustrate his enemies of their triumphing ouer him, as to saue himselfe from their torture and mercilesse hands; who, as hee well knew, would neither respect his famous enterprises, his honour, nor his age. When therefore he saw no way of escape, nor counsell to resort vnto, heeooke the poyson into his hand; which he alwaies preferred for a sure Antidote against the sharpest diseases of aduersie fortune; which being ready to swallow downe, he vttered these words: *I will now (saith he) deliuer the Romans of that feare, which hath so many yeeres possesst them; that feare, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old man. This victory of Flaminius, where we, which are disabled, and betrayed into his hands, shall neuer be numbered among the rest of his heroicall deedes: No; it shall make it manifest to all the Nations of the world, how saue the ancient Roman vertues degenerate and corrupted. For such was the noblesse of their first fathers; as, when Pyrrhus invaded them in Italie, and was ready to giue them battell at their owne doores, they gave him knowledge of the treason intended against him by poy-*

son; where as these of a later race haue employed Flaminius, a man who hath heretofore bene one of their Consuls, to practise with *Prusias*, contrary to the honour of a King, contrary to his faith, guen, and contrary to the Lawes of Hospitalitie, to slaughter or deliuer up his owne Guest. He then cursing the person of *Prusias*, and all his, and desiring the immortall gods to reuenge his infidelitie, dranke off the poyson, and died.

In this yeere also (as good Authors haue reported) to accompanie *Philopamen* and *Hannibal*, died *Scipio* the African: these being, all of them, as great Captaines as euer the world had; but not more famous, than vnfortunate. Certainly, for *Hannibal*, whose Tragedie we haue now finished, had he bene Prince of the Carthaginians, and one who by his authority might haue commanded such supplies, as the Warre which he vnderooke, required; it is probable, that he had torne vp the Roman Empire by the roots. But he was so strongly crost by a cowardly and enuious Faction at home; as his proper vertue, wanting publike force to sustaine it, did lastly dissolue it selfe in his owne, and in the common miserie of his Country and Common-weale.

Hence it comes, to wit, from the enuie of our equals, and ieaalousie of our Masters, be they Kings, or Commonweales, That there is no Protection more vnprosperous than that of Men of Warre, and great Captaines, being no Kings. For besides the enuie and ieaalousie of men, the spoyles, rapes, famine, slaughter of the innocent, vastation, and burnings, with a world of miseries laid on the labouring man, are so latefull to God, as with so good reason did *Marius* the Marshall of France confesse, That, were not the mercies of God infinite, and without restriction, it were in vaine for those of his profession to hope for any portion of them: seeing the cruelties by them permitted and committed, were also infinite. Howsoeuer, this is true, That the victories, which are obtained by many of the greatest Commanders, are commonly either ascribed to those that serue vnder them, to Fortune, or to the cowardise of the Nation against whom they serue. For the most of others, whose vertues, haue raised them about the leuell of their inferiours, and haue surmounted their enuie: yet haue they bene rewarded in the end, either with disgrace, banishment, or death. Among the Romans we finde many examples hereof: as *Coriolanus*, *M. Licinius*, *L. Brutus*, and this our *Scipio*, whom we haue lately buried. Among the Greekes we read of not many, that escaped these rewards. Yea, long before these times, it was a Legacie that *David* bequeathed vnto his victorious Captaine *Ishb*. With this rare *Alexander* feasted *Permenio*, *Philotas*, and others; and prepared it for *Antipater* and *Cassander*. Hereto *Valentinian* the Emperour inuired *Etius*: who, after many other victories, ouerthrew *Attila* of the Hunnes, in the greatest battaile, for the well fighting and resolution of both Armies, that euer was stricken in the world; for there fell of those that fought, beside runne-awayes, an hundred and fourescore thousand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told vnto the Emperour by *Proximus*, That in killing of *Etius*, hee had cut off his owne right hand with his left: for it was not long after that *Maximus* (by whose perswasion *Valentinian* (sue *Etius*) murdered the Emperour; which hee neuer durst attempt, *Etius* liuing. And; besides the losse of that Emperour, it is true, That with *Etius*, the glory of the Westerne Empire was rather dissolued than obscured. The same vnworthy destinie, or farr worse, had *Bellerisarius*; whose vndertakings and victories were so difficult and glorious, as after ages suspected them for fabulous. For he had his eyes torne out of his head by *Iustinian*: and hee died a blinde beggar. *Narses* also, to the great preiudice of Christian Religion, was disgrac'd by *Iustine*. That rule of *Cato* against *Scipio*, hath been well observed in euery age since then; to wit, That the Common-weale cannot be accounted free, which standeth in awe of any one man. And hence hath the Turkes drawne another Principle, and indeed a Turkish one, That euery warlike Prince should rather destroy his greatest men of Warre, than suffer his owne glory to be obscured by them. For this cause did *Baiazet* the second dispatch *Bassa Acomat*; *Selim* strangle *Bassa Mustafa*; and most of those Princes bring to ruine the most of their Vissers. Of the Spanish Nation, the great *Gonsalus*, who draue the French out of Naples: and *Ferdinando Cortese*, who conquered Mexico; were crowned with nettles, not with Lawrell. The Barles of Egmond and Horn, had no heads left them to weare garlands on. And that the great Captaines of all Nations haue hence paid with this copper Coine; there are examples more than too many. On the contrary it may be said, That many haue acquired the State of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, by their great abilitie in matter of warre. This I confesse. Yet quist it be had withall

in consideration, that these high places have beene giuen, or offered, vnto very few, as rewards of their militarie vertue; though many haue vsurped them, by the helpe and fauour of those Armies which they commanded. Neither is it vnregardable, That the Tyrants which haue oppressed the liberty of free Cities: and the Lieutenants of Kings or Emperours, which haue traitorously cast downe their Masters, and stepped vp into their seats; were not all of them good men of warre: but haue vsed the aduantage of some commotion, or many of them by bale and cowardly practices, haue obtained those dignities, which vndereternally were ascribed to their personall worth. So that the number, of those, that haue purchased absolute greatnesse by the greatnes of their warlike vertue, is farre more in seeming, than in deed. *Phocas* was a Souldiour, and by helpe of the 10 Souldiours he got the Empire from his Lord *Mauritius*: but he was a coward; and with a barbarous crueltie, seldome found in any other than cowards, he slew first the children of *Mauritius*, a Prince that neuer had done him wrong, before his face, and after them *Mauritius* himselfe. This his bloody aspiring was but as a debt, which was paid vnto him againe by *Heraclius*: who tooke from him the Imperiall Crowne, vniuently gotten, and set it on his owne head. *Constantius* laid hold vpon the Emperour *Iulianus*, cut off his nose and eares, and sent him into banishment: But Gods vengeance rewarded him with the same punishment, by the hands of *Tiberius*; to whose charge hee had left his owne men of warre. *Iulianus*, hauing recovered forces, lighted on *Tiberius*, and barbed him after the same fashion. *Philippicus*, commanding the forces of *Iulianus*, murdered both the 20 Emperour and his sonne. *Anastatius*, the vassall of this new Tyrant, surprised his Master *Philippicus*, and thrust out both his eyes. But with *Anastatius*, *Theodosius* dealt more gently: for hauing wrested the Scepter out of his hands, he enforced him to become a Priest. It were an endlesse, and a needlesse worke to tell, how *Leo* rewarded this *Theodosius*; how many others haue beene repayed with their owne crueltie, by men alike ambitious and cruell; or how many hundreds, or rather thousands, hoping of Capitaines to make themselves Kings, haue by Gods iustice miserably perished in the attempt. The ordinarie, and perhaps the best way of thriuing, by the practice of Armes, is to take what may be gotten by the spoyle of Enemies, and the liberality of those Princes and Cities, in whose seruice one hath well deserved. But scarce one of a thousand 30 haue prospered by this course. For that obseruation, made by *Salomon*, of vnthankfulness in this kinde, hath beene found belonging to all Countries and Ages: *A little Citie, and few men in it, and a great King came against it, and compassed it about, and builded Forts against it: And there was found a poore and wise man therein, and hee deliuered the Citie by his wisdom: but none remembered this poore man.* Great Monarchs are vnwilling to pay great thanks, lest thereby they should acknowledge themselves to haue beene indebted for great benefits: which the vnwiser sort of them think to saue of some impotency in themselves. But in this respect they are oftentimes couened and abused, which proues that weaknesse to be in them indeed, whereof they so gladly shun the opinion. Contrariwise, free Estates are bountifull in giuing thanks; yet so, as those thanks are 40 not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their Capitaines haue made, by enriching themselves with the spoyle of the enemy, they are very inquisitiue to search into it, and to strip the well-deservers out of their gettings: yea most iniuriously to rob them of their owne, vpon a false supposition: that euen they whose hands are most cleane from such offences, haue purloyned somewhat from the common Treasurie. Hereof I need not to produce examples: that of the two *Scipio's* being so lately recited.

In my late Soueraignes time, although for the warres, which for her owne safetie, she was constrained to undertake, her Maestie had no lesse cause to vse the seruice of Martial men both by Sea and Land, than any of her Predecessors for many yeeres had; yet, according to the destiny of that profession, I doe not remember, that any of hers, the Lord Admirall excepted, her eldest and most prosperous Commander, were either enriched, or otherwise honoured, for any seruice by them performed. And that her Maestie had many aduised, valiant, and faithfull men, the prosperitie of her affaires did well witness, who in all her dayes neuer receiued dishonour, by the cowardise or infidelity of any Commander, by her selfe chosen and employed.

For as all her old Capitaines by Land died poore men, as *Malbey*, *Randel*, *Drenwicke*, *Reade*, *Wilsford*, *Lytton*, *Pellam*, *Gilbert*, *Cunstable*, *Bowchier*, *Barkely*, *Bingham*, and others: 50

for those of a later and more dangerous employment, whereof *Norris* and *Vere* were the most famous, & who haue done as great honour to our Nation (for the means they had) as euer any did: those (I say) with many other braue Colonels, haue left behinde them (besides the reputation which they purchased with many trauels and wounds) no little nor estate to their posteritie. As for the *L. Thomas Burrough*, and *Peregrine Bertie L. Wilmoughby of Eresby*, two very worthy and exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought with them into the world their Titles and Estates.

That her Maestie in the aduancement of her Men of warre did sooner beleuee other men than her selfe, a disease vnto which many wise Princes, besides her selfe, haue beene subiect, I say that such a confidence, although it may seeme altogether to excuse her Noble Nature, yet can it not but in some sort accuse her of weakenesse. And exceeding strange it were, were not the cause manifest enough, that where the prosperous actions are so exceedingly prized, the Actors are so vnprosperous and so generally neglected. The cause, I say, which hath wrought one and the same effect in all times, and among all Nations, is this, that those which are nearest the person of Princes (which Martial men seldome are) can with no good grace commend, or at least magnifie a profession farre more noble than their owne, seeing therein they should onely inuide their Masters of the wrong they did vnto others, in giuing lesse honour and reward to men of farre greater deseruings, and of farre greater vlt than themselves.

But his Maestie hath already payed the greatest part of that debt. For besides the relieuing by Pensions all the poorer sort, hee hath honoured more Martiall men, than all the kings of England haue done for this hundred yeeres.

He hath giuen a Coronet to the Lord *Thomas Howard* for his chargeable and remarkable seruice, as well in the yeere 1588. as at Caliz, the Ilands, and in our owne Sea; hauing first commanded as a Captaine, twice Admirall of a Squadron, and twice Admirall in chiefe. His Maestie hath changed the Baronies of *Montjoy* and *Burley* into Earldomes, and created *Sidney* Vicount, *Knollys*, *Russell*, *Carew*, *Danuers*, *Arundel* of Warder, *Gerald*, and *Chichester*, Barons, for their governments and seruices in the Netherlands, France, Ireland, and elsewhere.

## § III.

Philip making provision for warre against the Romans, deales hardly with many of his owne subiects. His negotiation with the Barmes. His crueltie. Hee suspecteth his sonne Demetrius. Demetrius accused by his brother Perseus; and shortly after slaine, by his fathers appointment. Philip repenteth him of his sonnes death; whom hee findeth to haue bene innocent: and intending to reuenge it on Perseus, he dieth.

**Q**uintus Martius the Roman Embassador, who travelled vp and downe, seeking what worke might bee found about Greece, had receiued instruction from the Senate, to vse the most of his diligence in looking into the Estate of Macedon. At his returne home, that he might not seeme to haue discouered nothing, hee told the 40 *Fathers*, That *Philip* had done whatsoever they enjoyed him, yet so, as it might appear, that such his obedience would last no longer, than meere necessity should enforce him thereunto. He added further, That all the doings and sayings of that King did wholly tend vnto rebellion, about which he was doubting. Now it was so indeed, that *Philip* much repented him of his faithful obsequiousnesse to the Romans, and foresaw their intent, which was, to get his Kingdome into their owne hands, with safety of their honour, if they could finde conuenient means; or otherwise (as to him seemed apparant) 50 by what means soeuer. Hee was in an ill case: as hauing beene already vanquished by them, hauing lost exceedingly both in strength and reputation; hauing subiects that abhorred to heare of Warre with Rome; and hauing neither neighbour nor friend, that, if he were thereto yrged, would aduenture to take his part: yet hee provided as well as he could deuise, against the necessitie which hee daily feared. Such of his owne people as dwelt in the maritime Townes, and gaue him cause to suspect, that they would doe but bad seruice against the Romans, hee compelled to forsake their dwellings, and remooued them all into Emathia. The Cities and Country, whence these were transplanted, hee filled with a multitude of Thracians, whose faith he thought a great deale more assured against

against those enemies that were terrible to the Macedonians. Further, hee devised vpon alluring the Bastarnæ, a strong and hardie Nation, that dwelt beyond the riuer of Danubius, to abandon their fear, and come to him with all their multitude: who, besides other great rewards, would helpe them to roote out the Dardaniens, and take possession of their Country. These were like to doe him notable seruice against the Romans: being not onely stout fighting men; but such as being planted in those quarters by him, would beare respect vnto him alone. The least benefit that could bee hoped by their arrivall, must be the vtter extirpation of the Dardaniens; a People alwaies troublesome to the Kingdome of Macedon, whensoever they found advantage. Neither was it iudged any hard matter, to perswade those Bastarnæ, by hope of spoyle, and other inticements, vnto a more desperate Expedition, through Illyria, and the Countries vpon the Adriaticke Sea, into Italie it selfe. It was not knowne who should withstand them vpon the way: Rather it was thought, that the Scordisci, and peradventure some others, through whose Countries they were to passe, would accompanie them against the Romans, were it onely in hope of spoyle. Now to facilitate the remoue of these Bastarnæ from their owne habitations, into the land of the Dardaniens, vpon the border of Macedon; a long and tedious iourney vnto them, that carried with them their wiues and children: *Philip* with gifts did purchase the good will of some Thracian Princes, Lords of the Countries through which they were to passe. And thus hee sought meanes to strengthen himselfe, with helpe of the wilde Nations, which neither knew the Romans, nor were knowne vnto them, since he was not like to finde assistance from any ciuill Nation, about the whole compasse of the Mediterranean Seas. But these deuices were long ere they tooke effect: so as the Bastarnæ came not before such time as he was dead; his death being the ouerthrow of that purpose. In the meane time hee neglected not the training of his men to Warre, and the exercise of them in some small Expeditions, against those wilde people that bordered vpon him, and stood worst affected toward him.

But these his counsailes and proceedings were miserably disturbed by the calamities that fell vpon him, both in his Kingdome, and in his owne house. The Families and whole Townships, which he had caused much against their wills to forsake their ancient dwellings, & betake themselves to such new habitations, as he in his discretion thought meet for them, were vehemently offended at the change. Yet their anger at first contained it selfe within words: hee hauing done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwise than by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long liued: which also hee did vnwillingly, being himselfe ouer-ruled by necessity, that seemed apparant. This euill therefore would soone haue beene determined, had not his cruell and vindicative nature made it worse. He could not pardon words proceeding from iust sorrow: but imputed all to traitorous malice; and accordingly did seeke reuenge where it was needlesse. In his rage he caused many to die: among whom were some eminent men; and few or none of them deseruedly. This increased the hatred of the people, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curses. Which grew the more generall, when the King in a most barbarous and base fury, mistrusting all alike whom hee had iniured, thought himselfe vnlike to be safe, vnill hee should haue massacred all the children of those parents, whom tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his vnmanly pleasure, some accidents, more tragically than perhaps hee could haue desired, gaue men cause to thinke (as they could not in reason thinke otherwise) that, not without vengeance powred on him from Heauen, hee felt the like miserie in his owne children. It is hard to say what the Romans intended, in the extraordinary fauour which they shewed vnto *Demetrius*, the kings younger sonne. It may well bee (though it may be also suspected, that they had no purpose to make and nourish dissent) on betweene the brethren, but onely to cherish the vertue and rewardinesse of *Demetrius*, like as we finde it in their Histories. But their notable fauour towards this young Prince, and his mutuall respect of them, bred extreame ieaousie in the fathers head. If any custome of the Romans, the manner of their life, the fashion of their apparel, or the vnlighty continuing and building (as then it was) of the Towne of Rome, were rested at in ordinary discourse and table-talk, *Demetrius* was sure to be presently on fire, defending and praying thereof, euen in such points as rather needed excuse. This, and his daily conuersation with their Embassadors, as often as they came, gaue his father cause

cause to thinke, that he was no fit partaker of any counsaile held against them. Wherefore he communicated all his deuices with his elder sonne *Perseus*, who fearing so much lest his brother should step betwene him and the succession, conquered wholly vnto his destruction, that grace which he had with his father. *Perseus* was then thirty yeeres old; of a stirring spirit, though much defective in valour. *Demetrius* was younger by five yeeres, more open and vnwarie in his actions, yet thought olde and crafty enough, to entertaine more dangerous practises; than his free speeches discovered. This diabolous head of the King hauing entertained such suspitions, that were much increased by the cunning practice of his elder sonne, a slight occasion made the fire break out, that had long layne smothered. A Muster, and ceremonious lustration of the Armie, was vnto be made at certaine times with great solemnitie. The manner of it at the present was thus: They cleft in twaine a bitch, and threw the head and fore-part with the entrails, on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way which the Armie was to passe. This done, the Armies of all the kings of Macedon; from the very first principall, were borne before the Armie. Then followed the king betwene his two bondes: after him came his owne band, and they of his guard, whom all the rest of the Macedonians followed. Hauing performed other ceremonies, the Armie was diuided into three parts: which, vnder the Kings two sonnes, charged each other in manner of a true fight, vnto poles, and the like, in stead of their pikes and accustomed weapons. But in this present skirmish there appeared some extraordinary contention for the victory: whether happening by chance, or whether the two Captaines did ouer-carnostly seeke each to get the vpper hand, as a betokening of their good successe in a greater battall. Some small hurt there was done, and wounds giuen, euen with those stakes, vntill *Perseus* his side at length recoyled. *Perseus* himselfe was sorry for this, as it had become a bad preface; but his friends were glad, and thought, that hereof might be made good vlt. They were of the craftier sort: who perceiving which way the kings fauour bent, and how all the courtes of *Demetrius* led vnto his owne ruine, addressed their seruices to the more malicious and crafty head. And now they said, that this victory of *Demetrius* would afford matter of complaint against him; as if the heat of his ambition had carried him beyond the rules of that solemn pastime. Each of the brethren was that day to fasti his owne companions, and each of them had spies in the others lodging, to obserue what was said and done. One of *Perseus* his Intelligencers behaued himselfe so indifferently, that he was taken & well beaten by three or foure of *Demetrius* his men, who turned him out of doores. After some store of wine, *Demetrius* told his companions, that he would goe visit his brother, and see what cheare he kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting such of them as had ill handled his brother's man: yet hee would leaue notice of his traine behinde, but forced them all to beare him company. They, fearing to bee ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themselves secretly to preuent all danger: Yet was there such good espiall kept, that this their coming armed was forthwith made knowne to *Perseus*: who thereupon tumultuously locked vp his doores, as if hee stood in feare to be assaulted in his house. *Demetrius* wondered to see himselfe excluded, and feared very angrily with his brother. But *Perseus* bidding him bee gone as an enemy, and one whose murderous purpose was detected, sent him away with entertainment no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the king. The elder brother accused the younger vnto the father of them both. Much there was alledged; and in effect the same hath beene here recited, save that by misconstruction all was made worse. But the maine point of the accusation, and which did aggravate all the rest, was, That *Demetrius* had vnderaken this murder, & would perhaps also dare to vndertake a greater, vpon confidence of the Romans; by whom hee knew that he should be defended and borne out. For *Perseus* made shew, as if the Romans did hate him; because hee bore a due respect vnto his father, and was sorry to see him spoiled, and daily robbed of somewhat by that men. And for this cause he said it was, that they did animate his brother against him: as also that they fought how to winne vnto *Demetrius* the loue of the Macedonians. For proofe hereof hee cited a letter, sent of late from *T. Quintius* to the king himselfe: wherein of the contents were, That hee had done wisely in sending *Demetrius* to Rome; and that he should yet further doe well to send him thither againe, accompanied with a greater and more honourable traine of Macedonian Lords. Hence bee enforced, That this counsell was giuen by *Titus*, of purpose to shake the allegiance of those, that should

should have avoyd his brother to Rome; and makethem, forgetting their duties to their old King, become servants to this yong Traytor *Demetrius*. Here to *Demetrius* made answer, by rehearsing all passages of the day and night foregoing, in such manner as he remembered them, and had conceived of them: bitterly reprehending *Perseus*, that converted matters of Pastime, and what was done or spoken in wine, to such an accusation, whereby he sought his innocent brothers death. As for the love which the Romans did beare him, He said that it grew, if not from his owne vertue, at least wise from their opinion in the death: so as by an impious practice, Hee were more like to lose it wholly, than to increase it. In this wretched pleading there wanted not such passions, as are incident to fathers, children, and brethren; besides those that are common to all Plaintiffes and Defendants, before ordinarie Judges. The king pronounced like a father, though zealous father, that he would conclude nothing vpon the excessse or error, whatsoever it were, of one day and night, nor vpon one hours audience of the matter, but vpon better observation of their liues, manners, and whole carriage of themselves both in word and deed: And herein he may seeme to haue dealt both iustly and compassionately. But from this time forward he gaue himselfe ouer wholly to *Perseus*: vnto so little conference with his yonger sonne, that when he had matters of weight in hand, such especially as concerned the Romans, he liked neither to haue him present, nor neere vnto him. About all, he had especiall care, to learne out what had passed between *Demetrius* and *T. Quintus*, or any other of the Roman great ones. And to this purpose he sent Embassadors to Rome, *Philus* and *Apelles*; men whom hee thought no way interess'd in the quarrells betweene the brethren; though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they saw the more in grace. These brought home with them a letter, said to be written by *Titus* (whose seale they had counterfeited) vnto the King. The contents whereof were: A deprecation for the yong Prince, with an intimation, as by way of granting it, That his youthfull and ambitious desires had caused him to enter into practices vnusurpassable, against his elder brother; which yet should neuer take effect, for that *Titus* himselfe would not be author, or abettor, of any impious detice. This manner of excuse did forcibly perswade the king, to thinke his sonne a dangerous traytor. To strengthen him in this opinion, one *Didas*, to whom he gaue *Demetrius* in custodie, made shew as if he had pitied the estate of the vnhappy Prince; and so wrung out of him his secret intentions, which he shortly discouered vnto *Philip*. It was the purpose of *Demetrius* to flye secretly to Rome; where he might hope not onely to liue in safety, from his father & brother, but in greater likelihood, than he could finde at home, of bettering such claime as he had in reuerfion vnto the Crown of Macedon. Whatsoeuer his hopes and meanings were, all came to nought through the falshood of *Didas*; who playing on both hands, offered vnto the Prince his helpe for making the escape, & in the meane while reuealed the whole matter to the King. So *Philip* resolved to put his sonne to death, without further expence of time. It was thought behouefull to make him away priuily, for feare lest the Romans should take the matter to heart, and hold it as a prooffe sufficient, at least, of the kings despight against them, if not of his meaning to renew the warre. *Didas* therefore was commanded to rid the vnhappy Prince out of his life. This accursed Minister of his Kings vnadvised sentence, first gaue poyson to *Demetrius*: which wrought neither so hastily, nor so secretly, as was desired. Hereupon he sent a couple of Ruffians, to finish the tragedies who villanously accomplished their work by smothering that Prince, in whose life consisted the greatest hope of Macedon.

In all the face of *Antigonus* there had not beene found a king, that had thus cruelly dealt with any Prince of his owne blood. The houses of *Lysimachus* and *Cassander* felt either with themselves, or euen vpon their heeles; by intestine discord and jealousies, grounded on desire of oustrainge rule, or feare of losing it. By the like vnnatural hatred, had almost beene cut off the lines of *Pholomies* and *Selenus*; which though narrowly they escaped the danger, yet were their kingdomes thereby grievously distemper'd. Contrariwise, it was worthy of extraordinary note, how that a pious family of the kings of Pergamns had raised a selfe to marvellous greatness, in a very short space, from the condition of meere slavery: whereof a principall cause was, the brotherly love maintained by them, with singular commendation of their pietie. Neither was *Philip* ignorant of these examples; but is said to haue propounded the last of them, to his owne children, as a patterne for them to imitate. Certainly hee had reason so to doe: not

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more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender fosterage, wherewith king *Antigonus* his Tutor had faithfully cherished him in his minority. But he was himselfe of an vnmercifull nature; and therefore vnmet to be a good perswader vnto kindly affection. The murders by him done vpon many of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the satiating of his blood-thirsty appetite, he delightfully had committed vpon many innocents, both strangers, and subiects of his owne; did now procure vengeance downe from Heauen, that rewarded him with a draught of his owne Poyson. After the death of his sonne, He too late began to examine the crimes that had bene objected; and to weigh them in a more equall ballance. Then found he nothing that could giue him satisfaction, or by good probabilitie induce him to thinke, that malice had not bin contriuer of the whole proceffe. His onely remaining Son *Perseus* could so ill dissemble the pleasure which he tooke, in being freed from all danger of competition; as there might easily be perceiued in him a notable change, proceeding from some other cause, than the remooue of those dangers, which he had lately pretended. The Romanes were now no lesse to bee feared than at other times, when he, as hauing accomplished the most of his desires, left off his vsuall trouble of minde, and carefulnesse of making prouision against them. Hee was more diligently courted, than in former times; by those that well vnderstood the difference, betweene a rising and a setting Sunne. As for old *Philip*, he was left in a manner desolate, some expecting his death, and some scarce enduring the tediousnesse of such expectation. This bred in the king a deepe melancholy; and filled his head with suspitious imaginations, the like whereof hee had neuer beene flow to apprehend. Hee was much vexed: and so much the more, for that he knew, neither well to whom, nor perfectly whereof to complaine. One honourable man, a Cousin of his, named *Antigonas*, continued so true to *Philip*, that hee grew thereby hateful to *Perseus*; and thus becoming subiect vnto the same jealous impression which troubled the King, became also partaker of his secrets. This counsaillour, when he found that the anger conceiued against *Perseus* would not vent it selfe, and giue ease to the king, vntill the truth were knowne whether *Demetrius* were guilty or no of the treason objected; as also that *Philus* and *Apelles*, (the Embassadors which had brought from Rome that Epistle of *Flamininus*, that serued as the greatest euidence against *Demetrius*) were suspected of forgery in the businesse: made diligent inquirie after the truth. In thus doing, he found one *Xyebus*, a man most likely to haue vnderstood what false dealing was vied by those Embassadors. Him he apprehended, brought to the Court, and presented vnto the King: saying, That this fellow knew all, and must therefore be made to vtter what he knew. *Xyebus* for feare of torture, vttered as much as was before suspected: confessing against himselfe, that he had bene employed by the Embassadors in that wicked piece of businesse. No maruell, if the Fathers passions were extreme; when he vnderstood that by the vnnatural practice of one sonne, he had so wretchedly cast away another, farre more vertuous and innocent. He raged exceedingly against himselfe, and withall against the authors of the mischief. Vpon the first newes of this discouerie, *Apelles* fled away, and got into Italie, *Philus* was taken: and either foras much as he could not denie it when *Xyebus* confronted him, yeilded himselfe guilty; or else was put to torture. *Perseus* was now growne stronger, than that he should need to flye the Countrie: yet not so stout as to adventure himselfe into his fathers presence. He kept on the borders of the kingdom, towards Thrace, whilst his father wintred at *Demetrias*. *Philip* therefore, not hoping to get into his power this his vngacious sonne, tooke a resolution, to aliene the Kingdom from him, and confer it vpon *Antigonus*. But his weak body, and excessive grieft of minde, so disabled him in the trauell thereto belonging; that ere he could bring his purpose to effect, hee was constrained to yeeld to nature: Hee had reigned about two and forty yeeres: alwaies full of trouble; as vexed by others, and vexed himselfe with continuall warres; of which that with the Romans was most vnhappy, and few or none of the rest found the conclusion, which a wise Prince would haue desired, of bringing forth together, both honour and profit. But for all the euill that befell him, hee might thanke his owne persequer condition: since his Vncle, king *Antigonus*, had left vnto him an estate, so great, and so well settled, as made it ease for him, to accomplish any moderate desires; if he had not abhorred all good counsell. Wherefore he was iustly punished by feeling the difference betweene the imaginary happinesse of a Tyrant, which hee affected, and the

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the life of a king, where of he little cared to performe the dutie. His death, euen whilest yet he was onely drawing neere, was fore-signified vnto *Perseus*, by *Caligennes* the Physician; who also concealed it a while from those that were about the Court. So *Perseus* came thither on the suddaine, and tooke possession of the kingdome: which in fine hee no lesse improuidently lost, than he had wickedly gotten.

## §. IV.

*How the Basterna fell vpon Dardania. The behaviour of Perseus in the beginning of his reigne. Some warres of the Romanes: and how they suffered Massinissa cruelly to oppress the Carthaginians. They quarrell with Perseus. They allow not their Confederates to make warre without their leave obtained. The Treason of Callicrates; whereby all Greece became more obnoxious to Rome, than in former times. Further quarrels to Perseus. He seeks friendship of the Acheans, and is withstood by Callicrates. The Romanes discover their intent of warring vpon him.*

IMMediately vpon the death of *Philip*, came the *Basterna* into Thrace: where order had beene taken, long before, both for the free passage, and for the indemnitie of the Country. This compact was friendly obserued, as long as no other was known than that *Philip* did liue, to recompence all that should bee done, or sustained, for his seruice. But when it was heard, that a new King reigned in Macedon; and not heard withall, that he tooke any care what became of the enterprize: then was all dash and confounded. The Thracians would no longer afford so good markets vnto these strangers, as formerly they had done. On the other side, the *Basterna* would not be contented with reason, but became their owne caruers. Thus each part hauing lost the rich hopes reposed in *Philip*, grew carefull of thriving in the present; with little regard of right or wrong. Within a while they fell to blowes; and the *Basterna* had the vpper hand, so as they chased the Thracians out of the plaine Countries. But the victors made little vse of their good fortune. For whether by reason of some ouertrow, receiued by them in assailing a place of strength; or whether because of extreame bad weather, which is said to haue afflicted them as it were miraculously: all of them returned home, saue thirty thousand, which pierced on into Dardania. How these thirty thousand sped in their voyage, I doe not finde. It seemes that by the carelesse vsing of some victories, they drew losse vpon themselves: and finally tooke that occasion, to follow their companions backe into their owne Country.

As for *Perseus* he thought it not expedient, in the noueltie of his reigne, to embroyle himselfe in a war so dangerous, as that with the Romanes was likely to prooue. Wherefore he wholly gaue his minde to the settling of his Estate: which well done, hee might afterwards accommodate himselfe, as the condition of his affaires should require, eyther for war or peace. To prevent all danger of rebellion, he quickly tooke away the life of *Antigonus*. To win loue of his people, heate personelly to heare their causes in iudgement (though herein he was so ouer-diligent and curious, that one might haue perceiued this his vertue of iustice to be no better than fained): as also hee gratified them with many delightfull spectacles, magnificently by him set forth. Aboue all, he had care to auoid all necessity of war with Rome: and therefore made it his first worke, to send Embassadors thither, to renew the league, which he obtained, & was by the Senate saluted King, and friend vnto the State. Neither was he negligent in seeking to purchase good will of the Greekes, & other his neighbours: but was rather herein so exceedingly bountifull, that it may seeme a wonder how in few yeeres, to his vtter ruine, hee became so griping and tenacious. His feare was indeede the maistring passion, which ouer-ruled him, and changed him into so many shapcs, as made it hard to discern which of his other qualities were naturally his owne. For prooofe of this, there is requisite no more, than the relation of his actions past and following.

The Romanes continued, as they had long, busie in warres against the Spaniards and Ligurians; people often vanquished, and as often breaking forth into new rebellion. They also conquered *Istria*; subdued the rebelling Sardinians; and had some quarrells, though to little effect, with the Illyrians and others. Over the Carthaginians they bore (as euer since the victory) a heavy hand: & suffered *Massinissa* to take from them what he listed.

listed. The Carthaginians, like obedient vassals to Rome, were afraid, though in defence of their owne, to take Armes: from which they were bound by an Article of peace, except it were with leave of the Romanes. *Massinissa* therefore had great aduantage over them, and was not ignorant how to vse it. He could get possession by force, of whatsoeuer he desired, ere their complaining Embassadors could be at Rome: and then were the Romanes not hardly entreated, to leaue things as they found them.

So had he once dealt before, in taking from them the Countie of Emporia: and so did he vse them againe and againe, with pretence of friendship, where he had any; otherwise, without it. *Gala* the Father of *Massinissa* had wonne some land from the Carthaginians, which afterward *Syphax* wanne from *Gala*, and within a while, restored to the neighbours, for loue of his Wife *Sophonisba*, and of *Asdrubal* his Father-in-law. This did *Massinissa* take from them by force: and by the Romanes (to whose iudgement the case was referred) was permitted quietly to hold it. The Carthaginians had now good experience, how beneficiall it was for their Estate, to vse all manner of submissive obedience to Rome. They had scarcely digested this iniury, when *Massinissa* came vpon them againe, and tooke from them about fiftentie Townes and Castles; without any colour of right. Hereof by their Embassadors they made lamentable complaint vnto the Roman Senate. They shewed how grievously they were oppressed by reason of two Articles in their League: That they should not make warre, out of their owne Lands; nor with any Confederates of the Romanes. Now although it were so, that they might lawfully withstand the violence of *Massinissa*, invading their Country, howsoeuer he was pleased to call it his: yet since he was confederate with the Romanes, they durst not presume to beare defensive armes against him, but suffered themselves to bee eaten vp, for feare of incurring the Romanes indignation. Wherefore they entreated, that either they might haue fairer iustice, or be suffered to defend their owne by strong hand; or at least, if right must wholly giue place to fauor, that the Romanes yet would be pleased to determine, how farre forth *Massinissa* should bee allowed, to proceed in these outrages. If none of these petitions could be obtained, then desired they, that the Romanes would let them vnderstand, wherein they had offended: since the time that *Scipio* gaue them peace; and vouchsafe to inflict on them such punishment, as they themselves should thinke meete: for that better and more to their comfort it were, to suffer once what should be appointed by such Iudges, than continually to liue in feare, and hence otherwise draw breath, than at the mercy of this Numidian Harghian. And here withall the Embassadors threw themselves prostrate on the ground, weeping in hope to moue compassion.

Here may we behold the fruits of their enuy to that valiant house of the *Barchines*, of their irresolution, in prosecuting a war so important, as *Hannibal* made for them in Italy; and of their half-penny worthing, in matter of expence, when they had aduentured their whole estate, in the purchase of a great Empire. Now are they seruants, euen to the seruants of those men, whose fathers they had oft chased, slaine, taken, & sold as bondslaves in the Streets of Carthage, & in all cities of Africk & Greece. Now haue they enough of that Roman peace, which *Hanno* so often & so exactly desired. Onely they want peace with *Massinissa*, once their mercenarie, & now their master, or rather their tormentor; out of whose cruel hands they beseech their masters to take the office of correcting them. In such case are they; & adore the Romanes, whom they see flourishing in such prosperitie as might haue bene their owne. But the Romanes had farre better entreated *Varro*, who lost the battel at Cannae, than *Hannibal* that won it: was vsed by the Carthaginians: they had freely bestowed euery man of them, all his private riches, vpon the Commonwealth; and employed their labours for the publick, without craving recompence: as also they had not thought a muel, though being in extreame want, to set out an Armie so into Spaine, at what time the enemy lay vnder their owne walls. These were the Carthaginian vertues: and therefore the Carthaginians hauing fought against their betters, must patiently endure the miseries belonging vnto the vanquished. Their pitifull behaviour bred peraduenture some compassion, yet their teares may seeme to haue beene misused, as proceeding vnto the Romanes, rather from any feeling of their owne calamitie, than from the consideration, that themselves able to fight with *Massinissa*, which estimation of their forces was able to make them, after a little while, enter into comparisons with Rome: wherefore they obtained no such leaue as they sought.

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of defending their owne right by armes: but contrariwise, when without leaue obtained they presumed so far, the destruction of Carthage was thought an easie punishment of that offence. At the present, they received a gentle answer; though they had otherwise little amends. *Gulussa* the sonne of *Masanissa* was then in Rome; and had not as yet craued audience. He was therefore called before the Senate; where he was demanded the reason of his coming, and had related vnto him the complaint made by the Carthaginians against his Father. He answered, That his Father not being thoroughly aware of any Embassadors thither sent from Carthage, had therefore not given him instructions, how to deale in that businesse. Onely it was knowne, that the Carthaginians had held counsell diuers nights, in the Temple of *Esculapius*: whereupon he himselfe was to be dispatched away to Rome, there to entreat the Senate, that these common enemies of the Romans and of his Father might not be ouermuch trusted; especially against his Father, whom they hated most maliciously, for his constant faith to the people of Rome. This answer gaue little satisfaction. Wherefore the Senate replied, that for *Masanissa* his sake, they had done, and would doe, whatsoever was reasonable; but that it stood not with their iustice, to allow of this his violence, in taking from the Carthaginians those lands, which by the covenants of the league, were granted vnto them freely to inuoy. With this milde rebuke they dismissed *Gulussa*, bestowing on him friendly presents (as also they did on the Carthaginians) and willed him to tell his Father, that he should doe well to send Embassadors, more fully instructed in this matter. This happened when the Macedonian warre was euen ready to begin: at which time the Romans were not willing, too much to offend, either the Carthaginians (for feare of vrging them vnseasonably to rebellion) or *Masanissa*, at whose hands they expected no little helpe. So were they aided both by the Carthaginians, and *Masanissa*: by the Carthaginians, partly for feare, partly for hope of better vltage in the future; by *Masanissa*, in way of thankfulness; though if it had happened (which was vnlikely) that they should be vanquished, he made none other account, than that all Africke round about him, and Carthage therewithall, should be his owne.

In the midst of all these cares, the Romans had not been vnmindfull of *Perseus*. They visited him daily with Embassadors; that is, with honourable spies to obserue his behaviour. These hee entertained kindly at first, vntill (which fell out ere long) hee perceived whereto their diligence tended. First they quarrelled with him about the troubles in Dardania: neither would they take any satisfaction, vntill the Bastarnæ were thence gone; though he protested, that he had not sent for them. Afterward they pried narrowly into his doings; and were no lesse ill contented with good offices, by him done, so sundry of his neighbours, than with those wrongs, which (they said) that he did vnto other some. Where he did harme to any; they called it, making warre vpon their friends: Where he did good; they called such his bounty, seeking friends to take his part against them. The Dolopians, his subiects, (vpon what occasion it is vncertaine) rebelled, and with exquisite torments slew *Enphrauer*, whom hee had appointed their gouernour. It seemed that *Enphrauer* had played the Tyrant among them. For they were a people without strength to resist the Macedonian; and therefore vnlikely to haue presumed so farre, vntill either they had bene extremely prouoked, or else were secretly animated by the Romans. Whatsoever it was that bred this courage in them: *Perseus* did soone allay it, and reclaim them by strong hand. But the Romans tooke very angrily this presumption of the King: euen as if hee had innaded some Countrie of their Italian confederates, & not corrected his owne rebels at home. Faine they would haue had him to draw in the same yoke with the Carthaginians, whereunto had hee humbled once his necke, they could themselves haue done the part of *Masanissa*; though *Eumenes*, or some other fit for that purpose, had bene wanting. And to this effect, they told him, That conditions of the league between them were such, as made it vnlawfull, both to his father heretofore, and now to him, to take armes, without their licence first obtained.

To the same passe they would also faine haue reduced the Greeks, & generally all their adherents, euen such as had entred into league with them vpon equall termes: whom usually they rewarded with a frowne, whensoever they presumed to right themselves by force of Armes, without seeking first the Oracle at Rome. Hereof the Achæans had good experience: whose confidence in their proper strength made them otherwhiles bold to be their owne caruers, and whose hope of extraordinary fauour at Rome caused

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them the more willingly to referre their causes to arbitrement. For when they went about to haue chastised the Messenians by warre; *T. Quintus* rebuked them, as for arrogant, in taking such a worke in hand, without his authoritie: yet by his authoritie he ended the matter, wholly to their good liking. Scemably at other times were they reprehended, euen with Lordly threats, when they tooke vpon them to carry any businesse of importance, by their owne power, without standing vnto the good grace of the Romans. Who neuertheless vpon submission, were apt enough to doe them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little, and taught to forget their absolute liberties, as by which they were not like to thrive; especially in vsurping the practice of Armes, which belonged onely to the Imperiall Citie. In learning this hard lesson, they were such vntoward Schollers, that they needed, and not long after felt, very sharpe correction. Yet was there no small part of blame to be imputed vnto their Masters. For the Roman Senate, being desirous to humble the Achæans, refused not onely to giue them such aide as they requested; and as they challenged by the tenour of the League betweene them; but further, with a careless insolenie, receiued this honest and reasonable petition, That the Enemie might not be supplied from Italie, with victuals or armes. Herewith not content, The Fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affaires of Greece, pronounced openly, That if the Argiues, Lacedæmonians, or Corinthians, would ruot from the Achæans; they themselves would thinke it a businesse no way concerning them.

P. 626. l. 15. et. 11 &amp; 13.

This was presently after the death of *Philopemen*: at what time it was beleued, that the Common-wealth of Achaia was like to fall into much distresse; were it not upheld by countenance of the Romans. All this notwithstanding; when *Lycortas* Prator of the Achæans had vterly subdued the Messenians farre sooner than was expected; and when as not only no towne rebelled from the Achæans, but many entred into their corporation: then did the Romans with an ill-fauoured grace, tell the same Embassadors, to whose petition they had made such bad answer (and who as yet were not gone out of the Citie,) That they had straightly forbidden all manner of succour to be carried to Messene. Thus thinking, by a fained grauitie, to haue sorded their owne turnes; they manifested their condition; both to let on the weaker, against the stronger and more suspected; and also to assume vnto themselves a Soueraigne power, in directing all matters of Warre, which dissemblingly they would haue seemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their confederates: not permitting any of them to make Warre, whether offensive or defensive; though it were against meere strangers; without interposing the authoritie of the Senate and People of Rome: vnlesse peraduenture sometimes they winked at such violence, as did helpe towards the accomplishment of their owne secret malice. Now these Romane Arts howsoever many (for gainefull or timorous respects) would seeme to vnderstand them; yet were generally displeasing vnto all men endued with free spirits. Only the Athenians, once the most turbulent Citie in Greece, hauing neither subiects of their owne that might rebell, nor power wherewith to bring any into subiection; for want of more noble argument wherein to practise their eloquence that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations, were much delighted in flattering the most mighty. So they kept themselves in grace with the Romans, remained free from all trouble vntill the warre of *Mithridates*: being men vnfit for action, and thereby innocent; yet bearing a part in many great actions, as Gratulators of the Roman victories, and Pardon-crauers for the vanquished. Such were the Athenians become. As for those other Common-wealths and kingdomes, that with ouer-nice diligence stroue to preserve their liberties and lands, from consuming by piece-meale: they were to bee deuoured whole, and swallowed vp at once. Especially the Macedonian, as the most vnpliant, and wherein many of the Greeks began to haue affiance, was necessarily to be made an example, how much better it were to bow than to breake.

Neither *Perseus* nor the Romans were ignorant, how the Greeks at this time stood affected. *Perseus*, by reason of his neere neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce betweene them and his subiects, could not want good information, of all that might concerne him in their affaires. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which *Philopemen* had long since foretold, of the miserable subiection, wherinto Greece was likely to be reduced, by the Romane patronage. Indeed they not onely perceived the approaching danger, but as being tenderly sensible of their liberty, felt themselves

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themselves grieved with the present subiection, whereto already they were become obnoxious: Wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publike to fall out with the Romans: yet all of them had the care, to choose among themselves none other Magistrates, than such as affected the good of their Countrey, and would for no ambition, or other seuerall respect, be flatterers of the greatnesse which kept all in feare. Thus it seemed likely, that all domesticall conspiracies would soone be at an end, when honestie and loue of the Common-weale, became the fairest way to preferment. Of this carefull prouision for the safety of Greece, the Romans were not thoroughly aduertised: either because things were diligently concealed from their Embassadors, whom all men knew to be little better than Spies; or because little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by such Traitors, of whom euery citie in Greece had too many: as were men vnregarded among their owne people, and therefore more like to speake maliciously than truly, or perhaps because the Embassadors themselves, being all Senators, and capable of the greatest Office or charge, had no will to finde out other matter of trouble, than was fitting to their owne desires of employment. But it is hard to conceale that which many know, from those that are feared or flattered by many. The Achæans being to send Embassadors to Rome, that should both excuse them, as touching some point wherein they refused to obey the Senate; and informe the Senate better in the same businesse; chose one *Callierates*, among others, to goe in that Embassage. By their making choise of such a man, one may perceiue the aduantage, which mischieuous wretches, who commonly are forward in pursuing their vile desires, haue against the plain sort of honest men, that least earnestly thrust themselves into the troublesome businesse of the weale publike. For this *Callierates* was in such wise transported with ambition; that he chose much rather to betray his Countrey, than to let any other bee of more authoritie than himselfe therein. Wherefore in stead of well discharging his credence, and alleaging what was meetest in iustification of his people: he vttered a quite contrary tale; and strongly encouraged the Romans, to oppresse both the Achæans and all the rest of Greece, with a faire more heauy hand. He told the Senate, that it was high time for them, to looke vnto the feeling of their authority, among his froward Countreymen; if they meant not wholly to forgoe it. For now there was taken vp a custome, to stand vpon points of confederacie, and lawes: as if these were principally to bee regarded; any iniunction from Rome notwithstanding.

Hence grew it, that the Achæans both now, and at other times, did what best pleased themselves, and answered the Romans with excuses: as if it were enough to say, That by some condition of League, or by force of some Law, they were discharged, or hindered, from obeying the decrees of the Senate. This would not bee so, if hee, and some other of his opinion, might haue their wills: who ceased not to asseme, That no Columnes or Monument erected, nor no solemn oath of the whole Nation, to ratifie the obseruance of Confederacie or stature, ought to bee of force, when the Romans willed the contrary. But it was euen the fault of the Romans themselves, That the multitude refused to giue care vnto such persuasions. For howsoeuer in popular Estates, the sound of libertie vled to be more plausible, than any discourse tending against it: yet if they which vndertooke the maintenance of an argument, seeming neuer so bad, were sure by their so doing, to procure their owne good; the number of them would increase apace, & they became the preualent faction. It was therefore strange how the *Fathers* could so neglect the aduancement of those, that sought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the Roman maiesty. More wisely, though with seditious & rebellious purpose, did the Greeks: who many times, yea and ordinarily, conferred great honours, vpon men otherwise of little account or desert; only for hauing vttered some braue words against the Romans. The *Fathers* hearing these & the like reasons, wherewith he exhorted them to handle roughly those that were obstinate, and by cherishing their friends, to make their partie strong; resolved to follow this good counsaile, in very point; yea to depreesse all those that held with the right, and to set vp their owne followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to this end, they not onely dealt thenceforth more peremptorily with the Achæans, than had been their manner in former times; but wrote at the present vnto all citie of Greece, requiring them to see that their mandate (which was concerning the restitution of those that were banished out of Lacedæmon) should be fulfilled. Particularly in behalfe of *Callierates*; they aduised all men, to be such

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and so affected, as hee was, in their seuerall common-weales. With this dispatch, *Callierates* returned home a ioyfull man: hauing brought his Countrey into the way of ruine, but himselfe into the way of preferment. Neuertheless he forbore to vaunt himselfe; of his eloquence vled in the Senate. Onely hee so reported his Embassage, that all men became fearefull of the danger, wherewith he threatened those that should presume to oppose the Romans. By such arts he obtained to be made Prætor of the Achæans: in which Magistracie, as in all his courses following, he omitted nothing, that might serue to manifest his ready obsequiouse vnto those whom he had made his Patrons.

Now as the Romans by threatening termes won many flatterers, and lost as many true friends: so *Perseus* on the other side, thinking by liberall gifts, and hopefull promises, to assure vnto himselfe those that ill could brooke his enemies; got indeed a multitude of partakers, though little honestier than his enemies had. Thus were all the citie of Greece distracted with factions: some holding with the Romans; some with the Macedonian; and some few, respecting onely the good of the Estates, wherem they liued. Hereat the Lords of the Senate were highly offended; and thought it an indignitie not sufferable, That a king, no better than their vassall, should dare to become head of a faction against them. This therefore must be reckoned in the number of his trespasses: wherof if not any one alone, yet all of them together, shall afford them iust occasion to make warre vpon him. *Perseus* hauing finished his businesse among the Dolopians, made a iourney to *Apollis* his temple at Delphi. He tooke his Armie along with him; yet went, and returned in such peaceable and friendly wise, that no place was the worse for his iourney, but the good affection towards him generally increased thereby. With those that were in his way, he dealt himselfe; to such as lay further off, he sent Embassadors or letters: praying them, That the memory of all wrongs whatsoeuer, done by his father, might bee buried with his father; since his owne meaning was to hold friendship sincerely with all his neighbours. The Romans perhaps could haue beene pleased better, if hee had behaued himselfe after a contrary fashion, and done some acts of hostilitie in his passage. Yet as if he ought not to haue taken such a iourney, without their licence; this also was made a valuable matter, and cast into the heape of his faults. He laboured greatly to recouer the loue of the Achæans: which his father had so lost, that by a soleme decree, they forbade any Macedonian to enter their territories. It was ieaalous perhaps, no lesse than hatred, which caused them, at the first, to make such a decree. For howsoeuer *Philip* had by many vile acts, especially by the death of the two *Arati*, giuen them cause to abhorre him: yet in the publike administration of their estate, he had, for the more part, bene to them so beneficiall, that not without much adoe and at length, without any generall consent, they resolved to forsake him. Wherefore it was needfull, euen for preservation of concord among them, to vse all circumspection; that he might not, by his agents, negotiate, and hold intelligence with any, in a country, towards him so doubtfully affected: especially when by hearkening to his messages, they might make themselves suspected by their new friends. But the continuance of this decree, beyond the time of Warre, and when all danger of inuasion was past; was vnciuill, if not inhumane, as nourishing deadly hatred, without leauing means of reconciliation. And hereof the Achæans reaped no good fruit. For although they were not, in like sort, forbidden the kingdome of Macedonia: yet vnderstanding what would be due to them, if they should adventure thither, none of them durst set foot therein. Hence it came to passe, that their bondmen, knowing a safe harbour, out of which their matters could not fetch them, ranne daily away, in great numbers: exceedingly to the losse of such, as made of their slaves very profitable vse. But *Perseus* tooke hold vpon this occasion: as slyly seruing to pacifie those, whose enmity faime he would haue changed into loue. He therefore apprehended all those fugitiues, to send them home againe: and wrote vnto the Achæans, That as for good will vnto them, hee had taken paines to restore back their seruants; so should they doe very well to take order for keeping them, that hereafter they might not run away againe. His meaning was readily vnderstood, & his letters kindly accepted by the greater part, being openly rehearsed by the Prætor, before the Councel. But *Callierates* took the matter very angrily, and bade them be aduised what they did: for that this was none other, than a plaine deuice, to make them depart from the friendship of the Romanes. Heerewithall hee tooke vpon him, somewhat liberally, to make the Achæans before-hand acquainted with the Warre, that was coming vpon *Perseus* from Rome. Hee

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told them, how *Philip* had made preparations for the same warre; how *Demetrius* had bene made away, because of his good affection to the Romans; and how *Perseus* had, since his being King, done many things, tending to the breach of peace. Briefly hee rehearsed all those matters, which were afterwards alleged by the Romans; the invasion of the Bastarnæ, vpon the Dardaniens; the kings iourney against the Dolopians; his voyage to Delphi; & finally, his peaceable behaviour, which was (he said) a dangerous temptation of men to his party. Wherefore he aduised them, to expect the event of things, and not ouer-hastily to enter into any degree of friendship with the Macedonians. Heereto good answer was made by the Prætors brother: That *Callierates* was too earnest, in so light a matter; and that, being neither one of the kings cabinet, nor of the Roman Senate, he made himselfe too well acquainted with all that had passed, or was like to follow. For it was well knowne, that *Perseus* had renewed his league with the Romans; that he was by them saluted King, and friend to the Estate; and that he had louingly entertained their Embassadors: This being so: why might not the Achæans, as well as the Atolians, Theſſalians, Epirots, & all the Greeks, hold with him such correspondence, as common humanity required? Neuerthelesse *Callierates* was growne a man so terrible, by his Roman acquaintance, that they durst not ouer-lissely gainsay him. Therefore the matter was referred vnto further deliberation: and answer made the whilst, That since the king had onely sent a letter without an Embassage; they knew not how to resolve. Better it was to say thus, than that they were afraid to doe as they thought most reasonable and conuenient. But when *Perseus* herewith not contented, would needes vrge them further, and send Embassadors: then were they faine, without any good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, and deny to giue audience: which was prooue sufficient to one that could vnderstand of the condition wherein they liued. For harkening to this aduice of *Callierates*; they were soone after highly commended by a Roman Embassage: whereby it became apparant, that the Romans intended warre vpon the Macedonian; though hitherto no cause of warre was giuen.

## §. V.

Now *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus* was buffed with *Pharnaces*, the *Rhodiens* and others. His hatred to the Macedonian: whom he accuseth to the Roman Senate. The Senate honours him greatly, and condemnes his enemies the *Rhodiens*; with the causes thereof. The vniuersall stoutnesse of the Macedonian Embassadors. *Perseus* his attempt vpon *Eumenes*. The brotherly loue betwene *Eumenes* and *Attalus*. *Perseus* his device to payson some of the Roman Senators: whereupon they decree warre against him, and send him defiance. Other things, concerning the iustice of this warre.

Polyb. Legat. 56. &amp; 59.

*Eumenes* King of *Pergamus* had beenetroubled, about these times, by the Kings *Pharnaces* and *Mithridates* his neighbours. Hee had taken the right course; in making first his complaint to the Romans: by whom hee was animated with comfortable words, and promise. That they, by their authoritie, would end the businesse, to his content. But in conclusion, by the helpe of the Kings *Prusias* and *Ariarathes*, he ended the warre himselfe; and brought the Enemies to seeke and accept peace, on such conditions as pleased him to giue them. After this, being at good leisure, he began to consider, how the affaires of Macedon stood vnder *Perseus*. His hatred to *Perseus* was very great: and therefore he was glad to vnderstand, that the hatred of the Romans, to the same his Enemy, was as great, and withall notorious. Now besides his ancient and hereditarie quarrell with the Macedonian; it vexed him exceedingly, That his own honours (whereof the Greeks, prodigall in that kinde, had heaped immoderate store on his father and him) began to waxe euery where stale: whilst *Perseus*, either by his currying fauour, or by the emty bowe to the Romans. had gotten their best liking and wishes. For despite of this indignitie, He stirred vp the Lycians against the *Rhodiens* his old friends: and in helping the rebels was so violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, to open warre. But small pleasure found he, in these poore & indirect courtes of reuenge. The Lycians could not be saued by his patronage, from seuer and cruell chastisement, giuen to them by the *Rhodiens*. This rendered him contemptible: as likewise, his acts of hostilitie, little different from robberies, made him hatefull to those which loued him before. As for his honours in the Cities of Greece; they not onely continued falling

Polyb. Legat. 57.

falling into neglect; but were abrogated by a decree of the Achæans, as too vniuersally misbecoming them to giue, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his deservings. All this (which he needed not to haue regarded, had hee not bene too vainely ambitious) befall him, especially for his being ouer-feruicible to the Romans; and for his malice to that noble Kingdome, which if it fell, the liberty of Greece was not like to stand. Now for the redresse hereof; hee thought it in vaine to strue any longer with bounty, against such an aduersarie, as by hopefull promises alone, without any great performance, had ouer-topped him in the general fauour. And therefore he resolved euery to ouerturn the foundations of this popularitie, by inducing the Romans vterly to take away from the eyes of men, this Idol, The Macedonian kingdome, which all too vainely worshipped. Neither would it proue a difficult matter, to perswade those that were already desirous: rather he was like to be highly thanked, for setting forward their wishes; and perhaps to be recompenced with some piece of the kingdome, as he had bene rewarded, for the like seruice, when *Antiochus* was vanquished.

To this end he made a second voyage to Rome: where though hee had little to say which they knew not before; yet his words were heard with such attention, as if they had contained some strange noueltie, and so pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of them were to turne the ballance, that before was equall. The death of *Demetrius*, the expedition of the Bastarnæ into Dardania; that of *Perseus* himselfe against the Dolopians, and to Delphi, the great estimation of the Macedonian in Greece; his intermeddling in businesse of neighbours; his riches, and his great prouisions: were all the materiall points of *Eumenes* his discourse. Only he descended into particulars, hauing searched into all (as he professed) like vnto a Spie. Hee said, that *Perseus* had thirty thousand foot, and sixethousand Horse, of his owne; money in a readinesse to entertaine ten thousand Mercenaries for ten yeeres; armes, to furnish a number thrice as great; The Thracians his friends at hand, ready, at a call, to bring him Souldiers as many as hee should require; and that he prepared victuals for ten yeeres, because he would not be driuen, either to liue vpon spoyle, or to take from his owne Subjects. He grew withall hee prayed them to consider, that king *Seleucus* the sonne and successeur of *Antiochus* the Great, had giuen his daughter *Laodice* in marriage to *Perseus*; *Perseus* not wooing, but *Seleucus* offering the match; That king *Prusias* of Bythynia, by earnest suite, had gotten to wife the sister of *Perseus*; and that these marriages were solemnized with great concourse of Embassadors from all quarters. Neither spared he to tell them, (though seeming loath to vtter it plainly) That euery the enuie of their Estate was the cause, why many that could not endure to heare of amitie with *Philip*, were now growne maruellously well affected to his sonne. All this, and some facts of *Perseus*, which might either be denied, or iustified (as, that he had procured the death of some which were friends to the Romans, & that he had expelled *Abrypolis* the Illyrian, who invaded Macedon, out of his Kingdome, or Lordship) *Eumenes* failed not to amplify vnto the most: saying that he thought it his dutie to forewarne them; since it would be to himselfe a great shame, if *Perseus* got the staff of him, and were in Italie making warre vpon the Romans, ere *Eumenes* could come thither to tell them of the danger.

It were too great folly, to beleecue that the Romans stood in feare of *Perseus*, lest hee should set vpon them in Italie. Neuerthelesse forasmuch as they loued not to make war without faire pretence, not onely of wrong done to them or their associates, but of further hurt intended: great thanks were giuen to *Eumenes*, who had euery way furnished them with such goodly colour, to beautifie their intentment. Now though it were so that hee told them little else than what they knew before: yet his person, and the manner of his comming, made all seeme greater. For if vpon any relation made by their owne Embassadors, or vpon tales deuised by their flatterers and spies, they had warred against *Perseus*, ere he had committed any open act of hostilitie against them; their iniustice, and oppression, would haue bene most manifest. But when the wrongs to them done were so notorious, and the danger threatening them so terrible; that such a Prince as *Eumenes*, came out of his owne Kingdome, as faire as from Asia, to bid them looke to themselves; who could blame them, if they tooke the speediest order to obtaine their owne right and securitie? Toward this iustification of the warre, and magnifying the necessity that enforced them thereto; their more than vniuersall curiositie, in concealing what *Eumenes* had vttered in the Senate, when they could not but vnderstand that his errand

was well knowne, helped not a little. The Macedonian and Rhodian Embassadors were at Rome, provided of answers to the words, which they knew before-hand that he would speake; and with matter of recrimination. The vanity, either of Him, or of some about him, seemed to have disclosed all: when the wariness of the *Fathers*, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable shew of some fearfull apprehension; against which, it behoued their wisdom to neglect no possible remedie. Wherefore carelesse audience was giuen to the Rhodian Embassadors, who accused *Eumenes*, as one more troublesome to Asia, than *Antiochus* had euer bene, and a prouoker of the Lycians to rebellion. The Rhodians had with great pompe, conuicged by sea vnto *Perseus*, his bride *Laudice*; which friendly office as the Macedonian bountifullly required, so the Romans despihtfully accepted. Hence it grew, that when the Lycians, as already vanquished, were setting themselves in their obedience to the people of Rhodes: Embassadors came from Rome with strange news, which gaue new life to the rebellion. For the Senate pronounced, That it stood not with the manner of the Romans, to aliene quite from their owne protection any people or Nation by them vanquished; and that the Lycians were by them assigned vnto those of Rhodes, not as meere vassals, but as dependants and associates. For proofe hereof, they referred themselves vnto the commentaries of the tenne Embassadors, whom they had sent to dispose of things in Asia, after the victory against king *Antiochus*. Hereat *Eumenes*, *Masani*, the *Ætoli*ans, and all other Kings or Estates, that were beholding to Rome for increasing the number of their subiects, had cause to finde themselves agrieved if they well considered the matter: since by force of this or the like decree, those their subiects might easily be made their followes, whensoever it should please the Senate: though it were so, that all men knew the present meaning of the Senate, which was onely to plague the Rhodians, for their good wil to *Perseus*, by setting them and the Lycians together by the eares. The *Fathers* could therefore see no reason to dislike *Eumenes*, vpon this complaint made by the Rhodian Embassadors, which indeed more neerely touched themselves. Rather they honoured the king so much the more: for that others (as they would needs take it) conspired against him, because of his loue to Rome.

But the Macedonian Embassage they heard not so carelesly as angrily: though per-<sup>39</sup> uenture it well contented them to finde cause of anger. For whereas at other times all cares had bene taken, to pacifie them with gentle words and excuses: now heard they plainer language, and were told, That king *Perseus* desired much to giue them satisfaction, concerning any deed or word of his, that might fauour of hostility; but that, if his trouble in this kinde proued vaine, then would he be ready to defend himselfe by armes, and stand to the chance of warre, which often falls out contrarie to expectation. These bigge words may seeme to haue proceeded from the vehemencie of *Harpalus*, that was chiefe of the Embassadors; rather than from instruction giuen by the king, with whose faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reason, why *Perseus* himselfe might, at this time, thinke to speed better by a shew of daring, than he was like to do by any submission. For the eyes of all Greece being now cast vpon him, as on the greatest hope of deliuerance from the Roman seruitude; it was not expedient, that he should lessen, or perhaps utterly cut off, the generall expectation, and the good affection borne to him, which thereon depended, by discovering his too much weaknesse of spirit, vnanuerable to a worke of such importance. Wherefore He, or his Embassador for him, was hold to set a good countenance on a game not very bad, but subiect (in appearance) to fortune; which might haue bene his, had he knowne how to vse it.

Now that this brauery (as better it may be termed than courage) proceeded from the kings owne heat; it appears by his daring to aduenture soone after, on a practice that more iustly might anger the Romans, and giue them fairer shew of reason to make warre vpon him. It was knowne that *Eumenes*, in turning home, would take Delphi in his way, and there doe sacrifice to *Apollo*. *Perseus* deadly hating him, and thirsting after his blood, resolu'd to way-lay him, and by making there of him a sacrifice, to rid his owne hands of a most mischieuous enemy. So there were appointed three or foure stout ruffians to doe the murder: who placing themselves, behinde a broken mud wall, on the side of a very narrow path leading vp from the Sea to the Temple; did thence assault the King; whom they sorely bruiled with great stones, and left for dead. They might haue finished their worke; such was the opportunitie of the place which they had chosen; but feare of being

being apprehended, made them, without staying to see all sure, flee in such haste, that they killed one of their owne companions, who could not hold pace with them, because hee should not discouer them. *Eumenes* was conuicged away to the little Ile of *Ægina*, where he was cured: being all the while kept so secretly, that the fame of his death was current in Asia. Hence it came, that his brother *Attalus* tooke vpon him as King, & either tooke or would haue taken to wife (supposing it belike a matter of State) *Stratonice* the daughter of King *Ariarathes*, whom he then thought the widow of *Eumenes*. It may well be numbred among the rare examples of brotherly loue; That when the King returned aliue home, *Attalus* going forth to meet him and doe his dutie, as in former times, receiued none other checke, than that hee should forbear to marrie with the Queen, vntill <sup>10</sup> hee were well assured of the Kings death. More than this, *Eumenes* neuer spake of these matters; but bequeathed at his death, vnto the same brother, both his wife and Kingdome. As likewise *Attalus* forbore to attempt any thing to the preiudice of the King his brother: though the Romans (with whom he continued and grew in speciall fauour, when *Eumenes* fell into their hatred) were in good readinesse, to haue transferred the Kingdome from his brother to him. By such concord of brethren was the Kingdome of Pergamus raised and vpheld: as might also that of Macedon haue been, if *Demetrius* had liued and employed his grace with the Romans, to the benefit of *Perseus*.

It is likely that *Perseus* was very glad when he vnderstood, that his ministers had both accomplished his will, and had saued all from discouerie. But as he was decieued in the maine point, and heard shortly after, that *Eumenes* liued: so was hee beguiled in that other hope, of the concealment; which he vainly esteemed the lesse materiall. For hee had writte into one *Praxo* a Gentlewoman of Delphi, to entertain the men whom he sent about this business: and she, being apprehended by *C. Valerius* a Roman Embassador then attending vpon the matters of Greece, was carried to Rome. Thus all came to light. *Valerius* also brought with him to Rome, out of Greece, one *Rammius* a Citizen of Brundisium: who coming newly from the Court of Macedon, laden with a dangerous secret, had presently fought out the Embassador, and therof discharged himselfe. Brundisium was the ordinary Port, for ships passing between Italy and Greece. There had <sup>30</sup> *Rammius* a faire house; wherein he gaue entertainment, being a wealthy man, to Embassadors, and other honourable personages, both Romans and Macedonians, journeying to and fro. By occasion of such his hospitality, he was commended to *Perseus*, and inuited into Macedon with friendly letters; as one, whose many courtesies to his Embassadors, the King was studious to requite. At his coming he was much made of; and shortly, with more familiaritie than he expected or desired, made partaker of the kings secrets. The summe of all was, That he must needs doe a turne, in giuing to such of the Romans as the king should hereafter name, a poyson of rare quality, sure in operation, yet not to be perceived either in the taking or afterward. Hee durst not refuse to accept this employment: for feare lest the vertue of this medicine should be tryed vpon himselfe. But being once <sup>40</sup> at liberty; he discouered all. *Rammius* was but one man, and one whom the king had neuer seene before, nor was like to see againe: and therefore, besides that the kings deniall ought to be as good as such a fellowes affirmation, the accusation was improbable. Thus did *Perseus*, in time shortly following, answer for himselfe; and in like sort concerning the attempt vpon *Eumenes*: denying to haue had any hand, either in the one or other: yet withall professing, That such obiectiōns were not to be made vnto a king, to proue the rightfulness of making warre vpon him; but rather vnto a subiect pleading for his life in iudgement. But howsoever the Romans neglected the getting of stronger proofe (which might haue bene easie) than any that wee finde by them produced: yet the base & cowardly temper of *Perseus* was very suteable to these practices. Neither did <sup>50</sup> the Senate greatly stand to dispute the matter with him: these his treacheries being held inexcusable. And as for his Royall Estate, wherein he supposed that they ought not to touch him for such priuate offences, it gaue him no priuiledge: they iudging him to haue offended in the nature of a king. Herein surely they wanted not good reason. For if hee might not lawfully make warre vpon *Eumenes* their confederate; that is, if hee might not send men, to waste the kingdome of Pergamus, or to besiege the Townes: might he send Ruffians to murder the king? If it were no lesse breach of the league to destroy the Senators by fire or famine, than by violence of the sword: was it lawfull for him to doe it

it by poyfon? Wherefore they prefently decreed warre againſt him; and ſent Embaſſadours to denounce it vnto him, unleſſe hee would yeeld to make ſuch amends as they ſhould require. He ſeemed at this time to haue benee ſo confident in the generall fauour of Greece, and other comfortable appearances; that if he deſired not warre, yet he did not feare it: or at leaſt he thought by ſhew of courage, to make his enemies more calme. He cauſed the Embaſſadours to dance attendance, till being weary, they departed without audience. Then called he them backe; and bade them doe their errand. They made a tedious rehearſall of all matters, which they had long bene collecting againſt him, and wherewith *Eumenes* had charged him: adding thereto, that hee had entertained long and ſecret conference in the Ile of Samothrace, with Embaſſadours ſent to him out of Aſia, about ſome ill purpoſe. In regard of all which they peremptorily required ſatisfaction; as was their manner when they intended to giue defiance. Better they might haue ſtood vpon the euidence, brought againſt him by *Riminius* and *Præco*. For if thoſe accuſations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground whereon to build: of which otherwiſe they were deſtitute; it being no fault in a King, to be ſtrong, well-beloued, and well friended. *Perſeus* answered, for the preſent, in a rage; calling the Romans, Greedy, Proud, Insolent, and vnderminers of him by their daily Embaſſadors, that were no better than meere ſpies. Finally, he promiſed to giue them in writing their full answer: which was to this effect; That he would no longer ſtand to the league, made betwene them and his father, and renewed by himſelfe indeed onely for feare: but willed them to deſcend to more equall conditions, whereupon he, for his part, would aduiſe, as they might alſo doe for theirs.

Polyb. Legat. 9.

Lind. 33.

In the forme of the league betwene *Philip* and the Romans, as it is ſet downe by *Polybius*, we finde no condition, binding the Macedonian to any inconuenience in the future, excepting thoſe which he immediately performed. But *Liuie* inſerts a claule, whereby he was expreſly forbidden, to make any war abroad, without leaue of the Romans. It is moſt likely, that all the Roman confederates were included in this peace: whereby euery one of the neighbours round about Macedon, entring ſhortly into league with Rome, did ſo binde the Kings hands, that he could no more make warre abroad, than if he had bene reſtrained by plaine covenant. And thus might that ſeeme an Article of the peace, which neuer was agreed vpon, but onely was inferred by conſequence. Now if the Romans would vrge this point further, and ſay, that the Macedonian might not beare deſenſiue armes, without their permiſſion: then had *Perſeus* very iuſt reaſon to finde himſelfe aggrieved. For ſince they had allowed his father, without controule, to make warre in Thrace, (whileſt they themſelues were vnacquainted with the Thracians) and elſewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence: why ſhould they now interpret the bargain after another faſhion? Was it now become vnlawfull for him to chaſtiſe his owne Rebels, or to repay an Illyrian that invaded Macedon? By ſuch allegations hee maintained the right of his cauſe, in very milde ſort; when it was too late. At the preſent, by diſclaiming the league as vniuſt; he miniſtered occaſion vnto the Embaſſadours, to giue him defiance. Hauing heard the worſt of their meſſage; he commanded them to be gone out of his kingdom in three dayes. But either he ſhould haue bene leſſe vehement, or more conſtant in his reſolution. For if his heart could ſerue him to vndertake the warre; hee ſhould courageouſly haue managed it, and haue fallen to worke immediately, whileſt the Enemy was vnprepared; not haue loſt opportunitie, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a worſe peace than the former.

§. VI.

## §. VI.

The Romans ſolicit the Greekes, ſo ioyne with them in the warre againſt *Perſeus*. How the Greekes ſhook affected in that warre. The Timorauſneſſe of *Perſeus*. *Martius* a Roman Embaſſador deludes him with hope of Peace. His forces. He takes the field, and winnes part of *Threſſaly*. The forces of *Licinius* the Roman Conſul: and what aſſiſtants the Romans had in this warre. Of *Tempe* in *Threſſaly*, and what advantages the Macedonian had, or might haue had; but loſt by his feare. *Perſeus* branes the Romans; fights with them; knowes not how to uſe his victorie; ſues for Peace, and is denied it by the vngoverned. *Perſeus* hauing the worſe in a ſkirmiſh, forſakes all the Countrey lying without *Tempe*.  
 10 The *Bæotians* rebell againſt the Romans, and are rigorouſly puniſhed. The Roman Commanders unfortunate in the warre againſt *Perſeus*. They vex the Greekes their friends; for whoſe eaſe the Senate makes prouiſion, hauing heard their complaints. The flattering *Alabanders*.

SO long had the Romans benee ſeeking occaſion to take in hand this Macedonian war, that well might they haue benee ready for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behinde hand in prouiſions. But it was on a ſudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences to make the warre: whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together ſeemed more than ſufficient. This opportunitie of making their cauſe honeſt in common opinion, was not to be neglected: though otherwiſe they were vnprepared for the action. Wherefore knowing, or hauing reaſon to beleue, that their owne ſtrength was ſuch as would preuaile in the end; they haſtily embraced the faire occaſion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of Time. Neither was this their vnreadineſſe a ſmall helpe, towards examining the diſpoſition of the Greekes, and others; who muſt afterwards dearely pay for any backwardneſſe found in their good will. There was not indeed any cauſe to feare, that all of the Greekes or other Eaſterne people ſhould conſpire together, and take part with the Macedonian: ſuch was the diſſention betwene their ſeueral Eſtates; how ſouer the generalitie of them were enclined the ſame way. Neuertheleſſe Embaſſadours were ſent to deale with them all; and to craue their helpe againſt *Perſeus*, or rather to demand it, in no leſſe ample manner, than heretofore they had yeelded it againſt *Philip* and *Antiochus*, in warres pretending the liberty of Greece. The Embaſſadours yled as gentle words for faſhions ſake, as if they had ſtood in doubt, that their requeſt might happen to be denied. But the Greekes were now growne well acquainted with ſuch Roman courteſie: and vnderſtood that not only ſuch as made reſuſall, but euen they who might ſeeme to haue granted halfe vnwillingly, were liſt to heare other manner of words, when once this buſineſſe was ended. Wherefore none of them were ſcrupulous in promiſſing the beſt of their helpe to the Romans: the *Achæans* and *Rhodians*, which were chiefe among them, being rather doubtfull, euen when they had done their beſt, left it ſhould be ill taken, as if they had halted in ſome part of their dutie. It is ſtrange, that men could be ſo earneſt to ſet vp the ſide, whereof they gladly would haue ſcene the mine. The vulgar ſort was euery where addicted to *Perſeus*; of the Nobles and Rulers, if ſome were vehemently Roman, they wanted not oppoſers, that were wholly Macedonian; yea, the wiſeſt and moſt honeſt, who regarded onely the benefit of their Countrey, wiſhed better to *Perſeus* than to the Romans. And of this number, *Polybius* the chiefe of Hiſtorians was one: who though hee iudged the victory of *Perſeus*, like to proue hurtfull vnto Greece; yet willed hee the Romans ill to thriue, that ſo the Greekes might recouer perfect libertie: for his endeouours in which courſe, he was at length tyrannically handled, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter. This conſidered, it appeares, that an extraordinary feare, and not onely reuerence of the Imperial City, made the *Achæans* and other Eſtates of Greece, thus conformable to the Romans. The occaſion of this their feare, may be iuſtly imputed vnto the timorous demeanour of *Perſeus* himſelfe. He had vnderaken a warre, whereof the beſt ſhould redound, not onely to his owne kingdom, but vnto all that were oppreſſed by the Romans. Yet no ſooner were ſome few companies brought over-ſea, to make a countenance of meaning ſomewhat againſt him, than he began to ſpeak the enemy faire, and ſue for Peace at Rome. Since therefore it was knowne, that euery ſmall thing would ſerue to terrifie him; & conſequently, that it ſhould at all times be in the Romans power,  
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\* Polyb. Legat. 72, 73. &amp; 84.

\* Polyb. Legat. 77.

by giuing: in many tolerable conditions of peace, to take reuenge at leisure vpon those which had assisted him: little cause was there, why any should adventure to partake with him. He made indeed a great noise; leading about his armie; taking by force or composition, some few Townes; and solliciting all to ioyne with him: But wise men could not be so beguiled. For at the same time, hee sought all meanes of pacification: and to that end, made humble suit vnto the Roman Embassadors. *Q. Martius*, the chiefe of those Embassadors, and a man of more finenesse in conning than was vsuall among the Romans; made shew of inclination to the Kings desire: and gaue out such comfortable words, that the king intreated, and obtained a meeting at the River Peneus. There did *Martius* Very gently rebuke the king, and charge him with those crimes that are before mentioned: Whereto though *Perseus* made none other answer, than the same which they could haue made for him; yet the Embassadors, and especially *Martius*, tooke it in good part, as therewith satisfied; and aduised him to giue the like satisfaction to the Senate. That this might conueniently bee done; a truce was agreed vpon. Thus had *Martius* his desire; which was, to make the king lose time. For *Perseus* had all things then in readinesse, and might haue done much, ere the Roman Armie could haue bene in Greec. But by the interposition of this truce, hee no way increased his forces; hee suffered a most conuenient season, of winning vpon the enemy, to slip away; and obtained in recompence nothing else, than leisure and vaine hope. Yet was he pleased therewith, as it had bene with some victory: publishing a copie of the disputation betweene 20 him and the Romans, wherby he gaue men to vnderstand, how much he had the better, and what hope there was of Peace. He sent Embassadors also to the Rhodians, of whose good will to him he was best perswaded; not onely to let them know how much he was superior in cause; but to intreat them, that they would take vpon them, as moderators, to compound the differences betweene him and the Romans, if perhaps, notwithstanding the goodnessse of his cause, hee should be denied peace. These were poore helpes. For hereby it appeared, that his lye standing vpon point of Honour, was no better than meere vanity: his owne safety being the vmoost of his ambition. This his fearefulness might seeme excusable, and the blame thereof to appertaine vnto the Greekes; who deceived his expectation, by being wanting to him in time of a necessitie, that was partly 30 of his owne: had it not bin his office, who tooke vpon him as their Champion; to giue such a manly beginning to the warre, as might encourage all others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more averse from him; and were careful, not to put their shoulders to a falling wall. The Rhodians, among whom he had many stout partizans; desired him not to craue any thing at their hands, in which they might seeine to do against the good liking of the Romans. The Boeotians also, who had entred of late into a strict societie with the Macedonians; renounced it now, and made the like with the Romans: to whom further, in a soone, they yielded themselves as vassals. Neither was *Martius* contented to accept their submission vnder a generall forme; but caused their severall Townes to make themselves apart, each for it selfe; to the end, that being thus distracted into many little Common-wealthes, they might not sweare they neuer so desirous to rebel, haue such force to doe him; as when they agreed, and were incorporated in one, vnder the Citie of Thebes. This worke, of separating the Boeotians from Thebes their head, was more than *Agesilaus* could effect, or *Epaminondas* would suffer, then when all Greece followed the Lacedaemonians. So far more available to Thebes, being destitute of helpe from abroad; was the vertue of *Epaminondas* and a few braue Citizens; than was the societie with king *Perseus*, against a number nor so great as followed the Lacedaemonians.

*Martius* brought this to effect, whilst the king sat still, as being bound by the truce: and having done this, he returned to the Citie, where vaunting what he had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and though some reprooned it as dishonestly employed againe by the Senate, with commission to deale as he should thinke expedient. Touching the Embassadors which *Perseus* had sent; and howe was giuen to them, for that they should not plainly see how their Master was deluded: but neither excuse, nor intreatie would serue their turne; the Senate being resolved before-hand what to doe. It was enough that they were admitted into the Citie; & had thirty dayes respite allowed them to depart out of Italy: whereas they who came last on the same errand, did their message without the walls, in the Temple of *Pellona*, the vsuall place of giuing audience to open

open enemies, or to such Commanders, as might not, by reason of some custome, enter the Citie; and had onely the short warning of eleuen dayes, to be gone out of Italy. Neither did this poore courtesie serue onely to hide the craft of *Martius*, as if he had meant none other than good earnest; but it was a likely meane, both to keep a long while from *Perseus* the knowledge of his businesse, and to stagger his resolution, when hee should need it most firme.

And accordingly it fell out. For *Licinius* the Romane Consul, was at Apollonia, in a manner as soon, as the Macedonian Embassadors were with their king at Pella. Which, though it were enough to haue roused *Perseus*, and haue made him lay aside all cowardly hope of getting pardon: yet was he contented to deliberate a while, Whether it were not better to offer himself tributary to the Romans, and to redeem their good will with some part of his kingdome, that so hee might enioy the rest; than to put all at once to hazard: But finally, the stoutest counsel prevailed; which also was the wisest, and so would haue proved, had it bene stoutly and wisely followed. Hee now beganne, as if the warre had not begunne vntill now, to doe what should haue bin done long afore. He caused all his forces to be drawne together; and appointed their Rendezvous at Cition, a Towne in Macedon. All being in readinesse, he did royall sacrifice, with an hundred beasts, to know not what *Minerva*, that was peculiarly honoured in his Country: and then with all his Courtiers, and those of his guard, set forward to Cition. His armie 10 he found consisting of nine and thirty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, whereof about twelue thousand foot, and a thousand horse, were strangers of sundry nations, most part Thracians; the rest of his owne Macedonians. These hee animated with liuely speeches; laying before them the glory of their ancestors, the insolencie of the Romans, the goodnessse of his cause, the greatnessse of his prouisions, and the many advantages which they had of the Enemy, especially in numbers. They answered him cheerfully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all cities of Macedon there came likewise messengers, offering to helpe him with money and victuals, according to their feuerall abilities. He gaue them thanks: but answered, That his own prouisions would abundantly suffice, willing them onely to furnish him with carts, for his engines and munition.

Out of his owne kingdome he issued forth into Thessalie: knowing that the Romans were to passe through that Country, in their iourney towards him. Some Townes of Thessalie opened their gates vnto him, without making offer to defend themselves; some he balked, thinking them too strong or well manned; and some he wonne by force. Of these last was *Mylae*; a Towne thought impregnable, & therefore, not more stoutly than proudly defended by the inhabitants, who gaue contumelious language to the assailants. It was taken by reason of a fallie; which the Townesmen rashly made, and being driuen backe, receiued the Macedonians, that entred pell mell with them at the gate. All cruelty of war was practised here: to the greater terror of the obstinate. So Velatie and Connus (townes of much importance, especially Connus, which stood in the streights of 40 Ossa, leading into Tempe) yielded at the first. Having well fortified this passage, the king marched onwards to Sycurium, a town seated on the foot of mount Ossa; where he rested a while, expecting newes of the Enemy.

*Licinius* the Consul brought with him onely two Roman Legions: being promised other strength of auxiliaries, which was thought sufficient. *Eumenes* and *Attalus* his brother came to him in Thessalie, with foure thousand foot, and a thousand horse. Thither also came, from euery part of Greece, such aide as the feuerall Estates could afford, or thought expedient to send: which from the most of them was very little. Of the Kings abroad; *Masaniassa* sent thither his sonne *Misagenes*, with a thousand foot, as many horse, and two and twenty Elephants. *Artabates* the Cappadocian, by reason of his affinity with *Eumenes*, was friend to the Romans, and had sent to Rome his yong sonne, there to be brought vp: yet he did little or nothing in this warre; perhaps because *Eumenes* himselfe beganne within a while, but when it was too late, to be otherwise aduised than he had bene in the beginning. *Prusias* was content to be a looker on: as being allied to *Perseus*, and yet fearing the Romans. *Antiochus* and *Prolemis* (though *Prolemis* was then yong, and vnder Tutors) had businesse of their owne; the Syrian meaning to invade the Egyptian: yet each of them promised helpe to the Romans, which they cared not to perform. *Gentius* the Illyrian was inclinable to the Macedonians,



yet made good countenance to the Romans, for feare. It was a pretty trick, wherewith *M. Lucetius*, the Roman Admirall brother, serued him, for this his counterfeited good wil. This king had foure and fiftie ships, riding in the haue of Dyrrachium, vncertaine to what purpose: all which *Lucetius* tooke away, after a very kind sort, making shew to beleue, That for none other end than to serue the Romans, their good friend *Gentius* had sent thither this fleet. But what fouer *Gentius* thought in the beginning, he foolishly lost both his kingdom and himselfe, in the end of this warre; by offering, rather than giuing, his helpe to *Perseus*.

With none other company than what hee brought ouer the sea, *Licinius* came into Thessalie: so tyred with a painefull iourney, through the mountainous Countie of A-<sup>10</sup> thamania, which stood in his way from Epirus; that if *Perseus* had been ready, attending his descent into the Plaines, the Romans must needs haue taken a great ouertrow. Hee refreshed himselfe and his wearied armie, by the riuer Peneus; where he encamped, attending his auxiliaries, that came in as fast as they could. It was not any slender helpe, that could enable him to deale with *Perseus*. Therefore he resolved, to abide where hee then was, and keepe his trenches, vntill his numbers were sufficiently increased: contenting himselfe in the meane while, to haue gotten quiet entrance into the countie. The land of Thessalie, in which these two armies lay, was better affected to the Romans, than any part of Greece besides: as hauing bene freed by them from a more heauy yoke of bondage to the Macedonian, when there was little hope or expectation of such a be-<sup>20</sup> nefit. It was generally rich, fruitfull, and abounding in all things needfull to mans life. In the midst of it, but somewhat more to the East, was that beautifull valley of Tempe, so exceedingly full of all delights, that the name was often vsed at large, to signifie the most pleasant and goodly places. This valley of it selfe was not great: but adding to it those huge mountains Ossa & Olympus (famous in Poesie) with their Spurres or Branches, by which it was on all sides enclosed, it occupied the better part of Thessalie. And this way were the Romans to enter into Macedon; vntill they would make an hungry iour-<sup>30</sup> ney, thorow the countie of the Dassaretians, as in the former warre with *Philip*, they had long, in vaine, attempted to doe. *Perseus* therefore had no small aduantage, by being master of the streights leading into Tempe: though farre greater he might haue had, if by mis-spending of time he had not lost it. For if in defending the ragged passages of these mountains, he were able to put the Romans often to the worke; yea to winne vpon them (for a while) ieuery yeere more than other, both in strength and reputation; questionlesse he might haue done farre greater things, had he seized vpon the streights of Aons, which his father once kept, and defended all the Countrey behind the mountains of Pindus. Surely not without extreme difficultie, must the Romans haue either trauelled by land, with all their carriages and impediments, through places wherein was no reliefe to be found; or else haue committed their armies, and all things thereto needfull, vnto the mercie of Seas that were very dangerous; if hee would haue sought other way into Macedon, than through the heart of Greece: vpon neither of which courses<sup>40</sup> they once desired; notwithstanding any trouble which they found in this present warre. It may perhaps bee said, that the Greekes, and others, whom the King must haue left on his backe, would haue made him vnable to defend any places too far from his owne home. But they were all, excepting the Thessalians, better affected now to him, than they had bin to his father in the former warre. The Aetolians, vpon whom the Athamanians depended, grew into suspicion with the Romans (as we shall finde anon) euen as soone as they met with *Perseus*. The Boeotians, how politickly fouer *Marius* had wrought with them, aduantaged themselves desperately in the Macedonian quarrell: what would they haue done, if hee at first had done his best? The Rhodi-<sup>50</sup> ans, Ilyrians, yea and *Eumenes* himselfe, after a while began to wauer, when they saw things goe better with *Perseus*, than they had expected. So that if in stead of discouraging his friends, by suing basely for peace; he had raised their hopes, by any braue performance in the beginning; and increased the number of his well-willers, yea & bought downe with money (as he might haue done) some of his enemies, and among them, *Eumenes*, who offered for good recompence, to forget his broken head: then might the Romans perhaps haue bin compelled to forsake their imperious patronage ouer Greece; & to render the liberty, by them giuen, entire; which otherwise was but imaginaty. Such benefit of this war, since it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reason haue bin expected

expected at first, from greater aduantages. But as a fearefull companie running from their enemies, till some riuer stay their flight; are there compelled by meere desperati-<sup>10</sup> on to doe such acts, as done, while the battell lasted, would haue won the victory: so fell it out with *Perseus*. In seeking to auoid the danger of that warre, wherof he should haue fought the honour, he left his friends that would haue stood by him, & gaue them cause to prouide for their owne safety: yet being ouertaken by necessity, hee chose rather to set his backe to the mountains of Tempe, & defend himself with his proper forces; than to be driuen into such miserie, as was inevitable, if he gaue a little further ground. What was performed by him or the Romans, all the while that hee kept his footing in Thessa-<sup>20</sup> lie, it is hard to shew particularly, for that the history of those things is much perished. Wherefore we must be contented with the summe.

The Consul hauing no desire to fight, vntill such time as all his forces were arriued; kept within his trenches, & lay still encamped by the Riuer of Peneus, about three miles from Larissa. That which perswaded the Consul to protract the time, did contrariwise incite the King, to put the matter vnto a hasty triall. Wherefore he inuited the Romans into the field; by waisting the land of the Phœræans their confederates. Finding them patient of this indignitie; he grew bold to aduerture euen vnto their trenches: out of which if they issued, it was likely, that his aduantage in horse would make the victory his owne. At his comming they were troubled; for that it was sudden: yet no way terri-<sup>30</sup> fied; as knowing themselves to be safely lodged. They sent out a few of King *Eumenes* his horse, and with them some light armed foot, to entertaine skirmish. The Captaine, and some other of these were slaine: but no matter of importance done, for that neither *Licinius*, nor *Eumenes*, found it reasonable to hazzard battell. Thus day after day, a while together, *Perseus* continued offering battaile: which they still refused. Herby his bold-<sup>40</sup> nesse much increased; and much more his reputation: to the grieue of those who being so farre come to make a Conquest, could ill digest the shame, that fell vpon them by their enduring these brauadoes. The Towne of Sycurium, where *Perseus* then lay, was twelue miles from the Romans: neither was there any conuenient watering in that long march, which vsed to take vp foure houres of the morning; but hee<sup>50</sup> was faine to bring water along with him in carts, that his men might not bee both weary and thirsty when they came to fight. For remedy of these inconueniences, hee found out a lodging, seven miles neerer to the enemy: whom hee visited the next day by the Sunne rising. His comming at such an vnusuall houre, filled the Campe with tumult: in so much as though he brought with him onely his horse and light armature, that were vnfit to assaile the trenches, yet the Consul thought it necessarie, and resolved to giue checke to his pride. Wherefore hee sent forth his brother *C. Licinius*, King *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and many braue Captaines, with all his power of horse, his Velites, and all the rest of his light armature, to trie their fortune: hee himselfe remaining in the Campe, with his Legions in readinesse. The honour of this morning, was the Macedonian Kings; for he obtained the victory in a manner entire (though the Thessalians made<sup>60</sup> a good retrait) with little losse of his owne. But hee discovered his weakenesse ere night, by hearkening, as Princes commonly doe, to counsaile giuen by one of his owne tem-<sup>70</sup> per. For whereas the Romans were in great feare lest he should assault their campe, and to that purpose, vpon the first newes of his successe, his Phalanx was brought vnto him by the Captaines, though vnfit for: he neuerthelesse tooke it for found aduice, which indeed was timorous and base, To worke warily, and moderate his victory; by which means it was said, that either he should get honest conditions of peace, or at leastwise many companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like, that his good fortune would ex-<sup>80</sup> alt the hope and courage of his friends. Yet had it bene greater, and had hee wonne the Roman Campe, his friends would haue bene the more, and the bolder. But ouer-great was his folly, in hoping then for peace: and in suing for it, euen when he had the victo-<sup>90</sup> ry, what else did hee, than proclaime vnto all which would become his partakers, that neither good nor bad fortune should keep him from yielding to the Romans, when soe-<sup>100</sup> uer they would be pleased to accept him? At this time the ioy of his victory would ad-<sup>110</sup> mine none of these considerations. Hee had slaine of the Roman horse two hundred, and taken of them prisoners the like number. Of their foot hee had slaine about two thousand; losse of his owne no more than twenty horse and fortie foot. The Roman Campe, after this disaster, was full of heauinesse and feare: it being much doubted that<sup>120</sup> the



the enemy would set vpon it: *Enmenes* gaue counsaile to dislodge by night, and remouee to a surer place beyond the Riuer *Pencus*. The Consul, though ashamed to professe, by so doing; in what feare he stood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the losse past, than by standing on proud termes, to draw vpon himselfe a greater calamitie. So hee passed the Riuer in the dead of the night, and encamped more strongly on the further side. The *Atolians* were forely blamed for this losse: as if rather a trayterous meaning, than any true feare, had occasioned their flight, wherein therest of the *Greeks* followed them. Five of them that were men of especiall make, had beene obserued to bee the first which turned their backs: an obseruation likely to cost them deare, at a time of better leisure. As for the *Thebians*, their vertue was honoured with reward: so as the *Greeks* might learne, by examples of either kinde, that if they would shunne indignation, or incurre fauour, then must they adventure no lesse for their Lords the *Romans*, than gladly they would doe for their owne liberty. Thus fared it with the Consul and his *Armie*. *Perseus* came the next day to correct the former dayes error; which how great it was, he not vntill then found. The *Romans* were gotten into a place of safety; whither they could neuer haue attained, if the King had either pressed his victory, or giuen better heed to them that night: his light armature alone being sufficient to haue rowed them whilst they were conueying themselves to the other side of *Pencus*. But it was vaine to tell what might haue bene done, since there was no remedy. The *Romans* were beaten, euen the flower of their Citie, the Gentlemen of *Rome*; out of whom were chosen their Senators, and consequently the Generals themselves, *Prators*, *Consuls*, and all that bore office or command among them; yea, they were beaten so shamefully, that they stole away by night, and suffered him together vpon the spoyle of them without resistance, as yeelding themselves ouercome. With such braue words did the king set out the glory of his action; diuiding the spoyle among his followers. But there was much wanting within him, to haue made his honor sound. He came neerer to the *Romans*, and encamped at *Mopelus*, a place in the mid-way betwene *Tempe* and *Larissa*: as if it were his meaning to presse them somewhat harder. Neuerthelesse he was easily perswaded to wete the occasion, which he seemed to haue, of obtaining peace. Therefore he sent vnto the Consul, and offered to yeeld vnto the same Conditions, wherein his Father had bene bound to the *Romans*, if the warre might so take end. It were needlesse here againe to shew the folly of this his course. Towards the accomplishment of this desired peace, there was in the Consul no greater power than to grant a truce, whilst *Embassadors* might goe to *Rome*: it resting in the Senate and *People* to approoue the conditions and ratifie the league. And of such a truce granted by *Marius*, he had lately found no small discommoditie redounding. But *Licinius* dealt plainly, and returned answer, That other hope of peace there was none: save that *Perseus* would yeeld both his kingdome and person, simply and absolutely, to discretion of the Senate. A manly part it was of *Licinius* to bee so resolute in aduersitie. On the other side, it argued a faint heart in *Perseus*, that hauing received an answer so peremptory, he still persisted, making vaine offers of great tribute. Finding that the peace, which he so much desired, could not be purchased with money, the king withdrew himselfe backe to *Sycyrium*. There he lay hearkening what the Enemy did; whose forces were well repaired by the coming of *Misagenes* the son of *Misanisfa*, with the aide before mentioned. This distance betwene the king & them, caused the *Romans* to waxe the more bold in making their haruest about which businesse they ranged all ouer the fields. Their carelesse demeanour gaue him hope to doe some notable exploit: which he attempted, both vpon their Campe, and vpon those that were abroad. The Campe hee thought to haue fired on the sudden: but the alarme being taken in good season, he failed in the enterprise. As for the forrangers; he had a good hand vpon them, if hee could haue withdrawn it, and giuen ouer in time. But whilst he strooue to force a guard, he was visited by the Consul, by whom either in a skirmish of horse, or (for the report is diuers) in a great battell, he was ouercome. This misaduenture, whether great or small, caused *Perseus*, after a few dayes, to fall backe into *Macedonia*, as being naturally giuen to feare danger, euen where none was; whereby what losse he felt, will appeare hereafter. Hee left all behinde him, saue onely *Tempe*, weakly guarded: and consequently an easie prey to the *Romans*.

After the Kings departure, *Licinius* went straight vnto *Connus*, hoping to haue taken

it, and so to haue gotten entrance into *Tempe*. But finding the worke too hard, he returned backe vnto the *Perthebians* and others; from whom he won some towines, & among therest, *Larissa*. There were sundry towines thereabout, bearing the same name of *Larissa*: so that this which the Consul tooke, may seeme not to haue belonged vnto the *Thebians*; vntill, perhaps, after his victory, *Perseus* did greater Acts than we finde recorded, and got some part of *Theflia*.

Of matters happening in *Greece* at this time, it is hard to giue a precise account; for that the histories of them are greatly defectiue. One may thinke it strange, that the *Boeotians*, whom a *Roman* *Embassadour* could terrifie, and bring altogether to his owne will, should not be afraid of a *Roman* *Armie*, then on foot in *Greece*, and a *Natie* on their coast. But more strange it is, that the *Thebians*, from whom the self dependants were taken by the Art of *Marius*, were more true to *Rome*, than other petty towines, which by that same distraction of the *Boeotians*, became within themselves more absolute, than formerly they had bene. The causes hereof were to haue bene fought among the changes, happening in their variable factions: whereof the knowledge is now lost. Some of them rebelled, and were thoroughly punished by *Emilius* the *Roman* *Admirall*: who got so much by spoiling them, that hee would haue brought others to rebell in like sort, if by extreme oppression hee could haue driuen them to farrre. Neither was *Licinius* the Consul vndiligent in the same kinde. What his doings were, after such time as he was at leisure from *Perseus*, I finde no where mentioned. Onely this is said in general; That in the warre which hee made, hee cruelly and couetously demeaned himselfe.

Li. lib. 43.

After the same fashion dealt they, that commanded in the yeere following; *Hofilius* the Consul, and *Fortensius* the *Admirall*, or *Prator* of the Fleet. *Hofilius* shewed more of his industrie, in picking quarrels with the confederates of *Rome*, than in prosecuting the war against the *Macedonian*. For concerning the *Roman* war vpon his kingdome, after that the Consul had sought passage in vaine ouer certaine mountaines, *Perseus* seemed, in a manner, free from it. He was troubled indeede on that side which looked towards *Illyria*, by *Ap. Claudius*, whom the Consul felt thither with an *Armie* of 30 thousand, and who, by leuies made vpon the Confederates, doubled this his *Armie*. But *Claudius* thinking to haue taken *Vicana*, a border towne of *Illyria*, by treason, came thither in such carelesse order, that the inhabitants which had made shew of treason, with purpose onely to traine him into danger; sallied forth vpon him, ouerthrew him; and chased him so farrre, that hardly he escaped with the fourth part of his company. Yet this towne of *Vicana* shortly after became *Romane*: which howsoeuer it happened, *Perseus* very soone recovered it, and many other places therewithall: *Cotys* a *Thracian* King, securing him on the one side of *Macedon*; and *Cephalus* an *Epirote*, revolted from the *Romans*, on the other. *Perseus* likewise made a painefull iourney into *Attolia*: where he was promised to be admitted into *Stratus*, that was the strongest Citie in that Region. Of this hope though, hee were disappointed by those of the *Romane* faction; yet in his returne home, he tooke in *Aperantia*; and shortly heard good newes, That *Ap. Claudius* was againe thoroughly beaten by *Cleus*, one of his *Lieutenants*. Such success he had the *Macedonian* warre vnder *Hofilius*. The same Consul offended much the *Greeks*, by the strict inquisition which his *Embassadours* made into mens affections towards *Rome*. For these *Embassadours* traueiling thorow all the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, gaue out speeches, tending to shew, That they liked no better of those who sought not by night and maine to aduance their businesse, than of those which were of the *Macedonian* faction. Their meaning was, to haue accused by name, in the Parliament of *Achaia*, *Lycortas* that worthy Commander, who nobly followed the steps of *Philopemen*; and together with him, his sonne *Polybius*, who soone after was *Generall* of the *Achaean* horse; but more notable by that excellent historie which he wrote, than by his great employments, which he well and honourably discharged. The summe of the accusation should haue bene; That these were not heartie friends vnto the *Romans*, but rather abstained from raising troubles, more for lacke of opportunitie, than for any loue to the common quiet. But since no color of truth could be found, that might giue countenance to such a tale; it was thought better, for the present, to let it alone, & giue gentle words, as if all were well. In like manner dealt they among the *Atolians*: They demanded hostages; and found some in the Councell that approved the motion: as also among the

Polyb. lib. 74.

the Acarnanians, there were that entreated to haue Roman garrisons bestowed in their townes. But neither the one nor the other of these propositions tooke effect. They of the Roman faction, accused not only such as were inclinable to the Macedonian, but also the good Patriotes, making it no lesse than a matter of treason, to be a Grecian in Greece. On the contrary side, there wanted not some, who roundly told these pick-thankes of their base flattery; rating them openly, in such sort, that one of them hardly escaped being stoned, euen in presence of the Embassadors. Thus was all full of accusations and excuses: among which the Embassadors carried themselves, as men that could beleene none ill, though it were well enough knowne what they thought. The best was, that an order from the Senate was brought into Greece, and published, to this effect: That it should be free for all men, to refuse obedience to any Roman Magistrate, imposing any burthen for the present warre, vnlesse it were such, as the Senate had likewise thought meete. Of this decreete the whole Country was glad: for it was, or seemed, a good remedy of many inconueniences. But they that standing on priuiledge hereof, refused to fulfill euery commandement, were numbred among the Patriotes; which in the end of this warre, proued little better, if not worse, than to haue bene Traytors. The Senate was diuised to set downe this order; by reason of the many & vehement complaints brought to Rome, concerning the wrongs done by Roman Magistrates, & especially by the Admirals, *Lucretius* and *Hortensius*. *Lucretius* was condemned in a great sum of money, for the wrongs by him done: highly to the commendation of the Romans, in that they lo- ued not to haue their subjects oppressed. *Hortensius* being still in office, had warning to amend.

Among the great number of Embassages that came to Rome about this time, either to seek redresse of iniuries, or to offer their seruices: it is note-worthy, that from Alabanda, a towne of the lesser Asia, there was presented vnto the Senate, and well accepted, a most base piece of flatterie. These Alabanders brought three hundred horsemen targets, and a crowne of gold, to bestow vpon *Iupiter* in the Capitol. But hauing a desire to gratifie the Romans with some exquisite token of their dutifull obedience, wherein they would be singular; and being not able to reach vnto any great performance: they built a Temple, vnto the towne Rome, & appointed anniuersarie games to be celebra- ted among them, in honour of that goddess. Now who can wonder at the arrogant fol- ly of *Alexander*, *Antigonus*, *Ptolomie*, & the like vaine men, that would be thought gods; or at the shamelesse flattery of such as bestowed vpon men, and not the most vertuous of men, diuine honours; when hee sees a towne of houses, wherein powerfull men dwell, worshipped as a goddess; and receiued (without some of the giuers, or shame of the Present) the title of *Deitie*, at the gift of such a rascall Citie as Alabanda?

## § VII.

*Q. Martius the Roman Consul, with extreme difficultie and danger, enters into Tempe. The cowardize of Perseus in abandoning Tempe. The towne of Diem quitted by Martius; repaired and fortified by the King. The Romans attempt many places, with ill successe. Their affaires in hard estate. Martius a cunning and a bad man. Polybius sent Embassador to Martius from the Achaeans. Polybius his honest wisdom beneficiall to the Achaeans. King Eumenes grows auers from the Romans. Perseus negotiates with Antiochus, and Eumenes. His false dealing with Gentius King of Illyria, whom he draws into the Roman warre. He sends Embassadors to the Rhodians; who vainely take vpon them to be arbiters betwene him and the Romans. Perseus loseth a mightie succour of the Bassarna, by his wretched parsimonie.*

**A**FTER two yeeres of the Macedonian warre, things were further out of tune in Greece, than when the warre began; which had bene thought likely to reforme all those Countries, and bring them to what passe the Romans desired; as it did in the end. *Perseus* had hitherto the better, and was stronger now, than when he liued in peace. He had enlarged his borders on the Illyrian side; his friends, in all parts of Greece, tooke courage daily; and his reputation grew such, as caused those that were before wholly Roman, to suspect what the issue of the warre might proue, and thereupon to become wise for themselves. Contrariwise, *Licinius* & *Hosilimus* the Consuls, had one after

the

the other spent their time in vaine, seeking way into Macedon, and defaced the glorious enterprize of conquest, by very many losses receiued. The Roman Admirals had so demeaned themselves, that many Townes, euen of the best affected to Rome, kept them out by force. Generally, the feare was great on the Romans side; and the Armie much lessened, not onely by casualties of warre, but by the facilitie of the Tribunes or Colonels, or else of the Consul himselfe (for they laid the blame one vpon another) in licencing the souldiers to depart. *Quintus Martius* the new Consul, who succeeded vnto *Hosilimus*, was to amend all this: which neuertheless was more than hee knew how to doe: though he brought with him a strong supply of men. Hee began hotly to set the warre on foot, which a long time had slept. And hee began the right way: not seeking to force the streights that were surely guarded, but taking pains to climbe the mountains which were thought able to forbid all passage ouer them, without helpe or need of any custodie. The King heard of his approach; and being vnertaine what way hee meant to take, distributed his owne forces, to the defence of all places which might giue entrance, or permit ascent. But the Consul proceeded in his iourney: with hope, either not to be discouered by the Enemy, or to breake through all opposition, or at leastwise, to fight on as conuenient ground, as they should haue that lay to stop him, and at length, if all failed to make a safe retreat. He sent before him foure thousand of his most expedite foot, to discover the waies. Two daies was this company troubled, in ouercoming the difficultie of no more than fifteene miles: after which they had sight of the Enemy, that lay to deny their passage. They occupied therefore a safe peece of ground; and sent backe word to the Consul, where they were; intreating him to hasten vnto them: which hee did. The Macedonians were not a whit dismayed at his arriuall, but met him, and fought with him, two or three daies together; each returning to their owne Campe at night, with little losse on either side. This bickering was on the narrow ridge of a mountaine, which gaue scarcely roome vnto three to march in front. So that very few hands came to bee employed: all the rest were beholders. In this case, it was impossible to get forwards; yet a shame to returne. Wherefore *Martius* tooke the onely course remaining; and indeed the best: Part of his men hee left with *Popilius*, to attend vpon the Macedonians: whilest hee, with the rest, felicit a compasse about, and sought out wayes that neuer had bene troden. Heerein hee found extreame difficultie: which notwithstanding hee ouercame. Besides the troubles commonly incident to such iourneyes, through places vnfit for habitation: hee was compelled, by labour of hand, to make pathes where none were, yea, where Nature might seeme to haue intended, that none should bee. So steepe hee found the descent of the mountaines, in this way which hee tooke: that of seuen miles, which they trauelled the first day, his men were compelled, for the more part, to rowle themselves downe; as not daring to trust their feet. Neither was this the worst. For they met with rockes, that stood one ouer another, so vpriight, and cumbersome to get downe; that their Elephants were afraid of the giddy prospect, and casting their gouernours, made a terrible noyse, which affrighted the horses, and bred great confusion. Hauing therefore gone, or wallowed, foure miles of this grievous iourney; there was nothing more desired by the souldiours, than that they might bee suffered to creepe backe againe, the same way which they had come. But shift was made to let downe the Elephants, by a kinde of bridges, like vnto falling draw-bridges: whereof the one end was ioyned to the edge of the cliffe; the other sustained by two long postes, fastned in the ground below. Vpon these two postes, or poles (which indeed (not being very strong, since it was intended that they should bee either cut or broken) were fastned two rafters, answerable in length to the distance, betwene the higher and the lower fall: so as the end of one bridge might reach vnto the beginning of another. These were covered with planks and turfe; that they might seeme continent with the ground; so to make the beastes aduenturous to goe vpon them. If there were a plaine of any good extent from the foote of a rocke, to the next downefall; then might the bridge bee shorter. When an Elephant was gone a pretty way, vpon one of these; the posts vpholding the frame were cut asunder, thereby causing him to sink downe vnto the next bridge; whence hee was conueyed in like manner, to the third, and onward still to the verie bottom. Thus went they downe sliding, some on their feet, others on their buttocks, till they came to an euen valley. By this it appears, how thoroughly provided the

Romans

Romans vied to be in their iourneys; of things needfull in all occasions: as also what inestimable paines they took in this descent, about the conveyance of themselves, and all their carriages down the mountaines. The next day they rested, staying for *Popilius* and his company, who hardly or perhaps neuer, should haue overtaken them, if the Enemy had followed, and set vpon him from aloft. The third and fourth daies iourneys were like vnto the first: saue that custome, and the needresse to their waies end without meeting enemy, caused them the better to endure the labour.

*Perseus* could not be ignorant of the Romans comming towards him: since they fought with his men vpon the passage, three daies together; he lying fo night, that he might well needre haue heard the noyle. Yet was he so possessed with feare; that hee neither stirred to to helpe his owne men, or to hinder the Consul, nor made any prouision for that which might fall out; but as one void of counsaile, late hearkening after the event. Four onely passages there were, leading into Tempe: the first by *Connus*, which the Romans were vnable to force: the second and third were the same which *Martius* had attempted in vaine, and another like vnto it: the last, by the Citie of *Dium* out of Macedonia. All these were sufficiently guarded: and whosoever would seeke any other way, must bee faine to take such paines as *Martius* had vndergone. The entrance by *Dium* was fairer than any of the rest: whereof only the King had benefit; for that his enemies could not get thither, saue through the valley it selfe, into which they must first pierce another way. *Dium* stood vpon the foot of the huge mountaine *Olympus*, about a mile from the sea: of which mile, the River *Helecon* becoming there a lake, and called *Baphyras*, took vp the one halfe; the rest being such as might easily haue beene fortified. Besides all these, there was in the middle of Tempe, a passage which ten men might easily keepe: where the spurs of the mountaines, reaching farre into the valley, drew neere to the very bankes of *Peneus*, a goodly and deepe river which ran thorow it. Wherefore nothing had beene more easie, than to make the Consul repent him of his troublesome iourney: if *Perseus* could haue seene his owne aduantages. For the Roman Armie was not onely in ill case to fight, after the vexation of that miserable trauaile: but must needs haue either perished for want of victuals, or bin inforced to return the same way that it came, if the King had made good the freight of *Dium*. To haue returned, and climbed vp with their Elephants & carriages, against those rocks, from which, with extreme labour, they could hardly get downe, it seemed a matter of impossibilitie: especially considering, how the enemy from about their heads, would haue beaten vpon them; being now aware of the path which they had taken, though he knew it not when they stole away from him. It may therefore be thought strange, that the Romans did not rather take their iourney into Macedonia, from the side of *Illyria*, whence that kingdom had often beene inuaded, as lying open on that part: than put themselves to the trouble of breaking into Tempe; whence, after that they were arrived, there was no means to escape, without enforcing one of those passages, which they despaiied to winne. For hee no sooner heard that the Enemy was come ouer the mountaines into Tempe; than hee no longer heard that the Enemy was come ouer the mountaines into Tempe; than hee feared like one out of his wittes; saying, That hee was vanquished, and had lost all without battaile. Herewithall he began to take out of *Dium*, what hee could carry away in haste; and straightwayes abandoned the Towne. In the same vehemencie of amazement, hee sent a strait commandement to *Thessalonica*, that the Assenall there should be set on fire; and to *Pella*, that his treasures there should be cast into the sea: as if the Romans were like presently to be masters of these two Cities. *Niceas*, who was appointed to drowne the treasure, performed it hastily as well as he could: although soon after, his master grew sorie for the losse; and it was all, in a manner, recovered by Divers from vnder the water. But *Andronicus*, who had charge to set fire on the Kings Arsenal, deferred the execution, foreseeing that repentance might follow: and so hee prevented the dammage. Whether *Niceas*, for his absolute and blinde obedience; or *Andronicus*, for his careful prouidence, merited the greater commendation; or more easie pardon; it rested in the King to interpret. The reward of their seruice, was this. *Perseus* growing ashamed of his mad cowardize, that appeared in this hasty direction; caused them both to beaine. Also those poore men, which had fercht his treasure out of the Sea by their diuing, were payed their wages after the same sort: that so there might be no witness of the Kings base folly. Such end must they feare, who are priuie to dishonourable actions of great Princes. If *Perseus* would haue gone securely to worke,

worke, for the hiding of his fault; then must he so royally haue behaued himselfe, that no man might beleue him to be the author of any vnworthy act or counsaile. But his vertue was of no such capacite. Hee thought it enough to lay the blame vpon others. And therefore, hauing called *Hippias* away (the Captaine which had stopped the Consul on the top of the mountaine) and *Aclepiodatus*, from defence of the passages, where-to they were by him appointed: he rated them openly; saying, that they had betrayed vnto the Enemy the gates and bars of Macedonia. Of this reproach, if they would discharge themselves, by laying it vpon him, to whom of right it belonged: then might they haue sped as did *Nicias* and *Andronicus*.

The Consul *Martius* had great cause to reioyce, for that the King so hastily relinquished his possession of Tempe, and all the passages leading thereinto: since the Roman Army, this notwithstanding, was hardly able to subsist, for want of victuals. He took *Dium* without resistance; and thence went forward into Macedonia: wherein hauing travelled about a dayes iourney, and gotten one towne that yeelded, he was compelled by meere lacke of food for his men, to returne back towards Thessaly. His fleet came to him, in this time of needessite, well appointed to haue holpen him in the warre: but hauing left behinde, at *Magnesia*, the ships of burthen, which carried the provisions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his Lieutenants had bene careful to occupy one of the Castles about Tempe, which were forsaken by the Macedonians: for by those waies onely might come be brought into the Army. To meet the sooner with this corne, which was most desirously expected, he forooke *Dium*, and went to *Phila*; by which foolish iourney (if not worse than foolish) hee lost more, than a little the longer fasting had been worth. It is probable that his carts, with all or the most of his store, were lost among the mountaines: for otherwise it had bene madnesse to put himselfe on such an enterprife, so slenderly provided, as that without enforcement, or fight of the Enemy, hee should be faine to quite it. Howsoeuer it was: men thought him a coward, or at least a badde man of warre; since he thus recoyled and gaue off, when it most bechoomed him to haue prosecuted the action.

By vnderstanding the folly, or cowardize of *Martius*; the King recollected himselfe, vnderstood his owne error; sought to hide it by such poore meanes as haue been shewed, and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly repossessed the towne of *Dium*, which hee hastily repaired, finding it dismantled by the Romans. This done, he encamped strongly by the River of *Enipeus*: meaning there to stop the Enemies proceeding all that Summer. Lesse diligence, more timely vied, would haue beene enough, not onely to haue deliuered *Martius* into his hand, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of peace: but to haue giuen him such a noble victory, as might cause the Romans to seek a good end of the warre vpon faire conditions, and not to begin againe in haste. Yet this recovery and fortification of *Dium*, was to the Consul an exceeding hindrance. For little or nothing could afterward be done toward the conquest in hand, in all the continuance of his office. Onely the towne of *Heraclea*, standing on the river of *Peneus*, fure 40 miles from *Dium*, was taken by force, or rather by a trick of climbing vpon mens heads, somewhat after the manner of our tumbleres. But it made such defence as it could, and was not giuen vp for feare. After this, *Martius* did set a bold face towards *Dium*, as if he would haue taken it againe; and haue driven the king further off: although his intent or hope was nothing like so great: his chiefe care, being to prouide for his wintering. Hee sent the Admirall to make attempt vpon the Sea-Towns, *Thessalonica*, *Callandrea*, *Demetrias*, and others. All these were assayed: but in vaine. The fields about *Thessalonica* were wasted; and some companies, that sundry times aduentured forth of the Towne, were still put to the worke. As for the Towne it selfe, there was danger in coming neere it, either by land or sea; by reason of the engines, which shot from the walls, and reached vnto the fleet. Wherefore the Admirall setting saile from thence, ran along by *Enia*, and *Antigonea*, (standing neere to each of them, and both doing and receiuing hurt) until he came to *Pallene* in the territory of *Callandrea*. There king *Eumenes* ioined with him, bringing twenty shippes of Warre; and fure other were sent thither from king *Prusias*. With this access of strength, the Admirall was bold to trie his fortune at *Callandrea*: which was bad. There was a new ditch lately cast by *Perseus*, before the towne: which while the Romans were filling vp, question was made, what became of the earth taken thence, for that it lay not vpon the banke. By this occasion, it was learned, that there were

were arches in the town-wall filled vp with that earth, and couered with one single row of bricke. Hence the Admirall gathered hope of making way into the towne, by fapping the walls. To this worke he appointed such as he thought meetest: giuing an alarme to the other side of the towne, thereby to shadow his attempt, the breach was loone made. But whilst the Romans were shouting for ioy, and ordering themselves for the assault: the Captaines within the towne perceiued what was done; and falling forth vnexpected, gaue a fierce charge on the companies that were between the ditch and the wall, of whom they slew about fixe hundred, and suffered few to escape vnwounded. This disaster, and the want of good successe on that part of the towne which king *Eumenes* assailed, a supply in the meane while entring the towne by sea, caused the siege to breake vp. 10  
 Torone was the next place which the Admirall thought meet to attempt: and thence likewise he was repelled. Finding this too well manned; he made way towards Demetrias: whereinto *Euphranor*, a Macedonian Captaine, was gotten before his coming, with such forces, as were not onely sufficient to haue defended the Towne, if the Admirall had layed siege to it, but to keepe the land about it from spoyle; or at least (as they did) to make the enemy pay deare for all that he there got. This *Euphranor* had taken his iourney to Demetrias, by Meliboea; whither the Consul (that he might not be quite without work) had sent his Lieutenant to besiege it: and by the terror of his appearing suddenly ouer their heads, caused the besiegers to dislodge in all haste, setting their Campe on fire.

Such fortune attended on the Romans; or rather, so far was their ability short of their Enterprises; euer since their Consul (whether dastardly, or carelesly) most vnlike a good Commander, had let goe his hold of Macedon, by forsaking Diu: Yea, it is to be suspected, that some greater harme befell them, or at least, that they were in some greater danger, than is expressed in the broken remaining Historie of this Warre. For *Martius* perswaded the Rhodians by *Agessipolis* their Embassadour, who came to him at Hera-clea about other businesse of lesse importance, That they should doe well to interpose themselves as mediators, and seeke to finish the Warre. Now, although *Polybius* doe most probably coniecture, that this was rather a malicious deuice of *Martius*, craftily seeking to bring the Rhodians in danger (as anon it fell out) by their opposing the resolution of the Senate; than that it proceeded from any true feare in him, either of *Perseus*, or of *Antiochus*, who had then an armie on foot: yet since he made shew of feare, it is like withall, that somewhat had happened, which might make his feare seeme not counterfeite. And so were the Rhodians moued to thinke of him, not onely for that the extraordinary courtesie, both of him and of the Admirall, towards their Embassadour, coming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cause it; but much more, for that shortly after the Embassadours of *Perseus*, and of *Gentius* the Illyrian, did set out their businesse at Rhodes, not more with the strength of a good fleet, which the Macedonian had gotten, than with the honor of some victory, wherein he had lately slaine great numbers of the Roman horse. Thus much we finde intimated: though 40  
 the time, place, or other circumstances of the fight, be not specified. And hereto may be referred, the report of those that were sent from Rome to view the estate of *Martius* his army. For they found the Consul wanting meat; the Admirall wanting men; and, for those few that he had, wanting both money and cloathes: and *Ap. Claudius* the Prætor, who lay on the frontier of Illyria, so vnable to invade Macedon, that contrariwise, he was in extreme danger; so as either he must quickly be sent for thence, or a new army be sent thither to him. Wherefore it may seeme, that some blow had bene taken on the Illyrian side, which made all to halt; or at least, that the Romans with greater losse, than is before spoken of, had bene driuen from some of the Townes which they besieged.

Now although it were so, that *Martius* in very few of his actions, behaued himselfe like a man of warre: yet in exercise of Cunning, which one hath most aptly termed, a *crooked or sinister kinde of wisdom*, he dealt as a craft-master, with a restless working diligence. This indeed neither proued his sufficiency, nor commended his honestie: since thereby hee effected nothing to his owne benefit; and neuertheless, out of enuie, vaine-glory, or such delight as weake and busie-headed mentake, in creating inexplicable troubles, hee directly made opposition to the good of his Countrey. At such time as *Perseus*, by the successe of his doings against *Hestilius*, had gotten much reputation, and

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was thought likely to invade Theffaly; *Archo*, *Lycortas*, and other good Patriotes among the Achæans, iudged it expedient for their Nation to helpe the Romans, as in a time of aduersitie, whom in prosperity they loued not to flatter. Wherefore *Archo* propoised a decree which passed: That the Achæans should send their whole power into Theffaly, and participate with the Romans in all danger. So the Armie was leuied; and *Polybius*, with others, sent Embassadours vnto *Martius*, to certifie him thereof, and know his pleasure. *Polybius* found the Consul busie in finding passage through Tempe into Macedon. Hee went along with the Armie; and awaited the Consuls leisure till they came to Heraclea; where finding the time conuenient, he presented the Decree, and offered the seruice of his Nation, wherein fouer it should bee commanded. *Martius* tooke this very kindly; but said, That he needed now no manner of helpe. Forthwith *Polybius* dispatched home his companions, to signifie thus much: tarrying himselfe behinde in the Campe. After a while, word was brought to *Martius*, that *Ap. Claudius* desired, or rather imperiously required, of the Achæans, sixe thousand men, to beset him into Epirus. It was manifest, that *Appius* had need of these men; and that if hee were strong in field, he might doe notable seruice, by distracting the forces of *Perseus*. But the Labirynthian head of *Martius* could not allow of such plaine reason. He called vnto him *Polybius*, to whom he declared, that *Appius* had no need of such aide, and therefore willed him to returne home, and in any wise take order that the men might not be sent, nor the Achæans be put to such needlesse charges. Away went *Polybius*, musing and vnable to resolute whether it were for loue to the Achæans, that the Consul was so earnest in this businesse; or rather for enuie, and to hinder *Ap. Claudius* from doing any thing, since himselfe could doe nothing. But when *Polybius* was to deliuer his opinion in the Councell touching this matter: then found hee a new doubt, that more neerely concerned his owne selfe, and those of his partie. For as hee was sure to incur the great indignation of the Consul, if he should neglect what was giuen him in charge; so was it manifest on the other side, that the words by *Martius* vttered to him in private, would proue no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they should refuse to helpe *Claudius*, alledging that he had no need: In this case therefore, hee had recourse vnto the Decree of the Senate: which exempted men from necessitie of doing what the Roman Commanders should require, vnlesse by special order from the Senate, the same were likewise appointed. So for lacke of warrant from the Senate, this demand of *Appius* was referred vnto the aduice of the Consul: by whom it was sure to be made frustrate. Hereby the Achæans were saued, of more than an hundred and twentie Talents: though *Polybius* himselfe ranne into danger of *Appius* his displeasure; and for such honest dealing in his Countries behalfe, was afterwards rewarded by the Romans with many a long yeeres imprisonment.

Whether it were by the like policie of *Martius*, that king *Eumenes* grew cold in his affection to the Romans; or whether this king began when it was too late, to stand in feare 40  
 left the fire, which he himselfe had helped to kindle, would shortly take hold on his own lodging; or whether the regard of money were able to ouerway all other passions; it is hard to determine: since they that had better means to know the truth, haue not precisely affirmed any certainty. One reports, that *Eumenes* did not so much as giue any helpe to *Martius*: but coming to haue ioyned with him, in such friendly manner as hee did with the former Consuls, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in such anger, that hee refused to leave behinde him certaine horse of the Gallo-Greeks, being requested to haue done it. If this were true; and that his brother *Attalus* tarrying behinde with the Consul, did the Romans good seruice: then is the reason apparent, of the hatred, borne afterwards by the Senate to *Eumenes*, and the loue to *Attalus*. 50  
 But it is more generally receiued, that *Eumenes* gaue a willing care to *Perseus* his desire of accord, for meere desire of gaine. And it might well be, that couetousnesse drew him on, in the course, whereinto indignation first led him. Howsoeuer it befall; *Perseus* caused *Eumenes* to be founded, and found him so tractable, that hee was bold to sollicite him by an Embassage. The tenour of his aduertisements, both to *Eumenes* & *Antiochus*, was: That there could be no perfect loue betweene a king and a free Citie: That the Romans had quarrell alike to all kings, though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and vied the helpe of one against another; that *Philip* was oppressed by them, with the helpe of *Attalus*; *Antiochus*, with the helpe of *Philip* and *Eumenes*; and now *Perseus* assailed,

affailed, with helpe of *Eumenes* and *Prusias*. Herewith hee willed *Eumenes* to confider, that when *Macedon* was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in *Asia*, which lay next at hand; yea, that already they began to thinke better of *Prusias*, than of him. In like sort he admonished *Antiochus*, not to looke for any good conclusion of his warre with the Egyptian, so long as the Romans could make him giue ouer, by denouncing their will and pleasure. Finally, hee requested both of them, either to compell the Romans to surcease from their war vpon *Macedon*; or else to hold them as common enemies vnto all kings. *Antiochus* lay farre out of the Romans way: and therefore was little troubled with such remonstrances. *Eumenes* was more neerely toucht; and as hee felt part of this to be true, so had he reason to stand in doubt of the rest. Yet when he should to giue answer; he began to offer a bargain of peace for money. He thought the Romans to be no lesse weary, than *Perseus* was affraid. Wherefore he promised, for his own part, That if he might haue fiftien hundred Talents for withdrawing his hand from this war, then would he remaine a Neuter therein: and that for some greater quantitie of money (how much I finde not) he would also bring the Romans to condescend vnto peace: and for assurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to giue hostages. *Perseus* liked well to receiue the hostages: but not to lay out the money; especially before hand, as was required. He would faine haue peace with Rome; and not with *Eumenes* onely. For procuring of this, he promised to be at any reasonable cost: but he would lay down the money in the Temple at *Samothrace*: whence it should be deliuered vnto *Eumenes*, after so that the peace was fully concluded and ratified. The Isle of *Samothrace* was *Perseus* his owne: and therefore *Eumenes* thought the money no neerer to him, being there, than if it remained in *Pella*. Besides, his labour deserued somewhat, howsoeuer the businesse might happen to succeed: so that needs he would haue part of his wages in *present*. Thus the two kings did no more, than lose time; and *Eumenes* grew suspected of the Romans, as a Traytor.

After the same manner delt *Perseus* with king *Gentius* the Illyrian. Hee had attempted this Illyrian before; who dealt plainly, and said, That without money he could not stirre. Hereunto *Perseus* loued not to hearken; thinking, that his Treasures would serue at the last cast, to deliuer him from all his feares. But when the Romans had gotten within in *Tempe*, then did his feare vrgel him to prodigalitie; so as he agreed to pay three hundred Talents, which *Gentius* demanded for a recompence. So the bargain was soone made, and pledges on both sides deliuered for performance. This was openly done by *Perseus*; to the end that all his Armie might haue comfort, by such access of strength to their partie. Presently vpon the bargain made, Embassadors were sent to *Rhodes*, from both *Perseus* and *Gentius*: who desired the *Rhodians*, to take vpon them, as arbitrators, between *Perseus* and the Romans, and to bring the Warre to an end. The *Rhodians* thinking that *Martius* the Consul was no lesse desirous of peace than the *Macedonian*, arrogantly promised, that they, by their authority, would make peace; wishing the Kings to shew themselves conformable. But the Roman Senate, hearing proud words to the same effect, from the *Rhodian* Embassadors; gaue an answer as disdainfull, angry, and menacing, as they could desire: so as this vain-glory of the *Rhodians* was thoroughly chastised; and more thoroughly should haue bene, if their submission had not been as humble, as their folly was proud. Such vfe of *Gentius* his friendship, made *Perseus*; without laying out one ounce of Silver. Now faine he would haue hastened this young and rash Illyrian to enter with all speed into the Warre: but then must the money be hastened away. *Pantauchus* the *Macedonian* Embaddour, who remained with *Gentius*, exhorted him daily to begin the War by land and sea, whilest the Romans were vnprovided. But finding what it was that made all to stay; he sent word to *Perseus*. Hereupon ten Talents were sent to *Pantauchus*: who deliuered it to the young king, as earnest of that which followed. More followed indeed; and sealed vp with the seale of the Illyrians; but carried by *Macedonians*, and not too fast. Before this money came into Illyria, *Gentius* had layed hands vpon two Roman Embassadors, and cast them into prison. Which *Perseus* no sooner heard, than he recalled his Treasure-bearers, and sent them with their loade to *Pella*; for that now the Illyrian was of necessitie to make warre with the Romans, whether he were hired thereto or not.

There came about the same time, through Illyria, to the aid of *Perseus*, vnder one *Clondius* a petty king, tenne thousand horse and tenne thousand foot, of the *Gauls*, which were

Lib. 44.  
Plutar. in vit.  
Æmyl.

were (as *Plutarch* hath it) the *Bastarna*. These had before-hand made their bargain, and were to receiue present pay at the first. At their entry into the Kingdome, *Perseus* sent one to them; desiring their Capitaines to come visit him, whom he promised to gratifie with goodly rewards; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the first question that their Generall asked, was, Whether the King had sent money to giue the souldiers their pay in hand, according to his bargain? Hereto the messenger had not whar to answer. Why then (said *Clondius*) tell thy master, That the *Gauls* will not stirre one foote further, vntill they haue gold, as was agreed, and hostages. *Perseus* hereupon tooke counsaile: if to vtter his owne opinion, before men so wisethat they would not contradict him, were to take counsaile. He made an inuocative against the inciuillitie and auarice of the *Bastarna*: who came with such numbers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to his Kingdome. Fietue thousand horse of them, hee said would bee as many as hee should need to vse; and not so many, that hee should need to feare them. It had bene well done, if any of his countailours would haue told him, That there wanted not employment for the whole Armie of them, since without any danger to the kingdome, they might be let out, by the way of *Perthrebia*, into *Thessaly*: where wasting the Country, and filling themselves with spoyle, they should make the Romans glad to forsake *Tempe*, euen for hunger and all manner of want; therein doing the king notable seruice, whether they wonne any victory, or not. This, and a great deale more, might haue bene alledged, if any man had dared to giue aduice freely. In conclusion, *Antigonus*, the same messenger that had bene with them before, was sent againe, to let them know the kings minde. He did his errand: vpon which followed a great murmure of those many thousands that had bene drawne so farre to no purpose! But *Clondius* asked him now againe, Whether hee had brought the money along with him, to pay those sixe thousand, whom the king would entertaine. Hereto, when it was perceiued, that *Antigonus* could make no better answer, than shuffling excuses; the *Bastarna* returned presently towards *Danubius*, wasting the neighbour parts of *Thrace*; yet suffering this craftie messenger to escape vnhurt: which was more than hee could haue well expected.

Thus dealt *Perseus*, like a carefull Treasurer, and one that would preferre his money for the Romans, without diminishing the summe. But of this painful Office he was very soone discharged by *L. Æmylius Paulus* the new Consul: who in fiftene daies after his setting forth from Italy, brought the kingdome of *Macedon* to that end, for which God had appointed ouer it a king so foolish and so cowardly.

#### §. VIII.

Of *L. Æmylius Paulus* the Consul, His journey. Hee forceth *Perseus* to dis Campe. Hee will not hazard battaile with any disadvantage. Of an Eclipse of the Moone. *Æmylius* his superstition. The battaile of *Pydna*. *Perseus* his flight. Hee forsakes his Kingdome: which hastily yeelds to *Æmylius*. *Perseus* at *Samothrace*. He yeelds himselfe to the Roman Admirall, and is sent prisoner to *Æmylius*.

BY the Warre of *Macedon*, the Romans hitherto had gotten much dishonour. Which, though it were not accompanied with any danger, yet the indignity so moued them, that either \* they decreed that Prouince to *L. Æmylius Paulus*, without putting it, as was otherwise their manner, to the chance of lot, betwene him and his fellow Consul; or at least were gladder that the lot had cast it vpon him, than that so worthy a man was aduanced to the dignitie of a second Consulship. Hee refused to propound vnto the Senate any thing that concerned his Prouince; vntill by his Embassadors, thither sent to view the estate of the Warre, it was perfectly vnderstood, in what condition both the Roman forces, and the *Macedonian*, at the present remained. This being thoroughly knowne to be such, as hath bene already told; the Senate appointed a strong supply, not onely to the Consul, but vnto the Nauie, and likewise to the Armie that lay betwene Illyria and *Epyrus*: from which *App. Clondius* was remoued, and *L. Anicius* sent thither in his place. *Æmylius*, before his departure from Rome, making an Oration to the People, as was the custome, spake with much grauitie and authoritie. Hee requested those that did thinke themselves wife

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enough

Plut. in vita  
Æmyl.



enough to manage this Warre, either to accompany him into Macedon, and there assist him with their aduice; or else to govern their tongues at home, and not take vpon them to giue directions by hearesay, and censure by idle reports: for hee told them plainly; That he would frame his doings to occasions; not to the expectation of the multitude. The like speech of his father *L. Amylius*, who died valiantly in the Battaille of Cannæ, might well be liuing in some of their memories: which was enough to make them conform themselves the more gladly vnto the instructions giuen by a wife and resolute Consul.

All his businesse within the Citie being dispatched, *Amylius* was honourably attended, at his setting forth on his iourney; with an especiall hope of men, that hee should finish the Warre: though that he should finish it so soone and happily, was more than could haue beene hoped or imagined. He came to Brundisium: whence, when the wind came faire, he set saile at break of day, and arrived safely at the Ile of Corcyra before night. Thence passed he to Delphi: where, hauing done sacrifice to *Apollon*, after the fifth day he set forwards to the Campe; and was there in five dayes more. So are there but five of the fiftene dayes remaining, in which he finished the Warre.

*Perseus* lay strongly encamped at Dium, hauing spared no labor of men and of women to fortifie the banks of Enipeus, where it was fordable in drie weather: So as there was little hope, or none, to force him; and consequently, as little possibilitie to enter that way into Macedon. One great inconuenience troubling the Romans, & much disabling them to make attempt vpon Dium, was lacke of fresh water. For there were tenne miles betweene Dium and Tempe; all the way lying betwene the Sea shore and the foote of Olympus, without any Brooke or Spring breaking forth on that side. But *Amylius* found present remedy for this, by digging Wells on the shoare; where he found sweet Springs: as commonly there is no shoare that wants them, though they rise not aboue the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder *Martius* from taking vp his lodging any neerer to the enemy, than the Towne of Heraclæa, on the river of Peneus; where hee had watring at pleasure, but could performe no seruice of any worth. Yet when the Roman Campe had such meanes to lye close to the Macedonian, as it presently did; the passage onward being defended as hath beene already shewed, seemed no lesse difficult than before. Wherefore it was necessarie to search another way: which by enquirie was soone found out. There was a narrow passage ouer Olympos, leading into Perræbia; hard of ascent, but slenderly guarded, and therefore promising a faire iourney. *Martius* either had not bene informed hereof; or durst not attempt it: or perhaps could not get his Souldiers to make the aduenture; they fearing lest it would prouee such a peece of worke as had beene their march ouer Ossa into Tempe. But *Paulus* was a man of greater industry, courage, and abilitie, to command. Hee had reformed, euen at his first coming, many disorders in the Roman Campe: teaching the souldiers among many other good lessons, to bee obedient and ready in execution; without troubling themselves, as had beene their manner, to examine the doings and purposes of their Generall. And now hee appointed about five thousand men to this enterprise: whereof he committed the charge vnto *Scipio Amylianus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his owne sonnes by nature, but adopted; the one of them, by a sonne of *Scipio* the African; the other, by one of the *Fabij*. *Scipio* tooke with him some light-armed Thracians and Cretans; but his maine strength was of Legionaries. For the Kings guard, vpon the mountaine, consisted in a manner, wholly of Archers and Slingers: who, though, at some distance, they might doe notable seruice against those that should climbe vp vnto them; yet when the darknesse tooke away their ayme, they were like to make a bad nights worke, being to deale with those that were armed to fight at hand. To conceale the businesse about which they went, *Scipio* and *Fabius* tooke a wrong way, towards the Elect; where victuals were provided for their iourney: it being noyed, that they were to runne along the coast of Macedon by sea, and waste the Countrey. All the while that they were passing the Mountaines (which was about three dayes) the Consul made shew of a meaning to set vpon *Perseus* where he lay, rather to diuert the kings attention from that which was his maine Enterprise, than vpon any hope to doe good, in seeking to get ouer Enipeus. The Channell of Enipeus, which receiued in Winter time a great fall of waters from the Mountaines, was exceeding deepe and broad; and the ground of it was such, as though at the present it lay well-

well were all day, yet considered not for that that were weightily armed to fight vpon. *Waggoners* employed none save his Yabices, of whom the Kings light armature had great store at great distance, though the Romans were better appointed for the close. The fugitives from off the Tower which *Perseus* had rayled on his owne banke, did allysitate vpon the Romans, and gaue them to understand, that their labour was in vaine. Yet *Amylius* persistied as he had begunne; and continued his assault, such as it could be, the second day. This might haue serued to reach the Macedonians, that some greater worke was in hand: and force of that wise a good Capitaine, as *Amylius* was knowne to bee, would not haue troubled himselfe with making such brash-works; that were some-what costly. But *Perseus* looked onely vnto that which was before his eyes: vntill his men, that came running itakefully down the Mountaine, brought word into the Campe, That the Romans were following and close at heeles. This was all full of tumult; and the King himselfe no lesse (if not more) amazed than any of the rest. Order was forthwith giuen to dislodge: or rather without of set, in all tumultuous haste, the Campe was broken vp, and a speedy retreat made to Pydna. Whether it were so, that they which had custodie of the passage were taken sleeping, or whether they were beaten by plain force, *Scipio* and *Fabius* had very good success in their iourney. It may well be, that they stayed vntill the Romans came some what neerer to them; and then taking alarme, when their arrows and slings could doe little seruice, were beaten at handy-strokes; so as the different relations that are cited by *Plutarch* and an Epistle of *Scipio*, may each of them haue bene true. Thus was an open way cleared into Macedon; which had bin effected by *Martius* in the yeere fore-going; but was closed vp againe, through his not prosecuting for such an opportunitie.

*Perseus* was in an extreame doubt what course to take, after this unhappy beginning. Some gaue aduice to manne his Townes, and so to linger out the Warre: hauing bene taught by the last yeeres example, how resolute the people were in making defence; But farre worse counsaile preuailed; as generally it doth in turbulent and fearefull deliberations. The King resolved to put all at once to hazzard of battaile: fearing belike to put himselfe into any one Towne, lest that should be first of all besieged; and he therein (as cowardly natures alwayes are iealous) not ouer-carefully relinqued. This was euen the same that *Amylius*, or any invader, should haue desired. So a place was chosen neere vnto Pydna, that serued well for the Phalanx, and had likewise on the sides of it some peeces of higher ground, fit for the Archers and light armature. There hee abode the coming of the enemy; who stayed not long behinde him. As soone as the Romans had light of the Kings Armie; which, with greater feare than discretion, had hasted away from them, forsaking the Campe that was so notably well-fortified: they desired nothing more, than to giue battaile immediately: doubting lest otherwise the king should change his minde, and get further off. And to this effect *Scipio* brake with the Consul; praying him not to lose occasion by delay. But *Amylius* told him, that he spake like a young man; and therefore willed him to haue patience. The Romans were tyred with their iourney; had no Campe wherein to rest themselves; nor any thing there, save onely the bare ground whereon they trode. For these, and the like respects, the Consul made a stand: and shewing himselfe vnto the Macedonian, who did the like, in order of battaile; gaue charge to haue the Campe measured out and entrenched behinde the Armie; whereunto, at good leysure, hee fell backe, without any manner of trouble. After a nights rest, it was hoped, both by the Romans and by the Macedonians, that the matter should be determined; each part thinking their owne Generall to blame, for that they had not fought the same day. As for the king, hee excused himselfe by the backwardnesse of the enemy; who aduanced no further, but kept vpon ground ferning ill for the Phalanx: as on the other side, the Consul had the reasons before shewed, which he communicated to those about him the next day.

That euening (which followed the third of September, by the Roman account) *C. Sulpicius Gallus*, a Colonel, or Tribune of a Legion, who had the former yeere bene Praetor, foretold vnto the Consul, and (with his good liking) vnto the Armeie, an Eclipse of the Moone, which was to bee the same night: wiling the souldiers not to bee troubled therewith, for that it was naturall, and might bee knowne long before it was seene. It was the manner of the Romans, in such Eclipses, to beate Pannes of Brasse and Bisons, as wee doe in following a swarme of Bees; thinking, that thereby they did the Moone



great ease, and helped her in her labour. But this prognostication of *Sulpicius* converted their superstition into admiration of his deepe skill, wherein they saw it verified. Contrariwise, the Macedonians howled and made a great noise, as long as the Eclipse lasted: rather perhaps because it was their fashion, than for that they were terrified therewith, as with a prodigie betokening their losse; since their desire to fight was no whit lessened by it. I will not here stand to dispute, Whether such Eclipses doe signifie, or cause any alteration in civill affaires, & matters that have small dependance on naturall complexion: for the argument is too large. More worthy of observation it is, how superstition capriciously the understanding of the wisest, where the helpe of true religion is wanting. *Amylius*, though hee were sufficiently instructed concerning this defect of the Moone, that it was no supernatural thing, nor above the reach of humane understanding, so as he should need to trouble himselfe with any devout regard thereof: yet could he not refrain from doing his duty to this Moone, and congratulating with sacrifice his delivrie, as soone as she shone out bright againe: for which, hee is commended even by *Plutarch*, a sage Philosopher, as a godly and religious man. If *Sulpicius* perhaps did not assist him in this foolish devotion; yet it is like that he, being a Senatour, and one of the Councill for Warre, was partaker the next morning in a sacrifice done to *Hercules*, which was no lesse foolish. For a great part of the day was vainly consumed, ere *Hercules* could be pleased with any Sacrifice, and vouchsafed to shew tokens of good lucke in the entrailles of the beasts. At length, in the belly of the one and twentieth sacrifice, was found a promise of victorie to *Amylius*: but with condition, That hee should not give the onset. *Hercules* was a Greeke, and partiall, as neerer in alliance to the Macedonian than to the Roman. Wherefore it had beene better to call vpon the new goddesse, lately canonized at Alabanda, or vpon *Romulus*, founder of their Citie, on whom the Romans had bestowed his Deitie; or (if a God of elder date were more authentically vpon *Mars* the Father of *Romulus*, to whom belonged the guidance of militarie affaires; and who therefore would have limited his favour, with no injunctions contrarie to the rules of Warre.

Now concerning the Battaille; *Amylius* was thoroughly perswaded, that the King meant to abide it: for that otherwise hee would not have stayed at Pydna, when, as a little before, his leysure served to retire whether hee listed, the Romans being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the Sacrifices, the Consul thought that hee might wait vpon advantage, without making any great haste. Neither was it to be neglected, that the morning Sunne was full in the Romans faces: which would bee much to their hinderance all the forenoone. Since therefore *Perseus* kept his ground, that was commodious for the *Phalanx*, and *Amylius* sent forth part of his men to bring in Wood and Fodder; there was no likelihood of fighting that day. But about ten of the clocke in the morning, a small occasion brought to passe that, which whereto neither of the Generalls had over-earnest desire.

A Horse brake loose at watering, which two or three of the Roman souldiers followed into the river, wading after him vp to the knees. The Kings men lay on the further banke; whence a couple of Thracians ranne into the Water, to draw this horse over to their owne side. These fell to blowes, as in a private quarrell; and one of the Thracians was slaine. His Countreimen seeing this, hastened to revenge their fellows death, and followed those that had slaine him over the river. Heereupon company came in, to helpe on each part, vntill the number grew such, as made it past a fray, and caused both the Armies to be carefull of the event. In fine, each of the Generalls placed his men in order of battaille, accordingly as the manner of his Countrey, and the Armes, wherewith they served, did require. The ground was a flatte leuell, save that on the sides a few hillockes were raised heere and there; whereof each part might take what advantage it could. The Macedonians were the greater number, the Romans the better souldiers, and better appointed. Both the King and Consul encouraged their men with lively words: which the present condition could bountifully afford. But the King having finished his Oration, and sent on his men, withdrew himselfe into Pydna: there to doe sacrifice, as hee pretended, unto *Hercules*. It is the lesse marvaile, that hee durst adventure battaille, since hee had bestowed himselfe of such a stratageme, whereby to save his owne person. As for *Hercules*, he liked not the sacrifice of a Coward: whose vnseasonable devotion could bee no better than hypocritic. For hee that will pray for a

good

good Harvest, ought also to Plow, Sowe, and Weede his Ground. When therefore the King returned to the battaille, hee found it no better than lost: and hee, in looking to his owne safetie, caused it to be lost altogether, by beginning the flight.

The acts of this day, such as we finde recorded, are, That the Roman Elephants could doe no manner of good; That the Macedonian *Phalanx* did so stoutly presse onwards, and beat off all which came before it, as *Amylius* was thereat much astonished; That the Peligri rushing desperately on the *Phalanx*, were overborne, many of them slaine, and the squadrons following them so discouraged therewith, as they retired apace towards an hill. These were the things that fell out aduerseto the Romans; and which the Consul beholding, is said to haue rent his coat-armour for griefe. If the King with all his power of horse, had in like manner done his deuoyre; the victorie might haue bene his owne. That which turned the fortune of the battaille, was the same which doubtlesse the Consul expected, even from the beginning: the difficultie, or almost the impossibilitie, of holding the *Phalanx* long in order. For whilst some of the Romans small battallions pressed hard vpon one part of it, and others recoyled from it; it was necessary (if the Macedonians would follow vpon those which were put to the worse) that some files hauing open way before them, should aduance themselves beyond the rest that were held at a stand. This coming so to passe, admonished the Consul, what was to be done. The long pikes of the Macedonians were of little vse, when they were charged in flanke by the Roman Targettiers; according to the direction giuen by *Amylius*, when he saw the front of the Enemies great battaille become vnequall, and the ranks in some places open, by reason of the vnequall resistance which they found. Thus was the vse of the *Phalanx* proud vnauitable against many small squadrons, as it had bene formerly in the battaille of Cynosephale: yea, this forme of embattailing was found vnerserviceable against the other, by reason, that being not eury where alike distressed, it would breake off it selfe; though here were little such inconuenience of ground, as had bene at Cynosephale.

*Perseus*, when hee saw his battaille begin to route, turned his bridle presently, and ranne againe towards Pella. All his horse escaped, in a manner vnouched, and a great number followed him; the little harme which they had taken, witnessing the little good seruice which they had done. As for the poore foote; they were left to the mercy of the Enemy: who slew about twenty thousand of them; though hauing little cause to be furious, as hauing lost, in that battaille, onely some fourescore, or six score men at the most. Some of the foote, escaping from the execution, ouertooke the King and his company in a wood; where they fell to rayling at the horsemen, calling them cowards, traytors, and such other names, till at length they fell to blowes. The King was in doubt lest they had ill meaning to himselfe: and therefore turned out of the common way, being followed by such as thought it good. The rest of the company dispersed themselves: eury one as his owne occasions guided him. Of those that kept along with their king, the number began within a while to lessen. For hee fell to deuising vpon whom he might lay the blame of that dayes misfortune; which was most due to himselfe: thereby causing those that knew his nature, to shrink away from him, how they could. At his coming to Pella; hee found his Pages and household seruants, ready to attend him, as they had bene wont. But of his great men that had escaped from the battaille, there was none appearing in the Court. In this melancholike time, there were two of his Treasurers that had the boldnesse to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But in reward of their vnseasonable admonitions, hee stabbed them both to death. After this, none whom he sent for would come at him. This boded no good. Wherefore standing in feare, lest they that refused to come at his call, would shortly dare some greater mischief: he stole out of Pella by night. Of his friends he had with him only *Euan-*

*dar* (who had bene employed to kill *Euphronius* at Delphi) and two other. There followed him likewise about 500. Cretians; more for loue of his money than of him. To these he gave of his plate, as much as was worth about fiftie Talents, though shortly hee cozened them of some part thereof; making shew as if hee would haue redeemed it; but neuer paying the money. The third day after the battaille hee came to Amphipolis; where he exhorted the Townes-men to fidelitie, with teares; and his owne speech being hindered by teares, appointed *Euan-*

*dar* to speake what himselfe would haue vttered. But the Amphipolitans made it their chiefe care, to looke well to themselves.

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Vpon

Vpon the first tane of the ouerthrow, they had emptied their towne of two thousand Thracians that lay there in garrison: sending them forth vnder colour of a gainefull employment, & shutting the gates after them. And now to be ridde of the king, they plainly bade *Euander* to be gone. The king hearing this, had no minde to tarry; but embarking himselfe and the treasure which he had there, in certaine vessels that hee found in the riuer Strymon; passed ouer to the Isle of Samothrace: where hee hoped to liue safe, by priuiledge of the religious Sanctuarie therein.

These miserable shifts of the king make it the lesse doubtfull, how all the kingdome fell into the power of *Amylus*, within so few dayes after his victorie. *Pydna* which was neereft at hand, was the last that yeelded. About sixe thousand of the souldiours, that were of sundry Nations, fled out of the battaile into that Towne; and prepared for defence: the confused rabble of so many strangers hindering all deliberation and consent. *Hippius* who had kept the passage ouer Ossa against *Martius*, with *Pantaneus*, who had beene sent Embassadour to *Gentius* the Illyrian, were the first that came in: yeelding themselves and the Towne of *Beræa*, whither they had retired out of the battell. With the like message came others from Thessalonica, from Pella, and from all the Townes of Macedon, within two dayes: the losse of the head bereauing the whole body of all sense and strength. Neither did they of *Pydna* stand out any longer, when they knew that the king had forsaken his Countrey: but opened their gates vpon such termes, that the sake of it was granted to the Roman Armie. *Amylus* sent abroade into the Countrey, such as he thought meetest, to take charge of other Cities: hee himselfe marching towards Pella. Hee found in Pella no more than three hundred Talents, the same whereof *Perseus* had lately defrauded the Illyrian. But within a very little while hee shall haue more.

It was soone vnderstood, that *Perseus* had taken Sanctuarie, in the Temple at Samothrace: his owne letters to the Consul, confirming the report. Hee sent these letters by person of such meane condition; that his case was pittied, for that he wanted the seruice of better men. The scope of this writing was, to desire fauour: which though he begged in termes ill becomming a king, yet since the inscription of his Epistle was, *King Perseus to the Consul Paulus*, the Consul, who had taken from him his Kingdome, and would not allow him to retaine the Title, refused to make any answer thereunto. So there came other letters, as humble as could be expected: whereby hee craued and obtained, that some might be sent to conferre with him about matters of his present estate. Neuerthelesse, in this conference, hee was marvellous earnest, that hee might be allowed still to retaine the name of king. And to this end it was perhaps, that hee had so carefully preferred his Treasure, vnto the very last: flattering himselfe with such vaine hopes as these; That the Romans would neither violate a Sanctuarie, nor yet neglect those great riches in his possession; but compound with him for money, letting him haue his desire to liue at ease, and to be called King. Yea it seemes that hee had indeede, euen from the beginning, a desire to liue in this Isle of Samothrace: both for that in one of his consultations about the Warre, he was dehorted by his friends, from seeking to exchange his kingdome of Macedon, for

\* *Liub. 42.*

\* such a paltrie Iland; and for that he offered to lay vpon the money which *Enmenes* demanded, in the holy Temple that was there. But hee findes it otherwise. They vrge him to giue place vnto necessity, and without more adoe, to yeeld to the discretion and mercie of the people of Rome. This is so farre against his minde, that the conference breakes off without effect. Presently there arrives at Samothrace *Cn. Octavianus* the Roman Admirall, with his fleet: who assayes, as well by terrible threats, as by faire language, to draw the king out of his lurking hole; wherein, for feare of imprisonment, hee had now already imprisoned himselfe. When all would not serue, a question was moued to the Samothracians; How they durst pollute their Temple, by receiving into it one that had violated the like priuiledge of Sanctuary, by attempting the murder of king *Enmenes* at Delphi: This went to the quick. The Samothracians, being now in the power of the Romans, take this matter to heart; and send word to the king, That *Euander*, who liues with him in the Temple, is accused of an impious fact, committed at Delphi, whereof vntill he can cleere himselfe in iudgement, hee must not be suffered to prophane that holy place, by his abiding in it. The reuerence borne to his Maiestie, now past, makes them forbear to say, that *Perseus* himselfe is charged

with the same crime. But what will this auale, when the minister of the fact being brought into iudgement, shall (as is to be feared) appeach the author? *Perseus* therefore willed *Euander* to haue consideration of the little fauour that can be expected at the Romans hand; who are like to be presidents and ouer-seers of this iudgement: so as it were better to dye valiantly, since none other hope remains, than hope to make good an ill cause; where though he had a good plea, yet it could not helpe him. Of this motion *Euander* seemed to like well; and either kills himselfe, or hoping to escape thence, by deserting the tunc as it were to get payson, wherewith to end his life, is killed by the Kings commandment. The death of this man, who had stucke to *Perseus* in all times of neede, makes all the Kings friends that remained with him, to forsake him: so as none are left with him, save his wife and children, with his Pages. It is much to be suspected, that they which leaue him vpon this occasion will tell perillous tales, and say, That the King hath lost the priuiledge of this holy Sanctuarie, by murdering *Euander* therein. Or if the Romans will ascribe too much, who shall dare to gaine say them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formalitie, and euen that also lyable to dispute, which prefers him from captiuitie, he purposeth to make an escape, and Bye, with his Treasures, vnto *Corys* his good friend, into Thracia. *Oreander*, a *Cretian*, lay at *Samothrace* with one ship, who easily was perswaded to waite the King thence. With all secretie the Kings money, as much as could be so conueyed, was carried aboard by night; and the king himselfe, with his wife and children (if rather it were not true, that he had with him onely) *Philipp* his elder sonne, who was onely by adoption his sonne, being his brother by nature, with much adoe got out at a window by a rope, and quert a mudd wall. At his coming to the Sea-side, he found no *Oreander* there: the *Cretians* had played a *Cretian* trick, and he was gone with the money to his owne home. So it began to wake cleare day, whilst *Perseus* was searching all along the shoare; who had stayed so long about this, that he might feare to be intercepted ere he could recover the Temple. He ranne therefore againe towards his lodging; and thinking it not safe to enter in the common way, lest he should be taken; he hid himselfe in an obscure corner. His Pages missing him, ranne vp and downe making enquire, till *Oleanus* made Proclamation, That all the Kings Pages, and Macedonians whatsoeuer, abiding with their master in *Samothrace*, should haue their liues and libertie, with all to them belonging, which they had either in that Isle, or at home in Macedon, conditionally. That they should presently yeeld themselves to the Romans. Hercupon they all came in. Likewise *Ion*, a *Thessalonian*, to whom the King had giuen the custodie of his children, deliuered them vp to *Oleanus*. Lastly, *Perseus* himselfe, with his sonne *Philipp*, accusing the gods of *Samothrace*, that had no better protected him; rendered himselfe, and made the Roman victory compleate. If he had not trusted in those gods of *Samothrace*, but employed his whole care in the defence of Macedon, without other hope of liuing, than of resigning therein, he might well haue brought this Warre to an happier end. Now, by diuiding his cogitations, and pursuing, at once, those contrary hopes of sauing his Kingdome by armes, and himselfe by flight, he is become a spectacle of misery; and one among the number of those Princes, that haue bene wretched by their owne default. He was presently sent away to *Chalcis*, before whom he fell to the ground so basely, that he seemed thereby to dishonour the victory ouer himselfe, as gotten vpon one of abied qualitie, and therefore the lesse to be esteemed. *Amylus* vied to him the language of a gentle Victor, blaming him, though mildly, for hauing, with so hostile a minde, made Warre vpon the Romans. Hereto good answer might haue bene returned by one of better spirit. As for *Perseus*, hee answered all with a fearefull silence. He was comforted with hope of life, or (as the Consul tearmed it) almost assurance, for that such was the mercie of the people of Rome. After these good words, being inuited to the Consuls Table, & respectfully entreated, he was committed prisoner to *Q. Mucius*.

Such end had this Macedonian War, after foure yeeres continuance: & such end there withall had the Kingdome of Macedon; the glory whereof, that had sometime filled all parts of the World then knowne, was now transfused vnto Rome.

Gentius, King of the Thyrans, taken by the Romans.

\* Called now  
Scutari.

At the same time, and with like celeritie, *Anicius* the Roman Prætor, who succeeded vnto *App. Claudius*, had the like success against King *Gentius* the Thyrans. *Gentius* had an Armie of fifteene thousand, with which he was at first ready to assault King *Perseus* as soone as the money should come, whereto he had received onely ten Talents. But *Antiochus* arrested him on the way, fought with him, overcame him; and draue him into \* *Scutari*. This Towne was very defensible by nature, besides the help of fortification, & strongly manned with all the force of *Thyrans*, which, assisted with the Kings presence, made it seeme impossible to be wonne, in any reasonable long time. Yet *Anicius* was confident in his late victory; and therefore presented his Armie before the walles, making countenance to giue an assault. The *Thyrans*, that might easily haue defended themselves within the Towne, would needes istie forth and fight. They were, it seemes, rather passionate than courageous: for they were beaten; and thereupon forthwith began amazedly to treat about yielding. The King sent Embassadors, by whom, at first, he desired truce for three dayes, that he might deliberate concerning his estate. It ill became him who had layed violent hand on the Roman Embassadors, to haue recourse to such meditation. But he thought his owne fault pardonable, in as much as hitherto there was no greater harme done by him, than the casting of those Embassadors into prison; where they were still alive. Having obtained three dayes respite, he passed vpon a River within halfe a myle of the Roman Campe, into the Lake of *Scutari*, as it were to consult the more privately, though indeede, to hearken whether the report were true, that his brother *Caracanthus* was coming to his rescue. Finding that no such helpe was toward, it is wonder, that he was so foolish as to returne into *Scutari*. He sent Messengers craving access vnto the Prætor, before whom having lamented his folly past (which, excepting the dishonour, was not so greuous as his folly present) he fell downe humbly, and yielded himselfe to discretion. All the Townes of his Kingdom, together with his wife, children, brother, friends, were presently giuen vp. So this Warre ended in thirtie dayes: the People of *Rome* not knowing that it was begun vntill *Perseus*, one of the Embassadors that had beene imprisoned, brought word from *Anicius* how all had passed.

How the Romans behaued themselves in Greece and Macedonia after their victory over *Perseus*.

Now began the Romans to swell with the pride of their fortune; and to looke tyrannically vpon those that had bene vanquished in their hands before. Whilst the Warre with *Perseus* seemed full of danger. The *Rhodian* Embassadors were full of shame, when the tidings of his late victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good to call them into the Senate, and bid them doe their errand againe. This they performed with a bad grace; saying, that they were sent from *Rhodes* to make an offer of peace; forasmuch as it was thought that this Warre was no lesse grieuous to the Romans themselves, than to the *Macedonians* and many others; but that now they were very glad, and in behalfe of the *Rhodians* did congratulate with the Senate and People of *Rome*, that it was ended with more happily than had bene expected. Hereto the Senate made answer, That the *Rhodians* had sent this Embassage to *Rome*, not for loue of *Rome*, but in fauour of the *Macedonians*; whose partizans they were, and should be taken by the *Rhodes*, and the desire of faine (conceit of the charge) to haue Warre made now against *Rhodes*; the Embassadors were so affrighted, that in mourning apparell, as humble suppliants, they went about the Citie; beseeching all men, especially the great ones, to pardon their indiscretion, and not to prosecute them with vengeance for some foolish words. This danger of Warre from *Rome* being knowne at *Rhodes*, all that had bene any

any whit averse from the Romans in the late Warre of Macedonia, were either taken and condemned, or sent prisoners to *Rome*; excepting some that slew themselves for feare, whose goods also were confiscated. Yet this procured little grace; and lesse would haue done, if old *M. Cato*, a man by nature vehement, had not vitered a milde sentence, and aduertised the Senate, That in decreeing warre against *Rhodes*, they should much dishonour themselves, and make it thought, that rather the wealth of that Citie, which they were greedy to ranke, than any iust cause, had moued them thereto. This consideration, together with their good defects in the warres of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, helped well the *Rhodians*: among whom, none of any marke remained alieue, save those that had bene of the Roman Faction. All which notwithstanding, many yeeres passed, ere by importunate suit, they could be admitted into the society of the Romans: a fauour which till now, they had not esteemed, but thought themselves better without it, as equal friends.

With the like, or greater seueritie, did the Romans make themselves terrible in all parts of Greece. *Æmylius* himselfe made progresse through the Countrey; visiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleasure: yet not forgetting to make them vnderstand what power he had over them. More than five hundred of the chiefe Citizens in *Demetrias* were slaine at one time by those of the Roman faction, and with help of the Roman souldiers. Others fled, or were banished, and their goods confiscated. Of which things, when complaint was made to the Consul, the redresse was such, as required not the pains of making supplication. His friends, that is to say, those which betrayed vnto the Romans the liberty of their Countrey, he fasted like a king, with excessive cheere, yet so, that he had all things very cheape in his Campe: an easie matter, since no man durst be backward in sending provisions, nor set on them the due price. Embassadors likewise were sent from *Rome*, some, to giue order for selling the estate of Macedonia, towards which they had more particular instruction from the Senate than was vsual in such cases, and some, to visit the affaires of Greece. The kingdom of Macedonia was set at liberty by *Æmylius* and the Embassadors, his assistants, who had order thereto from the Senate. But this liberty was such as the Romans vsed to bestow. The best part of it was, That the Tribute which had bene payed vnto the kings, was lessened by halfe. As for the rest, the Countrey was diuided into foure parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the other. All the Nobility were sent captiue into Italy, with their wiues and children, as many as were about fifteene yeeres old. The ancient Lawes of the Countrey were abrogated; and new giuen by *Æmylius*. Such mischief the Senate thought it better to doe, at the first alteration of things in this Prouince, and in the time of Conquest, than otherwise to leaue any inconuenience that should be worse in the future. But concerning the *Greekes*, that were not subiects to *Rome*; the things done to them could deserue no better name than meere tyrannie, yea, and shamelesse penury; were it not so, that the familiar custome, among Princes and great Estates, of violating Leagues, doth make the Oathes of confederation seeme of no validitie. The Embassadors that were sent to visit the *Greekes*, called before them all such men of note, from euery quarter, as had any way discomfited an vnseruicable disposition towards the Romans. These they sent to *Rome*, where they were made sure enough. Some of these had sent letters to *Perseus*, which fell at length into the Romans hands: & in that respect, though they were no subiects, yet wanted there no colour, for vsing them as traitors, or at least as enemies. But since onely two men were beheaded, for hauing bene openly on the Macedonian side; and since it is confessed, that the good *Patriotes* were no lesse afflicted in this inquisition, than they that had sold themselves to the king: this manner of proceeding was inexcusable Tyrannie. With the *Achaens* these Embassadors were to deale more formally: yet not so much because that Common wealth was strong (though this were to be regarded by them, hauing no Commission to make or denounce Warre) and like to proue vnderstandable, if manifest wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of signe, by letters, or otherwise, whereby any one of the *Achaens* could be suspiciously charged to haue held correspondence with the Macedonian. It was also so, that neither *Callistratus*, nor any of his adherents, had bene employed by the Nation, in doing or offering their seruice to the Romans, but onely such as were the best *Patriotes*. Yet would not therefore the Embassadors neglect to vse the benefit of the time: wherein, since all men trembled for feare of *Rome*, the season serued fitly to ranke the *Achaens* with the rest.

And

And hereto *Callistrates* was very vrgent: fearing, and procuring them to feare in behalfe of him and his friends, that if some sharpe order were not now taken, he and his fellows should be made to pay for their mischieuous deuices, ere long time passed. So the Embassadours came among the Achæans: where one of them, in open assembly of the Nation, spake as *Callistrates* had before instructed him. Hee said, that some of the chiefe among them, had with money and other meanes befriended *Perseus*. This being so, he desired that all such men might be condemned, whom, after sentence giuen, hee would name vnto them. After sentence giuen (cried out the whole assembly) what iustice were this? Name them first, and let them answer; which if they cannot well doe, wee will soone condemne them. Then said the Roman boldly, that all their Prators, as many as had led their armies, were guilty of this crime. If this were true, said *Xenon*, a temperate man, and confident in his innocence, then should I likewise haue bene friend to *Perseus*: whereof, if any man can accuse me, I shall thoroughly answer him, either here presently, or before the Senate at Rome. Vpon these words of *Xenon* the Embassadour laid hold, and said that euen so it were the best way, for him and the rest to purge themselves before the Senate at Rome. Then began he to name others, and left not vntill he had cited about a thousand; willing them to appeare and answer before the Senate. This might euen be termed the captiuitie of Greece; wherein so many of the honestest and worthiest men were carried from home, for none other cause than their ioue vnto their Country, to be punished according to the will of those, who could not endure, that vertue, & regard of the publike liberty, should dwell together in any of the Greeks. At their coming to Rome, they were cast into prison, as men already condemned by the Achæans. Many Embassages were sent from Achaia (where it is to be wondered, that any such honest care of these innocent men could be remaining: since honestie had been thus punished as a vice, in so many of the worthiest among them) to informe the Senate, that these men were neither condemned by the Achæans, nor yet held to be offenders. But in stead of better answer, it was pronounced; That the Senate thought it not expedient for the Country, that these men should retaine into Achaia. Neither could any solicitation of the Achæans, who neuer ceased to importune the Senate for their libertie, preuaile at all; vntill after seauenteene yeeres, fewer than thirty of them were enlarged, of whom that wise and vertuous man *Polylus*, the great Historian, was one. All the rest were either dead in prison; or hauing made stike to escape, whether vpon the way before they came to Rome; or whether out of layle, after that they were committed thereto, suffered death as malefactors.

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done vpon the Epirots. For the Senate being desirous to preferue the Macedonian Treasure whole, yet withall, to gratifie the Souldiers, gaue order, That the whole Country of *Epirus* should be put to sacke. This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as also it was performed by *Amylius* with mischieuous subtiltie. Hauing taken leaue of the Greeks, and of the Macedonians, with bidding them well to vse the libertie bestowed vpon them by the people of Rome; hee sent vnto the Epirots for ten of the principal men out of euery Citie. These he commanded to deliuer vp all the Gold and Silver which they had; and sent along with them, into euery of their Townes, what companies of men he thought conuenient, as it were to fetch the money. But he gaue secret instruction to the Captaines, that vpon a certaine day by him appointed, they should fall to sacke, euery one the Towne wherein he was sent. Thus in one day were threescore and tenne Cities, all confederate with the Romans, spoyled by the Roman Souldiers; and besides other acts of hostility in a time of peace, a hundred and fiftie thousand of that Nation made slaues. It may be granted, that some of the Epirots deserved punishment, as hauing fauoured *Perseus*. But since they, among this people, that were thought guilty of this offence, yea, or but coldly affected to the Romans, had bene already sent into Italie, thereto receive their due; and since this Nation in generall, was not onely at the present in good obedience, but had euen in this warre, done good seruice to the Romans: I hold this act to wicked, that I should not beleuee it, had any one Writer deliuered the contrary. But the truth being manifest by consent of all; it is the lesse maruelous, that *God* was pleased to make *Amylius* childlesse, euen in the glory of his triumph, how great soeuer otherwile his vertues were.

In such manner dealt the Romans, after their victory, with the Greeks and Macedonians.

ans. How terrible they were to other Kingdomes abroad; it will appeare by the efficacy of an Embassage sent from them to *Antiochus*; whereof before we speake, we must speake somewhat of *Antiochus* his foregoers, of himselfe, and of his affaires about which these Embassadours came.

## §. XI.

The Warre of *Antiochus* vpon Egypt, brought to end by the Roman Embassadours.

**A**ntiochus the Great, after his peace with the Romans, did nothing that was memorable in the short time following of his reigne and life: Hee died the fixe and thirtieth yeere after he had worene Crowne, and in the seauenteenth or eighteenth of *Ptolomie Epiphanes*: while he attempted to rob the Temple of *Bel*, or (according to *Iustine*) of *Iupiter*. He left behinde him three sonnes, *Seleucus Philopater*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Demetrius Soter*; and one daughter, *Cleopatra*, whom hee had giuen in marriage to *Ptolomie Epiphanes*, king of Egypt. *Seleucus* the fourth of that name, and the eldest of *Antiochus* his sonnes, reigned in Syria twelue yeeres, according to *Eusebius*, *Appian*, and *Sulpicius*: though *Iosephus* giue him but seuen. A Prince, who as hee was flourishfull by nature; so the great losse which his father *Antiochus* had receiued, tooke from him the meanes of managing any great affaire. Of him, about three hundred yeeres before his birth, *Daniel* gaue this iudgement, *Et stabit in loco eius vilissimus & indignus decore regio*. And in his place (speaking of *Antiochus*, the Father of this man) shall rise up a wilde person, unworthy the honour of a King. Vnder this *Seleucus*, those things were done which are spoken of *Onias* the high Priest, in these words, & other to the same effect: What time as the holy City was inhabited with all Peace, because of the godlinesse of *Onias* the Priest, it came to passe, that euen the King did honour the place, and garnished the Temple with great gifts. And all that is written in the third Chapter of the second of *Maccabees*, of *Simon* of *Beniamin*, who by *Apollonius* betrayed the Treasures of the Temple: and of *Heliadorus* sent by the king to seize them; of his miraculous striking by God, and his recovery at the prayers of *Onias*; of the kings death, and of his successor *Antiochus Epiphanes*. It is therefore from the reigne of this king, that the books of the *Maccabees* take beginning. Which books seeme not to be deliuered by one and the same hand. For the first booke, although it touch vpon *Alexander* the Great, yet it hath nothing else of his storie, nor of the acts of his successors, till the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the brother and successeur of this *Seleucus*; from whom downward to the death of *Simon Maccabaeus* (who died in the hundred threescore and seauenteenth yeere of the Greeks in Syria) that first booke treateth. The Author of the second booke, although he take the storie somewhat further off, by way of a Proame, yet he endeth with the hundred and one and fiftieth yeere of the Grecian reigne, and with the death of *Nicanor*, slaine by *Judas*: remembering in the fourth Chapter the practice of *Isaiah* the brother of *Onias*, who after the death of *Seleucus*, preuailed with *Antiochus Epiphanes*, his successor, for the Priesthood. It is also held by *Iansenius* and other graue Writers, that it was in the time of this *Onias*, that *Arius* king of the Spartans sent Embassadours to the Iewes, as to their brothers and kinsmen. Which intelligence betweene them and the Greeks, *Jonathan* the brother and successeur of *Judas*, remembereth in the Preamble of that Epistle, which he himselfe directed to the people of Sparta by *Numenius* and *Antipater* his Embassadours, whom he employed at the same time to the Senate of Rome, repeating also the former Letters word by word, which *Arius* had sent to *Onias* the high Priest, whereof *Iosephus* adds, that the name of the Lacedæmonian Embassadour was *Demoteles*, and that the Letters had a square Volume, & were sealed with an Eagle holding a Dragon in her clowes.

Now to this *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, succeeded *Antiochus Epiphanes*, in the hundred and seuen and thirtieth yeere of the Greeks in Syria. He was the second sonne of the Great *Antiochus*: and he obtained his kingdom by procuring the death of the King his brother; which also he vsurped from his brothers sonne.

*Ptolomie Philometor*, his Nephew by his sister *Cleopatra*, being then very young, had bene about seuen yeeres King of Egypt.

*Ptolomie Epiphanes*, the Father of this King *Philometor*, had reigned in Egypt foure and twenty yeeres; in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. *Philip* of

Strab. lib. 16.

Iust. lib. 35.

Euseb. in Chron.

App. de bell.

Sulp. Ant. 12.

cap. 5.

Dan. 11. 35.

Macc. 2. 3.

Macc. 12.

Super. Eccl. 1. 5.

of Macedon, and the great *Antiochus*, had agreed to diuide his kingdome between them, whilst he was a child. But they found such other businesse, ere long, with the Romans, as made them giue ouer their vniust purpose, especially *Antiochus*, who gaue, with his daughter in marriage, vnto this *Ptolomie*, the Prouinces of Coelosyria, Phoenice, & Iudæa, which he had won by his victory ouer *Scopar*, that was Generall of the Egyptian forces in those parts. Neuerthelesse, *Ptolomie* adhered to the Romans: whereby he liued in the greater securitie. He left behinde him two sonnes, this *Ptolomie Philometor*, and *Ptolomie Physcon*, with a daughter, *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was wife to the elder of her brethren, and after his death to the younger, by whom shee was cast off, and her daughter taken in her stead. Such were the marriages of these Egyptian Kings.

*Ptolomie Philometor*, so called (that is, the louer of his mother) by a bitter nickname, because he slew her, fell into hatred with his subiects, & was like to be chafed out of his Kingdome, his younger brother being set vp against him. *Physcon* hauing a strong party, got possession of Alexandria; and *Philometor* held himselfe in Memphis, crauing succour of King *Antiochus* his vnckle. Hereof *Antiochus* was glad: who vnder colour to take vp on him the protection of the yong Prince, sought by all means possible to possesse himselfe of that kingdome. He sent *Apollonius*, the sonne of *Antisthenes* Embassadour into Egypt, and vnder colour to assist the kings Coronation, hee gaue him instructions to perswade the Gouvernours of the yong King *Philometor*, to deliuer the king his Nephew with the principall places of that kingdome into his hands; pretending an extraordinary care and desire of his Nephewes safety and well doing. And the better to answer all argument to the contrary, he prepared a forcible armie to attend him. Thus came hee alongst the coast of Syria to Ioppe, & from thence on the sudden he turned himselfe towards Ierusalem, where, by *Iason* the Priest (a Chaplin fit for such a Patron) he was with all pompe and solemnitie receiued into the Citie. For though lately, in the time of *Seleucus*, the brother and predecessor of *Epiphanes*, that impious Traitor *Simon* of the Tribe of *Beniamin*, Ruler of the Temple, when he would haue deliuered the treasures thereof to *Apollonius* Gouvernour of Coelosyria and Phoenicia, was disappointed of his wicked purpose by miracle from heauen; the said *Apollonius* being stricken by the Angell of God, and recouering againe at the prayer of *Onias*: yet sufficed not this example to terrifie others from the like vngodly practices. Presently vpon the death of *Seleucus*, this *Iason*, the brother of *Onias*, seeking to supplant his brother, and to obtaine the Priesthood for himselfe, offered vnto the King three hundred and threescore talents of siluer, with other rents and summes of money. So he got his desire, though he not long enioyed it.

This naughty dealing of *Iason*, and his being ouer-reached by another in the same kind, calls to minde a by-word taken vp among the Achæans, when as that mischieuous *Callicrates*, who had bene too hard for all worthy and vertuous men, was beaten at his owne weapon, by one of his owne condition. It went thus:

*One fire than other burnes more forcibly,  
One Wolfe than other Wolves does bite more fore;  
One Hawke than other Hawkes, more swift does fly.  
So one most mischieuous of men before,  
Callicrates, false knaue as knaue might be,  
Met with Menalcidas more false than he.*

And euen thus fell it out with *Iason*: who within three yeeres after, was betrayed, and ouerbidden by *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, that for three hundred talents more obtained the Priesthood for himselfe: *Iason* thereupon being forced to flye from Ierusalem, and to hide himselfe among the Ammonites.

From Ierusalem, *Antiochus* marched into Phoenicia, to augment the numbers of his men of warre, and to prepare a Fleet for his expedition into Egypt; with which, and with a mighty army of land forces, He went about to raigue ouer Egypt; that hee might haue the dominion of two Realmes, and entred Egypt with a mighty company; with Chariots and Elephants, with Horsemen, and with a great Nanie, and moued warre against *Ptolemæus* King of Egypt; but *Ptolemæus* was afraid of him, and fled, and many were wounded to death.

He won many strong Cities, and tooke away the spoiles of the Land of Egypt. Thus was filled

Prophecie of *Daniel*: *He shall enter into the quiet and plentifull Prouinces, and hee shall doe that which his Fathers haue not done, nor his Fathers Fathers.* Neuer indeed had any of the Kings of Syria so great a victory ouer the Egyptians, nor tooke from them so great riches. For he gaue a notable ouerthrow to the Captaines of *Ptolomie*, betweene Pelusium and the hill *Cassius*, after which he entred, and sackt the greatest and richest of all the Cities of Egypt, Alexandria excepted, which he could not force. In conclusion, after that *Antiochus* had smitten Egypt, hee turned againe, and went up towards Israel and Ierusalem with a mighty people, and entred proudly into the Sanctuary, and tooke away the golden Altar, and the Candlesticke for the light, and all the instruments thereof, and the table of the Shew-bread, and the Pouring Vessels, and the Bibles, and the golden Basins, and the Vase, and the Crownes, and the golden Apparell. He tooke also the Silver, and the Gold, and the precious Jewels, and the secret Treasures: and when he had taken away all, he departed into his owne Land, after he had murdered many men.

It was about the beginning of the Macedonian warre, that *Antiochus* tooke in hand this Egyptian businesse. At what time he first laid claime to Coelosyria, iustifying his title by the same allegations which his father had made; and stiffely assering, that this Prouince had not bene consigned ouer to the Egyptian, or giuen in dowrie with *Cleopatra*. Easie it was to approue his right vnto that which he had already gotten, when he was in a faire way to get all Egypt. The Achæans, Rhodians, Athenians, and other of the Greeks, pressed him, by severall Embassages, to some good conclusion. But his answer was, that if the Alexandrians could be contented to receiue their king his Nephew *Philometor*, the elder brother of the *Ptolomies*, then should the warre be presently at an end; otherwise not. Yet when he saw, that it was an hard peece of worke to take Alexandria by force: he thought it better to let the two brothers consume themselves with intestine war, than by the terror of his armes, threatening destruction vnto both of them, to put into them any desire of coming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his forces for the present; leauing the *Ptolomies* in very weake estate, the yonger almost ruinated by his inuasion; the elder hated and forsaken by his people.

But how weake soeuer these Egyptians were, their hatred was thought to be so strong, that *Antiochus* might leaue them to the prosecution thereof; and follow, at good leisure, his other businesse at Ierusalem or elsewhere. So after the sacke of Ierusalem, he rested him a while at Antioch, and then made a iourney into Cilicia, to suppress the Rebellion of the Thracians and other in those parts, who had bin giuen as it were, by way of dowry, to a Concubine of the kings, called *Antiochis*. For Gouvernour of Syria in his absence, he left one *Andronicus*, a man of great authority about him. In the meane while *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, the same who had thrust *Iason* out of the Priesthood, and promised the King three hundred talents for an In-come, committing the charge of the Priesthood to his brother *Lysimachus*, stole certaine vessels of gold out of the Temple: whereof he presented a part to *Andronicus* the Kings Lieutenant, and sold the rest at Tyre, and other Cities adioyning. This hee did, as it seemeth, to aduance the payment of the three hundred talents promised; the same being now by *Stratus* eagerly demanded. Hereof when *Onias* the Priest (formerly dispossessed by *Iason*) had certaine knowledge, being moued with zeale, and detesting the sacriledge of *Menelaus*, he reprocured him for it; and fearing his reuenge, he withdrew himselfe into a Sanctuary at Daphne.

Daphne was a place of delight adioyning as a suburb to Antioch. In compasse it had abouten miles: wherein were the Temples of *Apollo* and *Diana*, with a Grove, sweete Springs, banquetting places, and the like, which were wholly, in a manner, abused to lust & other such voluptuousnesse. Whether it were well done of *Onias*, to commit himselfe to the protection of *Apollo* & *Diana*, or to claime priuiledge, from the holinesse of a ground consecrated to any of the Heathen gods, I will not stand to discourse. Onely I lay for mine owne opinion, that the inconuenience is farre lesse, to hold this booke as Apocryphall, than to iudge this fearfull shift which *Onias* (though a vertuous man) made for his life, either commendable, or allowable, as the booke seemes to doe. As for this refuge, it could not saue the life of the poore olde man: for *Menelaus* taking *Andronicus* apart, prayed him to slay *Onias*. So when hee came to *Onias*, hee counselled him craftily, giuing him his right hand with an oath, and perswaded him to come out of the Sanctuary; so hee slew him inconsciously without any regard of righteousness. Hereof

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when complaint was made to *Antiochus* after his returne out of Cilicia. He took with him *Antiochus* his garment of purple, and rich cloathes, and commanded him to be led through the City, and in the same place where he had committed the wickednesse against *Adrian*, he was slain as a murderer. In taking revenge of this innocent mans death, I should have thought that this wicked king had once in his life-time done iustice. But presently after this, at the suit of one *Ptolemie*, a Traytor to *Ptolemie Philometer*, hee condemned innocent men to death; who iustly complained against *Antiochus*, and his brother *Syrius*, for a second robbing of the Temple, and carrying thence the vessels of gold, remaining. Merely it is manifest, that he was guided by his owne outrageous and not by any regard of iustice: since he reuenged the death of *Onias*, yet slew those that were in the same cause with *Onias*; who, had they told their cause, yea, had these the *Syrians*, they should have beene heard as innocents. By reason of such his vniuersall desire, this king was commonly termed *Epimanes*, that is, Mad, in stead of *Epiphanes*, which signifieth Noble or Illustrious.

After this, *Antiochus* made preparation for a second voyage into Egypt, and then over there came throughout all the Citie of Jerusalem, for manye dayes, his army running in the ayre with robes of gold, and as bands of spearmen, and archers of the *Chanaan* set in array, one country, and coming one against another. Of these prodigious signes, or rather fore-warnings of God, all Histories haue deliuered vs, some more, some lesse. Before the destruction of Jerusalem by *Vespasian*, a star in the forme of a sword appeared in the Heavens directly ouer the City, after which there followed a slaughter like vnto this of *Epiphanes*, though farre greater. In the Cymbrian warres, *Pliny* tells vs, that Armies were seen fighting in the ayre from the morning till the evening.

In the time of Pope *John* the eleuenth, a fountaine powred out bloud in stead of water, in or neare the Citie of Genoa; soon after which the Citie was taken by the Saracens, with great slaughter. Of these and the like prodigious signes, *Vesperi* hath collected many, and very remembreable. But this one seemeth to mee most memorabile, because the most notorious. All men know, that in the Emperour *Nero*, the Off-spring of the *Cæsars*, as well natural as adopted,ooke end; whereof this notable signe gaue warning.

When *Livia* was first married to *Augustus*, an Eagle let fall into her armes a white Hen, holding a Lawrell branch in her mouth. *Livia* caused this Hen to be carefully nourished, and the Lawrell branch to be planted: Of the Hen came a faire creature of white Poultry; and from the little Branch there sprang vp in time a Grove of Lawrell: so that afterwards, in all Triumphs, the Conquerors did vnto carry in their hands a branch of Bayes taken out of this Grove; & after the Triumphs ended, so set it againe in the same ground: which branches were obserued, when they happened to wither, to foreshew the death of those persons who carried them in triumph. And in the last yeere of *Nero*, all the broods of the white Hens died, and the whole Grove of Bayes withered at once. Moreover, the heads of all the *Cæsars* Statues, and the Scepter placed in *Augustus* his hand, were stricken downe with lightning. That the Iewes did not thinke such strange signes to be unworthy of regard, it appears by their calling vpon God, and praying, that these tokens might turne to good.

Now as the first voyage of *Antiochus* into Egypt was mentioned by discord of the two brethren therein reigning: so was his second Expedition caused by their good agreement. For the elder *Ptolemie* being left in Memphis, not strong enough to force his brother, who had defended Alexandria against all the power of their Vncle, thought it the best way to seeke entrance into that royall Citie, rather by perswasion than by armes. *Physcon* had not yet forgotten the terror of the former siege: the Alexandrines though they loued not *Philometer*, yet loued they worse to liue in scarcitie of victuals (which was already great among them, and like to grow extreame) since nothing was brought in from the Countrey; and the friends of the younger brother saw no likelihood of good issue to be hoped for without reconciliation. These good helpes, and aboue all these, the louing disposition of *Cleopatra*, who then was in Alexandria, encouraged *Philometer* in his purpose. But that which made him earnestly desirous to accomplish it, was the feare wherein he stood of his Vncle. For though *Antiochus* was gone out of Egypt with his armie, yet had hee left behinde him a strong garrison in Pelusium; retaining that Citie, which was the Key of Egypt, to his

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owne vse. This consideration wrought also with *Physcon*, and with those that were about him; so as by the vehement mediation of *Cleopatra* their sister, the two brethren made an end of all quarrels.

When the newes of this accord was brought to *Antiochus*, he was greatly enraged: for notwithstanding that he had pretended no other thing than the establishing of the King *Philometer* his nephew, and a meaning to subiect his younger brother vnto him, which hee gaue in answer to all Embassadors; yet he now prepared to make a sharpe warre vpon them both. And to this end he presently furnished and sent out his Nauie towards Cyprus, and drew his land Armie into Coelosyria, ready to enter Egypt the Spring following. When he was on his way as farre as Rhinocorura, he met with Embassadors sent from *Ptolemie*. Their errand was partly to yeeld thanks to *Antiochus* for the establishing of *Philometer* in his Kingdome, partly to beseech him, That hee would rather be pleased to signifie what he required to haue done in Egypt, which should be performed, than to enter it as an enemy with so puissant an Armie. But *Antiochus* returned this short answer, That hee would neither call backe his Fleete, nor withdraw his Armie, vpon any other condition, than that *Ptolemie* should surrender into his hands, together with the Citie of Pelusium, the whole Territorie thereto belonging: and that he should also abandon and leaue vnto him the Ile of Cyprus, with all the right that hee had vnto either of them, for euer. For answer vnto these demands, hee set downe a day certaine, and a short one. Which being come and past, without any accord made, the Syrian Fleete entred Nilus, and recovered as well those places which appertained to *Ptolemie* in Arabia, as in Egypt it selfe; for Memphis, and all about it, receiued *Antiochus*, being vnable to resist him. The King hauing now no stoppe in his way to Alexandria; passed on thitherwards by easie iournies.

Of all these troubles past, as well as of the present danger wherein Egypt stood, the Romans had notice long agoe. But they found, or were contented to finde, little reason for them to intermeddle therein. For it was a ciuill warre: and wherein *Antiochus* seemed to take part with the iuster cause. Yet they gaue signification, that it should be much displeasing vnto them, to haue the Kingdome of Egypt taken from the rightfull owners. More they could not, or would not doe; being troubled with *Perseus*; and therefore loath to prouoke *Antiochus* too farre. Nevertheless, the Egyptian kings being reconciled, and standing ioyntly in need of helpe against their Vncle, who prepared and made open warre against them both: it was to be expected, that not onely the Romans, but many of the Greeks, as being thereto obliged by notable benefites, should arme in defence of their Kingdome. Rome had beene sustained with food from Egypt, in the warre of *Hannibal*, when Italy lying waste, had neither corne, nor money wherewith to buy sufficient store. By helpe of the Egyptian, had *Aratus* laide the foundation of that greatnesse, whereto the Achæans attained. And by the like helpe, had Rhodes beene defended against *Demetrius Poliorcetes*. Neither were these friendly turnes, which that bountifull house of the *Ptolemies* had done for sundry people abroad, ill followed, or seconded, by other as bad in requittall: but with continuance of suitable beneficence, from time to time increased. Wherefore the two brothers sent abroad confidently for ayde, especially to the Rhodians and Achæans, who seemed most able to giue it effectually. To the Romans, *Physcon* and *Cleopatra* had sent, a yeere since: but their Embassadors lay still in Rome. Of the Achæans they desired in particular, that *Lycortas* the braue warrior might bee sent vnto them, as Generall of all the Auxiliaries, and his sonne *Polybius*, Generall of the Horse. Herunto the Achæans readily consented: and would immediately haue made performance, if *Callistatus* had not interposed his mischieuous art. Hee, whether seeking occasion to vaunt his obsequiousnesse to the Romans, or much rather enuying those Noble Captaines, whose seruice the Kings desired, withstood the common voyce; which was, That their Nation should, not with such small numbers as were requested, but with all their power, bee ayding vnto the *Ptolemies*. For it was not now (hee said) conuenient time to entangle themselves in any such businesse, as might make them the lesse able to yeeld vnto the Romans, what helpe soeuer should be required in the Macedonian warre. And in this sentence, hee with those of his faction, obstinately persisted; terrifying others with bigge words, as it were in behalfe of the Romans. But *Polybius* affirmed, that *Martius*

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the two Confull had signified vnto him, that the *Romans* were past all neede of helpe: adding further, that a thousand foot, and two hundred horse, might well be spared; to the ayde of their Benefactors, the *Egyptian* Kings, without disabling their Nation to performe any seruice to the *Romans*; for as much as the *Acheans* could without trouble, raise thirre or foure thousand Souldiours. All this notwithstanding, the resolution was deferred from one meeting to another; and finally broken, by the violence of *Calpurnius*. For when it was thought that the Decree should haue passed; he brought into the Theatre where the assembly was held, a Messenger with letters from *Marius*; whereby the *Acheans* were desired to conforme themselves to the *Roman* Senate; and to labour as the Senate had done, by sending Embassadours to set *Egypt* in peace. This was an aduice against all reason. For the Senate had indeede sent Embassadours to make peace; but as in a time of greater businesse elsewhere, with such milde words, that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely, that the *Acheans* should doe any good in the same kinde. Yet *Polybius* and his friends, durst not gaine say the *Roman* Council; which had force of an iniunction. So the kings were left in much dislike; disappointed of their expectation. But within a while was *Perseus* overcome; and then might the Embassadour sent from the *Roman* Senate, performe as much as any Armie could haue done.

Audience had beene lately given by the Senate, vnto those Embassadours of *Phrygia* and *Cleopatra*; which hauing stayed more than a whole yeere in the City, brought nothing of their businesse to effect vntill now. The Embassadours deliuered their message in the name of those that had sent them: though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) *Philonetor*, no lesse than his Brother and Sister.

Polyb. lib. 7.

In this ambassage of *Ptolemy*, now requesting helpe from *Rome*; appeared a notable change of his fortune, from such as it had beene before three or foure yeeres last past. For in the beginning of these his troubles, which beganne with the *Macedonian* Warre; either he, or *Eumenes*, or *Lenaus* (vpon whom the blame was afterwards layed) which had the government of him, thought his affaires in such good estate, that not onely he determined to set vpon *Antiochus*, for *Celestria*; but would haue interposed himselfe betwene the *Romans* and *Perseus*, as a competent Arbitrator; though it fell out well, that his Embassadour was by a friend perswaded to forget that point of his errand. From these ligh thoughts he fell on the sudden, by the rebellion of his brother and subjects, to liue vnder protection of the same *Antiochus*. And now as such time as by atonement with his brother and subjects, he might haue seemed to stand in no neede of such protection, he hath remaining none other helpe whereby to saue both his Kingdome and life, than what can be obtained by their intercession which were employed against him. This miserable condition of him, his brother and sister, shewed it selfe, euen in the habit of those Embassadours. They were poorly clad; the haire of their heads and beardes overgrown, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their hands, branches of Oliue. Thus they entred into the Senate; and there fell, groning and prostrate vpon the floore. Their garments were not so meane and mournfull, nor their looks and Countenances so sadde and dejected, but that their speech was than either of the other farre more lamentable. For hauing told in what danger their King and Countrey stood; they made a pittifull and grievous complaint vnto the Senate, beseeching them to haue compassion of their Estate, and of their Princes, who had alwaies remained friendly and faithfull to the *Romans*. They said that the people of *Rome* had so much heretofore fauoured this *Antiochus* in particular, and were of such account and authority, with all other Kings and Nations; as if they pleased but to send their Embassadours, and let *Antiochus* know, that the Senate was offended with his vndertaking vpon the King their Confederat; then would he presently raise his siege from before *Alexandria*, and withdraw his Armie out of *Egypt*, into *Syria*. But that if the Senate protracted any time, or vsed any delay; then should *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra*, be shortly driuen out of their Realmes, and make repaire to *Rome*, with shamefull dishonour to the Senate, and people thereof; in that, in the extreme dangers of all their fortunes, they had not vouchsafed to relieue them.

The Lords of the Senate moved with compassion, sent incontinently *C. Popilius Lenus*, *C. Decimus*, and *A. Hostilius*, as Embassadours to determine and end the warre betwene those Kings. In commission they had first to finde King *Ptolemy*; and then *Antiochus*; and

to let them both vnderstand, that vnlesse they surrendred, and gaue over Armies, they would take that King no more for a friend to the Senate, and people of *Rome*; vntom they found obsequie, or vntill delay. So these *Romans* together with the *Alexandrian* Embassadours, took their leave, and went onward their way within three dayes after.

Whilest *Popilius* and his fellowes were on their way toward *Egypt*, *Antiochus* had transported his Armie ouer *Lusine*, some fortie miles from *Alexandria*. So nere was he to the end of his iourney, when the *Roman* Embassadours met him. After greeting and salutations at their first encounter, *Antiochus* offered his right hand to *Popilius*; but *Popilius* filled it with a Roll of paper; willing him to read those Mandates of the Senate, before he did any thing else. *Antiochus* did so; and hauing a little while considered of the businesse, he told *Popilius*; That hee would aduise with his friends, and then giue the Embassadours their answer. But *Popilius*, according to his ordinary blunt manner of speech, which he had by nature, made a Circle about the King with a Rodde which he held in his hand, willing him to make him such an answer as hee might report to the Senate, before hee moued out of that Circle. The King astonished at this rude and violent a Comandement, after hee had stayed and pawed a while, I will be content (quoth hee) to doe whatsoeuer the Senate shall ordaine. Then *Popilius* gaue vnto the King his hand, as to a friend and Allie of the *Romans*.

Thus *Antiochus* departed out of *Egypt*, without any good issue of his costly Expedition; euen in such manner as \* *Daniel* had prophesied long before; yea; fulfilling euery particular circumstance, both of returning, and of doing mischiefe to *Jerusalem* after his returne; like as if these things had rather beene historified than foretold by the Prophet. As for the *Roman* Embassadours, they stayed awhile, and settled the kingdome of *Egypt*, leaving it vnto the elder brother, and appointed the yonger to reigne ouer *Cyrene*. This done, they departed towards *Cyprus*; which they felt, as it had beene in the power of the *Egyptian*, hauing first sent away *Antiochus* Fleet, which had already giuen an overthrow to the *Egyptian* ships.

Dan. cap. 11. 1. 23. 30. &amp;c.

## S. XII.

How the *Romans* were dreadfull to all Kings. Their demeanour towards *Eumenes*, *Rhodus*, *Maçanissa*, and *Corys*. The end of *Perseus* and his children. The instability of Kings Estates. The Triumphs of *Paulus*, *Anicius*, and *Octavius*. With the Conclusion of the warke.

By this peremptoric demeanour of *Popilius*, in doing his Message, and by the ready obedience of King *Antiochus* to the will of the Senate; wee may perceiue how terrible the *Romans* were growne, through their conquest of *Macedon*. The same *Popilius* had beene well contented, a yeere before this, to lay aside the roughnesse of his naturall condition, and to giue good language to the *Acheans* and *Antiochus*; when hee went Embassadour to those people of *Grece*, that were of farr lesse power than the King of *Antiochus*. Likewise, *Antiochus* had with good words, and no more than good words, dismissed other Embassadours which came from *Rome*, in such sort, as they complained not, much lesse vsed any menacing reatures, though he performed nothing of their request. But now the case was altered. So found other Kings as well as *Antiochus*.

*Eumenes* sent to *Rome* his brother *Attalus*, to gratulate the victory ouer *Perseus*, and to craue helpe or countenance of the Senate against the *Gallo-greekes*, which molested him. Very welcome was *Attalus*, and louingly entertained by most of the Senators; who bade him be confident, and request of the Senate his mostis Kingdome for himselfe; for it should surely be giuen him. These hopefull promises tickled *Attalus* with such ambition, that hee either approued, or seemed to approue the motion. But his honest nature was soone reuelmed by the faithfull counsaile of *Strasius* a Physician; whom *Eumenes* had sent to *Rome* of purpose to keepe his brother vpright. So, when hee came into the Senate, hee deliuered the errand about which hee had beene sent; recounting his owne seruices done to the *Romans* in the late warre; where withall hee forgot not to make of his brother as good mention as hee could; and finally requested, That the Townes of *Achaia* and *Acroia* might be

Liu. lib. 45.

Polyb. Legat.  
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Polyb. lib. 1.

bestowed vpon himselfe. \*By his omitting to sue for his brothers Kingdome, the Senate conceived opinion, that he meant to craue another day of audience for that businesse alone. Wherefore to make him vnderstand how gracious hee was, they not onely granted all his desire; but in the presents which they gaue vnto him (as was their custome to Embassadors that came with an acceptable message) they vsed singular magnificence. Neuerthelesse, *Attalus* tooke no notice of their meaning; but went his way, contented with what they had already granted. This did so highly displease the Senate, that while he was yet in *Italy*, they gaue order for the liberty of *Annus* and *Maronia*; thereby making vncleall their promise; which otherwise they could not, without shame, reuoke. And as for the *Gallo-greekes*, which were about to invade the kingdome of *Perga*.<sup>10</sup> *Emmnes* they sent Embassadors to them, with such instructions, as rather encouraged than hindered them in their purpose. The displeasure of the Senate being so manifest, *Emmnes* thought it worthy of his labour to make another voyage to *Rome*. He might wel blame the folly of his second voyage thither, for this necessity of the third: since, by his malice to *Perseus*, hee had layed open vnto these ambitious Potentates the way to his owne doores. No sooner was he come into *Italy*, than the Senate was ready to send him going. It was not thought expedient to vse him as an enemy, that came to visit them in loue: neither could they, in so doing, haue auoided the note of singular inconstancy: and to entertaine him as a friend, was more than their hatred to him, for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would permit. Wherefore they made a Decree, That no king should<sup>20</sup> be suffered to come to *Rome*; and by vertue thereof sent him home, without expence of much further complement.

*Perseus* king of *Bithynia* had bene at *Rome* somewhat before; where hee was welcomed after a better fashion. Hee had learned to behaue himselfe as humbly as the proud *Romans* could expect or desire. For entering into the Senate, hee lay downe, and kissed the threshold, called the *Fathers* his gods and sauours: as also hee vsed to weare a Cap, after the manner of slaues newly manumised, professing himselfe an enfranchised bondman of the People of *Rome*. Hee was indeede naturally a slaue, and one that by such abiect flattery kept himselfe safe; though doing otherwise greater mischief than any wherewith *Perseus* had bene charged. His errand was, besides matter of comple-<sup>30</sup> ment, to commend vnto the Senate the care of his sonne *Nicomedes*, whom hee brought with him to *Rome*, thereto receiue education. Further petition hee made, to haue some Townes added to his Kingdome: whereto, because the grant would haue bene vniust, hee receiued a cold answer. But concerning the Wardshippe of his sonne, it was vnderaken by the Senate: which, vaunting of the pleasure lately done to *Egypt*, in freeing it from *Antiochus*, willed him thereby to consider, what effectuall protection the *Romans* gaue vnto the children of Kings, that were to their patronage commended.

But aboute all other Kings, *Masaniissa* held his credit with the *Romans* good. His quarrels were endlesse with the *Carthaginians*: which made the friendship of the *Romans* to<sup>40</sup> him the more assured. In all controuersies they gaue iudgement on his side: and whereas he had invaded the Countrey of *Emporia*, holding the Lands, but vnable to winne the Townes; the *Romans* (though at first they could finde no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this oppression) compelled finally the *Carthaginians* both to let goe all their hold, and to pay five hundred Talents to the *Namudians*, for ha-  
ving hindered him of his due so long. Now indeede had *Rome* good leysure to deuise vpon the ruine of *Carthage*: after which, the race of *Masaniissa* himselfe was shortly by them rooted vp. But heereof the olde King neuer dreamed. He sent to *Rome* one of his sonnes, to congratulate the victorie ouer *Perseus*; and offered to come thither himselfe, there to sacrifice for ioy vnto *Iupiter* in the Capitol. His good will was louingly accepted; his sonne rewarded; and hee entreated to stay at home.

*Catus* the *Thracian* sent Embassadors, to excuse himselfe touching the aide by him, giuen to *Perseus*, for that the *Macedonian* had him bound by hostages, and to entreat, That his sonne, which was taken with the children of *Perseus*, might be set at libertie, for conuenient ranfome. His excuse was not taken; since hee had voluntarily oblig-  
ged himselfe to *Perseus*, by giuing hostages, without necessity: Yet was his sonne giuen backe to him ranfome-free; with admonition, to carry himselfe better toward

Romans

*Romans* in time following. His Kingdome lay betwene *Macedon* and soine barbarous Nations; in which respect, it was good to hold him in faire teames.

As for those vnhappy kings, *Perseus* and *Gentius*, they were led through *Rome*, with their children and friends, in the Triumphs of *Emylius* and *Antius*. *Perseus* had often made suite to *Emylius*, that he might not be put to such disgrace: but hee still receiued one scornfull answer, That it lay in his owne power to preuent it; whereby was meant, that he might kill himselfe. And surely, had hee not hoped for greater mercie than he found, hee would rather haue fought his death in *Macedon*, than haue bin beholding to the cruelty of his insolent enemies for a wretched life. The issue of the *Roman* clemencie,<sup>10</sup> wherof *Emylius* had giuen him hope, was no better than this: After that hee, and his fellow king, had bene led in chaires through the streets, before the Chariots of their triumphing Victors, they were committed to prison, wherein they remained without hope of release. It was the manner, that when the Triumpher turned his Chariot vptowards the Capitol, there to doe sacrifice, he should command the captiues to be had away to prison, and there put to death: so as the honor of the Vanquisher, and miserie of those that were overcome, might be both together at the vtmost. This last sentence of death was remitted vnto *Perseus*: yet so, that he had little ioy of his life; but eyther famished himselfe, or (for it is diuersly reported) was kept watching perforce by those that had him in custodie; and so died for want of sleepe. Of his sons, two died; it is vncertaine<sup>20</sup> how. The yongest called *Alexander* (only in name like vnto the Great, though destined sometimes perhaps by his father, vnto the fortunes of the Great) became a loyner, or Turner, or, at his best preferment, a Scribe vnder the *Roman* Officers. In such pouterie ended the Royall House of *Macedon*: and it ended on the suddaine; though some eight-score yeeres after the death of that Monarch, vnto whose ambition this whole Earth seemed too narrow.

If *Perseus* had known it before, that his owne sonne should one day be compelled to earne his liuing by handie worke, in a painfull Occupation; it is like, that he would not as in a wantonnesse of Soueraignete, haue commanded those poore men to be slaine, which had recovered his treasures out of the sea, by their skill in the feat of diuing. Hee<sup>30</sup> would rather haue bene very gentle, and would haue considered, that the greatest oppressors, and the most vnderroden wretches, are all subiect vnto the One high Power, gouerning all alike with absolute command. But such is our vnhappinesse; in stead of that blessed counsaile, *Deu ye would be done vnto*, a sentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicitie; we entertaine that arrogant thought, *I will bee like to the most High*: that is, I will doe what shall please my selfe. One hath said truly:

—vv— *Et qui nolunt occidere quemquam  
Possunt* —

Lucan. Sai.  
10.

*Even they that haue no murders will,  
Would haue it in their power to kill.*

<sup>40</sup> All, or the most, haue a vaine desire of abilitie to doe euill without controule: which is a dangerous temptation vnto the performance. God, who best can iudge what is expedient, hath granted such power to very few; among whom also, very few there are, that vse it not to their owne hurt. For who fees not, that a Prince, by racking his Soueraigne authoritie to the vtmost extent, enableth (besides the danger to his owne person) some one of his owne sonnes or nephewes to root vp all his progenie? Shall not many excellent Princes, notwithstanding their brotherhood, or other neerensse in blood, be driuen to slatter the Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Harlot that gouernes one, the most vn-  
worthy of his whole house, yet reigning ouer all? The vntimely death of many Princes<sup>50</sup> which could not humble themselves to such flattery; and the common practice of the *Turkish* Emperours to murder all their brethren, without expecting till they offend; are too good proofes hereof. Heereunto may be added, That the heyre of the same *Roger* *Martimer*, who murdered most traitorously and barbarously King *Edward* the second; was, by reason of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, heire apparent to the Crowne of *England*: which had he obtained, then had all the power of *Edward* fallen into the therace of his mortall enemy, to exercise the same vpon the Line of that vnhappie King. Such examples of the insatiablie whereto all mortall affaires are subiect,

\* The true  
Law of free  
Monarchie.

chap. 3. §. 4.

subject, as they teach moderation, and admonish the transitorio Gods of Kingdomes, not to authorize, by wicked precedents, the quill that may fall on their owne posteritie: so do they necessarily make vs vnderstand, how happy that Countreie is, which hath obtained a King able to conceive and teach, That *God is the fittest and sharpest Schoolmaster, that can be devised, for such Kings, as thinke this world ordained for them, without any scruple to turne it upside downe at their pleasure.*

Now concerning the Triumph of *L. Aemilius Paulus*; it was in all points like vnto that of *T. Quintus Flaminius*; though farre more glorious, in regard of the Kings owne person, that was ledde along therein, as part of his owne spoyle; and in regard likewise both of the Conquest and of the Bootie. So great was the quantitie of Gold and Silver carried by *Paulus* into the *Roman* Treasurie, that from thence forth, vntill the ciuill Wars which followed vpon the death of *Iulius Cæsar*, the Estate had no need to burthen it selfe with any Tribute. Yet was this noble Triumph likely to haue bin hindered by the soldiers, who grudged at their General, for not hauing dealt more bountifully with them. But the Rinces of the Senate ouer-ruled the People and Soldiers herein, and brought them to reason by severe exhortations. Thus *Paulus* enioyed as much honour of his victory as men could giue. Neuertheless, it pleased *God* to take away from him his two remaining sons, that were not giuen in adoption: of which, the one died five daies before the Triumph; the other three daies after it. This losse he bore wisely: and told the People, That he hoped to see the Common-wealth flourish in a continuance of prosperitie; since the ioy of his victory was requited with his owne private calamitie; in stead of the publike.

About the same time, *Othavius* the Admirall, who had brought *Perseus* out of *Samothrace*: and *Anicim* the Pretor, who had conquered *Myria*, and taken King *Gentius* prisoner; made their seuerall triumphs. The glory of which magnificent spectacles, together with the confluence of Embassages from all parts; and Kings, either visiting the Imperiall Citie, or offering to visit her, and doe their duties in person; were enow to say vnto *Rome*, *Summe superbiæ, Take upon thee the Maieslie, that thy deserts haue purchased.*

**BY** this which we haue already set downe, is scene the beginning and end of the three first Monarchies of the world; whereof the Founders and Erectours thought, that they could neuer haue ended. That of *Rome* which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. We haue left it flourishing in the middle of the field, hauing rooted vp, or cut downe, all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the world. But after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beauty it had; the stormes of ambition shall beat her great boughes and branches one against another; her leaves shall fall off, her limbes wither, and a rabble of barbarous Nations enter the field, and cut her downe.

Now these great Kings, & conquering Nations, haue bin the subject of those ancient Histories, which haue bin preferred, and yet remaine among vs; and withall of so many tragickall Poets, as in the persons of powerfull Princes, and other mighty men haue complained against Infidelitie, Time, Destinie, and most of all against the Variable successe of worldly things, and Instabilitie of Fortune. To these vndertakings, these great Lords of the world haue bene stirred vp, rather by the desire of Fame, which ploweth vp the Aire, and soweth in the Winde; than by the affection of bearing rule, which draweth after it so much vexation and so many cares. And that this is true, the good aduice of *Cicero* to *Pyrrhus* proues. And certainly, as Fame hath often bene dangerous to the liuing, so is it to the dead of no vse at all; because separate from knowledge, which were it otherwise, and the extreme ill bargain of buying this lasting discourse, vnderstood by them which are dissolved; they themselves would then rather haue wished, to haue stollen out of the world without noyse, than to be put in minde, that they haue purchased the report of their actions in the world, by rapine, oppression, and crueltie: by giuing in spoyle the innocent and labouring soule to the idle and insolent; and by hauing emptied the Cities of the world of their ancient Inhabitants, and filled them againe with so many and so variable sorts of sorrowes.

Since the fall of the *Roman* Empire (omitting that of the *Germanes*, which had neither greatness nor continuance) there hath bene no State fearefull in the East, but that of

of the Turk; nor in the West any Prince that hath spread his wings farre ouer his nest, but the Spaniard; who since the time that *Ferdinand* expelled the Moores out of *Granado*, haue made many attempts to make themselves Masters of all Europe. And it is true, that by the treasures of both Indies, & by the many kingdomes which they possesse in Europe, they are at this day the most powerfull. But as the Turke is now counterpoysed by the Persian, so in stead of so many Millions as haue bene spent by the English, French, and Netherlands in a defenseuall Warre, and in diuersions against them, it is easie to demonstrate, that with the charge of two hundred thousand pound continued but for two yeeres, or three at the most, they may not only be perswaded to liue in peace, but all their swelling and ouer-flowing streames may be brought backe into their naturall channels & old banks. These two Nations, I say, are at this day the most eminent, & to be regarded; the one seeking to roote out the Christian Religion altogether, the other the truth and sincere profession thereof; the one to ioyne all Europe to Asia, the other therest of all Europe to Spaine.

For the rest, if we seeke a reason of the succession and continuance of this boundlesse ambition in mortall men, we may adde to that which hath bene already said; That the Kings and Princes of the world haue alwaies laid before them, the actions, but not the ends of those great Ones which preceded them. They are alwayes transported with the glorie of the one, but they neuer minde the miserie of the other, till they finde the experience in themselves. They neglect the aduice of *God*, while they enioy life, or hope it; but they follow the counsell of Death, vpon his first approach. It is he that puts into man all the wisdom of the world, without speaking a word; which *God* with all the words of his Law, promises, or threats, doth infuse. Death, which hateth and destroyeth man, is beleueed, *God*, which hath made him, and loues him, is alwaies deferred. *I haue considered*, (saith *Salomon*) *all the workes that are vnder the Sunne, and behold, all is vanitie, and vexation of spirit*: but who beleuees it, till Death tells it vs? It was Death, which opening the conscience of *Charles* the first, made him enioyne his sonne *Philip* to restore *Nauarre*; and King *Francis* the first of France, to command that iustice should be done vpon the Murderers of the Protestants in *Merindol* and *Cabrieres*, which till then he neglected. It is therefore Death alone that can suddenly make man to know himselfe. He tells the proud and insolent, that they are but Abiects, and humbles them at the instant; makes them crie, complaining, and repent, yea, euen to hate their forepassed happiness. He takes the account of the rich, and proues him a begger; a naked begger, which hath interest in nothing, but in the grauell that fills his mouth. He holds a Glasse before the eyes of the most beautifull, and makes them see therein, their deformitie and rottennesse; and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, iust, and mighty Death! whom none could aduise, thou hast perswaded, what none hath dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hast cast out of the world and despised: thou hast drawne together all the farre stretched greatnesse, all the pride, crueltie, and ambition of man, and couered it all ouer with these two narrow words, *Hic iacet.*

Lastly, whereas this Booke, by the title it hath, calls it selfe, *The first part of the Generall Historie of the World*, implying a Second and Third Volume; which I also intended, and haue hewne out, besides many other discouragements, perswading my silence; it hath pleased *God* to take that glorious Prince out of the world,

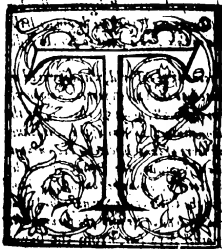
to whom they were directed; whose vspeakeable and neuer enough lamented losse, hath taught me to say

*Wish Iob, Versa est in Luctum Cithara mea, & Organum meum in vocem flentium.*

30

FINIS.

## To the Reader

[illegible][illegible]

The Titles under the Calnebs, bime reference to that which follows under them; as will readily be conceived, Where two Titles or more, are over the head, as <sup>ROMA</sup> <sup>ROMA</sup> <sup>ROMA</sup> [there deare the number] vnderneath answer proportionally, the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. For example : The wall of Ierusalem were finished in the 319. year from the building of Rome, and in the 314. from Nabonassar. The wall of the maner is to be understood, That Ichofaphat began his reign in the 3774. of the Iulian Era, in the 3092. of the World, as in the 99. year of the Temple. This may not more illustration; nor indeed is more to thofe that are acquainted with works of this kinde. To avoid prolixitie, I haue forbore to insert thofe yeeres; which I finde not forced with some regardable accident : as with the birth or death of some Patriarch; the beginning of some Kings Reigne; some change of Government; some Battail fought; or the like. So, of the 3. first vnder the Syllius Capetus reigneouer the Latines, I more only the first; that is, omitting altogether the 4. of Ichofaphat, wherein Capetus began, vnto the 17. wherein Syllius Auentinus succceded, and wherein Ichoram first reigned with Ichofaphat his father. For I thought it vaine to haue filled up a page with 12. lines of idle cyphers, numbering from 2. 3. 4. 5. &c. so still omitted, till I had come to the first of Auentinus, and the 17. of Ichofaphat. In setting downe the Kings, there is noted ouer the head of every one what place hee held in order of succession : as whether he were the first, second, fifth, tenth, or so forth, in rank; of thofe that reigned in his Country, without notable interruption: Before the name is the first year of his reigne; at the end, or foot of the name (as the yeeres in leave) is the whole number of yeeres in which he reigned, in the spaces following vnderneath. As the yeeres of his which were concurrent with the beginning of some other King, or with the yeere of any remarkable accident, where two numbers, or more, are found before one King's name, then it is to be understood, that the same yeere belonged, not only to the King then beginning, but vnto some one, or more, of his foregoers : as the first yeere of Ichoram King of Israel was the same with the second of his brother Abaziah, and the 22. of his father Abah, So, where two or three names are found in one place; as in the 3077. yeere of the World, Zimri, Tibni, and Omri; it is meant that every one of them reigned in some part of the same yeeres, which is reckoned the second of Elaf, and the first of Omri. Particularly, vnder the yeeres of the Egyptian Kings are set downe the yeeres of thofe Dynasties, which it was thought meet to insert; althowes, otherwile, the day, the month upon which Nabonassars yeere began; which, how it varied from other yeeres, may be found in the place last above cited.

*Concerning the Acts, or acceptance of years from Iphitus, who began the Olympiads, from Rome built, from Nabonassar, and the like: as much as was thought convenient hath been said, where due place was, in the Book itself: so as it remaineth only to note, that vnder the title of Olympiads is set downe first the number of the Olympiad, and beneath it, the yeere of that Olympiad: as that Cysar began his reigne in Persia, in the 55. Olympiad, and the first yeere thereof.*

Now, for that the yeeres of the World, of the Olympiads, of Rome, of Nabonassar, and other, had not be-  
ginning in one month, but some of them in March, some in April, some about Midsummer, and some at other  
times: the better to expresse their several beginnings, some painefull Chronologers have divided them propor-  
tionably in their severall Countreys, appointing part of the one yeare to part of the other: not (as I have here done)  
cutting all overthwart with one straight line, as if all had begun and ended at one time. But this labour have I  
 spared, as more trouble some then vsuall; since the more part would not have apprehended the meaning, and  
 since

To the Reader.

since the learned might well be without it. It will surely be needfull to observe, that howsoever the *Acta* of the Olympiads be 247 years older than that of Rome, and 297 than that of Nabonassar, yet the reigns of some king may have begun at such a time as these years do differ from this difference. But how I take little regard. The more curious will easily find my meaning: the writer will not find the difficulty. One familiar example may explain all. *Queen Elizabeth* began her reign the 17. of November, in the year of our Lord, 1558. She was crowned, held a Parliament, gave it up, & wore divine Images, and reformed many things in Religion; all in her first year; yet not all in that year 1558. But the greater part in the years following; whether we begin with the feast of *Lammas*, or with the 25. of March. The like may be observable found in this Table; but so, as the difference is never of a whole year.

The *Julian Period*, which I have placed, in the greater number, over the years of the *World*, was delivered by that venerable and excellently learned Joseph Scaliger: being accommodated to the Julian years, now in use among us. It consisteth of 7980 years, which result from the multiplication of 19, 28, and 5. that is, of the *Cycle of the Moon*, the *Cycle of the Sun*, and the years of an *Indiction*. Being divided by any of these, it leaves the number of the present year; or, if no fraction remain, it sheweth the last years of that *Cycle* to have current. For example: in the 4498<sup>th</sup> of this period, when was fought the great battail of Cannae, the *Prime* or *Golden* number was 14, the *Cycle of the Sun* 8, and consequently the *Dominical letter F* as may be found by dividing the same number of the *Julian Period* 4498, by 19, for the *Prime*; by 28, for the *Cycle of the Sun*; by 5, for the *Julian Period*, after the present account, always exceeds the years of the *World* by 681. Besides the former use, and other thence redounding, it is a better Character of a year, than any other Era (as, From the beginning of the *World*, From the *Flood*, From *Troy* taken, or the like) which are of more congruous position,

*More I shall not need to write, as touching the use or explanation of these Tables. Neither was there much requisite to such as are conversant in works of this kind: is sufficient if hereby all be made plain enough to the vulgar.*

## A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Yeeres of the Iulian Period, VVorld,  
Patriarchs, &c.

[illegible]

*Julian*

Adam died about the  
end of the year.

*French translated.*

Sold of this year.





	Julian World promise	Sem.	Salab.	Heber.	Abra- ham.	Affria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	
	2781 2099 16	541	406	376	91	6 1. Ari- mus, 39	91	22	
Isaac the son of Abraham was 100 years old com- plete, 101. current.	2791 2109 26	551	416	386	101	11	101	32	1. Isaac 180
The last year of Salab.	2808 2126 43	558	433	403	118	28	118	49	18
	2811 2129 46	571		406	121	7 1. Ara- mus, 40	121	52	21
	2812 2130 47	572		407	122	2	122	6 1. A. E- gir, 34	22
Sarah the wife of Abraham died this year.	2827 2145 62	587		422	137	17	137	16	37
Isaac took Rebecca to wife, when hee was 40. years old complete.	2831 2149 66	591		426	141	21	141	20	41
The last year of Sem.	2840 2158 75	600		435	150	30	150	29	50
	Julian World promise	Heber.	Abra- ham.	Isaac.	Iacob.	Affria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Ar- gines.
	2846 2164 81	441	156	56		36	156	7 1. Thuri- machus, 45	
	2851 2169 86	446	161	61	1. Iacob 147	1. Ba- lem, 30	161	6	1. Ina- chus, 50
Abraham died this year.	2865 2183 100	460	175	75	15	15	175	20	15
Heber died this year.	2869 2187 104	464		79	19	19	179	24	19
The 17. Dynastie, called of the Shepherds, begin- ning this year, lasted 103. years.	2881 2199 116		91	31		1. Arma- mit rei, 38	191	36	31
	2891 2209 126		101	41	11		201	1. Lencip- pus, 33	41
	2901 2219 136		111	51	21		211	11	1. Phoe- neus, 60
The Flood of Ogges, a son of and a swine year before the Olympiads. See Lib. 1. c. 7. § 2.	2919 2237 154		129	69	1. Bala- cus Prif- cus, 35		229	29	19
	2941 2260 177		152	92	24		252	52	42 1. In- siph, 110
	2944 2262 179		154	94	26		254	54	44 1. Moja- lus, 47
See L. 2. c. 3. § 6.	2952 2270 187		162	102	34	3. and 4. 1. Typhon, and of Ierolim Hercul., 73	294	9	52 11
	2954 2272 189		164	104	1. Bala- cus, 53		3	11	54 13

	Julian World promise		Isaac.	Iacob.	Affria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argines.	
Isoph sold into Egypt.	2959 2277 194		159	109	6	1. Orus, 39, 115.	16	59	18
	2961 2279 196		171	111	8	3 81	18	3 1. Apis, 35	20
The last year of Isaac.	2970 2288 205		180	120	17	12 90	27	10	29
Israel into Egypt.	2980 2298 215		130	27	22	37	20	39	
The eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt, which lasted 348 years.	2984 2302 219		134	31	26 1	41	24	43	
	2991 2309 226		141	38	33 8 1. Para- mus, 46		31	50	
	2996 2314 231		145	43	38 13	6	4 1. Argus.	55	
Jacob dies in Egypt.	2997 2315 232		147	44	39 14	7	2		
	Julian World promise	Isoph.	Affria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argines.			
	3006 2324 241	65	13 1. A. Hedy, 32	48 23	16	11			
	3037 2355 273	96	32 1. Plem- nus, 18	79 54		42			
	3038 2356 273	97	13 1. Mamitus, 90	80 55	2	43			
The last year of Isoph.	3051 2369 286	110	14	93 68	15	56			
	3066 2384 301		29	108 83	30	5 1. Pirafus, or Crisafus, 54			
	3068 2385 303		14 1. Alancalus, 30	110 85	32	3			
	3074 2392 309		7 1. Sefofris the Great, 33	38 9			9		
	3085 2403 320		18 1. Orto- polis, 63	12 103	20				
	3098 2416 332		35 1. Spharpe of Iphareus, 20.	25 115	14	33			
	3107 2425 342		10 1. Sefofris the second, 124	23	42				
	3116 2434 351	1. Ma- fus, 120	10	33	51				

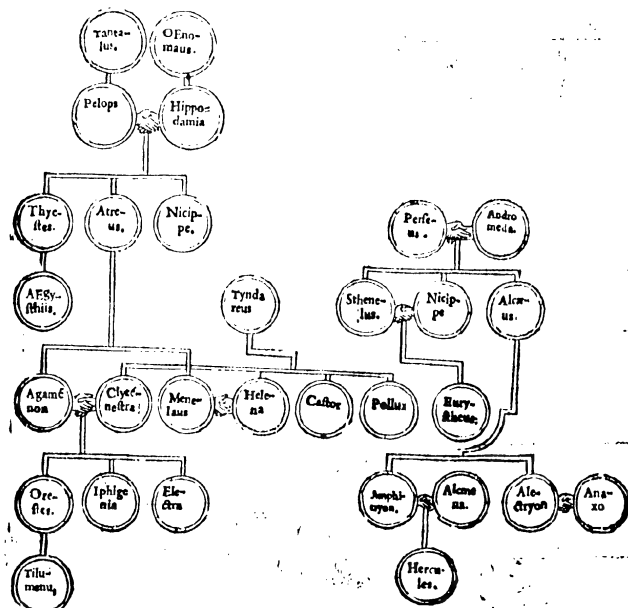
	Julian. World. promise	Moses.	Affria.	Egypt.	Sicion.	Arginus.	
	3118		16				
	2436	3	1. Mamilas, or Mamelinus, 30	12 135	34	53	
	353						
	3120					6	
	2438	5	3	14 137	36	1. Phorbas, 35	
	355						
	3121			8			
	2439	6	4	1. Orus 2. or Bajris, 18, 138	37	3	Arbe- mians.
	356						
	3148		17		13		
	2466	33	1. Sparatus, 40	28 165	29	1. M. ira buis, 10	
	383						
	3151					1	
	2469	36	4	31 168	4	32	1. Ce- tropus, 50
	386						
Moses visits his brethren the Israelites, kills an Egyptian, and flies into Midian.	3155						
	2473	40	8	35 172	8	7 1. Tripus, 46	5
	390						
	3159			9			
	2477	44	12	1. Thymatis, or Acenibereis, 20 13, 176	12	5	9
	394						
	3171			10			
	2489	56	24	1. Rabbris, or Acheris, 188	24	27	25
	406						
	3178				14		
	2496	63	31	8 195	24	28	
	413						
	3180			11			
	2498	65	33	1. Chencres 16 127	3	26	30
	415						
	3188			18			
	2506	73	1. Ascades.	9 205	11	34	38
	423						
Moses his wandering into Egypt.	3195						
	2513	80	8	16 212	18	41	45
	430						
	Julian. World. Exodus	Moses.	Affria.	Egypt.	Sicion.	Arginus.	Arbels
The Passover. Israel delivered out of Egypt. Pharaoh drowned. The Law given. The first of the 480 years from Exodus to the building of the Temple.	3196			12			
	2514	81	9	1. Acherres, 8. 213	19	42	46
	1						
The Flood of Deucalion, and confusation of Phoen about this time.	3198				15		
	2516	83	11	3 215	1. Echib- renus 55	44	48
	3						
	3201			6	4	8	1. Cra- manus 10
	2519	86	14	218	1. Cratopus, 21		
	6						
	3204			13			
	2522	89	17	1. Cherres, 15. 221	7	4	4
	9						
	3211			8	14	11	3
	2529	96	24	228	1. Amphit- ryon, 11		
	16						
	3219			14			
	2537	104	32	1. Armenis, or Dananis, 236	22	19	9
	24						
	3222						
	2540	107	35	4 239	25	9 1. Sibene, 111	12
	27						

	Julian. World. Exodus	Moses.	Affria.	Egypt.	Sicion.	Argus.	Athens
	3223						
	2541	108	36	5 240	26	2	4 E. B. honius, 50
	28						
	3224			15			
	2542	109	37	1. Ramesses, 68 241	27	3	2
	29						Troy
	3228						
	2546	113	19 1. Amyntas, 4	5 245	31	7	6
	33						
	3229						
	2547	114	2	6 246	34	8	7
	34						1. David nus, 6
	3233						
	2551	118	6	10 250	36	10 1. Danans, 50	11
	38						5
The last years of Moses.	3235						
	2553	120	8	12 252	38	3	13
	40						7
	Julian. World. Exodus	Israel.	Affria.	Egypt.	Sicion.	Argus.	Athens
	3236						
The Israelites enter the Land of Promise.	2554	1					
	41	18	9	13 253	39	4	14
							8
	3253						
	2571	18	26	30 270	16 1. Co- fax, 30	21	31
	58						25
	3254						
	2572	21	27	31 271	2	22	32
	59						26
	3273						
	2591	20	20 1. Belachus the second, 25	50 290	21	41	5
	78						1. Pan- dion 40
	3283						
	2601	30	11	60 300	17 1. Epe- pene, 35	11	11
	88						55
	3292						
	2610	39	20	16 1. Meophris, 40 309	10	10	20
	97						64
	3293						
	2611	40	21	3 310	11	11	21
	98						1. Eri- honius, 46
	3294						
	2612	41	22	3 311	12	12	22
	99						2
	3298						
	2616	5	21 1. Belopares, 30	7	16	16	16
	103						6
	3313						
	2631	20	16	22 310	31	31	31
	118						1. Eri- honius, 50
	3318						
	2626	25	21	27 335	18 1. Lame- dan, 40	36	6
	123						26
	3324						
	2642	31	27	33 341	7	12 1. Abban, 2	12
	129						32
	3328						
	2646	35	122 1. Lamprides	37 345	11	5	16
	133						36

Lib. 19. Dynastic: of the Lathes, 194 years.  
see Lib. 2. c. 16. 5. 4.

3332 1650 137	39	5	17 Zethus, or Se- bafis, 5	15	9	20	40
3339 1657 144	46	12	8 8	22	16	27	3 1. Tr. 60
3347 1665 152	54	20	16 16	30	13 1. Pra- tus, 17	35	9
3358 1676 163	65	31	27 27	19 1. Sisyphus, 45	12	46	30
3360 1678 165	67	23 1. Sisyphus, 20	29 29	3	14	48	21
3363 1681 168	70	4	32 32	6	17	7 1. Cerep- the, 40	25
3364 1682 169	71	5	33 33	7	14 1. Acri- fius, 31	2	16
3374 1692 179	4 1. Lebo- 1 & N., 40	15	43 43	17	11	12	36
3380 1698 185	7	24 1. Lampares, 30	49 49	23	17	18	41
3387 1705 192	14	8	18 1. Ramfies, 66, 56	30	24	25	49
3394 1712 199	21	15	8 63	37	34	32	56

At the death of Acrisius, the Kingdom of the Argives was divided into many small parts, and overgrown by that of Myce-  
nae, whereof some Kings descended from Perseus, others from Pelops, as in the Pedigree following.



Lib. 19. Dynastic: of the Lathes, 194 years. see Lib. 2. c. 16. 5. 4.	39	5	17 Zethus, or Se- bafis, 5	15	9	20	40
3332 1650 137	39	5	17 Zethus, or Se- bafis, 5	15	9	20	40
3339 1657 144	46	12	8 8	22	16	27	3 1. Tr. 60
3347 1665 152	54	20	16 16	30	13 1. Pra- tus, 17	35	9
3358 1676 163	65	31	27 27	19 1. Sisyphus, 45	12	46	30
3360 1678 165	67	23 1. Sisyphus, 20	29 29	3	14	48	21
3363 1681 168	70	4	32 32	6	17	7 1. Cerep- the, 40	25
3364 1682 169	71	5	33 33	7	14 1. Acri- fius, 31	2	16
3374 1692 179	4 1. Lebo- 1 & N., 40	15	43 43	17	11	12	36
3380 1698 185	7	24 1. Lampares, 30	49 49	23	17	18	41
3387 1705 192	14	8	18 1. Ramfies, 66, 56	30	24	25	49
3394 1712 199	21	15	8 63	37	34	32	56

	Italian World Exodus	Israel	Affria	Egypt	Sicyon	Myce- nae	Atheni	Troy
	3503 2820 307	9 1. Ieph 16		10 171	6	56	23	13
	3508 2826 313	10 1. Ib. can. 7		16 177	12	62	29	19
	3510 2828 315	3	10	18 179	14	64	1. Afue ilhe' 24	21
	3512 2830 317	5	12	20 181	16	1. Age- memor. 18	3	23
	3515 2833 320	11 1. Elon 10	15	23 184	19	4	6	26
The warre of Troy began this yeare.	3519 2837 324	5	19	21 1. Timoris, 7 188	23	8	10	30
	3525 2843 330	12 1. Ab- don. 8	25	7 194	29	14	16	36
The 20. Dynastie, called of the Diopolitani, began this yeare in Egypt, and lasted 178. yeares. See lib. 2. c. 26, §. 4.	3526 2844 331	2	26	20 1. Dynastie, 178	30	15	17	37
	3528 2846 333	4	28	3 1. Pelaj- us 20.	17	19		39
Troy taken 408. yeares before the beginning of the Olympiads. See lib. 2. c. 14, §. 1.	3529 2847 334	5	29	4	2	18	20	40 Troy taken
	3530 2848 335	1	6	30	5	3 1. Aegy- libu, 6	21	
	3533 2851 338	4	13 1. Sampson, 20.	29 1. Tem- pels 40	8	6	4	24 1. Aencas,
	3534 2852 339	5	2	2	9	7	5 1. Demo- phan, 33	2
	3536 2854 341	7	4	4	11	9 1. Ore- bei, 70	3	1. Afcamus,
	3548 2866 353	19	16	16	23	13 1. Zencu- pus, 31	15	13
	3553 2871 358	2	14 1. Elu, 40	21	28	6	18	20 18
	3567 2885 372	38	15	35	42	20	32 1. Oxim- teu, 12	32
	3573 2891 378	44	31	30 1. Thy- nem 30	48	26	38	7 38
	3574 2892 379	45	32	2	49	27	39	8 1. Syl. Poffi- num,

	Italian World Exodus	From Troy taken	Israel	Affria	Egypt	Sicyon	Myce- nae	Atheni	The Kingdom of the Latines
The Sicyonian Kings entiled in Xenophippus.	3579 2897 384	50	47	7	54	32	44	14 1. Archi- laus, 1.	6
	3580 2898 385	51	48	8	55		45	15 1. Archi- teu, 8.	7
	3588 2906 393	59	36	16	63		53	16 1. Melan- thus 37.	15
	3593 2911 398	64	1. Sapphet, & af- ter 100. 50.	21	68		58	6	20
	3603 2921 408	74	11	1. Dera- lus, 40	78		68	16	4 1. Syllanus & E- neus, 31.
	3606 2924 411	77	14	4	81		1. Sams- nus, 2	19	4
When of the Heraclide two Peloponnesus, came out to the land of Mycenae, and beginning to the Kingdom of Spar- ta, and Stejone, the Kings wherof I forbore to infer note.	3609 2927 415	180	17	7	84			22	7
	3625 2943 430	96	33	23	100			17 1. Co- drus, 21	23
	3633 2951 438		104	1. David, 40.	31	108	9	31	
	3634 2952 439		105	2	32	109	10	5 1. Syl. Latinius, 40	
	3643 2961 448		114	11	1. Eupa- tes, 38	118	19	10	
When Melantide succcede unto the Athenian Kings, the death of Codrus. See lib. 2. c. 17. §. 10.	3646 2964 451		117	14	4	121	1 1. Me- dora, 20	13	
	3666 2984 471		137	34	24	141	2 1. Aga- thia, 36	33	
When the reigneth in Egypt. See Lib. 2. c. 26. §. 3.	3673 2991 478	Temple	141	1. Salomon, 40	31	148	8	40	
When began to build the Temple 480. yeares com- after the delivrance out of Egypt.	3676 2994 481	1	147	4	34	151	14	43	
	3681 2999 484	6	152	9	1. I. Agl- benes, 15	156	16	48	
	3684 3002	9	155	13	4	159	19	6 1. Syl. Alba.	
	3692 3010	17	163	20	12	1. Sejac- us, 26	27	9	
	3702 3020	27	173	30	22	11	3 1. Archi- pus, 19	19	

	Julian World.	Temple Troy taken.	Israel	Assyria.	Egypt	Athens	Latins
The 21. Dynasty in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	3704 3022	29 175	32	24	13 1	3	21
The Ionian migration after the taking of Troy, 180. years, See L. 1 c 17 § 6.	3709 3027	34 180	37	29	18 6	8	26
	Julian World. Temple	Troy.	Inda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt	Athens. Latins.
	3713 3031 38	148	1. Reboam. 17	1. Ieroboam. 22	33	12 10	12 3
	3718 3036 43	189	6	6	38	1. Coen- mit, 50. 15.	17 1
	3721 3039 46	192	9	9	41	4 1. Tefsp put, 4	3
	3723 3041 48	194	11	11	43	6 20	3 1
	3726 3044 51	197	14	14	1. Pyruthead. 30	9 23	6 4
	3730 3048 55	201	1 1. Abiam, 3	18	5	13 27	10 8
	3733 3051 58	204	3 1. Asa, 41.	21	8	16 30	13 1
	3734 3052 59	205	2 1. Nadab 2.	22	9	17 31	14 15
	3735 3053 60	206	3 1. Baasha, 24.	23	10	18 32	15 15
	3749 3067 74	220	17	15	24	32 46	29 15
	3756 3074 81	227	24	22	1. Ophra- tem, 20	39 53	36 1
	3758 3076 83	229	26 1. Ela, 2.	24	3	41 55	38 10
Of those Israelite Kings, See lib. 2. c. 19. §. 5.	3759 3077 84	230	27 1. Zimri, 1. 6. Tihmi, 1. 7. Omri, 15	25	4	42 56	39 11
	3762 3080 87	233	30	4	7	45 59	1. Phor- bas, 31
	3768 3086 93	239	36	10	13	1. Che- ops, 56, 65	7 10
	3770 3088 95	241	38 1. Ahab, 22	12	8	3 67	9 21
	3774 3091 99	245	4 1. Iehosaphat. 25	5	19	7 71	13 26

	Julian. World. Temple	Troy.	Indus.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens.	Latins.
	3776 3094 101	247	3	7	1. Ophra- tani, 50	9 73	15	28
	3777 3095 102	248	4	8	2	10 74	16	9 1. Sil. Ca. fatu, 13
Of Iehoram his sundry beginnings to reign. See lib. 2. c. 20 §. 1 & 2.	3790 3108 115	261	17 5 1. Iehoram.	21 9 1. Abazia, 2.	15	23 87	29	10 1. Sil. Ty- erius, 8.
	3791 3109 116	262	18 2	12 1. Iehoram.	16	24 88	30	2
	3793 3111 118	264	20 0	3	18	26 90	1. Me- sa, 20.	4
	3795 3113 120	266	22 1. Iehoram a- gain, 8.	5	20	28 92	3	6
Iehosaphat dyer, and Iehoram reigns alone.	3798 3115 123	269	25 4	8	23	31 95	6	1. Sil. A- rippa, 41
	3802 3120 127	273	8 6 1. Abazia, 1.	12	27	35 99	10	5
	3803 3121 128	274	7 1. Abazia 7	11 1. Ieha, 28.	28	36 100	11	6
	3809 3127 134	280	7 8. 245, 1. Ios, 40.	7	34	42 106	17	12
Carthage built. L. 2. c. 22. §. 6.	3819 3137 144	290	110	17	44	52 116	27	22
	3825 3143 148	294	15	21	48	56 120	7 1. D. 6. natus, 23	26
	3824 3142 149	295	16	22	49	1. Cepre- tis, 50. 111	2	27
	3826 3144 151	297	18	24	1. Oza Cepre, Or Adraon dauaces, 15	3 123	4	29
	3831 3149 156	302	23 1. Iehobaz, 17	12	6	8 128	9	34
The end of the 21. Dynasty. The Dynasties following.	3833 3151 158	304	25	3	8	10 130	11	36
	3839 3157 164	310	31	9	14	16	17	1. Sil. A- ladius, 19
Ios reigned with his Father. L. 2. c. 22. §. 7.	3845 3163 170	316	37 1. Ios.	15 13	20	22	23	7
Ios reigns alone.	3847 3165 172	318	39	1. Ios, 16.	22	24	25	9
	3848 3166 173	319	40 1. Amath, 20	2	23	25	26	10

	Indian, World, Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Affria	Egypt	Atheni	Latine	
	3851 3169 176	322	4	5	26	28	8 t. Phere- dur, 19	13	
	3858 3706 183	329	11	12	33	35	8 t. Syl. A. antimn 17		
	3862 3180 187	333	15	16 14 t. Jeroboam, 41	37	39	12	5	
	3868 3186 193	339	21	7	38 t. Sarda- napolis 30	45	18	11	
	3870 3188 195	341	23	9	3	47	9 t. Ari- phrono	12	
	3874 3192 199	345	27	13	7	5	1. My- cerinus 6	16	
	Indian, World, Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Affria	Egypt	Atheni	Latine	Media
L.2.C.22.5.1.	3877 3195 202	348	t. Interregnum 11. years.	16	10	4	8	19	
	3880 3198 205	351	4	19	13	1. Boc- chorus, 44	11	22	
L.2.C.22.5.12.	3887 3205 212	358	11	26	10. Sar- danapa- lusian	8	18	29	
L.2.C.33.5.1.& 4.	3888 3206 213	359	10 t. Pexia, 0 Acaria, 52	27	9	19	30	1 t. Ab- bini	
	3890 3208 215	361	3	29	11	10 t. 7be- spon, 22	32	3	
L.2.C.23.5.4.	3892 3210 217	363	5	31	1. Salu- or Phul 48	13	3	34	5
	3895 3213 220	366	8	34	4	16	6	14 t. Sil. 176. ad 21	8
L.2.C.23.5.1.	3903 3221 228	374	16	t. Interregnum 23. years.	12	24	14	9	16
	3916 3234 241	387	29	14	25	37	27	22	1 t. Sal- mon, 32
	3917 3235 242	388	30	15	26	38	28	23	1
	3918 3236 243	389	31	16	27	39	2	24	15 t. Syl. A. malius 44
	3924 3242 249	395	37	22	33	45	8	7	9
Zacharia began at the very end of the year. L.2.C.23.5.1.	3925 3243 250	396	38	23	34	46	9	8	10

	Indian, World, Temple	Troy.			Juda.	Israel.	Affria	Egypt.	Atheni	Latine	M.d.
	3926 3244 251	397			39	16 t. Shallum one month 17 Menahem 10	35	3	10	9	11
This year nearly concurs with the first of Menahem.	3927 3245 252	398			40	1	36	4	11	10	12
	3930 3248 255	401			43	4	39	1. Sa- ac the Elysi- an, 10	14	13	15
	3937 3255 252	408	1 t. Iphi- m	Olympi- adi.	50	1. Peka- bia, 2	46	8	13 t. J. J. J. 1.3. 2.	20	22
The beginning of the Olympiads. L.2.C.23.5.5.	3938 3256 203	409	1	1	51	2	47	9	2	21	23
	3939 3257 264	410	2	1	52	1. Teia homel, 2	48	10	3	22	24
L.2.C.23.5.6.	3940 3258 265	411	3	1 11 t. Jetha 16	2	1. J. J. J. 1.3. 2.	11	4	23	25	
	Indian, World, Temple	Iphir.	Olymp.	Juda.	Israel.	Affria	Egypt.	Atheni	Latine	Media	
	3946 3264 271	9	3	7	8	7	17	10	29	1 t. Me- u, 40	
	3955 3273 280	18	5 16 t. Jetha 16	17	16	26	19	38	10		
	3959 3277 284	22	6 5 t. Inter- regnum 7 years	20	30	23	42	14			
	3960 3278 285	23	6 3	2	21	31	43	15			
	Indian, World, Temple	Rome, Nabon.	Iphir.	Olymp.	Juda.	Israel.	Affria	Egypt.	Atheni	Roma	Media
Rome built. Lib. 2. chap. 24. S. 3. The first year concerning Nabonassar after whom was fixed the first year of the Roman Empire & thence the first year became Annus.	3962 3280 287	1	25	7	8	4	23	33	1 t. Ca- reps, 10	1 t. Roma- nus, 37	17
	3966 3284 291	5	29	8	12	1. Jetha 9	27	37	5	5	21
The Era of Nabonassar. Lib. 2. C. 25. S. 1.	3967 3285 292	6	30	2	13	2	38	6	6	22	
Ezekia began in the very end of this year. L.2.C.23.5.1.	3968 3286 293	7	31	8	14 t. Jetha 20	3	39	7	7	23	
This year concurs with the first of Ezekia, Lib.	3969 3287 294	8	32	8	15	4	40	8	8	24	
The beginning of the first Macedonian war where- in L.2.C.27.5.4. is lasted 20. years.	3973 3289 298	10	34	9	3	6	5	42	10	10	26
Samaria is besieged by Salmanassar.	3972 3290 297	11	35	9	4	7	6	43	11	27	



The captivity of the ten Tribes.	3974 3292 259	13 8	37 1	10 6	9	8	45	13	19
	3976 3294 501	15 39	10 3	8	10 4 Sena- cherib,	47	15	31	
L.2.c.26,5,7.	3980 3298 305	19 43	11 3	12	King of the Cal- deans,	5	1. Se- rbon,	19	35
Senacherib's Army de- stroyed, and he slain. L.2.c.25,6,2.	3982 3300 307	21 45	12 1	14		7	3	21	37
	3983 3301 308	22 46	12 2	15	1. Neo- bath, or Mar- sompadus,	5	4	22	38
	3986 3304 311	25 49	13 1	18		4	7	25	4
Merodach gets the whole empire. This year is end of the years foregoing, an eclipse of the Moon.	3993 3311 318	32 56	14 4	25	1. Merod- ach, or 1.14	11	14	32	8
	3994 3312 319	33 57	15 1	26		2	15	33	9
Two eclipses of the Moon, in the second year of ardoescompadus.	3997 3319 322	36 60	15 4	29		5	18	36	12
	3998 3320 323	37 61	16 1	30	1.14 1.14 Nabucc.	6	19	37	13
	3999 3321 324	38 62	16 2	31		7	20	38	14
	4000 3322 325	39 63	16 3	32		8	21	39	15
L.2.c.27,5,2.	4013 3331 338	52 76	19 4	35	1. Inter- regnum, 2.	14	15	17	
	4015 3333 340	54 78	20 2	36	1. 12 Prin- ces, 15	16	17	19	
The beginning of the second Messianic war; which lasted about 18. years. Lib.2.c.27,5,3.	4029 3347 354	68 92	23 4	39	1. 15 1.15 Nabucc.	30	31	33	
	4033 3351 358	72 96	24 4	40	1. 16 1.16 Nabucc.	31	32	34	
L.2.c.28,5,3.	4035 3353 360	74 98	25 2	41		3	33	35	37
	4043 3361 368	82 106	27 2	42		4	34	36	38
	4052 3370 377	91 86	29 3	43		5	35	37	39
	4053 3371 378	92 87	29 4	44		6	36	38	40

	Indian World Temple	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Juda.	Chal- dea.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.
The expedition of the Scythians. L.2.c.28,5,3, & 4.	4054 3372 379	93 88	117	30	16 1.16 Nabu- cassars,	26	12	3	20	
	4058 3373 386	94 89	118	31	1.17 1.17 Nabu- cassars,	27	13	4	21	
Lib.2.c.28,5,1.	4073 3391 398	112 107	136	34	19	20	1. Ne- co, 17	31	22	39
	4075 3393 400	114 109	138	35	21	22	3	32	40	41
	4076 3394 401	115 110	139	35	22	23	4	33	41	42
	4084 3402 409	123 118	147	37	30	31	12	10	9	1. Sady- attes, 12
Lib.2.c.28,5,1 & 2.	4085 3403 410	124 119	148	37	31	32	13	11	10	2
Nabuchodonosor had reigned one year with his Father, who is regarded in Astronomical observations concerning the Lib.2.c.28,5,6, & c.29,5,1.	4086 3404 411	125 120	149	38	32	33	14	12	11	3
	4089 3407 414	128 123	152	38	4	34	17	15	14	6
	4090 3408 415	129 124	153	39	5	35	18	16	15	7
	4096 3414 421	135 130	159	40	6	36	19	17	16	8
Zedekiah's journey to Babylon. Lib.2.c.28,5,6.	4099 3417 424	138 133	162	41	7	37	20	18	17	9
	4102 3420 427	141 136	165	42	8	38	21	19	18	10
Jerusalem taken by Nabuchodonosor, with whose for the more part, and partly with whose 19. this messianic war.	4106 3424 431	145 140	169	43	9	39	22	20	19	11
	4107 3425 411	146 141	170	43	1	40	23	21	20	12
Jerusalem destroyed	4111 3429 416	150 145	174	44	2	41	24	22	21	13
Egypt conquered by Nabuchodonosor. Lib.2.c.28,5,8 & 9.	4116 3434 421	155 150	179	45	3	42	25	23	22	14
	4125 3443 429	164 159	188	47	4	43	26	24	23	15
Nabuchodonosor loses wilds: and his kingdom is ruined by others for him, during twenty years. Lib.2.c.29,5,13.	4129 3447 433	166 161	190	48	5	44	27	25	24	16



The Account from the solution of the Captivity of Jews with that from Cyrus.	Julian World.	Rome, Nabon.	Spitus, Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Leaves From Cyri. Daniel.
	4265	304	328	81			Symon voyage to Cyprus, in which he dyed.	89
	3983	299		17			A league for 30 years, to divide the years, between Athens & Sparta.	11
Nehemiah comes to Jerusalem.	4268	307	331	83				92
	3986			20				14
	4272	311		84			Thucyd id. the first the first the first the	96
	3990	306	335	3			The conquest of Samos by the A. Thucyd. the first the	18
	4273	312		84				97
	3991	307	336	4				19
	4278	317		86			be Athenians the Persians against the Co. vilians.	101
	3996	312	341	1				24
The walls of Jerusalem finished.	4280	319		86				104
Nehemiah returns to King Artaxerxes.	3998	314	343	3				16
Lib. 3. c. 8. §. 1.	4283	322		67				107
	3991	317	346	2			The first years of the Pelopon- nesian War.	19
L. 3. c. 9. §. 1. L. 3. c. 8. §. 4.	4289	328		88			The willars of the Athenians at Pylus.	113
	3997	323	352	4				35
L. 3. c. 9. §. 1.	4290	329		89				114
	3998	324	353	1			1. Darius Notus, 19	36
L. 3. c. 8. §. 5. and 6.	4292	331		89				116
	3991	326	355	3			A warning & tri- bulation place be- tween Athens & Sparta.	38
L. 3. c. 9. §. 1. & c. 8. §. 8.	4301	349		91			1. Athenians for- ces in Sicily ter- rified.	125
	3999	335	364	4				48
Cap. 8. §. 9.	4302	341		92			The government of the 460 in Athens, which was opposed to the Persians.	128
The Carthaginians invade Sicily with an Army of 10000. L. 5. c. 1. §. 4. 1. 3.	3990	336	365	1			The Athenians begin to recover strength.	50
	4304	343		92				125
	3992	338	367	3				50
L. 3. c. 8. §. 10.	4306	345		93				130
	3994	340	369	1				52
	4307	346		93				131
	3995	341	370	2			1. Ne- phus, 6	53
	4308	347		93				132
	3996	342	371	3				54
L. 3. c. 8. §. 12.	4309	348		93				133
	3997	343	372	4				55
	4311	350		94				135
	3999	345	374	2				57
L. 3. c. 10. §. 1.	4313	352		94				137
	3991	347	376	4				59

	Julian and World.	Rome, Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Leaves From Cyri. Daniel.
Lib. 3. c. 15. §. 4.	4318	357		96				Ageblau warreis in Asia.	142
	3996	352	381	1					64
L. 3. c. 11. §. 7.	4320	359		96				The victory of Conon at Cnidus, &c.	144
	3998	354	383	3					66
	4321	360		96				Voy taken by Camillus.	145
	3999	355	384	4					67
	4325	364		97				The funeral & vi- tory of Camillus over the Talyti.	149
L. 4. c. 7. §. 1.	3643	359		98					71
Lib. 3. c. 11. §. 9.	4326	365		98				Rome taken & burnt by the Gauls.	150
	3644	360		1					72
	4327	376		98					151
	3645	361		2					73
	4332	371		99					156
	3650	366		3					78
Lib. 3. c. 11. §. 11.	4336	375		100					160
	3654	370		3					82
	4340	379		101					164
	3658	374		3					86
Lib. 3. c. 12. §. 1.	4343	382		102					167
	3661	377		2					89
L. 3. c. 12. §. 4.	4345	384		102					169
	3663	379		4					91
	4351	390		104					175
	3669	385		114					97. Jonathan
L. 3. C. 12. §. 8.	4352	391		104					100. about the time of High
	3670	386		3					98. Priest.
	4354	393		105					178
	3672	388		1					100
L. 4. c. 1. §. 4.	4359	398		106					183
	3677	393		2					105
	4364	403		107					188
	3682	398		3					110
L. 4. c. 1. §. 6.	4368	407		108					192
	3686	402		3					114
L. 5. c. 1. §. 4. 1. 4.	4369	408		108					193
	3678	403		4					115
	4370	409		109					194
	3688	404		1					116
After this, the years from Cyrus & Daniel to the Jew, by Ono.	4375	414		110					199
	3693	409		2					121

	Julian and World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphis.	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews From Cyrus Daniel.
	4376	415	110		2			1 The battle of Cheronæa. Philip, a Grecian Captain, General of the Greeks.	2 199 121
	3694	410	439	3				1 Philip slain by Panjania. Alexander the great, 33 years and five months.	4 201 123
	4378	417	111		11 Darius Grec & Jumbabazare	Nabon. Novemb 15.		2 The battle of A. Alexander.	5 202 124
	3695	412	441	1				3 Alexander passeth into Ape.	6 203 125
	4379	418	111		2			4 The battle of Issia.	7 204 126
	3697	413	442	2				5 Alexander wins Tyre and Egypt.	8 205 129
	4380	419	111		3			6 The battle of Arbela.	9 206 128
	3698	414	443	3				7 Darius slain by Beljus.	10 207 129
	4381	420	111		4			8 The battle of Issia.	11 208 130
	3699	415	444	4				9 The battle of Issia.	12 209 131
	4382	421	112		5			10 The battle of Issia.	13 210 132
	3700	416	445	5				11 The battle of Issia.	14 211 133
	4383	422	112		6			12 The battle of Issia.	15 212 134
	3701	417	446	6				13 The battle of Issia.	16 213 135
	4384	423	112		7			14 The battle of Issia.	17 214 136
	3702	418	447	7				15 The battle of Issia.	18 215 137
	4385	424	112		8			16 The battle of Issia.	19 216 138
	3703	419	448	8				17 The battle of Issia.	20 217 139
	4380	425	113		9			18 The battle of Issia.	21 218 140
	3704	420	449	9				19 The battle of Issia.	22 219 141
	4390	429	114		10			20 The battle of Issia.	23 220 142
	3728	424	453	10				21 The battle of Issia.	24 221 143
	4391	430	114		11			22 The battle of Issia.	25 222 144
	3709	425	454	11				23 The battle of Issia.	26 223 145
	4394	433	115		12			24 The battle of Issia.	27 224 146
	3712	428	457	12				25 The battle of Issia.	28 225 147
	4395	434	115		13			26 The battle of Issia.	29 226 148
	3713	429	458	13				27 The battle of Issia.	30 227 149
	4397	436	115		14			28 The battle of Issia.	31 228 150
	3715	431	460	14				29 The battle of Issia.	32 229 151
	4398	437	116		15			30 The battle of Issia.	33 230 152
	3716	432	461	15				31 The battle of Issia.	34 231 153
	4402	441	117		16			32 The battle of Issia.	35 232 154
	3720	436	465	16				33 The battle of Issia.	36 233 155
	4403	442	117		17			34 The battle of Issia.	37 234 156
	3721	437	466	17				35 The battle of Issia.	38 235 157

	Julian and World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphis.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria and the Kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece.	Romans.	Jews Daniel.
	4404	443	457	117	7	14	1 Seleucus 30	1 Lib 4-c. 5. 5. 7.		14
	3722	438	467	3			3 Athens (et free by Demetrius the son of Antigonus).			149
	4406	445	469	118	9	16	3 The battle of Issia, wherein Antigonus was slain.			151
	3724	440	471	1			10			23
	4413	452	476	119	16	23	11 Seleucus makes alliance with Demetrius.			158
	3731	447	477	4			12			159
	4414	453	477	120	17	24	13			162
	3732	448	477	1			14			163
	4417	456	480	120	18	27	15			164
	3735	451	484	4			16			166
	4421	460	484	121	19	31	17			166
	3739	455	484	4			18			166
	4427	466	490	123	2	37	24			172
	4745	461	490	123	2	37	24			172
	4428	467	491	123	3	38	25			173
	3746	464	491	3			26			173
	4429	468	492	123	2	39	26			174
	3747	463	492	4			27			174
	4432	471	495	124	5	4	29			177
	3750	466	495	3			29			177
	4433	472	496	124	6	5	30			178
	3751	467	497	4			31			178
	4434	473	497	124	7	6	32			179
	3752	468	499	1			33			181
	4436	475	499	125	8	3	34			181
	3754	470	501	126	9	4	35			183
	4438	477	501	126	10	5	36			183
	3756	472	502	126	11	6	37			184
	4439	478	502	126	12	7	38			184
	3757	473	504	127	13	8	39			186
	4441	480	504	127	14	9	40			186
	3759	475	508	127	15	10	41			190
	4445	484	508	128	16	11	42			190
	3763	497	509	128	17	12	43			191
	4446	485	513	129	18	13	44			191
	3764	480	513	129	19	14	45			191
	4450	489	513	129	20	15	46			191
	3768	484	513	129	21	16	47			191

	Indian and World.	Rome, Nabon.	Iphig.	Olymp.	Macr. don.	Egypt.	Syria and the Kingdoms of the Greeks.	Greece.	Romans.	Tenets Daniel.	Consuls.		Julius Cesar.	Rome, Nabon.	Iphig.	Olymp.	Macr. don.	Egypt.	Syria and the Kingdoms of the Greeks.	Greece.	Romans.	Tenets Daniel.	Consuls.
	4453	492	510	129	18	25	3 Antiochus Theus.			8	L. Valerius		4455	534	558	140						22	L. Aemilius
	3771	487		4						198	T. Otacilius		4456	539	559	141						240	M. Aemilius
L. S. C. 6. 6.	4454	493	517	130	19	26			Dulcius his victory at Sea.	199	Cn. Corn.		4457	534	559	140						23	P. Cor. Scipio
	3772	488		1			51						4458	539	559	141						241	T. Sempronius
	4457	496	520	130	22	29			Regulus is taken into Africa.	202	Cn. Corn.		4459	536	560	140						24	C. Flaminius
	3775	491	521	131	23	30	54			13	L. Manlius		4460	537	561	141						242	Cn. Servilius
Lib. S. C. 1. 8.	4450	497	521	131	23	30	6		Marcus Carenus Prator of the Achaens.	203	Q. Caelius		4461	537	561	141						243	C. Terentius
	3776	492	521	131	23	30	55						4462	537	561	141						244	L. Aemilius
	4463	501	526	132	28	35	11		Aratus recovers Syria, & returns it to the Achaens.	18	L. Caelius		4464	538	562	141						26	L. Posthumus
	3781	497	526	132	28	35	60			208	C. Furius		4465	538	562	141						245	L. Sempronius
The Roman consuls be- lieve that the be- havior of the Parthians is dangerous.	4464	503	457	132	29	36	12			19	C. Atilius		4466	538	562	141						246	L. Aemilius
	3782	498	457	132	29	36	61		Regulus his death.	209	L. Manlius		4467	538	562	141						247	L. Aemilius
	4465	504	528	132	30	37	62			20	P. Claudius		4468	538	562	141						248	P. Scipio
	3783	499	528	132	30	37	62		Shipwreck and capture of the Roman fleet at sea.	210	L. Manlius		4469	538	562	141						249	C. Claudius
	4467	506	530	133	32		15			21	L. Caelius		4470	538	562	141						250	M. Aemilius
	3785	501	530	133	32		64			212	M. Fabius		4471	538	562	141						251	M. Aemilius
Amilcar the Cartha- ginian in Sicily.	4469	508	532	133	34	3	4			24	M. Fabius		4472	538	562	141						252	Q. Caelius
L. S. C. 7. 11.	3787	503	532	133	34	3	66			214	C. Atilius		4473	538	562	141						253	L. Aemilius
	4472	511	535	134	35	6	4		Lucius has great victory at Agrigento.	217	A. Postumus		4474	538	562	141						254	C. Aemilius
	3790	506	535	134	35	6	69			218	A. Postumus		4475	538	562	141						255	P. Sempronius
The war of the Mer- cenaries with the Car- thaginians, L. S. C. 7.	4473	512	535	134	35	7	5		Aratus wins at Corinth.	218	A. Postumus		4476	538	562	141						256	Servilius
	3791	507	535	134	35	7	70		Peace granted to Carthage.	218	A. Postumus		4477	538	562	141						257	L. Aemilius
	4474	513	537	135	3	8	6			219	M. Sempronius		4478	538	562	141						258	L. Aemilius
	3792	508	537	135	3	8	71			220	M. Sempronius		4479	538	562	141						259	L. Aemilius
The war with the Mercenaries ended.	4476	515	539	135	5	10	8			221	G. Gracchus		4480	538	562	141						260	L. Aemilius
	3794	510	539	135	5	10	73		The Romans take Sardinia from the Carthaginians.	221	G. Gracchus		4481	538	562	141						261	L. Aemilius
	4482	521	545	137	1	16	14			227	M. Aemilius		4483	538	562	141						262	Q. Aemilius
	3800	516	545	137	1	16	79			227	M. Aemilius		4484	538	562	141						263	L. Aemilius
	4483	522	546	137	2	17	15			227	M. Aemilius		4485	538	562	141						264	Q. Aemilius
	3801	517	546	137	2	17	80			230	M. Aemilius		4486	538	562	141						265	L. Aemilius
L. S. C. 7. 7.	4485	524	548	137	4	19	17			234	C. Fulvius		4487	538	562	141						266	L. Aemilius
	3803	519	548	137	4	19	81			234	C. Fulvius		4488	538	562	141						267	L. Aemilius
	4489	528	552	138	8	23	5			16	L. Aemilius		4489	538	562	141						268	L. Aemilius
	3807	523	552	138	8	23	86			224	C. Atilius		4490	538	562	141						269	L. Aemilius
Flaminius was also Consul this year. See L. S. C. 2. 8. 8.	4492	531	555	139	11	26	1			19	C. Aemilius		4493	538	562	141						270	Cn. Domitius
	3810	526	555	139	11	26	82			237	M. Aemilius		4494	538	562	141						271	L. Aemilius
	4493	532	556	139	12		2			20	P. Corn.		4495	538	562	141						272	L. Aemilius
L. S. C. 8. 2.	3811	527	556	139	12		90			238	M. Aemilius		4496	538	562	141						273	L. Aemilius
	4494	533	557	140	4		3			20	L. Aemilius		4497	538	562	141						274	L. Aemilius
	3812	528	557	140	4		61			239	C. Aemilius		4498	538	562	141						275	L. Aemilius

	Julian. Rome.	Iphir.	Olymp.	Maedon.	Egypt.	Syriack King- doms of the Greeks.	Greece.	Rome.	Imes and Daniel.	Consul.
L. 5. c. 5. 9.	4527 566	590	148	34	18	36	26	267	26	Lepidus.
	3849 561		3			124		272	27	Flaminius.
	4528 567	591	148	35	19	4	27	237	27	Q. Marcius.
L. 5. c. 6. 2.	5846 562		3			125		30	30	Marcellus.
	4531 570	594	149	38	21	4		267	26	Q. Fabius.
	5849 565		3			128		31	31	Pamili.
L. 5. c. 6. 3.	4532 571	595	149	39	23	5		277	27	Cn. Bibulus.
	5850 566		3			129		32	32	Ceriburg.
Cap. 6. 5. 4.	4533 572	596	149	40	24	6		278	27	M. Balbus.
	5851 567		4			130		33	33	A. Papius.
	4534 573	597	150	41	25	7		279	27	Piso.
	5852 568		1			131		34	34	Piso.
	4535 574	598	150	42	26	8		280	28	Manlius.
	5853 569		2			132		39	39	Sp. Postumus.
An Eclipse of the Moon the 7. of Philometor, 573 years, and 106. days from the beginning of Nabonassar, which agrees with this account. It was by Julian years, the last of A. 17. about one of the clocks in the morning.	4540 579	603	151	6	7	9		285	28	Scenala.
	3858 574		3			137				
	4541 580	604	151	7	8	2				
	3859 575		4			138				
	4543 582	606	152	8	9	3				
	3861 577		2			140				
	4545 584	608	152	11	10	4				
	3863 579		4			142				
A total eclipse of the Moon, foregoing the overthrow of Persius, in the year of Nabonassar here noted.	4546 585	609	153	12	11	5				
	3864 580		1			143				
	4547 586	610	153	13	12	6				
	3865 581		2			144				
	4549 588	612	153	14	13	7				
	3867 581		4			146				

FINIS.

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# An Alphabetical Table of the

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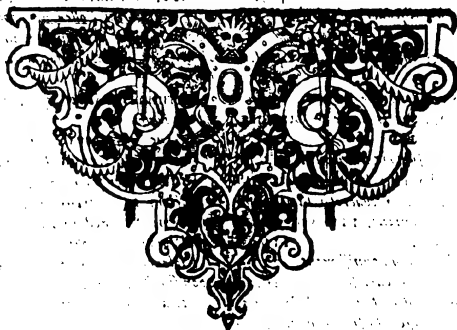
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Funerall games held by Scipio. A Duel betwene two Spanisb Princes. A digression concerning Duels.

†. III.

The last acts of Scipio in Spain. His return to Rome, where he is chosen Consul.

§. XVIII.

Scipio obtains leave to make warre in Africke: His preparations: Of Masaniissa, who ioynd with Scipio.

§. XIX.

The Carthaginians desire truce: and doe breake it.

§. XX.

In what sort Hannibal spends the time, after the battaille of Metaurus. The doings of Mago in Italy, &c.

§. XXI.

Hannibal in Africk prepares to fight with Scipio; treats with him about peace in vaine, loseth a battell at Nadagara, &c.

CHAP. IIII.

Of Philip the Father of Perseus King of Macedon, his first Acts and war with the Romanes, by whom he was subdued.

§. I.

How the Romanes grew acquainted in the East Countries, and desirous of war there. The beginning of many Princes, with great warres, at one time, &c.

§. II.

How Philip was misse-advised by ill Counsaillers: who afterwards wrought his treason against him, and were iustly punished. He inuaderh the Aetolians a second time: and forceth them to sue for peace; which is granted vnto them.

§. III.

Philip, at the perswasion of Demetrius Pharius, enters into League with Hannibal against the Romanes. The tenor of the League betwene Hannibal and Philip.

§. IIII.

How Philip yeelded to his naturall Vices, being thereunto foisted by Demetrius Pharius, &c.

§. V.

Of Philopœmen General of the Achaens, and Machanidas Tyrant of Lacedæmon. A battaille betwene them, wherein Machanidas is slaine.

§. VI.

Philip hauing peace with Rome, and with all Greece, prepares against Asia. Of the Kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bythinia; and their Linages, Of the Galatians.

§. VII.

The towne of Cios taken by Philip, at the instance of Prusias king of Bithynia, & cruelly destroyed, &c.

§. VIII.

The Romanes, after their Carthaginian warre, seeke matter of quarrell against Philip. The Athenians, vpon slight cause, proclaim warre against Philip; moued thereto by Attalus whom they flatter. Philip winnes diuers Townes, &c.

§. IX.

The Romanes decree warre against Philip, and send one of their Consuls into Greece, as it were in defence of the Athenians their confederates. How poore the Athenians were at this time, both in quality and estate.

§. X.

The Towne of Chalcis in Embes, taken and sackt by the Roman and their Associates, that lay in Garrison at Athens. Philip attempteth to take Athens by surprise; wasterh the Country about: and makes a journey into Euboea. Of Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedaemon, & his wife. Philip offers to make warre against Nabis for the Achaeans. He returneth home through Attica, which he spoyleth againe: and provides against the Enemies. Some exports of the Romans. Divers Princes ioyne with them, Great labouring to draw the Aetolians into the warre.

§. XI.  
The meeting of Philip with the Romans, & skirmishing with them on his borders, &c.

§. XII.  
Villius the Roman Consul wasterh a yeere to himself: War of the Gauls in Italy. An Embassage of the Romans to Carthage, Malanissa and Vermina, &c.

§. XIII.  
The Romans begin to make warre by Negotiation. T. Quintus wins a passage against Philip. Theſſaly wasterh by Philip, the Romans, and Aetolians. The Achaean forsaking the Macedonian, take part with the Romans. A treatie of peace, that was vaine. Philip deliueres Argos to Nabis the Tyrant who presently enters into League with the Romans.

§. XIII.  
The battell at Cynoscephala, wherein Philip was vanquished by T. Quintus.

T. Quintus falls out with the Aetolians, and grants truce unto Philip, with conditions, upon which the peace is ratified, &c.

CHAP. V.  
The Warres of the Romans with Antiochus the Great, and his Adherents.

What kings, of the races of Seleucus and Ptolomie, reigned in Asia and Egypt before Antiochus the Great.

§. II.  
The beginning of the great Antiochus his reigne. Of Ptolomie Euergetes and Philopator, Kings of Egypt. Warre betwene Antiochus and Philopator, &c.

§. III.  
The lowd reigne of Ptolomie Philopator in Egypt: with the tragical end of his Favourite, when he was dead. Antiochus prepares to warre on the young child Ptolomie Epiphanes, the sonne of Philopator. His ir-

resolution in preparing for diuers warres at diuers times, voyage towards the Hellespont. He striketh to hold unity with the Romans, who make friendly bowe to him, &c.

§. IIII.  
The Romans hold friendly correspondence with Antiochus, during their war with Philip: after which they quarrell with him. The doings of Hannibal at Carthage: whence he is chased by his enemies, and by the Romans. His flight unto the King Antiochus: The Aetolians murmur against the Romans in Grecia, &c.

§. V.  
Of the long warres which the Romans had with the Gauls, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of M. Porcius Caro, injuries done by Malanissa to the Carthaginians; that sue unto the Romans for iustice in vaine.

§. VI.  
The Aetolians labour to provoke Antiochus, Philip, and Nabis, to warre upon the Romans, by whom they hold themselves wronged and disgraced. Nabis besiegeth Gytheum, and wasterh some part of Achaia. The exact skill of Philopomen in his advantage of ground; whereby he utterly vanquished Nabis, &c.

§. VII.  
Antiochus persuaded by Thoas the Aetolian, comes over into Greece, ill attended. Sundry passages betweene him, the Aetolians, Chalcidians, and others. He wins Chalcis, and thereby the whole Ile of Euboea. The vanity of the Kings Embassadors, & the Aetolians: with the ciuill answer of Titus to their discourse, before the Achaeans. That it concerned the Greekes to haue desired peace, betwene the Romans and Antiochus: as the best assurance of their owne liberty, &c.

§. VIII.  
Lucius Scipio, hauing with him Publius the African his elder brother, for his Lieutenant, is sent into Greece. He grants long truce to the Aetolians, that so he might at leisure passe into Asia. Much troublesome businesse by Sea, and diuers fights. An invasion upon Eumenes his kingdom: with the siege of Pergamus, rayed by an handfull of the Achaeans. L. Scipio the Consul comes into Asia, where Antiochus most earnestly desires peace and is denied it. The battell of Magnesia: wherein Antiochus being vanquished, yeeldeth to the Romans good pleasure. The conditions of the peace. In what sort the Romans used their victory. L. Cornelius Scipio, after a most sumptuous Triumph ouer Antiochus, is surnamed The Afaticque, as his Brother was stiled The African.

§. IX.

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CHAP. VI.

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§. I.  
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§. II.  
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§. III.  
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§. IIII.  
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Embassadour deludes him with the hope of peace. His forces. He takes the field, & wins part of Theſſaly. The forces of Licinius the Roman Consul: and what assistants the Romans had in this warre, &c.

§. VII.  
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§. IX.  
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§. X.  
How the Romans behaued themselves in Greece and Macedon, after their victory ouer Perseus.

§. XI.  
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§. XII.  
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FINIS.